IMAGE AND TEXT IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRITAIN AND ITS

AFTER-IMAGES

A Dissertation

by

GINA OPDYCKE TERRY

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ABSTRACT

Image and Text in Nineteenth-Century Britain and Its After-Images. (May 2010)

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"Image and Text" focuses on the consequences of multi-media interaction on the concept of a work's meaning(s) in three distinct publishing trends in nineteenth-century Britain: graphic satire, the literary annuals, and book illustration. The graphic satire of engravers James Gillray and George Cruikshank is replete with textual components that rely on the interaction of media for the overall satirical impact. Literary annuals combine engravings with the ekphrastic poetry of writers including William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Robert Southey, and Letitia Elizabeth Landon. Book illustrations provided writers Sir Walter Scott and Alfred, Lord Tennyson a means to recycle previously published works as "new" texts; the engravings promote an illusion of textual originality and reality by imparting visual meanings onto the text. In turn, the close proximity of text to image changes visual meanings by making the images susceptible to textual meanings. Many of the theoretical implications resulting from the pairing of media resound in modern film adaptations, which often provide commentary about nineteenth-century visual culture and the self-reflexivity of media.

The critical heritage that has responded to the pairing of media in nineteenth-century print culture often expresses uneasiness with the relationship between text and mechanically produced images, and this uneasiness has often resulted in the treatment of text and image as separate components of multi-media works. "Image and Text" recovers the dialogue between media in nineteenth-century print forms often overlooked in critical commentary that favors the study of an elusive and sometimes fictional concept of an original work; each chapter acknowledges the collaborative nature of the production of multi-media works and their ability to promote textual newness, originality (or the illusion of originality), and (un)reality. Multi-media works challenge critical conventions regarding artistic and authorial originality, and they enter into battles over fidelity of meaning. By recognizing multi-media works as part of a diverse genre it becomes possible to expand critical dialogue about such works past fidelity studies. Text and image cannot faithfully represent the other; what they can do is engage in dialogue: with each other, with their historical and cultural moments, and with their successors and predecessors.

DEDICATION

To my Parents,

Ann and Don Opdycke

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NOMENCLATURE

BMC   British Museum Catalog

BL   British Library

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

LIST OF FIGURES

Page

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

ARTFUL INTERACTIONS: TEXT, IMAGE, AND MASS-MEDIA

In an 1807 Lecture at the Royal Academy, artist John Landseer declares that "Engraving is no more *an art of copying* Painting than the English language is *an art of copying* Greek or Latin" (Lecture III, 177, original emphasis). Landseer argues that "Engraving is a distinct language of Art" (III, 177); he suggests that an engraving based on a painting is no more a copy "than the same composition, if sculptured or modelled [sic] in low relief, would be a copy. In both cases they would be, not copies, but *translations* from one language of Art, into another language of Art" (178, original emphasis). Landseer's claims fell on resistant ears; engravers had been striving unsuccessfully to gain access to the Royal Academy as full members since 1767. The Academy's Council replied with hostility to the efforts of Landseer and others working for the formal acceptance of engravers within Academy ranks. The Council argued that since engraving is "wholly devoid" of any "intellectual qualities of Invention and Composition," that the admission of engravers as "first rank" Academy members would "be incompatible with justice and a due regard to the dignity of the Royal Academy" (qtd. in Hutchison 89). To the Council, the Royal Academy's purpose was to bring forward "*original* Artists, who alone are capable of supplying sufficient novelty, and

_____
This dissertation follows the style of the *Modern Language Association*.

interest to excite public attention without which ... the Establishment itself must fail"

(qtd. in Hutchison 88, original emphasis). Despite the need to appeal to public tastes, the

reason for denying engravers was "grounded" in a "more abstract, permanent and

immutable nature" based on a desire to preserve traditional definitions of artistic

originality (qtd. in Hutchison 89).

A critical concern about the mechanical arts' ability to change an idolized and

idealized original work resounds in both discussions of nineteenth-century works pairing

text and engraving and in discussions of modern film adaptations. Discussions of these

multi-media works tend to revolve around rhetorical details, romantic notions of

originality, prejudices against mass-produced works, and concepts about a work's

mysterious spirit; it would seem from such criticism that a change in a work's form

necessitates a change in its aesthetic value. From Sir Joshua Reynolds' labeling of the

mechanical arts as "capricious changelings" (49) in his *Discourses on Art* (1769-1790),

to Walter Benjamin's concept of an original and its aura in *The Work of Art in the Age of

Mechanical Reproduction* (1936), mechanical arts, like engraving, have suffered under

notions of artistic hierarchy and originality.[1] Eager to maintain the notion that viewing

original artwork is "an act of devotion performed at the Shrine of Art" (Hazlitt, *Sketches*

6) and that writing poetry is the result of a "spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings"

(Wordsworth 393),[2] many artists and writers attempt to distance themselves from the

mechanical arts and their commercial associations. Even Landseer, an active proponent

of the formal recognition of engraving as an art, had strong words for those involved in

the business of engraving; he proves highly critical of print sellers, whom he felt were responsible for the trend of focusing on the "quantity" not the "quality" of engraved productions (321). Debased to a commercial form, "Art is necessarily retrograde" the moment an artist agrees to tailor his work for a print dealer (Landseer 321).

The mechanical arts face condemnation for their associations with the mass-market, and text, caught up in the fray, often faces similar critical disapproval. While editors and publishers advertise text as a willing partner to visual counterparts, the critical heritage that has responded to this pairing often expresses uneasiness with the relationship between text and mechanically produced images. As such, text and image in multi-media works are often treated as separate entities of a work, and the interaction of text and image on the page and the production methods that paired them are overlooked. Rather than create a single meaning, dependent on placing one art in a secondary relationship to another, the interaction of the arts on the printed page suggests a multiplicity of meanings dependent on an ongoing dialogue between media. The dialogue that ensues when text and image appear in close proximity to each other allows for a reciprocal, but not necessarily equivocal, transfer of meaning between media.

The connections between media highlight the complex relationship between text and image in an increasingly commoditized culture where writers and artists alike found pleasure, profit, and new meaning by combining the arts. While acknowledging theoretical debates surrounding mass-produced works, "Image and Text in Nineteenth-Century Britain and Its After-Images" argues for the importance of studying text and image together by focusing on the consequences of multi-media interaction on the

concept of a work's meaning(s). "Image and Text" seeks to recapture the dialogue between media so often overlooked in critical commentary that favors the study of an elusive and sometimes fictional concept of an original work. Multi-media publications flourished in nineteenth-century Britain, and this flourishing underscores the variety of ways text and image encountered each other in print culture. "Image and Text" rejoins art and text within a critical discussion of three distinct publishing trends in nineteenth-century Britain: graphic satire, the literary annuals, and book illustration. The discourse between text and image constructs meaning in graphic satire, it activates an ekphrastic connection between media in the literary annuals, and it is complicit in the construction of an illusion of newness in illustrated editions of preexisting works. In the process of rejoining art and text in critical discussions of multi-media works, the idea of a coherent and original text is challenged and the inherent multiplicities of multi-media works emerges. The discourse between text and image moves both forms forward, both into new forms for new generations of readers and through the translation of textual meaning into visual meaning and vice versa.

Many of the theoretical implications resulting from the pairing of image and text continue to resound throughout the twentieth century; accordingly, "Image and Text" concludes in the twentieth century by discussing nineteenth-century after-images in film adaptation. All of the forms discussed in the study reveal that multi-media works enter a discourse of meaning through an ongoing interaction between text and pictorial image. Whether the connection is thematic, explicit, or merely spatial, it is a connection with consequences for visual and textual meaning. "Image and Text" is concerned with the

methods of production that form these connections and the multiplicity of meaning that ensues when text and image are paired.

The first four chapters of "Image and Text" study the interaction of media in works combining text and engraving. Engravings are complicit in the creation of a persistent façade of textual newness, originality, and reality. As "translations" of paintings or drawings, engravings enter the marketplace promoting an illusion of originality—they are often advertised as an artist's work when they are in reality the product of an engraver's hand. Despite the Royal Academy's refusal to admit engravers as part of their ranks, graphic reproductions of the work of Academy artists like J. M. W. Turner were "a most potent force in spreading a taste for art, making the public aware of the style and achievement of individual painters" (Denvir 23). Engraving enabled the Sister Arts to enter the marketplace together, which, according to Daniel Riess, "transformed" art and poetry into "marketplace commodities" (Riess 824). A multi-media work pairing text and engraving is a "marketplace commodity," but it is also a signifier of the complexity of artistic and literary works. Industrial changes allowed for the mass-production of literature, and writers, artists, and publishers found innovative ways to exploit the power of new technology to represent original pieces of work. The resulting works challenge traditional notions of a work's coherence and singular authorship.

The collaborative nature of print culture necessitates awareness about production methodologies: recognizing how and why text and image are paired clarifies our understanding of how meaning is constructed. Disparities between production processes

that rely on the ability for technology to reproduce an original work and the public's

acceptance of that original work often contribute to the ongoing critical anxiety about

mass-produced works. John O. Jordan and Robert L. Patten concede that the very nature

of print culture contributes to an absence of theoretical cohesion in discussions of print

culture (1). While much of printing history is about tangible technological advances, it

is also about intangibles: time, place, people, and culture (Jordan and Patten 12).

Likewise, Jerome J. McGann argues that the "the critical analysis of such forms is an

invaluable key to understanding the most elusive types of human phenomena, social and

historical patterns" (81). Accordingly, "Image and Text" is not just about meaning in

multi-media works but also about the artists, engravers, publishers, and writers who

endeavor to create them.

McGann also observes that the "influence of [a] work's own production history

on the work itself grows more important with the passage of time" (81); accordingly,

each chapter of "Image and Text" begins with an overview of production methodologies,

and this overview demonstrates that the critical distance between a mass-produced work

and its meaning often begins with the work's inception. From William Wordsworth's

designation of the annuals as "greedy receptacles of trash" (*Letters* 2:275-276), to Dante

Gabriel Rossetti's labeling of "illustrated editions of poets" as "quite hateful things"

(*Letters* 14), authors and artists often encourage a distancing of their work from the

commercial implications of the collaborative work in which they published. Such

attempts strive to preserve artistic and authorial control over meaning, a control that is

lost the moment the work interacts with its textual or visual counterpart. Production, then, appears to destroy authorial and artistic singularity.

Wary of the commercial associations that arise with literature's foray into the burgeoning engraving market, many critics have argued that the consequences for literature paired with engravings are disastrous. Lee Erickson recognizes the benefits of stereotype printing, but he condemns it for its relationship to modern connotations of the word "stereotype" and associations with "mass conformity" (30). The literary annuals, with their engravings, poetry, and mass appeal, serve as Erickson's prime target. To Erickson, the annuals destroyed Romanticism and poetry (40, 43), and he faults the annuals with forcing poets, especially the emerging Victorian poets, to conform to a "purely pictorial aesthetic" (41), thus overlooking the historical tradition of incorporating visual references within poetry. Rather than celebrate the marriage of the arts in the annuals, Erickson suggests that the "Annuals lowered poetic standards and provided an inadequate shelter for poetry against the ever-rising tide of the periodicals" (31). Erickson is equally harsh with writers who participate in the annuals, particularly with Letitia Elizabeth Landon, who was an active writer and editor for the annuals. Erickson states that Landon "was reduced to writing poems as commentary upon pictures. It is no wonder that the quality of and the payment for poetry in the Annuals soon declined" (31). While Erickson is quick to condemn Landon for her role with the annuals, he dismisses the participation of traditional canonical writers, such as Wordsworth, for their participation in the same publications.[3]

While literary critics often prove wary of the intrusion of visual media into text's domain in print, art critics often react with disdain to literature's influence over artistic trends. Gerard Curtis argues that the binding of text and image in print media had negative consequences for the fine arts, which had become "ensnared as literature's hieroglyphic handmaid" (57-58). Illustrated works, according to Curtis, "denied artists both their own narrative voice, and the use of their medium as commentary beyond the voice of the author" (57). Art, in such a view, is enslaved by textual after-images. Literary critics often echo their art historian counterparts by suggesting that the format of multi-media works reduces poems to mere "commentary upon pictures" and requires the subordination of literary "art" to the "pictorial" image (Erickson 31; Manning 63). Multi-media works are thus suspect, and André Bazin argues that it is "possible to imagine that we are moving toward a reign of adaptation in which the notion of the unity of the work of art, if not the very notion of the author himself, will be destroyed" (26). Robert Stam, an active proponent for leaving fidelity studies behind, suggests that film and novels have "consistently cannibalized other genres and media. […] repeatedly plundering or annexing neighboring arts" (61). Such language reinforces a hierarchy between the arts and implies that violence shapes and defines the relationship between media. Literature, it would seem, is constantly at risk of being overtaken by tyrannical forms of visual media; like the art of Painting and Engraving, the Sister Arts, it would appear, squabble frequently.

The tendency to become tangled up in debates over authorial intention, artistic originality, and aesthetic hierarchies means that the dialogue between media is often

overlooked. The instability of meaning that ensues when text and image interact does not imply that one medium assumes dominance over the other, but rather that meaning in literary and visual works is fluid, evolving, and never singular. Furthermore, the ways in which editors, authors, artists, and engravers promote multi-media works suggests a heightened cultural awareness of the ways in which visual media change and enhance text. As Terence Hoagwood and Kathryn Ledbetter make clear in their work on British women writers, the "study of text production is the study of cultural artifacts, and it is inseparable from the study of literature" (11). The study of print meaning and print culture are thus fundamentally connected.

Chapter II, "'Read O'er This': Text and Image in Romantic-Period Graphic Satire," argues that a recognition of the intricate interplay between text and image within graphic satire is worthy of attention from literary scholars. This chapter works to move critical discussions about graphic satire forward to include a more nuanced study of the interaction of text and image in the genre. Graphic satires incorporate textual allusions to literary giants and use text as an important design element; text plays an active role in the construction of meaning in graphic satire. The complex use of text by artists such as James Gillray and George Cruikshank suggests that contemporary readership was prepared to read the image in conjunction with the text and to read the text in conjunction with the image. Historically, studies of graphic satire have striven to preserve meaning rather than focus on the creation of that meaning. In *Rowlandson the Caricaturist* (1880), Joseph Grego observes that "buyers and readers of books, all admirers of pictures, drawings, and engravings—in a word, the intelligent" can find

books on artists, but laments that caricaturists have been "passed over" (1-2). Grego finds no "fitting memorial" for the caricaturists (2); yet from William Thackeray's lecture on Cruikshank (1823), to Thomas Wright and R. H. Evans' *Historical and Descriptive Account of the Caricatures of James Gillray* (1851), to J. P. Malcolm's 1813 historical overview of caricature, there exists an assortment of works that translate graphic satire for contemporary audiences. These works suggest that to understand graphic satire we must have an interpreter—a translator to reinterpret and recapture meaning presumably lost through time. Modern critical work on the graphic satirists is limited, and it follows trends set in the nineteenth-century by focusing on the sociopolitical meaning of the work rather than the rhetoric of the images and text.[4]

In a way, however, Grego is correct; recognition of the sophisticated interplay of textual and visual meaning in a seemingly crude genre has been "passed over." The study of the sociopolitical importance of graphic satire is an important process in preserving meaning, but so too is the study of the visual and textual rhetoric that create this meaning. While it is necessary to acknowledge that the images are designed to catch a viewer's eye, the complicated use of text in the genre suggests that we should also be prepared to read the images. In the work of Gillray and others, text is meant to be seen and read. A focus solely on pictorial representation and sociopolitical meaning within caricature overlooks the use of large textual spaces within graphic satire. Most of the caricaturists' works are replete with speech balloons, captions, and large textual spaces; as active components of the engravings, the text interacts and engages with the graphics, often enhancing or contradicting the engravings' visual image. Work by critics

such as Richard Volger, Robert L. Patten, and Eirwen Nicholson has drawn attention to the topic of readability in graphic satire, but no critic has yet provided a lengthy study of the topic. This chapter moves the critical conversation about graphic satire forward by studying the use of text in both single-sheet and bound volumes of graphic satire.

While Chapter II reinstates the images in graphic satire with their textual counterparts, the third chapter, "'Poetical Illustrations': Text and Image in the Literary Annuals," works to resituate the annuals' poetry in conjunction with their visual counterparts. In critical discussions of the literary annuals, the engravings are often subordinated to the accompanying poetry or omitted from critical discussion altogether. The tendency to subordinate poetry to pictures overlooks the relationship between art and literature and alienates each from the other. An ekphrastic connection between media emerges when the literature in the annuals is reengaged with the engravings with which they were paired, for the text in some way relates to the graphic representation of the engravings. The maintenance of the link between media suggests that ekphrasis does not necessarily depend on absence; instead, in the literary annuals, it is the text's proximity to its accompanying artwork that maintains an ekphrastic connection. In this chapter, I depart from W. J. T. Mitchell's influential definition of ekphrasis to argue that much of the poetry in the literary annuals is ekphrastic. Mitchell argues that the "textual Other" can never be present, but must be "conjured up as a potent absence or a fictive, figural presence" (699); however, in the annuals the "textual Other" is ever present and activates the ekphrastic connection. The ekphrastic responses in the annuals take on a variety of forms, adding to the variable ways that meaning in the annuals is produced.

While some writers, such as Wordsworth and Sir Walter Scott, attempted to distance their work from the engravings, the engravings' appearance alongside the annuals' text invites our recognition of an ekphrastic connection. In the annuals, the spatial pairing of media maintains the illusion of ekphrasis, even if the image and text were produced independently. Works including Robert Southey's "Stanzas, Addressed to J. M. W. Turner, ESQ. R. A. on his View of the Lago Maggiore From the Town of Arona," and Mary Shelley's "The Elder Son," thematically incorporate the engravings into their text's narrative; readers are directed to the illustrations. Landon's use of supplementary material (poems and prefaces) in *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrapbook*, also instructs her readers on how to approach the engravings. The interaction of media within the annuals is multifarious; literature in the annuals often uses the engraving as a point of departure, as a brief reference illustrative of the text's narrative or theme, or as a visual counterpart to a textual description of a scene. Once we reconnect the text in the annuals with their visual counterparts, it becomes possible to study the text by writers such as Landon, Wordsworth, and Scott, as "poetical illustrations" (Landon n.p.), as ekphrastic texts that enter a discourse of meaning through their interaction with the engravings.

Critics including Terence Hoagwood, Kathryn Ledbetter, and Margaret Linley have begun the process of resituating the annuals within the context of print culture. This process has revealed an inherent duplicity in the annuals' form. Glennis Stephenson notes that the "annuals are always marked, above all, by cultural and

ideological tension and contradiction" in terms of content and production (172).

Ledbetter observes that the "ultimate irony" of the literary annuals

> Was that their material production involved the latest technology in
>
> bookbinding, paper manufacturing, engraving, and aggressive marketing
>
> while their producers advertised the book in terms of genteel elegance,
>
> grace, class, and feminine domesticity that contrasts with such
>
> competitive modern tactics. (19)

The annuals' editors relied on the interaction of form and content to fashion an illusion

of cultural and aesthetic worth. Furthermore, the fiction of "personal feeling" that

begins with the advertisements of the annuals and continues in the annuals' content

promotes the illusion that "literary commodities are themselves thoughts and feelings,

rather than manufactured ones" (Hoagwood and Ledbetter 5). The mass-produced status

of nineteenth-century literary annuals leaves little semblance of originality in terms of

authorial and artistic singularity, but the inclusion of editorial comments and the use of

design elements assist in maintaining an illusion of originality. Hoagwood and

Ledbetter observe that editors often undertook a "massive public relations job" during

the elaborate process of securing contributions to the annuals (82); this "public relations

job" extends to the promotion of the literature and the art in the annuals as existing in a

symbiotic relation to each other. Editorial comments in the annuals' prefaces often

provide instructions on how readers are to interpret the relationship between text and

image.

The annuals emerge in the literary market at a time in which editors, writers, artists, and engravers had begun to explore the full potential of the aesthetic and commercial possibilities of pairing visual and textual media. Within Western literary tradition, the illustration and ornamentation of books has a long history, but during the nineteenth century, advances in printing allowed for a wider distribution of books. In contrast to their Medieval and Renaissance predecessors, nineteenth-century book illustrations reached a wide audience and often shared little narrative cohesion with their texts. The period's invention of stereotyping, in which plates are made into reusable casts, allowed books to be produced more cheaply and in larger quantities (Feather 9). The shift from woodcuts to wood engravings and from copper plates to steel plates made it faster and more affordable for publishers to reproduce image and text (Feather 10). With a growing audience eager for multi-media works and the ability to produce higher quality illustrations, editors, writers, engravers, and artists recognized the advantages of employing the new technology available for illustration to fashion the illusion of a "new" visual and textual work.

Perhaps taking their cue from the literary annuals' successful coffee-table book appeal, supplemental illustrated editions began to appear in the 1820s pairing engravings with previously published texts; these supplements, however, spatially alienate the source text from the illustrations, thus freeing the images to communicate meaning without being held accountable to the entirety of the source text. While a variety of illustrated supplements appeared, Richard Altick argues that

> It was Scott … who, almost singlehandedly among authors, touched off
>
> the century-long fashion of literary landscapes—paintings whose
>
> association with a poem or novel was not contrived and remote … but
>
> intentional and direct. (69)

These "literary landscapes" appeared in numerous illustrated editions, and throughout

the nineteenth century, Sir Walter Scott's work in particular was repeatedly illustrated.

Richard Maxwell uses the term "illustrated supplements" to refer to illustrated editions

of Scott's work (3), but I am taking his definition a bit further: for the purposes of

Chapter IV, "illustrated supplements" refers to those works published independently of

Scott's novels and poems. Before Robert Cadell's ambitious Magnum Opus edition of

Scott's work, illustrated supplements containing engravings of Scottish landscapes,

Scottish regalia, and portraits of characters from Scott's novels, began to enter the

market. The editors of these collections advertise their editions as meant to "bind to" or

"embellish" Scott's work, thereby acknowledging and encouraging a supplementary

relationship to Scott's work, even if this relationship was often indirect and created

without Scott's participation.

　　　The fourth chapter, "'Appropriate Embellishments': Illustrated Supplements to

Sir Walter Scott's Work," examines the expansion of a text through supplemental

illustrated editions. To make Scott's work new, editors promise readers access to real

scenes from Scott's novels and real landscapes from Scotland. The promise of new

realities makes Scott's work new by transferring visual meaning back to the text and

vice versa, and the editors' constant promotion of visual reality validates Scott's text.

Through a study of illustrated supplements including Charles Tilt's *Landscape Illustrations of the Waverley Novels* (1832), Rev. G. N. Wright's *Landscape-Historical Illustrations of Scotland, and the Waverley Novels* (1836-1838), and Charles Heath's *Waverley Gallery of the Principal Female Characters in Sir Walter Scott's Romances* (1841), I argue that the concept of reality supplants originality in illustrated supplements of Scott's work. Editors position "illustrations of Scott" as "identical with those of Scotland" (Wright n.p.), thereby creating a triad of references—Scott's work, the illustrations, and Scotland—that work together to validate Scott's texts. By allowing readers to "see" Scott's texts, the illustrated supplements change the way we read Scott's narratives.

The separation of source text and image in illustrated supplements requires readers and viewers to recall Scott's works in order to understand the relationship between text and image. The relationship between the illustrations and Scott's text evolves, and several editions, such as Tilt's *Portraits of the Principal Female Characters in the Waverley Novels* (1833), have less to do with Scott's works than they do with publishing trends involving exotic portraits of women and the ability for technology to repeatedly cast text and image anew. To justify their radical departure from Scott's work, such supplements often introduce an editorial voice or a new authorial presence. These intertextual moments sustain an implied dialogue between the illustrations and Scott's original text. Additionally, an explicit dialogue between the editorial text, the illustrations, and excerpts from the source text directs readers on how to interpret the multi-media relationship: text acts as a guide to the images. The dialogue

between the editorial text and the illustrations reinforces the presence of an after-image of Scott's original work in the illustrations. In other illustrated works, the absence of this dialogue leaves the meaning between text and image open to other interpretations, interpretations that are often driven by a search for textual fidelity.

In contrast to the spatial boundaries within illustrated supplements to Scott's work, Edward Moxon's 1857 illustrated edition of Alfred, Lord Tennyson's *Poems* presents a simultaneous encounter with text and image—image and text share the same page. As with illustrations of Scott's work, the illustrations move Tennyson's Romantic-period poems into the Victorian era repackaged and newly visualized. The addition of wood engravings, also a newly revitalized form, to collections of Tennyson's poems, makes the poems appear new. The spatial paring of media within the Moxon Tennyson invites a literal reading of the relationship between media and alerts readers to the limits of representation and to the implications of viewing image and text together. The act of producing a work that combines text and image encourages recognition of these meta-textual moments, and many of the poems encourage multi-media reflexivity by incorporating visual themes. My fifth chapter, "The Implications of Looking: Text and Image in the Moxon Tennyson," argues that the pictures' placement next to, below, and above the poems asks readers to read the poem in the images and the images in the poem. Vignettes act as bookends to many of the poems, and they encourage readers to slow down to read the poem and illustrations as a singular work within the edition. Other designs, such as William Holman Hunt's "The Lady of Shalott," incorporate visual elements that force the viewer's eye to the text. The edition is thus about

movement—the movement of Tennyson's poems into new forms, the movement of

paintings into illustrations, and the movement of meaning between text and image.

The Moxon Tennyson, as it is commonly called, provides none of the editorial

directions that feature so prominently in the literary annuals and in the illustrated

supplements of Scott's work; consequently, critics have often judged the relationship

between media in terms of the images' perceived fidelity to an elusive and fictional

essence in Tennyson's work. Tennyson, like Scott, Wordsworth, and so many others,

often attempted to distance himself from the commercial literary market but was also

willing to use the market to move his work forward to new readers and to repackage his

work for his established readers. Many of the edition's contributing artists also attempt

to maintain the autonomy of their work without confining their approach to the context

of Tennyson's poems, and art historians often appear reluctant to approach the Moxon

Tennyson without acknowledging the artists' general oeuvre. The impressive oeuvres of

contributing artists such as Rossetti and Hunt and the overt literariness of Pre-Raphaelite

art encourage us to look outside the Moxon Tennyson for meaning. The immediacy of

the relationship between text and image diminishes if we continue to look only outside

the work for meaning; by looking within the work for meaning, the variable ways that an

illustration can adapt, translate, and change textual meaning becomes apparent.

In the sixth chapter, "Nineteenth-Century After-Images and Twentieth-Century

Media," I avoid chasing spirits and essences, and I argue instead for the acceptance of

markers of difference between media and for an acknowledgement of the new meaning

created when text encounters new media. Stam notes that "each medium has its own

specificity deriving from its respective materials of expression" (59); the concluding chapter brings this argument to the twentieth century by looking at nineteenth-century after-images in film adaptation. In the twentieth century, film replaces engraving as the salient visual representation of literature. Like engraving, it moves a text forward into new forms for consumption by new audiences; accordingly, film adaptations, like illustrations, are judged in terms of faithfulness to the source text. A telling example of the ability for nineteenth-century after-images to linger in the twentieth century is in Karel Reisz's 1981 film adaptation of John Fowles' *The French Lieutenant's Woman* (1969). Fowles' novel is a pastiche of nineteenth-century literary forms, demonstrating the movement of the Victorian novel to the modern times. The film proves to be hyperaware of the movement of a form by incorporating a subplot about the creation of an adaptation of the novel and demonstrating a reliance on visual themes and visual scenes from Victorian paintings. Seemingly innocuous moments involving costume, character, and mirrors work with their textual counterparts to create commentary about nineteenth-century gender roles and the self-reflexivity of twentieth-century media.

A recurring theme throughout all of the chapters is that text paired with image is somehow suspect in terms of quality and meaning. In his seminal work *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, Benjamin notes that "the presence of the original is the prerequisite to the concept of authenticity" (733). The absence of a true original and a singular meaning in nineteenth-century multi-media works becomes a sign of authenticity; the inherently collaborative nature of these works creates meaning rather than destroys it. In *Aesthetic Theory* (1970), Adorno argues that there is no "coherence

of meaning […] unity—is contrived by art because it does not exist…Every artifact works against itself" (106). "Image and Text" demonstrates that while there may be no "coherence of meaning" in literary and visual artifacts that media often collaborate to create meaning. The dialogue between media becomes its own distinct language, and meaning, as Landseer's opening comments suggests, moves.

Henry Howard, R.A., contributing an essay on art criticism to the *Cabinet of Modern Art, and Literary Souvenir, and Literary Souvenir* (1836), suggests that while a painter may be "indebted to the Poet or Historian" for his "theme," the "invention of the picture must be as much his own as if the whole had originally proceeded from his own conception" (59). After he acknowledges that "graphic descriptions will scarcely ever place the circumstances of the story in such a light as will suit the wants of Painting," Howard argues that textual meaning should be "translated into another language" in visual media (59). Textual and historical meaning should be "remoulded in the mind of the Artist, and cast afresh; and no one can do this for him—in this he must be his own Poet" (Howard 59). In nineteenth-century print culture, the Artist and Poet are replaced with a diverse group of collaborating individuals who often have differing interpretations of a work's meaning; whatever their motivations for creating the work, the resulting work is autonomous. Meaning, rather than being destroyed by commercial implications or overpowered by a perceived visual or textual combatant, is created and "cast afresh."

Notes

1. Daniel Rix laments that the modern "emphasis on the original print" is responsible for the overlooking of the "history of the reproductive print" (11).

2. Hazlitt observes that "a print shop has but a mean, cold, meager, petty appearance after coming out of a fine collection of Pictures, […] Good prints are no doubt, better than bad pictures; for we have more prints of good pictures than of bad ones! Yet they are for the most part but hints, loose memorandums, outlines in little of what the painter has done" (Hazlitt 5).

3. The tendency to condemn writers for their role in mass-produced culture also occurs within the art world, and for its role in popular culture engraving has maintained an "ambivalent art historical status" (Patten 35). However, engravers found themselves in high demand and competed with painters for recognition in the volatile publishing market. Well-established painters, such as J. M. W. Turner, recognized the publicity value of having their work—and imitations of their work—engraved and distributed through avenues like the annuals.

4. Work by critics such as Vincent Carretta ensures that the meaning of graphic satire is not lost as we move further away from the historical and social events that prompted the designs.

CHAPTER II

"READ O'ER THIS!": TEXT AND IMAGE IN ROMANTIC-PERIOD

GRAPHIC SATIRE

In his 1819 *Lectures on the English Comic Writers*, William Hazlitt (1778-1830) observes of William Hogarth's (1696-1764) work that "Other pictures we see, Hogarth's we read" (267). Many of Hogarth's works, such as *England/France*, *Marriage á la Mode* (1743), and *The Four Stages of Cruelty* (1751), rely on the narrative power of visual imagery to create their biting commentary on eighteenth-century London society. The repetition of visual symbolism throughout each series contributes to a larger moralistic narrative, thereby creating a story for viewers to "read."[1] Text appended to the bottom of many of the engravings of his paintings provides an explanation of the narrative itself and directs the reader on how to read the visual imagery. Reading Romantic-period graphic satire is in some aspects similar to reading the visual narratives in Hogarth's work, for to "read" graphic satire successfully we need to recognize the multiple levels of communication at work, levels that include not only visual symbolism but also textual symbolism. While satire is traditionally associated with a poem or prose form in which "prevailing vices or follies are held up to ridicule" (*OED*), in graphic form, satire relies both on the exaggerated tradition of caricature and its literary counterpart. As a visual encapsulation of the satiric literary tradition, graphic satire in the Romantic period takes on many forms—from the single sheet graphic satire of James Gillray (1757-1815), to the published pamphlets of William Hone and George

Cruikshank (1792-1878), and the serial *Dr. Syntax* series by Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827) and William Combe. The combination of forms and styles emphasizes the multiplicity of meaning constructed by the visual and textual components of graphic satire.

As three of Hogarth's artistic heirs, Gillray, Cruikshank, and Rowlandson owe much to Hogarth, but their work also demonstrates that by the Romantic period graphic satire had become more complex in its use of visual and textual components. In contrast to Hogarth's serial narratives, much of the work of graphic satirists such as Gillray and Cruikshank makes its satirical impact on one printed sheet. [2] Unlike Hogarth's work where verses were "inserted under each print, and subjoined to this account" (Trusler 116), in most single sheet graphic satire, text is integrated with the visual components.[3] Steven E. Jones argues that text and images exist in the form as "separable units opportunistically combined" (79), but as this chapter argues, text and image are often combined as a single unit and their integration and interaction play an integral role in the construction of meaning in the form. The integration of media seals the relationship between text and image, reinforcing their connection, even if at first glance a relationship between the two media is not apparent. The simplicity of the form of this graphic satire belies its complexity. Similarly, in bound works of graphic satire, text and image are purposefully paired together in order to sustain a lengthy visual and textual narrative. In both forms of graphic satire, meaning forms through the interaction of textual and visual intertexts, aggressive subtexts, and the recycling of preexisting visual and textual works. With dueling and dual meanings, the meaning of text and image in

graphic satire is complicated.[4] A network of creators, such as publishers, patrons, artists, engravers, writers, and colorists further complicate the relationship between text and image and print and meaning. The relationship between media is made more complex by issues involved in production, shifts in printing forms, and by the continuous challenge to our concept of an original work. Often the most powerful meaning in graphic satire appears in what is not stated explicitly but rather in what is implied—in the dialogue that ensues when text and image interact.

Hazlitt's advice about reading Hogarth's visual satire is relevant to discussions of Romantic-period graphic satire; yet contemporary criticism of graphic satire tends to focus on sociopolitical meanings rather than the aesthetic form or the rhetoric of the images and text.[5] However, several modern critics have begun to bring attention to the use of language in studies of caricature. Eirwen Nicholson recognizes that graphic political satire is a "verbal/visual genre, in which some relationship between word and image is normative," and she laments the lack of critical attention paid to the verbal within the genre (28). Likewise, in Richard Volger's work on Cruikshank he admits, "the use of language in Cruikshank's art has never been given the attention it deserves" (vxi). Volger says further, "one could almost say that Cruikshank […] is an artist who is dependent on language" (xvi). Ronald Paulson discusses the tradition of comic illustration carried on by Hogarth and his contemporaries, noting that the "intricate relationship of words and images, of verbal and visual structures" was something that they knew well (45, *Cruikshank*). These observations serve as reminders to read both the visual and linguistic communicators at work in graphic satire. As a normative

feature of graphic satire, language, like its visual counterpart, participates in the construction of meaning. A focus solely on pictorial representation and social meaning within caricature overlooks the sophisticated use of large textual spaces within graphic satire. It is time to fill in the critical gaps pointed out by critics like Nicholson and Volger and read graphic satire.

It is difficult to discuss Romantic-period graphic satire without first looking back to Hogarth. Hogarth's popularity continued after his death, and the resurgence of interest in his work is cited as originating the "furor" surrounding caricature in the Romantic period (Donald 1). Indeed, Diane Donald estimates that Hogarth's "influence on his heirs in the graphic field was incalculable" (34). Frédéric Ogée and Olivier Neslay suggest that Hogarth gave the genre of caricature "new artistic and commercial credibility" (35), and they credit the resurgence of Hogarth's popularity in the 1780s as beginning a "golden age" of graphic satire that lasted until the 1820s (35). By the Romantic period, however, the social and political moments depicted in Hogarth's satire had passed. To help recapture meaning lost through time, writers such as Rev. John Trusler strove to reinterpret the visual satire of the past in the context of the present. In *The Works of William Hogarth* (1800), Trusler reunites many of Hogarth's engravings with the text that accompanied them upon publication, adding "anecdotes of the Author and his Works" (n.p.). Trusler, however, does not include the text in its original placement beneath the prints, but rather incorporates the text with his own writing, explaining the text with his own anecdotes on Hogarth's prints. In *The Invasion--England*, the second of a 1756 two-plate series of contrasting images depicting English

and French preparations for a French invasion, a short accompanying poem invites the reader to "see" and "read" the engraving: "See John the Soldier, Jack the Tar,/With sword and pistol arm'd for war […]" (BMC 3454).[6] The text urges the reader to look to at the engraving and supplies a description of the scene in verse; the engraving responds by drawing the viewer's eye to the creation of text and art within the engraving [Figure1.1].

Hogarth, who in *The Analysis of Beauty* (1753) demonstrated his awareness of the power of linear design, arranges swords, arms, and legs in the image to form lines that direct the viewer's attention to the caricature on the wall. The image depicts a "gentleman artist, who to common eyes must pass for a grenadier […] making caricature of *le grand monarque*" (Trusler 115-116). Trusler continues his description of the monarch, whom the "gentleman artist" has depicted with

> […] a label from his mouth worth the speaker and worthy observation,
> 'You take a my fine ships; you be da pirate; you be de teer: send my
> grand armies, and hang you all.' The action is suited to the word, for
> with his left hand this most Christian potentate grasps his sword and in
> his right hand poises a gibbet. The figure and motto united produce a roar
> of approbation from the soldier and sailor, who are criticising the work.
> (115-116)

Rather than finding text and image competing to establish meaning, Trusler finds text and image to be compatible; each is "suited" to the other, and "figure and motto" unite to produce a reaction from their audience. Graphic satire is at once created and consumed

Figure 1.1. William Hogarth, *The Invasion—England*, 1756, Engraving. © Trustees of the British Museum, London, BMC. 3454.

in the plate; the soldier and sailor respond to the caricature on the wall and the reader of the engraving consumes the image and text as a whole.

The simplicity of the print's depiction of the production of graphic satire is deceptive. While the artist in the print is at once drawing and writing, Hogarth did not write the accompanying text; instead, the actor David Garrick wrote the "coarse" verses (Trusler 116). The "gentleman" artist may work alone in creating the caricature of the French monarch, but Hogarth was not alone in creating the text and image that comprise the print. Furthermore, readers of Trusler's work view not an original print by Hogarth, but rather a later engraving by T. Phillibrown based on Hogarth's etching. Garrick's poems, which originally appeared beneath Hogarth's print, are removed spatially from the accompanying image and are surrounded by Trusler's own writing. Therefore, readers of Trusler's work are removed from the original print by time and production. The original prints were published in 1756, but they were republished in the *London Chronicle* in 1759 with an accompanying advertisement encouraging the public display of the prints:

> This day are republished, two prints designed and etched by William
> Hogarth, one representing the preparations on the French coast for an
> intended invasion, the other, a view of the preparations making in
> England to oppose the wicked designs of our enemies; proper to be stuck
> up in public places, both in town and country at this juncture. (Trusler
> 116)[7]

Increased hostilities between England and France during the Seven Years War amplify

the satire in the engravings, creating an intensified meaning by 1759. By 1800, the pair

of prints retained their satirical meaning due to renewed hostilities between the two

countries following the French Revolution. However, the shift in meaning between

1756, 1759, and 1800, as well as the multiple agencies at work in the design and

execution of the print, suggest a need for Trusler to provide "descriptions" and

comments "on [the] Moral Tendency" of the prints in 1800 (n.p.).

Lengthy accounts of the work of Gillray and Cruikshank would not appear until

the mid-to-late-nineteenth-century.[8] Abroad, however, English graphic caricature

provided a fascinating counter to French satire, and the German magazine *London und

Paris* included a section in each issue devoted to English and French caricature; yet the

magazine's editors were reluctant to categorize it as fine art. Karl Gottlieb Horstig, the

London reporter for *London und Paris*, declared of Gillray's prints, "surely we need no

further evidence of the damage that is done to good taste, and the extent to which art—

true art—suffers as a result" (*London* 204).[9] Graphic satire occupies a space outside the

category of fine art, but it remains nonetheless dependent on traditional artistic

conventions. While caricature continues to maintain its historical position as a "low"

form of art due to its commercial status and often-crude subject material, its presence in

Romantic-period society crossed class and cultural boundaries in ways "high" art did

not. In a period in which publishing politically charged works carried the risk of

prosecution, graphic satire proved an important and popular form of communication,

propaganda, and amusement. Its cost limited its purchase to those of the middle class

and higher,[10] but the display of caricatures in print-shop windows allowed the general

public access to the latest satire and in larger galleries, patrons could view caricature for

a small fee (Patten 77).[11] Graphic satire's display in spaces gendered male, such as

studies, billiard rooms, taverns, barbershops and brothels (Donald 19), contrasts to the

feminine drawing room appeal of the literary annuals. Yet even within the domestic

sphere, caricatures were objects for discussion; consumers of graphic caricatures could

rent circulating portfolios for perusal and discussion at parties (Patten, "Conventions"

333). Graphic satire's ability to refer to contemporary artists such as J. M. W. Turner,

and literary figures such as John Milton and William Shakespeare, and bawdily

capitalize on contemporary scandal, of which the royal family provided many, ensured

its appeal and accessibility to a wide audience.

Despite the commercialization of graphic satire and its position beneath painting

in terms of artistic hierarchy, its place in Romantic-period culture is a secure one.

Indeed, Mark Hallet notes that "Georgian satirical engraving, far from being an obscure

or little-regarded art form, was a regularly encountered and widely discussed product of

urban culture" (27). England's satirists had a European following, and prints often

reappeared in Germany and Switzerland (George vx). In an 1806 edition of *London und*

Paris, editor Karl Böttiger depicts Gillray as firmly rooted in English art culture:

"English art collectors already place Gillray's original prints among the finest pieces in

their portfolios, and they will continue to grow in value in the future" (*London* 247). To

Böttiger, Gillray's works are for collection rather than consumption. While their

immediate satirical impact relies on an awareness of contemporary politics and scandals,

collectors recognized their long-term value, even if critics did not. In the biographical

preface to Thomas Wright and R. H. Evan's 1851 account of Gillray's work, George

Stanley suggests that his works "have been always highly esteemed; some time since

they were produced in a collected form, and have lately […] been republished at a price

that renders them generally attainable" (x). The ability to collect, reproduce, and recycle

Gillray's prints also occurred within the artist's lifetime. The German editors of *London*

und Paris, for example, hired etchers to make smaller versions of Gillray's work for

publication in their magazine (Banerji and Donald 2-3).[12] The reduced engravings bore

only Gillray's name, not the names of the additional set of workers who endeavored to

produce them. The industry provided the means to reproduce Gillray's work for greater

circulation, and his work entered Europe not through his own prints, but through the

replication of his prints.

As with Hogarth's *England/France* prints, similar works by Gillray and

Rowlandson provide a fitting example of the thematically collaborative nature of graphic

satire. Following a widely distributed and recycled design of contrasting England and

France (Donald 152), Rowlandson's *The Contrast 1792/Which is Best* was engraved

after a design by Lord George Murray and published on behalf of the Association of

Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers (BMC. 8284, 1 Jan. 1793).

Unlike Hogarth's dual prints, in Rowlandson's single print, Britannia (British Liberty)

and Lady Liberty (French Liberty) square off in facing circles. Text is incorporated into

the print and provides a literal and exaggerated explanation of the differences between

English and French concepts of liberty. Should the text not be enough, the image pits

Britannia against an aggressive, Medusa-like interpretation of French "Liberty," giving

the viewer no doubt as to which concept of liberty personified is best. The design allows

for the maximum impact of meaning, and text and image collaborate in communicating

the overall message: that France threatens British liberty. Donald notes of Rowlandson's

The Contrast that it is a

> […] visual synopsis of the content of loyalist pamphlets and was
>
> dispatched by Reeves in batches of five hundred to the Association's
>
> provincial branches, which distributed it 'with orders to be pasted up in
>
> conspicuous places, particularly Public Houses, and Barbers' Shops.'
>
> (152)

Like Hogarth's England/France prints, the political impact of Rowlandson's work

depends on its conspicuous public placement, and the print's compact design ensures

that the Association's message is delivered efficiently and economically.

Like Rowlandson's *The Contrast*, Gillray's *The Blessings of Peace/The Curses of

War* uses a similar design of two medallion-shaped illustrations depicting the possible

consequences of a French invasion, and it was also published on behalf of the

Association of Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers (BMC. 8609, 12

Jan. 1795). Gillray's print capitalizes on the trend in painting for sentimental pastoral

scenes established by artists like Francis Wheatley (1747-1801) and Thomas

Gainsborough (1727-1788), and this adaptation of preexisting artistic styles makes the

print an "odd hybrid" of traditional art and loyalist propaganda (Donald 156). Indeed,

M. Dorothy George considers the print as a "manner of genre, not satire" (VII, 150).

Gillray depicts a scene of English domestic tranquility against a facing image of a European family suffering from the consequences of war. As with Rowlandson's print, the two images face off in contrasting scenes, with opposing images of domestic harmony and domestic mourning. The accompanying text warns England's populace of a dismal future following a French invasion. The phrase, "Such Britain was," accompanies the scene of "domestick [sic] happiness," and "Such Flanders, Spain, and Holland, now is!" refers to the "massacre and desolation" depicted in the European scene. The similarities in the scenes—both scenes depict a family of five with a family dog—link the English and European families. The circles almost overlap, and the table and fence exist on the same visual plane, linking the two scenes together. Like Rowlandson's print, the text provides a literal counterpart to the image, with "PEACE" and "WAR" in extended boldface letters. Text in-between the two plates links the images: "from such a sad reverse O GRACIOUS GOD, preserve Our Country." Like Hogarth and Rowlandson's work, Gillray's print is a visual call to arms; a warning of what could become of England should war with France ensue or should England embrace concepts of French liberty.

It is tempting in a critical climate often bent on speculating about authorial intention to suggest that Gillray stood behind the message of *The Blessings of Peace*, particularly as he receives artistic credit for the print. However, George's work catalogues many of Gillray's political patrons and she notes that Gillray was often "pestered" with suggestions by outside parties (VIII, xxxvii). Donald suggests that in this sponsored print Gillray was "tightly controlled" by the conservative John Reeves

who founded the Association (VIII, 156). As a product of Reeve's propaganda campaign, Gillray's print was designed for the public visual promotion of the Association's views. Thus, Rowlandson and Gillray's prints bespeak the commercialism of graphic satire and its use as political propaganda; furthermore, they both recycle already popular designs combining text and image. The recycling of images facilitates the artists' efficient and popular contrasting of England and France. While each caricaturist provides his own interpretation of the concept of a contrast between England and France and war and peace, the prints nonetheless rely on pre-existing visual motifs, even while offering individually inflected interpretations.

Satire's relevance is most pertinent when it is distributed to a contemporary and immediately receptive audience; the mechanization of print technology facilitates satire's appeal to current topics. This reliance on commercialism for the creation and dispersion of graphic satire works against romantic notions of authorship. Robert L. Patten notes that while "the nineteenth century reintroduced the criterion of 'sincerity' as a measure of an author's or artist's work […] it is a concept inappropriate to apply to Georgian-era satirists" ("Politics," 107). This inappropriateness is driven by the inherent collaboration involved in the production and publication of caricature. Far from a poetic "spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings" (Wordsworth 393),[13] graphic satire is instead a calculated work of art relying, like literature, on the print industry to bring the designer's idea to fruition. In the quest for meaning, collaboration clouds the ability to discern intentionality or to trust a print's message as that of its engraver.

Gillray in particular is often victim of the tendency to romanticize the role of the artist in an attempt to separate art from commerce. [14] Henry Angelo (1756-1835), one of Gillray's few contemporaries to write about his work, states that Gillray "would exert his faculties more to win a bowl of punch than to gain ten pounds" (300). Angelo refuses to acknowledge Gillray's financial motivation, noting, "the acquirement of wealth, however, it seems, on the authority of those who knew him most intimately, was the least object of his consideration" (301). Angelo idealizes the role of the caricaturist, painting a portrait of a carefree lover of drink who enjoyed his work rather than a talented and shrewd businessman. Gillray accepted numerous commissions, and his role in propaganda in works like *The Blessing* and the *Anti-Jacobin* suggest that he was an active participant in the literary market.[15] Gillray proved to be a perceptive businessman, capable of adapting his work to conform to market trends or his patrons' requests. He paid close attention to the public's taste for satire and potential consumers, writing in 1798, "the Opposition are poor, they do not buy my prints and I must draw on the purses of the larger parties" (BL. ADD 27337). Many of Gillray's patrons were aristocrats or members of the prime minister's inner circle (Patten, "Politics," 90), and the "larger parties" were government officials who paid Gillray to avoid representing the King or key political figures (Godfrey 19). Some degree of the romanticizing of Gillray's work may be tempting due to the impressive speed at which he completed highly complex graphic designs, but his patronage by "larger parties" serves as a reminder that he, like many artists, strove to make a living by his art.

Cruikshank too proved to be an astute artist who capitalized on following market trends, specifically taking advantage of Gillray's success.[16] After Gillray died in 1815, Cruikshank finished many of his works-in-progress, and while working for Gillray's publisher Hannah Humphrey, Cruikshank worked in the manner of his predecessor (Volger x). It did not take long for Cruikshank to distinguish his own work from Gillary's, and he was soon the leading caricaturist in London with over twenty publishers distributing his work (Jones 19). The comparison of Cruikshank's early work to Gillray's is a difficult one to avoid, but Cruikshank's career would later lead him away from the caricature that defined his early career. [17] In his "Lectures on the Fine Arts No.1 on George Cruikshank" (1823), William Thackeray celebrates this shift away from Gillray's style:

> Cruikshank may, if he pleases, be a second Gilray [sic], but, once more, this should not be his ambition. He is fitted for a higher walk. Let him play Gilray, if he will, at leisure hours – let him even pick up his pocket money by Gilrayizing; but let him give his days and his nights to labour that Gilray's shoulders were not meant for, and rear (for he may) a reputation, such as Gilray was too sensible a fellow to dream of aspiring after. (23)[18]

Unlike Angelo's romantic portrait of Gillray, Thackeray identifies Gillray as a commercial artist and differentiates Gillray's commercialism, his earning of "pocket money," from the "higher walk" for which Cruikshank seemed destined.

Like Thackeray, some critics have proved dismissive of Cruikshank's early work, differentiating his collaborative caricature from his later collaborative book illustrations and favoring the latter over the former. Hilary and Mary Evans dismiss Cruikshank's early work due to his collaboration with the editors of *The Scourge*; they argue, "we must not look for much distinction in this early work of his. He was drawing what he was told to draw, on subjects selected by others, and his techniques and styles were those of prevailing fashions or past masters" (22). The inclusion of Cruikshank's prints in *The Scourge* was one of its primary selling points, and they were included in the form of colored, folding broadsheets, which could also be removed and sold as separate prints (Jones 14). In the first edition of the magazine (1811), the editors explain their approach to the relationship between text and image:

> […] of the Caricature we would wish to explain neither too little nor too much. Something should be intimated even to the most intelligent, and something left to the most intelligent, and something left for the conjecture of the most illiterate. (W. Jones n.p.)

The editors use text to describe the print sparingly, providing explanation where warranted and otherwise letting the image communicate what meaning it can to the magazine's readership. In early editions of the magazine, Cruikshank's engravings work as a visual introduction to the opening article's theme, but by 1815, his engravings operated independently of the magazine (Patten 101). The magazine's focus on Cruikshank's engravings emphasizes his role in the promotion of the publication; his art

became a selling point for the magazine, and Cruikshank's name became a sought-after addition to published works.

By 1810, Cruikshank's style achieved brand-name identification, and, like Gillray, his style attracted his own following of copyists (Patten, "Politics" 83). Cruikshank's appropriation of Gillray's style is only one example of many in the historical trend of copying and adapting pre-existing artistic styles. Yet graphic satire continues to challenge concepts of originality and meaning as a single print of graphic satire is in fact a copy of an original engraving, which may in turn be a copy of a work of art. Once it leaves the printer, an engraving is no longer a plate of copper, steel, or wood block, but rather a distributable commodity in the form of a single sheet of paper. Once circulating amongst the public, a single sheet of graphic satire may find itself posted for public display or bound in a circulating portfolio and brought out for amusement at dinner parties. The mere commercialism and production of caricature challenges concepts of originality and proprietorship.

In terms of the period's copyright laws, the "original" refers to a print from the original engraved plate, not subsequent copies from other print runs; the owner of the plate, who was not necessarily the artist, held the copyright for twenty-eight years from the date of publication (Clayton 198). While a 1777 revision of the Engraver's Act of 1735 protected the original proprietor of prints from unauthorized copying (Rose 65), artists have historically adapted each other's styles. Yet the revised act extended to "every 'print taken from any picture, drawing, model, or sculpture either ancient or modern'" (Clayton 198); therefore, an engraver who copied an existing painting

maintained rights over his engraved version of the painting. The original might exist in multiples; the demand for originals printed from Cruikshank's plates often numbered 500 or more, with each print from the original plate considered an "original" (Patten, "Politics" 83). The production of copies makes identifying a single or original print difficult, and Patten observes of the politics of copying that variants between facsimiles and the original often provide a distinction in determining originality

> The originality of a graphic satire inhered more in the characteristic visual language (line, gesture, topics, and imagery) of particular artists than in the uniqueness of the print; but reduced facsimiles produced by journeymen etchers, or copies hastily manufactured by rival dealers, do generally lack the touch, the brio, of the artist's own execution.
>
> ("Politics" 83)

Patten implies that there is an element of uniqueness maintained by the original artist rather than the "journeymen etchers" reproducing the work; the concept of an original work of art is preserved. Yet discerning who created the original often proves complicated.

To unravel the identity of the original designer and engraver, one must learn to read the subtle coding of various engravers. Cruikshank signed "Fec" if he engraved someone else's design and "IV" and "FEC" indicated he both designed and etched the caricature (Volger ix). Bamber Gascoigne observes that when there are names in the lower corners of a print, the convention is that the "name on the left is that of the original artist while the right is the craftsman who has created the printed page" (48b).

Unfortunately, not all engravings include such identifying features, and even in those that do, their marks cannot always be trusted. *Cruikshankiana*, an 1835 publication by Thomas McLean, promises original work by Cruikshank; however, the "Cruikshank" caricatures McLean includes had been previously published. Furthermore, McLean adds work by other artists, such as Cruikshank's student Frederick W. Pailthorpe, while attributing them to Cruikshank (Volger n.p.). George notes that Gillray often imitated other artists and would parody the "voice" of an elderly woman or the "pseudo-childishness of line" to imitate a young draftsman (George xliii).

The multiple hands that worked on an engraving at most printing houses further complicate the concept of originality; the involvement of many on a single work allows for the possibility for variations to exist between copies, which create the potential for slight shifts in meaning. Even in prints created by the original artist and engraver, variants serve as a reminder of the corporate nature of graphic satire. The application of color increased a work's "commercial and aesthetic value" (Bentley, *Writings* lv), but a printing house's employment of a "stable of colorists" (Hill, *Etchings* xxv) meant that various individuals had a hand in coloring the final print.[19] Godfrey finds fault with Thomas Tegg's publication of Rowlandson's prints, arguing that they "are coloured with crudely applied and garish tints, scarcely redeemed by the interest of the imagery" (*Print* 76). For Godfrey color garishly applied by hands other than the artist's weakens the overall value of Rowlandson's prints.

Engravers usually supplied a master-colored print supplied by the artist from which colorists would work, but even small variations in color can slightly alter a print's

meaning by shifting the focal point of the image. In Gillray's *The Corsican Pest, or Bezelbub Going to Supper* (1803), red unties the image; the red on Bezelbub's and his minion's liberty caps draws the viewer's eyes in a circle around Napoleon (BMC. 10107, 6 Oct. 1803). Red in the French tricolor of the flag, tablecloth, and red on the knife further connect the image. In one version of the print, the flames over which Napoleon is being roasted are a vibrant orange, providing a brilliant contrast to Napoleon's blue breeches, and reinforcing his placement as the subject of the print. In contrast, color in a subsequent print is less saturated, and the absence of the contrast of blue and orange diminishes the visual focus on the miniscule Napoleon, who is, after all, Bezelbub's supper. While Cruikshank's work provides a minor example of how color can shift the focus of a print, variations in color placement between copies creates the potential for shifts in meaning. Intentionality is irrelevant, for regardless of the reason for the change in color, the impact of color on the reader's eye is immediate.

Color heightens an awareness of the subject of a print by drawing the viewer's eye to an image; color, like text, interacts with the visual imagery. Graphic satire is an art form dependent on interaction, be it through color and image, text and image, and/or through an implied interaction with other works. These interactions work on independent and dependent planes to contribute to a print's overall meaning; the degree to which a viewer recognizes the interaction of these dimensions is dependent on an overall understanding of each individual plane of meaning at work.[20] Karen Domenici's article on Gillray's influence on Jacques-Louis David's *Les Sabines* (1799) focuses on the interaction between the arts, or what Mark Hallet calls "artistic cross-fertilization"

(34). Domenici looks specifically at Gillray's caricature *Sin, Death, and the Devil* (1792), which parodies Hogarth's painting *Satan, Sin, and Death* (1735-1740), which in turn illustrates a scene from Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667). Reversing the tradition that recognizes the influence of painting on caricature, Domenici suggests that Gillray's caricature influenced the composition of David's painting. Further complicating the artistic overlapping occurring in David's painting, Gillray knew Hogarth's work only through Rowlandson's engraving of the painting (Domenici 493). Domenici's argument seems weakened by the uncertainty of knowing whether David was indeed familiar with Gillray's work, but visually her argument works. Each work of art depicts a woman with outstretched arms caught between two shield and spear-wielding combatants. The similarities in composition between the works are apparent and hint at the continual interactions between "high" and "low" art. Examples of recycled designs are endless; Cruikshank's *Boney's Meditations* (1815) adapts the style of Gillray's *Gloria Mundi* (1784), which in turn alludes to Book IV of *Paradise Lost*. Viewers even remotely familiar with the work of Henry Fuseli (1741-1825) and Hogarth will notice their artistic influence on each satirist in prints that both parody and emulate their work.[21]

Gillray's *The Weird Sisters: Ministers of Darkness; Minions of the Moon*, provides an instructive example of how meaning is layered in graphic satire (BMC. 7937, 23 Dec. 1791). Gillray's adaptation of Fuseli's *The Three Sisters* (1783), the allusion to Shakespeare, the association of the moon with madness and the political implications regarding King George III all contribute to the print's political commentary regarding contemporary politics. Jonathan Bate notes that the political implications of

the print build "suggestively" and "subtly" on the audience's ability to put the

Shakespeare quotation "back in its context" (210). Bate suggests that the success of the

Shakespeare allusion in contributing meaning to the print relies on the "economy" of

Gillray's art (210). In a small amount of space, the reader must "work" through not only

the interaction of text and image, but also the references to Fuseli, Shakespeare, and

associations of the moon with madness to discern the engraving's critical commentary

on the Regency Crisis.

      Canonical British literary figures such as Milton and Shakespeare make countless

appearances in the period's graphic satire. Overt references to contemporary works also

play a crucial role in creating meaning. In this way, graphic satire expands upon a

preexisting and separately published work's meaning by providing a visual counterpart.

Cruikshank's print *Scene in the R—L Bed-Chamber, or, A SLIT in the Breeches!* depicts

Princess Charlotte and Prince Leopold fighting over a pair of breeches (BMC. 12771, ?

May 1816). The breeches' slit is both literal (the pants are tearing) and metaphorical (a

woman wants to wear them) [Figure 1.2]. Despite the smallness of the pants and their

subsequent tearing, Charlotte declares that she is "resolved to wear the pants" although

she must mend "ten Thousand stitches" afterwards. Prince Leopold, just waking up in

bed, questions "vare is she gone?" before cursing that "Got dam, she's got my Breeches

on!" Beneath the print is appended an extract from Peter Pindar's (John Wolcott) poem

on the same topic. Wolcott's poem "Who Wears the Breeches? To Co---gh

Honeymoon; or R---l Love Lyrics" attempts to render "undrawn" the curtain separating

the readers from the Royal couple's honeymoon (Wolcott 2). The narrator

Figure 1.2.   George Cruikshank, *Scene in the R—L Bed-Chamber; or, A SLIT in the Breeches!,* 1816, Hand-Colored Etching, Published by John Fairburn. © Trustees of the British Museum, BMC. 12771.

admits that he "drew the curtain" between the reader and the honeymooning couple but must now "undraw" it (Wolcott 2). "Yes," he declares, "we must have a peep behind" the curtain (Wolcott 7); behind the curtain, Charlotte decides that since Leopold receives "wife and riches" it is "fit" that she "wear the breeches" (Wolcott 11). "Hastily" undressing, Charlotte pulls the breeches on, only to find that they are "very tight" (13); as a result, the breeches tear.

The exact publication date of Pindar's poem and Cruikshank's print are uncertain, but Cruikshank's inclusion of the stanzas from Pindar's poem indicates that the poem predates the engraving. In this way, Cruikshank's engraving is an illustration of the poem. The inclusion of a lengthy extract from the poem ensures that readers unfamiliar with the entirety of the text can still understand the narrative. In essence, Cruikshank "undraws" the curtain mentioned in the poem. In the engraving, the bed's curtains are pulled back, revealing a tipped over chamber pot on the floor and an angry Prince Leopold in bed. In a painting hanging in the left background of the print, the prince and princess fight over a pair of britches, whose "slit" appears more suggestive than literal. Combined, Cruikshank's image and Pindar's poem contribute to an ongoing social commentary about the popular and assertive Princess' marriage; they exist in dialogue with each other, even if their entrance into the print market occurred at separate intervals.

The references to outside works so prevalent in graphic satire place high demands on readers by assuming a large shared body of knowledge. For readers of the German magazine *London und Paris*, this body of knowledge often needed some

explaining. The "serial ekphrasis" within the nineteenth-century German magazine

described, elaborated upon, and analyzed Gillray's work (Nicholson 29). To Böttiger,

the magazine's editor, Gillray's satire requires such explanations.[22] There is no

contemporary English equivalent to the magazine's account of Gillray, and indeed

Gillray received little critical attention during his lifetime despite his popularity (Donald

35). The German magazine, unlike modern literary criticism, paid ample attention to

Gillray's text, reminding their readers to read Gillray's engravings. Of *Stealing Off,-or-*

Prudent Secession (1798), Böttiger observes that Gillray "uses the English metaphor

[…] to aim a sharp and poisoned arrow at the Opposition party he hates so much"

(*London* 75). In responding to the engraving, Böttiger encourages his German readers to

look at the caption: "But for Germans who are not as familiar with Milton as the British

are, a brief glance at the quotation in the caption might be appropriate at this point"

(*London* 78). Böttiger provides more than a "brief glance," including excerpts from

Paradise Lost and explaining Gillray's use of Milton within the political context of the

engraving. Of English readers, Böttiger dismisses a need for such explanations: "A

Briton would only have to read the central words 'Courageous Chief' under the print to

grasp the whole situation immediately" (*London* 79).[23] An earlier article explains

Böttiger's assumption about English readership: "In England, every respectable

paterfamilias has Milton and Shakespeare on his shelves beside the Bible. Milton's

Paradise Lost is like a sacred national poem in the hearts and on the lips of everyone"

(*London* 57). To the German reading public the text does not provide enough

information to understand the image, but Böttiger assumes British readers would

instantly understand the textual references within the print. Like the editors of *London und Paris*, Angelo also notes Gillray's use of language and describes his work in terms of literature and art, likening Gillray's work to artistic genius and rhetorical hyperbole (298).

In setting a basic rubric for the study of text and image within graphic satire, Nicholson provides an historical overview of the use of text in graphic satire, and identifies three categories of verbal representation: words within the frame of the image, words within the physical boundary of the frame, and ekphrastic responses (28). Each placement of text within Nicholson's categories requires forethought on the part of the engraver. An annotated proof of Gillray's *Blessings of Peace/Curses of War* reveals that at least in this engraving the image came before the text. In a proof of the engraving that includes only the images, Gillray's handwriting scrawls across the page experimenting with both space and content. However, unlike *Blessings*, in which separate plates of text and image are joined through printing, most of Gillray's work incorporates text and image into the same space. The use of conversation bubbles, scrolls, frames, manuscripts, and books in Gillray's images suggests that he spatially mapped out the placement of text and image in each print.[24]

Within individual plates, Gillray's engraved images are often inseparable from his text, and while he engraved the text, he did not always write it. Instead, many of his works are the result of a community of artists and patrons involved in the creation process. In the series of four engravings constituting *Consequences of a Successful French Invasion*, each engraving is divided into two distinct sections—the image and the

text (BMC. 9183, 6 March 1798). The visual division of the two media is complicated

by conflicts inherent in their construction and the multiple agencies at work in the

engravings. While Gillray receives credit for the engravings, the idea for the prints was

not his own. Sir John Dalrymple commissioned a series of twenty engravings and

composed the text to accompany the work; he wanted "his legends to appear below the

completed prints" (Hill 74). Dalrymple's choice of employing Gillray to create graphic

satire was a conscious one due to Gillray's reputation as a caricaturist, and Donald notes

that he "was certainly aware of the problems of fixing meaning in caricatures: the

combination of words with pictures, he wrote in his pamphlet, provided the best

'Vehicles for Information'" (174). As "vehicles," Gillray's engravings could serve a

variety of communicative functions, such as propaganda for political parties.

Draper Hill dismisses the text in *Consequences* as "impersonal tableaux" (74),

and indeed Dalyrmple does little more than describe the scenes. Text within the

engraving is minimal, allowing Dalyrmple authorial control over what limited text there

is. While Gillray did not design the engravings, Evans and Wright note, "in transferring

the designs to copper, he seems to have given them much of his own spirit and manner"

(111). To Evans and Wright, the engravings in their new copperplate form became a

separate item from their original drawings; there is no need to dwell on the individuals

who commissioned the work, or even the text, as what matters is Gillray's role in

engraving the plate (112). Dalyrmple's name is in the left hand corner of the engraving

and Gillray's name is in the center of the engraving and right corner. If we follow

Gascoigne's observation about convention, Dalyrmple receives complete artistic credit

for the design. Visually, the engraving reveals none of the tensions inherent in its construction, for the interaction of engraver and patron was far from harmonious.

As Gillray's patron for the series, Dalrymple attempted to assert control over the engravings' style and content, a control Gillray fought. In a heated exchange of letters in 1798, Gillray wrote Dalrymple: "And I as I took it up for ye sake of ye credit which I hoped it might gain me as an Artist I cannot agree to permit another person having a share in the execution" (BL Add. 27337). Dalrymple had his own interests in mind and the issue of time justified the need for additional engravers: "I thought Getting you a helper for four of the plates merely to hurry the work on" (BL ADD. 27337). Part of satire's power relies on its timely response to the social and political issues to which it refers, and in this regard, Dalrymple's concern about timing is a valid one. Gillray, however, insisted not only on artistic control of the plates but also proved reluctant to continue with so timely and costly an endeavor without the security of a list of subscribers for the series. Gillray persisted with his concerns and received artistic control, but eventually lost the commission, creating only four prints out of the twenty engravings planned.[25] In March of 1798, Gillray writes to Dalyrmple declaring that he "must decline" having any more to do with the work and "can by no means agree" to go on with the other plates (BL Add. 27337).

Dalrymple, in possession of only a few of the intended plates, took out a public advertisement clarifying his business breakdown with the period's leading caricature. Declaring that he had "intended by myself and friends to scatter them [the engravings] through the Coffee-houses, Ale houses, &c. of Britain," but he admits that only "some of

the engravings are now set up in public places" (BL Add. 27337). He implores "every man" who has "either head or heart" to read the prints (BL Add. 27337). Dalrymple laments that "authors and artists are bad calculators," and he admits that "Mr. Gillray and I found that it was absolutely impossible, with any profit to him, to sell the prints under a shilling and without a subscription to know the certain number he should throw off" (BL Add. 27337). The financial risk to Gillray, Dalyrmple claims, was the "sole cause of the stop" (BL Add. 27337). Dalyrmple expresses his optimism that Gillray would be willing to move forward with the remaining engravings, if they can get enough subscriptions. Despite his plea for subscribers to the series, the series was never revived.

Unlike *Consequences of a Successful French Invasion* with its separate text, most of Gillray's work incorporates image and text together on one plate, and many of Gillray's designs force the viewer's eye to the text, reminding us that we are to read the images. Nicholson recognizes that within the "pictorial 'frame' itself, words, in the form of identifying labels or inscriptions [are] 'active'" (30). As "active" components of the engraving, the text interacts with the graphics, often enhancing or contradicting the engraving's visual image. Often the form of the text contributes its own meaning. In Gillray's *The Blood of the Murdered Crying for Vengeance*, the text severs the plate in half at a diagonal (BMC. 8304, 16 Feb. 1793). The text's form in the shape of blood splattering from the king's severed head dominates the image and is tinted red to emphasize the violence depicted in both scene and text [Figure 1.3]. The tone of warning in the text echoes the scene's violent image, and the "blood of the murdered" literally speaks within the scene. The text at the top of the plate dedicating the engraving

Figure 1.3. James Gillray, *The Blood of the Murdered Crying for Vengeance*, 1793, Hand-
Colored Etching and Engraving, Published by Hannah Humphrey. © Trustees of
the British Museum, BMC. 8304.

to the "King and Constitution of Great Britain" is distinct for its lack of color.

Accompanying the dedication is an announcement that the engraving is an "exact

representation of that instrument of French refinement in Assassination." The irony of

the guillotine as an object of "refinement" and the lack of color on the dedication

contradict the goriness and violence of the image and bloody text.

Gillray's text alludes to the recent beheading of Louis XVI in January 1793, but

it also alludes to events contributing to the fall of Rome. The text spilling forth from

Louis XVI's head is adapted from Adherbal's speech to the Roman Senate in 112BC.[26]

Adherbal implored the Roman Senate for protection against his stepbrother Jugurtha,

who had seized his deceased father's throne by treacherous means and would later

execute both of his brothers in an attempt to maintain his illegitimate hold on the

Numidian throne. Adherbal's speech appeals to his audience's "affection" for their

families and to the "love of [their] own country" (qtd. in Murray 117). Despite his

emotional appeal, Rome proved slow to react, and Roman historian Gaius Crispus

Sallust (96-34 BC) attributed Rome's gradual decline to the corruption of the nobility,

noting that "there was nothing money could not do at Rome" (63). [27] Elocution books

and English Readers, such as those compiled by Lindley Murray (1745-1826), often

included Adherbal's speech, and numerous publications of Sallust's *Jugurthine War*

circulated in England throughout the eighteenth century; several English translations of

the text were published in 1789 and 1793.[28] Many of the elements involved in

instigating the Jugurthine war—corruption in the nobility, fratricide, etc.—were realized

in the French Revolution, and, in this respect, the engraving warns of the repetition of history.

Adherbal's execution, not his speech, caused Rome to react. Rome's failure to "deliver a wretched Prince" had consequences for the country (qtd. in Murray 117); as Adherbal suffered, so too did Numidia. In Gillray's print, the murdered King's speech also comes too late, and the print links his death directly to the "desolated Country" of France. Gillray's text departs from Adherbal's speech by contemporizing it. Unlike Adherbal, the King speaks posthumously, lamenting that his "unhappy Wife and innocent Infants are shut up in the horrors of a dungeon while Robbers & Assassins are Sheathing their Daggers." Gillray depicts the King "festering" in his blood, which itself speaks. The blood, according to the King, "flies" to his audience's "august tribunal for Justice!" Gillray's text acts dually as a call to vengeance on behalf of the murdered king, and as a warning to Britain's "vicegerents of eternal justice" that their actions could have potentially devastating consequences for the nation, for Britain, like Rome and the French nobility, could fall from its "height of power." History, text, image, and color unite in Gillray's print to form a dramatic visual and textual call to action following Louis XVI's beheading.

As active components of engravings, text interacts and engages with the graphics, often enhancing or contradicting an engraving's visual image. While the location of text at the bottom of an engraving may be the most traditional use of language in graphic satire, the use of speech balloons as a visual representation of conversation is prevalent. In *Political Candour*, Gillray allows Charles James Fox to

"defend" the reputation of Pitt, who is depicted only in profile at the edge of the page (BMC. 10414, 21 June 1805). Wright and Evans devote five pages to discussing the print, declaring that within the scene "Pitt is delighted with the generous testimony of his rival" (249). Yet Pitt is almost visually absent, represented only in physiognomic profile. A large textual bubble gives voice to Fox's elaborate and bumbling speech, and the visual emphasis of the engraving is more on Fox's speech rather than Pitt's supposed transgression or reaction to his opponent's speech. Fox's speech is anything but eloquent:

> I do say Sir, that during my whole life, I never did suspect, I never had the least suspicion of any thing dishonorable in the Right Hon. 'Gent'— and from every species of Corruption I do declare most solemnly my mind has always most completely acquitted him!

Fox's unconvincing speech emphasizes the unlikely alliance between the two rivals, but he receives accolades from the members of parliament behind him. Evans and Wright wax eloquently of Pitt's reputation as a spokesman, noting the "magnificent flow of his language, the beautiful structure of his unpremeditated sentences enchained the attention, and captivated the minds of his hearers" (251). The image's humor derives in part from who speaks, how they speak, and what they say.[29] The virulent elocutionist is relatively silent, and his large rival makes a humorous but politically significant attempt to speak on his behalf.

While words within the pictorial frame come in a variety of forms, text as an object carries representational significance in graphic satire. In Gillray's *Stealing Off,*

Pitt holds two scrolls. One scroll, "O'Conner's list of Secret Traitors," is a source of

embarrassment to Fox and his supporters, and the other, a list of the government's recent

triumphs, celebrates the "Destruction of Buonaparte [sic] – Capture of the French Navy

– End of the Irish Rebellion – Voluntary Associations –Europe Arming – Britannia

Ruling the Waves" (BMC. 9263, 1798). Members of the Opposition hold documents

related to their political careers, and Pitt demands that the Opposition "Read o'er This! –

And after this! And then to breakfast with what appetite you may," thereby focusing his

anger at their political careers as represented by their texts. Pitt's words also refer to a

scene in Shakespeare's *The Life of King Henry VIII* in which the king hands Cardinal

Wolsey textual proof of his treachery (II.ii). Like Henry VIII, Pitt provides textual

evidence to his political foes; the Opposition in turn eats their words, each devouring the

text they hold. Of this scene, the editors of *London und Paris* remark

> And what a breakfast the gentlemen opposite are consuming! They have
>
> cooked it themselves, and now they must eat it, for the sake of their
>
> health. Their meal consists of their own words and threats. For it is here
>
> that the subtitle of the piece is literally portrayed: The Opposition 'eating
>
> up their words.' (77)

"Here" is the moment that text and image collide, and together they "literally" activate

the subtitle of the piece.

The Opposition consumes their rather unappealing breakfast in the background

of the print [Figure 1.4]. In the foreground, Fox's flight from the scene emphasizes the

print's suggestion that he deserted rather than seceded from his political duties. The

Figure 1.4. James Gillray, *Stealing Off,-or-Prudent Secession*, 1798, Hand-Colored Etching, Published by Hannah Humphrey. © Trustees of the British Museum, BMC. 9263.

brown columns and the brown wall divide the print into two distinct spaces—the House

of Commons and the space into which Fox flees. The fleeing Fox, compared by the

print's sub-title to Milton's fallen Satan, may dominate the foreground, but angles

created by Fox's arms and legs draw the viewer's eye back to the House of Commons.

The text at the bottom of the print also directs the reader's eye to the background, while

also reiterating the print's theme: "the back-ground contains, a corner of the House next

Session; with the Reasons for Secession; - also a democratic Déjuéne – ie. Opposition

Eating up their Words." Text, in this single print, exists in conversation balloons, a title

and subtitle, inscriptions on the images (the dog collar), and it activates allusions to other

works (Milton's *Paradise Lost).*

Of the work of the three main caricaturists in the period, Gillray's work in

particular is rich with textual references. Gillray's *Lieut. Govrr. Gall-Stone, Inspired by*

Alecto; or the Birth of Minerva is another example of a print symbolically incorporating

text (BMC. 7221, 15 Feb. 1790). The print enters into dialogue with a series of similar

graphic caricatures and becomes part of an aggressive and vicious advertising campaign

that targets Philip Thicknesse and promotes Gillray's print. In the print, Philip

Thicknesse is depicted seated at a writing desk, pen poised in hand as Alecto whispers

slyly in his ear [Figure 1.5]. Textual representations of his work surround Thicknesse,

and the image incorporates song sheets, books, letters, elegies, memoirs, medicinal

tracts, poetry, and "Acts of Courage and Wisdom." Yet while the breadth of the textual

references to Thicknesse's work appear impressive, as they do indeed represent much of

Figure 1.5. James Gillray, *Lieut Goverr Gall-stone, Inspired by Alecto; -or- the Birth of Minerva,* 1790, Etching and Aquatint, Published by Hannah Humphrey. © Trustees of the British Museum, BMC. 7221.

his own writing, they each support the brutal satirical attack levied against him, whom

Godfrey identifies as an "exceptionally rancorous and unpleasant man" (84). On closer

glance, "Minerva's Acts of Courage and Wisdom" are actually stories of cowardice and

corruption, in which Thicknesse relays accounts of

> Running away from my Command in Jamaica, for fear of the Black-a-
>
> moors Refusing to fight Lord Orwell, after belying him, & afterwards
>
> begging pardon. Extorting pr Annum from my eldest Son by a Pistol –
>
> Swindling my youngest son […] Debauching my own Niece […]
>
> Horsewhipping my own Daughter to death […].

The damning list goes on. Other texts include an "Elegy" on the death of Thicknesse's

favorite dog, with the subtitle noting that the dog was "Horsewhipped to death for

Barking while I was kissing my Wife." Demons, skeletons, pigs and smoke crowd the

print, whose imagery and text work together to form a harsh visual and textual attack.

The print's publication corresponds with an aggressive campaign to maintain a satiric

attack on the "world's most quarrelsome man" (Gosse 257). In November 1789, Isaac

Cruikshank published *The Quarrelsome Fellow*, which depicts Thicknesse at a writing

desk about to begin his memoirs (BMC. 7588). Though the print is much cruder than

Gillray's later design, it reiterates both textually and visually the association of

Thicknesse with scandal and scandalous texts. Ten months after Gillray's print appears,

J. Aiken publishes *The cutter cut up, or, the monster at full length* (15 Dec. 1790) by

William Dent. Dent, like Cruikshank and Gillray, depicts Thicknesse with his pen in

hand. Lacking the visual richness of Gillray's print, the print is nonetheless brutal. The

print exposes Thicknessse by stripping him down to his britches and dissecting his body.

Each body part is labeled; for example, his writing hand is labeled "assassination" and

his heart "cowardice." Thicknesse is doubly exposed, through both the literal rendering

of him half-nude and through the association with the text written on his body with his

reputation as an antagonistic writer. Philip Gosse outlines at length Thicknesse's "wars

of words" with individuals such as George Thicknesse (his son), Captain Crookshanks,

and Dr. James Makittrick Adair, to whom Thicknesse included a fourteen-page

"dedication to his enemy" in the first volume of his memoir (258).

Gillray's print, like so many of his designs, enters into dialogue with preexisting

and subsequent works. His print of Thicknesse is part of a 1790 advertising campaign

that works to discredit Thicknesse, while it simultaneously solicits business for Gillray

and Humphrey. In February 1790, an advertisement appears which denies that Gillray's

print is directed at Thicknesse; it claims to respond to the "Ridiculous Insinuations"

circulating about the print's intention to satirize Thicknesse (BMC. 7221). In response,

the

> Author will only Remark, that as the Engraving is intended merely as an
>
> attempt to gibbet Meanness, Vice, and Empiricism, it therefore cannot
>
> possibly allude to respectable a Personage as PHILIP THICKNESSE,
>
> Esq.

Thicknesse, associated with "Meanness" and "Vice," remains the focal point of the

attack. An advertisement in June 1790 continues the assault and it remarks that the

"Prodigious Cockade" has arrived in town to "devour all Editors of Newspapers,

Engravers and Publishers of Satiric Prints" (BMC. 7221).

In July 1790, the attack continues, but it shifts in its approach by appearing to

appeal to Thicknesse's allies. Addressing the "NOBILITY, and FRIENDS of PHILIP

THICKNESE, Esq.," the advertisement celebrates Gillray's print by denouncing it:

> Whereas a ridiculous Card has been lately distributed by way of
>
> Advertisement, for a Satiric Print, Designed, and now Engraved by James
>
> Gillray […]. Which Print, it is avowed […] 'will bear no allusion
>
> whatever to Mr. Thickenesse' thereby plainly insinuating against whom
>
> the Satire is particularly pointed; and at the same time taking shelter
>
> under an evasion, to calumniate the brightest ornament of the British
>
> Nation; and as upwards of Three Hundred of the Nobility from respect to
>
> the eminent Virtue against which the shaft is leveled, have already signed
>
> a resolution never to admit the injurious scandal into their houses; it is
>
> therefore hoped that every person […] will join in suppressing a Print
>
> […] and in bringing the Author to Condign punishment. This insolent
>
> Lampoon, it is said, will be vended by a person of the name of
>
> HUMPHREYS, in Old Bond-street, who has long been noted for
>
> productions of this tendency. (BMC. 7221)

The advertisement provides the title of the print, the artist, and the exact location of the

printer from whom the print could be purchased. Thematically, it works in conjunction

with the print itself. The print, declaring that it does not depict Thicknesse, reiterates

through text and image that it does indeed depict Thicknesse. The advertisement,

declaring the print a malicious piece of scandal, works to inflame rather than control

public interest.[30] Godfrey calls Gillray's print "one of the most sustained, complex and

savage visual attacks ever sustained by a single individual" (84), and this savagery is

bolstered by Gillray's detailed and repetitive use of text and through the engraving's

dialogue with the advertisements circulating in print.

Text in Gillray's Thicknesse print has both symbolic and representational

meaning, what it says and what it visually represents (elegies, memoirs, tracts, etc.) is

important. This textual duality occurs in a variety of the period's prints. In the heated

political climate during and following the Napoleonic Wars, the use of political texts

such as the Napoleonic Code and the English Magna Carta in graphic satire was also

symbolic. In Cruikshank's *Liberty Suspended! – With the Bulwark of the Constitution*

(March 1817), "Liberty" is hung holding the Magna Carta, Bill of Rights, and Habeas

Corpus; Lady Liberty hangs from a printing press, further emphasizing restrictions

placed on printing rights. The suspension of British rights is depicted through the

symbolic representation of English texts. In Cruikshank's *The Genius of France*

Expounding her Laws to the Sublime People, the Napoleonic Code is the subject of the

satire (BMC. 12524, 4 April 1815). The "Genius" is a devilish monkey wearing a

liberty cap and holding up the French Code of Laws [Figure 1.6]. The French Code of

Laws dominates the print and is centered on the page; the French tri-color of red, white,

and blue highlights the text and stands in contrast to the dull, brown, foppish monkeys.

Figure 1.6. George Cruikshank, *The Genius of France Expounding her Laws to the Sublime People,* 1815, Hand-Colored Etching, Published by Hannah Humphrey. © Trustees of the British Museum, BMC. 12524.

The image reinforces the subject of the satire by depicting the Code in scroll form. The

Code, held by the monkey, reads:

> Ye Shall be Vain, Fickle & foolish .- Ye shall Kill your King one Day
>
> and Crown his Relative the next -- Ye shall get tired of Him in a few
>
> weeks - & recal a TYRANT who has made suffering hum-anity bleed at
>
> every pore – because it will be *truly Nouvelle* – Lastly – ye shall abolish
>
> & destroy all virtuous Society, & Worship the Devil – as for Europe or
>
> that little Dirty Nation the English let them be d—d FRANCE the
>
> GREAT NATION against the whole WORLD!

The print's code reverses the actual Napoleonic Code. Rather than represent the original

document's establishment of civil law, the monkey and his Code represent incivility and

disorder, serving as a visual reminder of the political and social chaos following the

French Revolution. The representation of text in Cruikshank and Gillray's work serves

as a reminder to read the text and to look for the representation of text as a visual image

in its own right.

Text in graphic satire reminds us not only of the symbolic nature of words as

images, but also directs us in how to read the images themselves. The dominance of

visual imagery in single-sheet graphic satire often overpowers the text, which in scale

and style is often secondary to the more noticeable colors and lines of the image. In

contrast, multi-page graphic satire reinforces the connection between text and image by

confronting the reader with the traditional format of the book. Wendy Steiner argues

that the structure of the book serves as a model for visual narrative, and she refers to

works like *The Rake's Progress* and *Marriage á la Mode* to support her argument that

Hogarth's series would be unimaginable without the structural model of the book (17).

Steiner continues by observing that in visual narrative "the repetition of a subject is the

primary means for us to know that we are looking at a narrative at all" (17). In

Hogarth's visual narratives, the repetition of images aids in the creation of narrative. In

a single sheet of graphic satire, however, space limits the possible amount of visual or

textual repetition, and the satirical impact relies on an immediate recognition of the

narrative power of the interaction of media. In contrast to the visual repetition and

progressive storytelling at work in Hogarth's narratives, in Cruikshank's work with

publisher William Hone (1815-1821) in *The Political House that Jack Built* (1819), the

repetition of text rather than image reinforces the book's narrative, and textual repetition

unites the somewhat-disparate images.

During Cruikshank's partnership with Hone, both the artist and political radical

proved adept at adapting preexisting literary and visual forms to establish satirical

narratives. Accounts of the conception of *The Political House that Jack Built* vary, with

Hone and Cruikshank taking credit for differing degrees of the project.[31] Hone claims

that he stayed up all night writing the text and that he later translated his imagistic

expectations to Cruikshank by putting himself "into the attitudes of the figures" he

wanted drawn, claiming that "some of the characters Cruikshank had never seen but I

gave him the likeness as well as the attitude" (qtd. in Rickwood 24).[32] Patten counters

Hone's claim of needing to put himself "into character" for Cruikshank, noting that all

"the portraits were of men the artist etched often" (157). Hone encourages the

romanticization of the text's creation by identifying himself as the sole creator, struck by

a spontaneous moment of inspiration late at night. Yet the form and content of the text

are in fact a calculated attempt at parody in the politically charged climate following the

Peterloo Massacre in August 1819. *Political House* is one of many satiric responses to

the Peterloo Massacre and the passing of the Six Acts, both of which instigated a furor

regarding, among other issues, the increased restrictions imposed on the press.[33]

Despite the simplicity of its design as a children's book, *Political House* requires

multiple levels of reading and appropriates multiple literary forms for its design. Marcus

Wood notes that the work parodies a long list of texts, with *Political House* drawing its

form from "sacred texts, almanacs, press advertisements, chapbooks, children's books,

nursery rhymes, games, poems, songs, last wills, dying confessions, playbills, and

showman's notices" (3). Wood argues that the act of parody when "commandeered by

radical propagandists may become an act of linguistic acquisition and simultaneous

subversion" (13). The affordability of the pamphlet, with its less-expensive woodcuts,

mirrored the apparent simplicity of its design and guaranteed large sales (Donald 198).

The design of *Political House* as a parody of children's literature reinforces the

relationship between text and image. At once a picture book and a political pamphlet,

the repetition of the word "this" as a header on each page draws the reader's eye to the

engraving and subsequently to the quotations from William Cowper's *The Task* (1785).

The dialogue between image, text, and quotations generates an "ironic context" in the

work (Grimes n.p.). For example, the engraving of "The Wealth" is depicted as a

treasure box overflowing with textual representations of British liberty and rights: the

Magna Charta, Bill of Rights, and Habeas Corpus are each clearly marked. Yet the

quotation from Cowper's poem refers to the absence of wealth:

> Not to understand a treasure's worth,
>
> Till time has stolen away the slighted good,
>
> Is cause of […] half the poverty we feel,
>
> And makes the world the wilderness it is.[34] (qtd. in Hone)

While the illustration makes literal the "treasure" by depicting a treasure box, the loss of

the treasure—political and social texts—has moral rather than fiscal implications.

Hone's text is much more direct than the excerpt from Cowper's poem, claiming only,

"This is the Wealth that lay in the House that Jack Built." "This" links the three

components of the print, but "this" does not link the components thematically, for the

image's depiction of wealth works in opposition to the poem's lament of lost treasure.

The popularity of the form of *Political House* ensured subsequent variations of

the theme and design by Hone and others.[35] Unlike *Political House* where image, text,

and quotations often work against each other to create an ironic sub-text, in Hone's 1820

publication of *The Queen's Matrimonial Ladder, a National Toy with Fourteen Step

Scenes; and Illustrations in Verse,* the toy, the text, the engravings, and the text's

accompanying quotations reinforce the theme of sympathy for Queen Caroline.[36]

Cruikshank receives title page credit for the engravings, allowing Hone to capitalize on

Cruikshank's established reputation as artist and engraver. As with *Political House*,

accompanying quotations appear underneath Cruikshank's engravings and include

quotations from Her Majesty, Shakespeare, the Bible, Cavendish's *Memoirs of Cardinal*

Wolsey, Cowper, Phillip's "Lament," Robert Southey, *Coriolanus*, Richard Sheridan, Lord Byron, and a verse from a traditional English Cry. The subtext of the quotations suggests that Queen Caroline finds support from a variety of authoritative national, classic, and religious texts. As the quotations work with the images rather than against them, the reader's knowledge of the source texts is not crucial to a comprehension of the work. The engravings in *The Queen's Matrimonial Ladder* further unite the story by providing a visual narrative of Caroline's marriage to the king, including the birth of Princess Charlotte, his affairs, her banishment and return, and the ensuing drama of her attempt to maintain her position as Queen. The engravings support the text by repeatedly showing the King in various states of debauchery, such as having liaisons with other women, gambling, and suffering from a hangover. In contrast to the King's actions, Caroline's indiscretions are overlooked, and she is painted as a suffering, scorned wife.

The pamphlet reverses the very public campaign by the King's supporters against Caroline by placing the King, rather than the Queen, on trial. Additional visual and textual allusions reiterate this reversal. In the book's final engraving, "Degradation," the king stands in front of the Ten Commandments, but only a few commandments appear legible: those regarding adultery, calling false witness, and coveting a neighbor's wife. King George IV stands with his head down, with his alleged crimes spelled out in the Commandments centered purposefully above his head. Beneath the engraving of "Degradation," Hone edits a quotation from Lord Byron's (1788-1824) *The Curse of Minerva* (1811), quoting only "So let him stand" and substituting asterisks for the

remainder of the stanza's lines. The asterisks are not a random representation of the absence of text, but rather they visually represent the remainder of the two lines from Byron's poem. The absent lines reiterate the theme of shame: "So let him stand, through ages yet unborn,/ Fix'd statue on the pedestal of scorn" (Byron 455).[37] The quotation also links the King to one of the period's notorious adulterers, Lord Byron himself. Cruikshank's engraving "let[s] him stand" by depicting the king standing on a pedestal and as the object of scorn to those that surround him. Hone's text unites Byron's poem and Cruikshank's image by exclaiming, "to this have they brought thee, at last!" (184). "This" refers to the pamphlet's depiction of the King as the royal figure on trial.

Political House and Matrimonial Ladder were designed with a large, public audience in mind and both works denote a shift in the form of graphic satire from single-sheet publication to book form. This shift marks a turning point in publishing that "confirmed the obsolescence of Georgian caricature print" (Donald 197). Despite the wane in graphic satire's popularity, publishers continued to capitalize on the growing book trade and the established reputation of the caricaturists. Indeed, the recycling of graphic caricature in book form heralded renewed profitability for publishers. In the preface to *Kidd's Comic Scrap Book or Book of Symptoms* (1836), a "Parlor Portfolio," the editor notes that,

> It having fallen to the lot of the Proprietor of this Work to publish the
>
> greater, and by far the best, portion of the Wood Engravings of the
>
> Messrs. Cruikshank [...] -- he is thereby enabled *to detach* from the more

expensive works in which they have hitherto appeared, a variety of

Specimens, setting forth the varied talents of the respective artists, and, at

the same time, suiting the pockets of the humblest of their admirers; an

advantage, in this age for cheap literature, that can hardly fail to be

appreciated by many thousands of the reading public. (1)

W. Kidd "detaches" the engravings from their original and more costly context,

repackaging them for a new audience. The small, pocket-size book reduces

Cruikshank's larger engravings to a portable and affordable size, and the theme of

"symptoms" links Cruikshank's work to the engravings by his brother Robert

Cruikshank and the late Robert Seymour. The editor foresees a continued financial

advantage from future publications of similar form:

As the Engravings, herein, contain, form scarcely a hundredth part of the

whole number in the proprietor's possession, he purposes, if his patrons

should so determine to produce a second part of this Comic Scrap book,

at some future period; but they will be so selected as not to injure the

original works from which they are taken, and which will still remain on

sales, as usual. (Kidd 2)

Kidd acknowledges the breadth of his collection of prints and the potential dual role this

collection serves; the collection holds the potential to enter the market as affordable

scrapbooks and/or as expensive collector prints distributed in their original form. Kidd

implies that the replication of the prints does not lessen the value of the original by

appealing to two types of connoisseurs: those who prize the more expensive original

and those who cannot afford them.

Rowlandson's work also entered the marketplace in new forms. Like Cruikshank

and Gillray, Rowlandson often aligned himself with publishers, an arrangement Samuel

Redgrave attributes to Rowlandson's "thoughtlessness" rather than any business sense

(371). Yet his lengthy partnership with Rudolph Ackermann (1764-1834) suggests that

the artist recognized the economic potential in working with a publisher to combine

caricature with lengthier text. The pair capitalized on Rowlandson's popularity as an

artist and William Combe's (1741-1823) reputation as a writer in several publication

ventures. One such endeavor, the *Tour of Dr. Syntax in Search of the Picturesque*

(1812), was originally published in serial form in the *Poetical Magazine*, a publication

spearheaded by Ackermann to provide a publication outlet to "afford an obvious and

encouraging facility to poets of every denomination and character" (Ackermann 1). As

"Poetry and Design are intimately connected" (Ackermann 3), Ackermann included

engravings by artists like Rowlandson. In the *Dr. Syntax* installments, Rowlandson's

engravings present the clergyman in a variety of misadventures that are united by the

narrative progression of the accompanying poem. Rowlandson depicts Dr. Syntax in

caricature; the clergyman's exaggerated white wig and elongated chin and nose make

him an immediately identifiable part of the engravings in each edition of the magazine.

While each image is a caricature of Dr. Syntax's adventures, the story's

cohesiveness relies on the text. As Dr. Syntax strikes out for his tour, he speaks of his

goals for the journey:

> *I'll make a TOUR—and then I'll WRITE IT.*
>
> You well know what my pen can do,
>
> And I'll employ my pencil too:--
>
> I'll ride and *write,* and *sketch* and *print*,
>
> And thus create a real mint;
>
> I'll *prose* it here, I'll *verse* it there,
>
> And picturesque it ev'rywhere. (Combe 5)

Combe's poem, coupled with each engraving's background, pays homage to the same picturesque literary and artistic trends that the work satirizes. In one such satirical moment, Rowlandson's engraving depicts Dr. Syntax pausing at a crossroads while riding Grizzle. The engraving is the first image of Dr. Syntax on his journey, and the title of "Dr. Syntax Losing his Way" suggests that the clergyman's adventures are off to a troublesome start. Alone, the engraving is less a satire on the picturesque and more a commentary about the awkwardness of the story's hero; however, combined with Combe's text, the image's meanings multiply. Combe's text transforms the scene into a satire of the picturesque by adding dialogue in which the clergyman makes a "Landscape of a Post" by generously shifting the actual scenery to suit his tastes (11). Dr. Syntax notes that:

> He ne'er will as an artist shine,
>
> Who copies nature line by line;
>
> Whoe'er from nature takes a view,
>
> Must copy and improve it too. (Combe 11)

Combe, like his artistic clergyman, improves upon Rowlandson's engraving, taking the post and landscape from the engraving and transforming the scene into a satiric commentary on the aesthetic trend of the picturesque.

Dr. Syntax embarks on a Gilpinesque adventure through the countryside, and while he may write and then employ his pencil for sketching, the reverse proves true of the creation of his story.[38] Combe in a lengthy passage describes his relationship with Rowlandson in terms of absence:

> The following Poem […] was written under circumstances, whose peculiarity may be thought to justify a communication of them. – I undertook to give metrical Illustrations of the prints with which Mr. Ackermann decorated the *Poetical Magazine* […]. Many of these engravings were miscellaneous, and those, which were, indeed, the far greater part of them, whose description was submitted to such a Muse as mine, represented views of interesting objects, and beautiful Scenery, or were occasional decorations appropriate to the work. Those designs alone to which this volume is so greatly indebted, I was informed would follow in a Series, and it was proposed to me to shape out a story from them. – An Etching or a Drawing was accordingly sent to me every month, and I composed a certain proportion of pages in verse, in which, of course, the subject of the design was included […] When the first print was sent to me, I did not know what would be the subject of the second; and in this manner, in a great measure, the Artist continued designing,

and I continued writing, every month for two years, 'till a work,

containing near ten thousand Lines was produced: the Artist and the

Writer having no personal communication with, or knowledge of each

other. (i-iii)[39]

Combe and Rowlandson's work was published together, giving the illusion of a cohesive

work; however, their lack of interaction suggests two narratives to *Dr. Syntax*—a visual

and textual narrative working independently and dependently throughout the overall text.

In *Dr. Syntax* the clergyman plays the fool, but Ackermann sought to keep the

satire relatively tame, and he exerted editorial control over the work by rejecting several

of Rowlandson's cruder designs for the expanded book form of the story (Ford 54).

Combe, like Ackermann, sought to distance himself from Rowlandson's lewder prints,

stating that if the ridicule of the clergy was the intention, he determined not to "turn the

edge of the weapon which I thought was leveled against them" (qtd. in Ford 240).

Rowlandson's power over the text as a commercial illustrator was limited, and "it was

the publisher not the writer [or artist] who made the choice" of what made it into the

final publication (Ford 59). Yet despite the disjointedness of the relationship between

publisher, artist, and writer, the relationship worked. Grego notes that the trio rejoined

in 1822 "under their well-defined relations, to venture on a farther extension of the

familiar framework, and a fresh volume was produced in monthly installments" (43).

Ackermann, Rowlandson, and Combe would continue their relationship as publisher,

artist, and poet, jointly—but distantly—producing two additional Dr. Syntax works.

As the nineteenth century progressed, the "well-defined" relationship between writer and engraver was becoming a long-distance relationship, one defined by absence rather than collaboration, and the disjointedness of this relationship was realized in the emerging literary annuals. While the demise of graphic satire by no means gave birth to the literary annuals, the decline of the former, combined with improved printing technology, marked the emergence of new publications that sought to profit from the pairing of text and image. John Feather argues that the "most important single consequence of technological changes in book production in the nineteenth century" is the wider availability of types of printed material (9). Patricia Anderson also notes a shift in publication forms as publishers sought to profit from the realization that "culture was a marketable commodity" (11). Publishers harnessed visual and literary culture in new marketable forms, or, in the case of book illustrations, improved upon old forms with new techniques. The consequences of such changes are evident in the variety of literary forms available in the early nineteenth century. From bound books of graphic satire to the literary annuals, publishers found innovative ways for exploiting the power of new technology to represent "original" and creative pieces of art and literature. As with graphic satire, these new forms would continue to challenge the concept of originality and meaning within multi-media works, often placing writer and engraver at odds within the evolving literary market.

Notes

1. Each print in these series is accompanied by text added at the bottom of the plate, thereby continuing the narration of the story between plates.

2. Rowlandson and Cruikshank's work in particular often relied on visual imagery alone to create a narrative, but this chapter will be concerned with their work that includes textual spaces.

3. With the advent of movable type in the fifteenth-century, printers were able to lock text and image together (Gascoigne 5a). The ability to join moveable type and woodcuts increased the variety of ways text and image could be paired, and the ability to separate text from image allowed printers to recycle both in other contexts.

4. In J. P. Malcolm's 1813 historical overview of caricature, he observes that caricatures are a "bloodless duel" (134). While Malcolm refers to caricature's antagonistic relationship to its subject material, his allusion to a violent relationship within caricature also pertains to the struggle between text and image within the context of meaning. Yet just as text and image often work against each other, they often work with each other.

5. As the subject of graphic satire is based on specific historical, political, or social events, publishers strove to distribute timely publications, ensuring that the satire made the greatest impact on its readers. Recognizing the subject of graphic satire within the context of its historical parameters is therefore important, but to appreciate the overall meaning of the work, or, as is often the case, the lack of singular meaning, an understanding of the multiple levels of communication in graphic satire is necessary.

For criticism focusing on the subject of satire, see Vincent Carretta's work on Georgian satire.

6. The first plate depicts France preparing for war, and similar verses by Garrick invite the viewer to "see" the print.

7. Ronald Paulson notes that while sales figures of the prints are uncertain, the prints were quite popular and were copied for recruiting posters (178).

8. Successful Royal Academy members such as Sir Joshua Reynolds and Benjamin West routinely hired engravers to promote their work, recognizing the access to publicity and profit offered through engraved reproductions of their paintings (Brewer 456). While many of the caricaturists also dabbled in commercial engraving, most strove to establish a distinctive style of their own, and were not primarily copyists. Furthermore, despite the dismissive attitude towards caricature, engravers of graphic satire were in high demand and were embedded in the popular and artistic culture of the period.

9. Editions of *London und Paris* did not always acknowledge the author of their articles; thus, for the sake of this chapter the title of the book will receive parenthetical credit when an article is cited.

10. Satirical prints ran between 1s and 6s, with color raising the cost and market value of the print (Clayton 232).

11. Many of Gillray's engravings were enclosed in portfolios and albums to hide their possibly offensive content, which allowed them to "be removed at will from the public and especially from female gaze" (Donald 19).

12. The etchings were based on prints bought in London by a *London und Paris* correspondent and then reproduced in Germany; thus the "illustrations represent the work of many hands, with the end result at a remove from the source material supplied by the correspondent" (Banerji and Donald 19).

13. Wordsworth's famous lines are followed by an encouragement to think long and deeply, yet his lines from *The Preface to Lyrical Ballads* nonetheless embody many of the romantic notions of authorship that prevailed for years in literary scholarship.

14. While nineteenth-century biographical accounts credit Gillray for his engraving skills, they also focus on his possible drinking habits, his relationship with his publisher and proprietor, Mrs. Humphrey, and his mental deterioration.

15. From 1791 until his death in 1815, Gillray lived above his place of work on Old Bond Street, Mrs. Hannah Humphrey's print shop, and this decision to work for and live with Mrs. Humphrey proved advantageous to both. Gillray had access to the tools of his trade, and Mrs. Humphrey gained "exclusive rights to the work of the world's leading caricaturist" (Godfrey 17). Gillray's living arrangement also proved to be a source of gossip, as despite what her title might suggest, "Mrs." Humphrey was unmarried.

16. Cruikshank's father Isaac was also a successful artist and caricaturist, and similarities between the work of father and son are easily found; however, while working for Mrs. Humphrey, Cruikshank's work follows Gillray's style.

17. Cruikshank receives his fair share of romanticism in regards to his work. In the *Maclise Portrait Gallery* (1871), William Bates argues that:

[…] by his example and influence he emancipated Comic Art from the grossness and brutality with which […] it had been associated […]. He never transgressed the narrow line that separates wit from buffoonery, pandered to sensuality, glorified vice, or raised a laugh at the expense of decency. Satire never in his hands degenerated into savagery or scurrility. A moral purpose ever underlaid his humour; he sought to instruct or improve when he amused. (197)

In his 1885 work on English Caricaturists, Graham Everitt responds to such opinions with disdain: "in answer to those who tell us he never produced a drawing which could call a blush into the cheek of modesty, and never raised a laugh at the expense of decency, we will only say that we can produce at least a score of instances to the contrary" (4).

18. Everitt observes that Cruikshank "pursued the path indicated by James Gillray, until his career of caricaturist merged into his later employment of a designer and etcher" (4).

19. As is well known, in William Blake's privately produced illuminated works, Catherine Blake did much of the coloring (Bentley, *Writings* lv).

20. While in a collaborative sense the interaction of text and image suggests a degree of harmony, the interaction between high art and low art is often referred to in terms of violence. For example, of Gillray's *The Death of the Great Wolf* (1795), a parody of Benjamin West's *The Death of Wolfe* (1770), Hallet remarks that it is "a sustained form of pictorial vandalism" (33).

21. In addition to emulating contemporary artists, many caricaturists parodied particular art movements. Gillray's treatment of the bedroom scene in *The Morning After Marriage* (1788) is reminiscent of Rococo's attention to romance and luxurious fabrics (see Fragonard's *The Bolt* 1778 for comparison). Godfrey suggests that Gillray was influenced by Rubens, and was interested in the "excesses of movement and form" in High Baroque art (14). Bernard Falk observes that Rowlandson's artistic borrowings "were enormous," and he traces the influence of Rubens, Titian, Gainsborough, and Watteau on the artist's work (85-86).

22. *London und Paris* devoted a section to caricature in each edition, discussing the merits of English and French caricature; as a supplement to the discussion, reproduced engravings were etched and bound in as "folding plates" (Banerji and Donald 2). English prints made up the bulk of the section and contrasted the neoclassical style of the French prints (Banerji and Donald 2-3). Correspondent Hüttner makes the editor's preference for English caricatures clear: "Paris may boast of its talented artists, but our readers know how pointless, dull and feeble all Parisian caricatures are when compared with those of Gillray" (*London* 245).

23. Böttiger assumes that by quoting Book IV of *Paradise Lost*, when Gabriel mocks Satan, he provides enough information needed for German audiences to understand the print: "Now that the verse has been completed, our German readers can do this ['grasp the whole situation'] too" (79).

24. Gillray's satire differs from many of his contemporaries in the quality of his line. Gillray etched with aquatint and used a needle and an echoppe to "imitate the

swelling line of the engraver's burin" (Gascoigne 52c). The use of copperplate engraving allowed Gillray to use his burin to create text in the style of handwriting (Gascoigne 49a, b).

25. Gillray's work with Dalyrmple and Blake's work with Cromek demonstrate the often-tense relationship between artist and publisher.

26. Gillray's text and Adherbal's speech are compared below.

The Blood of the Murdered Crying out for Vengeance:

Whither,--O Whither shall my Blood ascend for Justice? – my Throne is seized on by my Murderers; as my Brothers are driven/ into exile;-- my unhappy Wife & innocent Infants are shut up in the horrors of a Dungeon;-- while Robbers & Assassins are sheathing/ their Daggers in the bowels of my Country! – Ah! Ruined, desolated Country! Dearest object of my heart! Whose misery was to me the sharpest pang in death! What will become of thee! O Britons! Vice-gerents of eternal Justice! Arbiters of the world! – look down from that height of power to which you are raised, and behold me here! – deprived of Life & Kingdom, see where I lie; full low, festering in my own Blood! Which flies to your august tribunal for Justice! – By your affection for your own Wives and Children, rescue mine, by your love for your Country, by the blessings of that true Liberty which you profess – by the virtues which adorn the British Crown – by all that is Sacred, & all that is dear to you – revenge the blood of a Monarch most undeservedly butchered, & rescue the

Kingdom of France from being the prey of Violence, Usurpation, &

Cruelty. (Gillray)

Speech of Adherbal to the Roman Senate:

Whither – Oh! Whither shall I fly? If I return to the royal palace of my

ancestors, my father's throne is seized by the murderer of my brother.

[…] Look down, illustrious senators of Rome! From that height of power

to which you are raised, on the unexampled distresses of a prince […] O

murdered, butchered brother! Oh, dearest to my heart! […] He lies full

low, gored with wounds, and festering in his own blood. […] Fathers!

Senators of Rome! The arbiters of nations! To you I fly for refuge from

the murderous fury of Jugurtha. By your affection for your children, by

your love of your own country, by your own wives […] by all that is

sacred, and all that is dear to you – deliver a wretched prince from

undeserved , unprovoked injury; and save the kingdom of Numidia,

which as your own property, from being the prey of violence, usurpation,

and cruelty! (qtd. in Murray 117).

27. For a detailed history of the War, see Gaius Crispus Sallust's *The Jugurthine*

War.

28. Two such editions are as follows: *The History of the Wars of Catiline and*

Jugurtha, with a free translation by John Clarke (1789), and *Sallust's History of the*

Catiline Conspiracy and the War of Jugurtha with an English Translation as Literal as

Possible and Large Explanatory Notes by John Mair, 6th edition (1793).

29. George's explication of this print provides a useful overview of the political implications of the various aspects of text in the print.

30. A July 1790 advertisement continues this approach and states that the that missing "mongrel" Lieut. Gallstone has got a "sore Tail, occasioned by a Copper Platter, cruelly tied to it" and asks that he be returned to "J.G at No. Old Bond street" so that "he may be found and muzzled." Rather than encourage the public to find and muzzle the print, the advertisement encourages those interested to find and purchase the print.

31. Cruikshank and Hone copy a previously successful version of *The House that Jack Built* engraved by Rowlandson (Patten 66-67).

32. Furthermore, Patten challenges Hone's claim to originality of form by crediting Rowlandson and Isaac Cruikshank with previous use of the parody and design (157).

33. Cruikshank responded with several caricatures lamenting the restrictions of the press, such as *A Free Born Englishman* (1819).

34. Hone draws this quote from Book VI, "The Winter Walk at Noon," where Cowper's speaker laments the loss of his father.

35. *The Real or Constitutional House that Jack Built* was published in opposition to Hone's work, and in it the image, text, and subsequent quotes work together rather than against each other. As with *Political House*, *Constitutional House* incorporates quotes, this time from works "chiefly selected from Shakespeare, Cowper, and Dr. Young." The infusion of the work with Shakespearean language melds high art

with low art and creates a subtext of legitimization; the book may be in the form of a children's book but its subject is substantiated by authoritative English texts.

36. The toy, with engravings by Cruikshank, is a small paper ladder the size of a standard bookmark. When folded like a ladder, the Queen appears at the top. Each step of the latter corresponds with headings in the text itself and the accompanying images reiterate the King's fall from grace. BM Satires 13808.

37. Bryon had already left England by the publication of *Matrimonial Ladder*, leaving behind a wake of scandal involving his various affairs.

38. In *Three Essays on Picturesque Painting, Picturesque beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape: To which is added a Poem, on Landscape Painting* (1792), Gilpin encourages tourists to sketch and write impressions of the picturesque scenes they encounter during their travels.

39. Combe does not acknowledge that his occasional imprisonment in debtor's prison necessitated a long-distance relationship, but even when he was out of prison, the two did not meet (Ford 53).

CHAPTER III

"POETICAL ILLUSTRATIONS":

TEXT AND IMAGE IN THE LITERARY ANNUALS

The preface to the 1832 edition of *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrapbook* by Letitia Elizabeth Landon (1802-1838), who published her work with her initials L. E. L., attests to the artistic challenge of pairing art and text within nineteenth-century print culture. In the preface, Landon admits that "it is not an easy thing to write illustrations to prints, selected rather for their pictorial excellence than their poetic capabilities" (n.p.). Admitting, "mere description is certainly not the most popular species of composition," Landon endeavors "to give as much variety as possible." Landon's continual references to her poetry as "poetical illustrations" in prefaces of *Fisher's* places her poems in a direct referential relation to the engravings, which, as she reminds readers, can nonetheless "plead and win the cause" on their own. Yet the deeming of her poems as illustrations also serves as a reminder that to read only the poems is not enough; within the literary annuals, they are paired with visual partners and must be read accordingly. The typical production process for the literary annuals included sending engravings to writers with the expectation that they would respond textually to the image.[1] Regardless of whether or not the engravings act as a source of inspiration or a cause of artistic constraint for writers such as Landon, the engravings' appearance alongside their textual companions invites readers to recognize and investigate the relationship between media.

By acknowledging her works' counterparts (the engravings), Landon acknowledges the commercial nature of her work, a nature that depends on the joining of the two art forms for the annual's aesthetic and financial success. Engravings in *Fisher's* were one of the annual's primary selling points, with sales bolstered by Landon's popularity as contributing poet and editor.[2]

Terence Hoagwood and Kathryn Ledbetter succinctly describe the literary annuals as "elegant anthologies of original poetry and prose" (77). The elaborately bound literary annuals paired literature with engravings and often capitalized on the celebrity status of writers, painters, and engravers. Despite the literary and visual appeal of the annuals, the engravings are often subordinated to the accompanying poetry or omitted from critical discussion altogether. The removal of the poems from their visual partners shifts the meaning of the annuals' literature and overlooks the annuals' primary commercial and aesthetic appeal. The proliferation of engravings in the annuals makes it difficult to escape the art-literature comparison and the tendency to subordinate poetry to pictures overlooks the relationship between art and literature and alienates each from the other. An ekphrastic connection between media emerges when the literature in the annuals is reengaged with the engravings with which they were paired, for the text in some way relates to the graphic representation of the engravings. W.J.T. Mitchell's influential definition of ekphrasis hinges on the absence of a text from its visual partner, but by expanding the definition of ekphrastic poetry to the "verbal representation of graphic representation" (Heffernan, "Representation" 299), the poems in the literary annuals enter the realm of ekphrasis. A formal designation of many of the annuals'

poems as ekphrastic invites us to acknowledge these connections and to study the multiplicities of meanings inherent in the genre.

The ekphrastic responses in the annuals take on a variety of forms, adding to the already variable ways that meaning in the annuals is produced. Despite repeated descriptions in the prefaces of the annuals of poetry as "illustrative," not all literature in the annuals is illustrative of the engravings. Within the annuals, literature often uses the engraving as a point of departure, as a brief reference illustrative of the text's narrative or theme, or as a visual counterpart to a textual description of a scene. In other poems and prose works, the text may have little relationship to the engraving besides the relationship forced by spatial proximity. Whether the connection between media is thematic (with text and image sharing similar narratives), explicit (with shared titles or direct references), or merely spatial and implied, it is an active connection with consequences for visual and textual meaning. To examine the annuals' poems and stories with their accompanying engravings is to see that both text and image enter a discourse about meaning in print culture together through interaction and collaboration. At the same time, this interaction and collaboration has historically ensured the annuals' secondary status due to traditional critical biases against mass-produced art and literature.

Beginning with the annuals' conception in the early-nineteenth century, the poetry in the annuals has been discussed in relation to its accompanying engravings in terms of hostility. In a review of the poetry in the literary annuals, William Thackeray declares the "feeble verse[s]" to be examples of "miserable mediocrity" (757), and in the

1837 edition of *Fraser's Magazine,* he proclaims of the annuals: "the poetry is quite worthy of the picture, and a little sham sentiment is employed to illustrate a little sham art" (758).[3] Thackeray's disdain for the annuals' content applies to the engravings as well, and he describes the "the pictorial illustrations" of *Fisher's* as "humbug" (762).[4] Thackeray labels the artists and engravers involved in creating the annuals' art "the publisher's slave[s]," catering "for the public inclination" and thus, "[their] art is little better than a kind of prostitution" (758).[5] By 1837, the reviewers of the annuals at *The Monthly Review* struggled to differentiate worthy annuals from the other "gaudy and glittering butterfly beauties" that saturated the market (126). Gaudiness was only one criticism of the annuals, for William Wordsworth rather famously described the annuals as "those greedy receptacles of trash, those bladders upon which the boys of poetry try to swim" (*Letters* 2:275-276).

Modern critics are often equally harsh. Alison Adburgham observes that the "prostitution of the pen to the picture was the usual practice of the annuals" (254) and Peter Manning argues that William Wordsworth "subordinated his art to the pictorial aesthetics fostered by the steel plate" (63). Angela Leighton describes Landon's annual poems as "no more than […] colorful illustration[s] of a theme" (50),[6] and Lee Erickson states that Landon "was reduced to writing poems as commentary upon pictures" (31). Erickson suggests that the "Annuals lowered poetic standards and provided an inadequate shelter for poetry against the ever-rising tide of the periodicals" (31). Poets, in Erickson's vision of poetry, become victims to an overpowering literary machine driven by technology and consumerism, and while he recognizes that literary forms are

"materially and economically embedded in the reality of the publishing marketplace"

(8), he does not see writers as active participants in the changes in book trends. While

the quality of the literature in the annuals is at times debatable, the annuals' popularity

during the nineteenth century is not; accordingly, recent criticism is beginning to pay

attention to the literary annuals as a publishing phenomenon of the period. The

willingness of writers to submit their work to the annuals—whatever the motivating

factor—and the profusion of annuals in the market suggests instead a need to approach

the annuals with an appreciation of their role in the evolving literary market.[7]

Viewing the annuals as cultural artifacts allows for a less-biased approach.

Through recognition of the annuals as tangible "cultural artifacts" (Hoagwood and

Ledbetter 11), we are encouraged to look at and read the annuals with an awareness of

the industry that produced them. The numerous individuals involved in the annuals'

production, coupled with the pairing of art and literature, produce a finished product that

is not an individual poem or engraving, but rather a collection of works that enter a

dialogue with each other. The annuals are, after all, multi-media works. This is not to

say that one medium dominates another; however, it does imply that the two forms of

art—literature and engraving—are connected both intrinsically and symbiotically in the

annuals.

The annuals' popularity began with the publication of Rudolph Ackermann's

Forget Me Not in 1823, and the number of annuals soon increased. Ralph Griffiths,

editor of *The Monthly Review*, expressed surprise in 1828 with the "number of new

Annuals which have started during the present year" (541). In 1828, Robert Southey

wrote Caroline Bowles in reaction to solicitations by Charles Heath for contributions to

his annual with a similar reaction to the success of the annual: "Will you believe that of

this Keepsake, which is bought merely for presents, or for the sake of the engravings, he

has sold fifteen thousand copies!" (*Letters* 324). Southey appears surprised that a book

sold "merely" as a gift or "for the engravings" would sell so well, but sell it did. By

1832, there were sixty-three annuals in circulation, with that number steadily increasing

to more than two-hundred by 1840 (Linley 54).

The literary annuals' marketplace success was due in part to early-nineteenth-

century technological advances that allowed for the innovative pairing of art and text in

high-quality publications. Simon Eliot notes that there is not a simple "climb from the

lowlands of preindustrial printing to the sunny uplands of powered mass production"

(28), but a number of technological improvements made the production of the annuals

on a mass scale possible. The mechanization of papermaking with the Fourdrinier

Machine, the advent of stereotype printing, and the iron press all had a profound impact

on the ability to produce and distribute printed products in the early-nineteenth century.[8]

For the book trade, stereotyping had an immediate impact on the industry; stereotyping,

in which plates are made into casts that can be reused, allowed books to be made

affordably and in larger quantities (Feather 9). For engraving techniques, mezzotint

replaced stipple and aquatint by 1839 (Ledbetter, *Heath* 23), and as mezzotint allows for

rich tonal variations, it became the preferred method for "interpreting" oil paintings (Rix

16). The annuals emerged at a time when technology allowed ample opportunity for the

pairing of text and image in high-quality publications—or at least publications giving the appearance of high quality.

Designed as decorative books for the Christmas gift-giving market, the annuals' success had its foundation in a long English history of giving collections of poetry as gifts at the year-end (Currie xiii-xiv). The annuals departed from their predecessors by pairing poetry with engravings, capitalizing on the popularity of the expanding market for art. Successful annuals sold from 6000 to 15000 copies per year, in contrast to the 300 to 500 copies per edition of the collection of works by Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834) and Wordsworth (Sonada 60). As a "status gift" (Manning 45), the literary annuals were meant for public display, even if their content's sentimentality bespoke private thoughts and feelings.[9] In an 1837 review of the upcoming annuals, *The Monthly Review* acknowledged of *Fisher's* that it was "the choicest of gems that garnish the tables of the polished circles of British society" (405), and the writers of the *Literary Gazette* celebrated the virtues of the 1831 edition of *Fisher's* as a "most pleasant ornament" (803). The annuals were designed to "garnish" the drawing room tables of their owners, and are thus often compared to the modern coffee-table book.[10] The emphasis on display "appealed to the bourgeois desire for possessions displaying their owners' refined taste and sophistication" (Riess 819). The annuals served as codified objects that suggested, but did not necessarily denote, both wealth and status (Stephenson 137).[11] The inclusion of popular writers in the annuals was meant to bolster sales, and the aggressiveness of editors in securing the participation of well-known writers has been well documented.

Lavish binding and the inclusion of high-quality engravings increased the visual appeal of the annuals, and the annuals included an average of eight to twelve engravings per issue, with *Fisher's* boasting thirty-six plates (Hootman 56). The subjects for engravings range from landscapes (British and foreign), to portraits of historical, fictional, and contemporary figures, to literary scenes. Stylistically, the engravings range from grandiose landscapes that seem to mimic the work of J. M. W. Turner, to more simplistic, linear figures. Publishers chose work by celebrity painters for their engravings (Riess 820), and engravings of the work of well-established artists like Turner and Thomas Stothard appear repeatedly throughout the annuals. The annuals' inclusion of engravings came at an opportune time in the market as the public's desire for affordable art grew, and engravings became "a most potent force in spreading a taste for art, making the public aware of the style and achievement of individual painters" (Denvir 23). With a continual emphasis on visual appeal, the annuals were posited not only as books to be read, but also as books to be seen, both in the context of their placement in the drawing room as objects for display and in regards to the engravings within.

The books not only provided their owners an object for display, but their contents could be reused and redisplayed as "new" visual objects.[12] This newness, however, is illusionary, and in some regards, Thackeray's observation about the literary annuals as "sham art" is warranted. As Hoagwood and I have noted elsewhere, "the annuals relied on the illusion of art, promoting engravings of paintings and not the paintings themselves" (4). Many publishers recycled remnant prints from print shops (Sypher

122), and others, such as *The Keepsake*, even used leftover dress fabric for the "fine satin" cover of the book (Hoagwood and Ledbetter, *Keepsake*). The use of remnant prints allowed publishers access to affordable, accessible, and recyclable art.[13] Katherine Harris observes that in keeping the reverse side of the print page blank, engravings could be removed from the annuals as "portable artwork" (134),[14] and Ledbetter notes that print sellers "hawking proofs from the annuals" often sold "free-standing portfolio supports to display prints in one's drawing room" (*Heath* 22).

Publishers, aware of the possibilities inherent in recycling their prints, advertised their prints independently of the annuals, but the prints' sales were nonetheless dependent on the annuals' success. Publisher Alaric Alexander Watts (1797-1864) strove to capitalize on the publicity of his annual and the growing market for engravings by publishing the engravings of the 1827 *Literary Souvenir* "without letterpress, in portfolios" (Watts 250). Publisher and editor Samuel Carter Hall (1800-1889) also sought to profit from the recycling of his annual's engravings, advertising in the preface to *The Amulet* (1828) that "a limited number of proofs of the engravings have been taken, and may be had of the Publishers of the volume" (14). By 1829, Watts could boast that the *Literary Souvenir's* plates were "selling for more than twice the price of the original volumes containing the entire set" (vii). Both Watts and Hall hoped that the popularity of their literary annual would entice their readers to purchase the annuals' art in its recycled form.

The independent advertising of the annuals' art emphasizes the publishers' reliance on the engraving trade, and this reliance in turn emphasizes that the annuals

were a collaborative endeavor between individuals involved in both the literary and

artistic markets. Annuals like *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrapbook* are as much the result

of a collaborative effort as they are the product of the editor's ingenuity. The production

of a single edition required coordination between publisher, editor, artist, engraver, and

writers; consequently, editorial planning often began six months before publication

(Erickson 31). Landon worked as *Fisher's* editor and primary contributor from 1832-

1838, and her letters provide ample evidence of the time and collaboration involved in

preparing an annual. In preparing for the 1836 edition, Landon wrote publisher Robert

Fisher soliciting his feedback:

> I enclose the remainder of the poems. The Norham Castle. The aisle of
>
> Tombs. Fountain's Abbey-Warkworth Hermitage—and another
>
> Christmas. It is livelier and I hope will meet your ideas – I am always
>
> very happy to make any alteration you wish—and should never dream of
>
> any offense in any suggestions; only glad to adopt it. (*Letters* 134)

Without Fisher's response, it is difficult to know whether Landon received feedback, but

her letter nonetheless attests to the collaborative nature of the poems. As "poetical

illustrations," they are written to accompany the engravings and are therefore not only

products of Landon's pen, but also products of art and by association, the engraving

trade.

The process of producing an annual was a year-round endeavor, often beginning

with the procurement of engravings. In his 1827 journal, Watts outlined the process of

securing engravings, a process that began by finding

> Suitable works of art for engraving, to be bought or borrowed, which
>
> became more difficult every year; good copies of the picture to be made
>
> for the engraver, where the work, though allowed by the owner to be
>
> engraved, could be spared from the walls for the purpose; the engraver to
>
> be set to work and very carefully looked after, for these were golden days
>
> for the line-engravers, and those who were of any eminence had almost
>
> more work than they could fairly do justice to […]. (qtd. in Watts 254-
>
> 255)

Watts' journal entry attests to the difficulty in procuring pictures from which to have

engravings made. Editors competed over contributing artists just as they competed over

writers, and the process of securing agreements with artists and art owners was a time-

consuming endeavor.[15] When Watts called on Mr. Hilton, R.A., he found he was not the

only editor seeking paintings for engravings:

> He [Hilton] told me he had declined four similar propositions from the
>
> editors of the other annuals—Hall, Ackermann, Heath, and Blamanno—
>
> so that I suppose I must regard his willingness to suggest a picture for my
>
> purposes as a compliment. (qtd. in Watts 257)

For artists, it was a sellers market. As the market became saturated with emerging

literary annuals, publishers scrambled to secure work by reputable (and contemporary)

artists to be engraved by reputable engravers. For painters, participation in the annuals

proved beneficial financially and provided them with instant publicity through the

circulation of engravings of their work.[16] For engravers, the annuals provided an avenue for a reliable income.

An engraving's inherent multiplicity begins in its production. The production of engravings is also highly collaborative, and this is made apparent in the attribution of most engravings to at least two individuals—painter and engraver.[17] However, even the acknowledgement of the original artist and the print's engraver disguises the collaborative nature of engraving and the varying degrees of transformation required to change a painting into an engraving. By the time an engraving was printed, it might be several degrees removed from the original artwork. Once publishers received permission to use an artist's work in the annual, they then had to have a suitable copy made of which the engraving would be based. The production of each engraving relied on an original painting, a drawing of the original work, and the engraving itself; each component often was created by a different individual, who did not necessarily work in conjunction with the others involved in the production of the plate. In order to meet fast-approaching publishing deadlines, a drawing would often be reduced to multiple squares of smaller drawings, with various engravers taking a section from which to engrave (Heath 58). The final product reveals little of this multiplicity besides crediting an artist and engraver.

By the 1820s, Charles Heath (1785-1848) had established himself as a highly sought-after master engraver, and he spent much of his time overseeing his publication ventures such as the annual *Heath's Book of Beauty*. While Heath oversaw the work at his atelier and received credit for its work, he did little engraving of his own after 1826

(Heath 57-58).[18] Nonetheless, Heath maintained an active role in the engraving process,

supervising retouches and overseeing the work as a whole in order to ensure that any

plate with his name on it would be of high quality (Heath 57). A steel engraving of Mrs.

Peel for the 1829 *Keepsake* bears Heath's name, but a proof copy reveals the

collaborative nature of the print, "Lane reduced, Goodyear etcd figure, Webb etchd fur

and feathers, J.H. Watt drapery and hat, Rhodes worked up hat feathers, D. Smith

background, and C. Heath flesh" (qtd. in Heath 58).[19] Heath, who only engraved Mrs.

Peel's flesh, receives full credit for the engraving. The quality of Heath's engravings

cemented his reputation as an engraver, and, like Heath, other engravers soon gained the

"celebrity status of artists, earning high fees for their work" (Hoagwood and Ledbetter,

Keepsake). Yet as the annual market became more competitive, publishers were faced

with the need to distinguish their annual from the others.

The growing number of literary annuals diminished the novelty of the literary

form, and as a result, publishers and engravers were always on the look out for

innovative ways to market their wares in an increasingly competitive market.[20]

Landon's letters are a testament to her active involvement not only in editing and writing

for the annuals, but also in suggesting new ideas to the publishers with whom she

worked. In 1834, Landon wrote publisher William Jerdan (1782-1869) to suggest that

they collaborate on a new annual created entirely from remnant prints:

> Every great print seller has I believe on hand—a number of engravings
>
> more than the actual demand. What I propose is to make a selection from

the prettiest of these and form them into an Annual to be called "The

Choice." (*Letters* 100)

Landon continues, noting since "those who buy books, and those who buy prints, are two

different classes [that] the engravings would in nine cases out of ten—be new to the

readers" (*Letters* 100). Like William Kidd's observation about the two connoisseurs of

graphic satire, Landon identifies two separate connoisseurs of literature and art, and she

banks the success of her proposed annual on the assumption that the two classes do not

overlap. The dual market for literature and art proved ideal for the annuals, and while

Landon notes that "people like pretty pictures," she also proposes to Jerdan a more

discerning literary annual, aiming for "higher literary ground" (*Letters* 100). Editor

Frederic Mansel Reynolds' preface to the 1829 *Keepsake* proposes a similar balance, and

he promises an annual as "perfect as possible" in both "literary matter" and "pictorial

illustration" (iii).

　　　　While Landon's proposed annual aimed to cater to a literary-minded consumer,

Watts' prefaces depict a struggle to maintain the interest of an increasingly diverse

readership's interest in art. Watts, in the preface to the 1836 edition of the *Cabinet of*

Modern Art, and Literary Souvenir, suggests that there are two connoisseurs of art:

　　　　To those friendly critics, who […] have expressed their fears that the

　　　　lovers of art among the purchasers of illustrated works in this country, are

　　　　too limited in number to render such a speculation prudent or profitable,

　　　　he replies, by reminding them that his book is by no means exclusively

　　　　addressed to amateurs […]. (v)

For the discerning art critic Watts provides a detailed index of engravings, listing not only the artist and engraver, but also the whereabouts of the original work of art. For the amateur art critic, Watts seeks to enlighten, and he argues that his annual will excite "public curiosity respecting British Art" (vi). Furthermore, Watts seeks to distinguish his annual from the others, and he proposes that in adding "criticism on Art and records of the notices of this description," he adds more "fitting accompaniments to the Embellishments" of the annual than the traditional inclusion of only poetry and short stories (vi).

In 1836, Watts, realizing that the "hold" the annuals had on the market was based on the "Art which they had been instrumental in so widely popularizing," changed the structure of the *Literary Souvenir*, increasing the number of engravings from ten to twenty-five (qtd. in Watts 164).[21] The increase occurred simultaneously with the content's shift from poetry to a more eclectic collection of critical essays, prose, poetry, and biographies. In this way, Watts brings to fruition Landon's unrealized idea of an annual that includes "light criticism, pleasant essays to be mingled with tales and poems" and biographies of popular poets (Landon, *Letters* 100). The preface to the 1835 edition of the annual explains Watts' change:

> […] instead of associating these pictures with stories to be written for
> them, but to which they were to appear to be illustrations, short notices
> were appended to them of the works of the artists. The susceptibility of
> art to be illustrated by poetry, was, however, recognised; but there was no

mistake about the fact that the poem was suggested by the picture, not the

picture by the poem. (vi)

By making it clear that the "poem was suggested by the picture, not the picture by the

poem," Watts places art as the primary medium in the annual, and by shifting the focus

of the annual to art rather than poetry, Watts makes poetry the embellishment, not art. In

this way, Watts attempts to differentiate his collection from other annuals that often

provided illustrations of pre-existing literary works by established writers.[22]

Watts dedicates the 1835 edition of his annual to avid art collector and patron Sir

John Soane (1757-1837) as a "mark of respect for his patronage of British Art" (n.p.).

Other editions of his annual likewise include dedications to major figures in the

promotion of British art; thus, from the dedication forward, Watts strives to emphasize

the annuals' artistic endeavors. Yet while Watts' preface promises textual originality

and art-inspired poetry, much of this promise is a mere illusion. For despite the addition

of essays on art and biographies of artists, the annuals' inclusion of random poems

unrelated and unattached to the engravings is similar to the format of the annuals'

contemporaries. Nonetheless, detailed essays on art criticism and biographies of painters

make up the bulk of the volume and continue the annuals' thematic focus on art. To add

credibility to this endeavor, Watts includes essays on art by Royal Academy artists.

Watts' declaration that the art in his annual precedes the literature forces the ekphrastic

connection between media by reminding the reader that the poetry is inspired by the art.

The continued inclusion of poetry without a visual partner—such as the edition's

random sonnets by Eleanor Louisa Montague—reiterates that Watts realized that he needed to cater to both the literary and the art-minded reader.

By openly welcoming an acknowledgement of the visual focus of many of the annuals, the editors invite recognition of the collaborative nature of each edition. The annuals are, after all, works comprised of many works. The collaborative nature of the annuals undermines traditional notions of the solitary writer and individual artistic genius. Despite the critical clamor against such commercial publication outlets, the annuals provided a literary arena in which women writers such as Landon could participate (Hoagwood and Ledbetter 75), and a legitimate avenue for publicity and financial gain for writers such as Wordsworth, Coleridge, Robert Southey (1774-1843), Mary Shelley (1797-1851), and Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832). Yet, while Landon and other editors of the annuals appear willing to engage with the engravings that made the annuals so popular (perhaps out of necessity), established authors such as Wordsworth sought to distance themselves from the commercial art that appeared alongside their poems.[23] Yet, as Southey observes, "money makes the mare to go" (*Letters* 324), and few writers could initially decline the generous offers put forth by the annuals' publishers. The financial prospect of publishing in the annuals presented writers like Wordsworth with a quandary: they could potentially debase their name by publishing in such a commercial venue, or they could benefit financially and otherwise from reaching such a wide audience.

The inclusion of popular writers in the annuals was meant to bolster sales, and Manning notes that when publishers bartered with writers, the "article of exchange" was

"the name itself, not a work" (49).[24] Hall boasts of the 1828 edition of the *Amulet*, that

the annual "has received the sanction and support of many of the most distinguished

writers of the age" (5), and Reynolds in the 1829 *Keepsake* promises with a few

exceptions that "a list of authors has been obtained as perhaps never before graced the

pages of any one volume of *original* contributions" (iv). As an additional selling point,

publishers routinely advertised Shelley as the "Author of *Frankenstein*," well after her

identity as the author had been revealed, thereby relying on the name recognition of the

author's market-proven novel to help garner sales of the annuals. The use of established

writers and excerpts from successful literary works suggests that the annuals' artistic

appeal was not enough; instead, the annuals relied on a purposeful blending of engraving

with the names of market-proven authors. Watts, in the preface to the 1830 edition of

the *Literary Souvenir*, states that he did not need to enact the "fallacy" of impressing

names upon the public; instead, he vows that his literary selection was determined "less

by the importance of the name than the intrinsic value of the production" (xi). Watts

proudly boasts of the quality of his collection, quality that did not depend alone on the

celebrity status of participating writers. The "intrinsic value" of the collection decreased

as fewer established writers participated. As the market became more saturated with

literary annuals, established writers proved harder to secure and the quality of the

annuals' literature became less consistent.

    A variety of successful and established writers participated in the annuals, but

perhaps no other name has become as associated with the annuals than Landon's.[25] The

mass-produced annuals allowed Landon, "performing as L. E. L. the poet," access to a

large reading public that helped sustain her literary and editing career (Hoagwood and

Opdycke 4). Publishers sought out Landon for her name, and "if they couldn't get

Landon, they at least wanted Landon's style. She became widely imitated" (Stephenson

126). Yet popularity had its price. For the women involved as writers and editors of the

annuals—such as Landon, Margurite Gardiner (the Countess of Blessington, 1789-

1849), and Lady Caroline Norton (1808-1877)—the implications of participating so

actively in the literary market presented a potential risk to their already tenuous

reputations as working women.[26] Appearing publicly in textual form often meant a

perceived conflation of the women's public lives with the themes of their poetry. The

inclusion of sensual and exotic images of women in the annuals worked to encourage

this conflation.[27]

While the annuals provided women such as Landon with access to a career,

established male poets often worked to disassociate their names with the annuals.

Despite their participation in the annuals, Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Scott proved

anxious to distance themselves from the commercial nature of the annuals, thus striving

to maintain romantic and individualistic—rather than corporate and commercial—

associations with their name and work.[28] In some regards, their attempts worked, for

modern criticism often dismisses the canonical writers' work in the annuals due to the

mass produced nature of the annuals and the works' perceived secondary status to the

writers' general oeuvre.[29] The production process, according to Gregory O'Dea,

"privileges image over narrative" (66), thereby reducing a writer's work as secondary to

the art in the annual. Sonia Hofkosh takes a similar approach to the writers' relationship

to the annuals' engravings, and she argues that the engravings "often constrained the writers" (208). The process of requiring writers—specifically prominent writers—to respond to art is part of the controversy surrounding the quality of the literature in the annuals. Many writers did respond with difficulty to images, or at least the content of many of their poems suggest a tension between text and image bordering on indifference. Yet the interaction between text and image in other pairings encourages a perception of art as inspirational rather than merely commercial, thereby avoiding the invocation of a hostile relationship between text and image. The suggestion that in writing for the annuals writers prostituted their talents in favor of a visual rather than literary aesthetic overlooks the concept of art as a fitting accompaniment to literature, as a potential source of inspiration for writers, and as a cultural artifact in print culture.

Inspirational or not, some Romantic-period contributors to the annuals attempted to distance their text from its accompanying image in an attempt to maintain an illusion of artistic individuality. For a contribution to *The Keepsake* (1829), Heath provided an engraving to which Wordsworth was to respond, but Wordsworth instead claimed to be inspired by reality rather than art (Moorman 453). Wordsworth wrote Mary Wordsworth: "I have written one little piece […] on the Picture of a beautiful Peasant Girl bearing a Sheaf of Corn. The Person I had in mind lives near the Blue Bell, Fillingham—a Sweet Creature, we saw her going to Hereford" (qtd. in Moorman 453). In identifying a real girl, Wordsworth attempts to avoid association with the primary appeal of the annuals—the engravings. Wordsworth's reference to a specific place— Blue Bell, Fillingham—and moment in time—a recent trip to Hereford—further

distances his poem from the fictional representation of the girl in the engraving.

Wordsworth inserts himself between the artist and the inspiration, and he identifies

nature as his inspiration, not art. However, his poem reinforces the connection to the

engraving by questioning the source of inspiration for the picture:

> What mortal form, what earthly face,
>
> Inspired the pencil, lines to trace,
>
> And mingle colours that could breed
>
> Such rapture, nor want power to feed? (Wordsworth 50)

While the poem questions what "mortal form" inspired the image, thus referencing

reality rather than fiction, a later line reinforces the poem's link to the engraving and the

fiction implied by representation rather than reality. By referring specifically to the

girl's "tell-tale sheaf of corn" (50), the speaker invites the reader to look at the image

[Figure 2.1]. The image does not disappoint, and a young woman smiles wistfully, as

she stands by a wall holding a sheaf of corn. There is no mention of Fillingham or

Hereford in the poem to suggest a foundation in reality rather than art. Despite

Wordsworth's attempt to free his poem from association with the engraving, his

published poem's proximity to its accompanying engraving reinforces its commercialism

and undermines Wordsworth's attempt to maintain the uniqueness of his poem. Bound

within *The Keepsake*, "The Country Girl" becomes one of many poems paired with

engravings.

Accounts of Coleridge's participation in the annuals also reflect a distancing of

his work from the commercial nature of the annuals; however, unlike Wordsworth who

Figure 2.1. James Holmes, "The Country Girl," Engraved by Charles Heath. *The Keepsake*, 1829. Collection of the Author.

acknowledges reality as the source for his poem, Coleridge's poem acknowledges its

indebtedness to art.[30] Of the creation of Coleridge's poem "The Garden of Boccacio" in

The Keepsake (1830), Lucy Watson writes, "perceiving one day that the Poet was in a

dejected mood, my grandmother placed an engraving of this garden on his desk; and the

poem was a result" (qtd. in Paley 11-12). Morton D. Paley observes that Watson's story

matches Coleridge's version of the creation of the poem, but notes that both accounts

"seem to be masking what was essentially an invitation to a commercial transaction"

(12). Both Watson and Coleridge's accounts suggest that the poem was created through

inspiration, not out of financial need, and the poem's narrative supports this by

incorporating the sharing of the engraving with the author into the narrative:

> I but half saw that quiet hand of thine
>
> Place on my desk this exquisite design,
>
> Boccacio's Garden and its faery,
>
> The love, the joyaunce, and the gallantry!
>
> An IDYLL, with Boccacio's spirit warm,
>
> Framed in the silent poesy of form. (Coleridge 282)

Here, the annuals' pairing of art and literature proves inspirational, and the transaction

between the engraving and the writer is profitable from a creative, not commercial,

perspective. Reality, however, suggests otherwise as Coleridge was paid well for his

contributions.

Coleridge's poem thematically incorporates the concept of art as inspirational,

thereby continuing to mask the intrinsic commercial relationship between writers and

publishers. The speaker exclaims "the picture stole upon my inward sight […]/ and one by one (I know not whence) were brought/ All spirits of power that most had stirr'd my thought […]" (Coleridge 282). The speaker continues, "Thanks, gentle artist! Now I can descry/ Thy fair creation with a mastering eye" (Coleridge 283). The speaker, however, does not just look at the artist's "fair creation" but instead becomes part of the scene depicted:

> [...] I myself am there,
>
> Sit on the ground-sward, and the banquet share.
>
> 'Tis I, that sweep that lute's love-echoing strings,
>
> And gaze upon the maid who gazing sings. (284)

In the engraving, a man in the bottom-center of the frame plays a lute while watching a woman holding a music-book [Figure 2.2]. Coleridge positions the speaker as this figure, and by doing so, he invites the reader to look for the speaker in the image. The reader is thus doubly called to look at the engraving; in the poem the illustration functions as both a source of inspiration for the speaker and as the setting in which he sits. Other descriptive passages work to maintain the active link between poem and picture; the poem's reference to "green arches" and "fragment shadows of crossing deer" invite the reader to look to the engraving for a visual counterpart to the text (Coleridge 284).

The engravings provided for writers often were far from inspirational and Landon's letters and prefaces are evidence of the potential difficulty in responding to engravings, a difficulty exasperated by the quantity of engravings Landon was tasked to
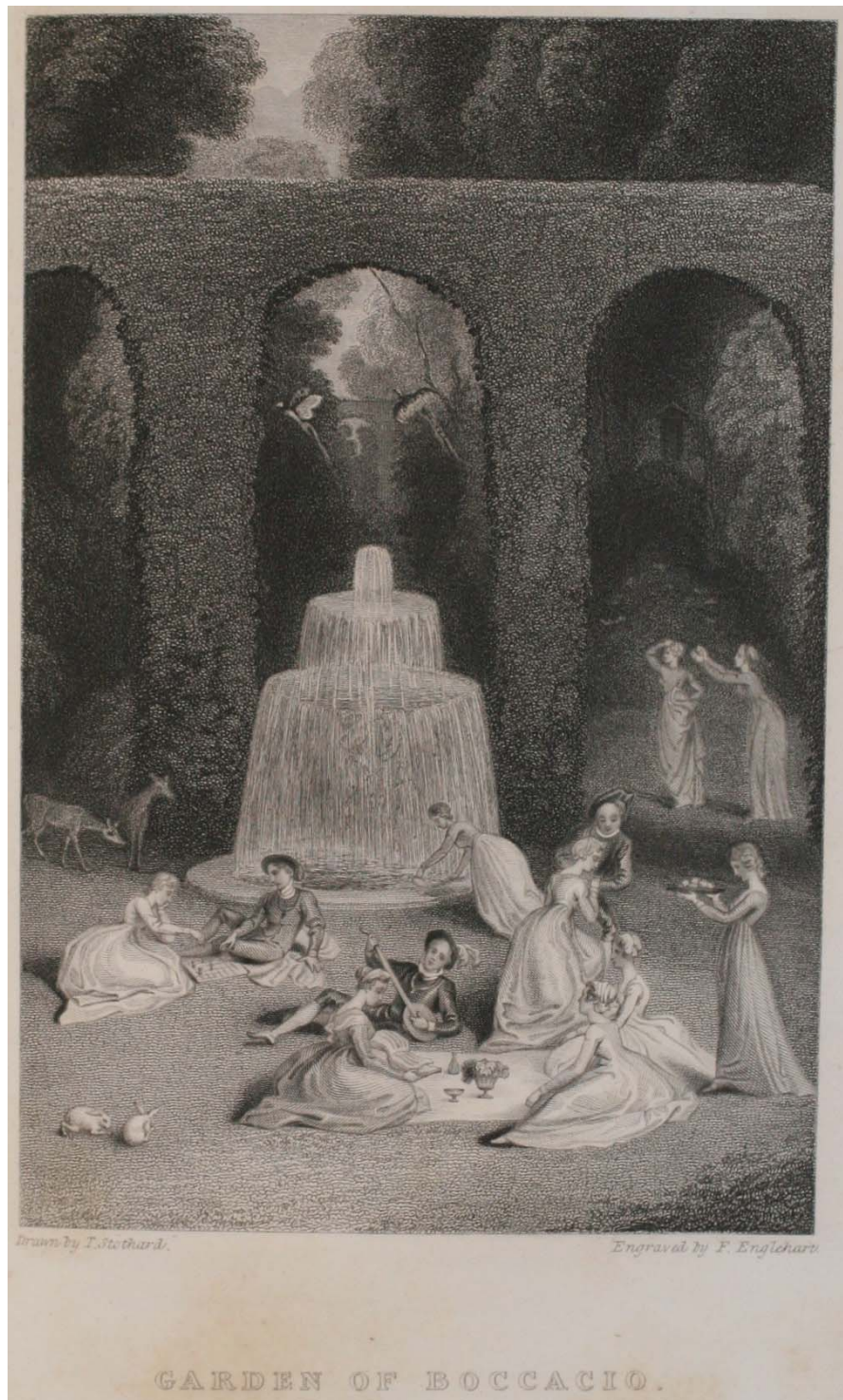
Figure 2.2. Thomas Stothard, "Garden of Boccacio," Engraved by Francis Englehart.
The Keepsake, 1829. Collection of the Author.

respond to with each edition of *Fisher's* (up to thirty-six engravings per edition). The

reviewers for the *Literary Gazette* of the 1831 edition of *Fisher's* recognized the

difficulty of Landon's task: "To sit down and write to a single picture is a task of no

slight difficulty, as many who have tried well know; but to sit down and write for *thirty-*

six, of all kinds of characters—it takes away our breath to contemplate it" (803). In

August 1833, Landon writes to a friend, "How my ingenuity has been taxed to introduce

the different places!" (*Letters* 91). In 1837, Landon returns prints to Fisher, wondering,

"what in the world can be said about them in the way of poetry" (*Letters* 169). Landon

was not alone in lamenting the difficulty of the process of responding textually to

engravings. In the preface to the 1835 edition of the *Literary Souvenir*, Watts

acknowledges that "the inconvenience of appending elaborate tales, written for the

purpose, to engravings from the most celebrated pictures of the day has been admitted on

all hands" (vi). Many of Landon's prefaces to *Fisher's* reflect her attempt "to respond

thoughtfully to the engravings and the public's desire for something more than

representation" (Hoagwood and Opdycke 5). In Landon's prefaces she often voices her

recognition of the necessity to enact poetic license in response to the illustrations, and

thus incorporates the liberty to depart from the engravings that ekphrasis allows.

     The prefaces of many of the annuals celebrate the Sister Arts and function as

advertisements for the annuals' desired appearance of a successful literary venture

pairing text and image. Such prefaces promote an illusion of a harmonious relationship

between media that disguises many of the tensions inherent in the production of the

annuals and in the production of meaning. In the 1835 edition to *Fisher's*, Landon takes

a poetic approach to her preface that celebrates the "power" of "pictured lines":

> And has my heart enough of song
>
> To give these pictured lines
>
> The poetry that must belong
>
> To what such art designs?
>
> The landscape, and the ruined tower,
>
> The temple's stately brow—
>
> Methinks I never felt their power
>
> As I am feeling now. (n.p.)

Landon questions whether she has enough "song" to provide the poetry that "must"

belong with the engravings, suggesting a forced relationship between text and image.

Nonetheless, she acknowledges the "power" of the engravings of landscapes and

architecture. Watts' lengthy prefaces often boast of his artful pairing of text and

literature, and Reynolds claims that the all of the *Keepsake's* "departments" had been

rendered "*perfect*" (v, original emphasis). Many prefaces take the opportunity to explain

changes in the annuals' format and thematic departures from prior years, but the overall

impact of the prefatory material is to present the pairing of literature and art as

successful, harmonious, and in keeping with the public's desire for such works.

O'Dea notes that in an effort to appear compliant with the annuals' artistic

requirements authors would occasionally change the name of their characters in pre-

existing tales to match an engraving's figures (66). The addition of an engraving to a

pre-existing work provided the illusion that the work was new, or at least newly illustrated. Excerpts from Scott's *Waverley* novels were a popular subject material for engravings and provided readily accessible and recognizable literary accompaniments to images of Scottish landscapes and scenes. For example, in 1838, *Fisher'*s included an engraving from *Ivanhoe* (1819) titled "Ivanhoe Rescued by the Black Night," and in the same year, *Friendship's Offering* included an engraving of Flora MacDonald from *Waverley* (1814). The use of the work of popular deceased writers also provided the editors with fodder for the annuals. Percy Bysshe Shelley's (1792-1822) and Lord Byron's (1784-1824) works appear repeatedly throughout the annuals after their deaths. Watts recycled Landon's work, and in the 1836 *Literary Souvenir*, he paired an engraving of H. Howard's painting *Fairies on the Sea Shore* with a similarly titled poem by Landon. A brief editorial remark notes that the poem's "beautiful lines are extracted from an early volume of Miss Landon's Poems ('The Troubadour'). They were written a short time after the picture was painted" (75). Whether or not Landon based her poem on the painting is not mentioned, although Watts notes that the painting was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1825 (75), thus inviting speculation about the relationship between poem and painting due to the public availability of the original work. Regardless of the origination of the text or the availability of the writer, publishers relied on the illusion that there is a relationship between text and image, and on the illusion that the recycled work would appear new and original when paired with an engraving.

Just as publishers recycled engraved plates and used poetry written by deceased writers, writers recycled their own work for use within the annuals. In 1828, Scott

"amused" himself by "converting 'The Tale of the Mysterious Mirror' into 'Aunt

Margaret's Mirror' designed for Heath's what'd'ye call it" (Scott, *Journal* 457).

Originally rejected by Heath, the revised and re-titled story was approved for publication

(Heath 50). In the introduction to an 1831 collection of short stories from the annuals,

Scott elaborated on his story's creation, noting, "it is a mere transcript, or at least with

very little embellishment, of a story I remembered as a boy" (n.p.). Scott recounts a

fireside tale told by Mrs. Swinton, and he claims to "tell the tale as it was told to me"

(n.p.). Scott's journal substantiates this: "the tale is a good one and is said actually to

have happened to Lady Primrose, my great grand-mother having attended her sister on

the occasion" (457). Scott's continued efforts to identify the origins of his story works

as a narrative ploy to validate the authenticity of the narrative as an overheard tale.

Scott's assertions about the tale's origination work to maintain the originality of

his piece by making the creation of the story personal rather than commercial; he also

attempts to distance himself from the overtly commercial nature of the pairing of

engraving and text. However, despite Scott's claim that he cleverly reworked an

existing story for the *Keepsake*, "My Aunt Margaret's Mirror" is associated with an

engraving in the annual. A descriptive passage on an adjacent page to the engraving

provides details that serve as a textual echo to the engraving's image. From the "two or

three low broad steps," to the "two naked swords laid crosswise," "large open book,"

and "human skull" (32), Scott appears to provide detailed descriptions of aspects of the

engraving of the "Magic Mirror." Scott's account of the "tall and broad mirror […]

illuminated by the lighted torches" seals the text's relationship to the engraving within

the annual (32). Despite Scott's claims about the text's origin as preexisting the

engraving, the reader's perception of the tale is tied directly to the presence of the

engraving. The subject of the engraving reflects the tale's thematic focus on the magical

and mysterious mirror.

While production may appear to privilege "image over narrative" (O'Dea 66),

the resulting pairing of poetry and picture does not betray this preference. On the

printed page, the reader is confronted with only the immediacy of the relationship

between media, not with the process in producing the relationship. Knowledge of the

production process increases our understanding of the meaning of a work, but we are not

dependent on this knowledge to appreciate the capability for multiplicity of meaning

within the work itself. The relationship between media has often been dismissed due to

the observation that "almost any poem will do so long as it allows the reader to identify

with the engraving's theme" (Pascoe 181). Yet, as evidenced by editors scrambling to

get celebrity writers, "any poem" would not always do. Instead, most of the poetry in

the annuals was required in some way to interact with the imagery, even if this

interaction was only spatially based, or if the aesthetic quality of this interaction was

debatable; when paired together text and poem enter into a dialogue, even if they

otherwise appear to share little in common.[31]

Dismissing the relationship between text and image, or removing the text from its

visual partner shifts the meaning of the work and removes its ekphrastic connotations.

Mitchell argues that the absence of the picture is essential to ekphrastic work. To

Mitchell, the ekphrastic encounter is "[…] purely figurative. The image, the space of

reference, projection, or formal patterning, cannot literally come into view" (699).

Mitchell continues, "the Textual Other" can "never be present, but must be conjured up

as a potent absence or a fictive, figural presence" (699). Mitchell's theory of ekphrasis

centers on absence, with the poem's ekphrastic meaning reliant on the absence of the

work of art. However, to be designated as ekphrastic, a poem is dependent on the

reader's awareness of the artwork's existence, and with this awareness, the link between

text and image is never fully severed by the artwork's potential absence. The

maintenance of this link suggests that ekphrasis does not necessarily depend on absence,

but rather depends on the reader's awareness or memory of a work of art. In the literary

annuals, the reader's awareness of the ekphrastic connection is heightened by the text's

proximity to its accompanying artwork, and this proximity ensures the maintenance of

an ekphrastic connection.

A broader approach to ekphrasis opens up the possibility that ekphrastic texts can

share the same space with their visual partner. Heffernan defines ekphrasis as the

"verbal representation of graphic representation" (Heffernan, "Representation" 299) and

argues that:

> [...] the *availability* of a painting represented by a poem should make no
>
> difference to our experience of the poem, which—like any specimen of
>
> notional ekphrasis—is made wholly of words. But the availability of the
>
> painting allows us to see how the poem reconstructs it, how the poet's
>
> word seeks to gain its mastery over the painter's image. (7)

Regardless of whether a poem works to reconstruct, represent, rebuff, ignore, or master

an image, a relationship between media exists in ekphrastic poems. Much to the reader's

advantage, the availability of the engravings in the annuals allows us to see the

complexity of the relationship between art and text firsthand. Shimon Sandbank

suggests that ekphrasis is based on such knowledge: "Ekphrastic poetry wants to

supersede art, but first needs the art it wants to supersede. There is a double movement

of attraction and suppression, dependence and negation" (238). The proximity of text

and image in the annuals allows us to witness this movement and assess whether the

relationship between media is one of attraction, suppression, dependence, or negation.

Ekphrasis then is not one mode of representing art, but many.

Poems do not always gain "mastery" over the images, nor do they always

"reconstruct" an image; the relationship between media is not always defined by an

attempt at one medium to gain dominance over another. The desire to place one art form

over another in a hierarchical relationship is common within theoretical discussions of

ekphrasis, but Andrew Becker suggests that the assumption that "all ecphrasis [sic] is

implicated in a rivalry between the media does not allow for the particular rhetoric and

the particular stance of a given ecphrasis to have its voice" (12). For meaning,

ekphrastic writing relies on its relationship to art and on one medium speaking about, to,

and for another (Heffernan 7). In the annuals, this relationship is cemented by the text's

proximity to its source art. Bose notes that in the annuals the "twofold representations of

a poem"—poem and engraving—may have served a purpose by increasing

> […] the average reader's capacity to appreciate the interrelation between the two arts by accustoming his sensibilities to glide easily from the appeal of a plate to that of the illustrative poem even though the appeal in either case might be crude and elaborately obvious. (39)

The ability for the reader to "glide" from engraving to text makes obvious the ekphrastic connection, and the evocation of the ekphrastic form opens the door to a variety of ways in which media can interact. Within the annuals, these interactions usually occur spatially, with an engraving appearing within close proximity to its textual partner. The spatial relationship between forms allows the reader to "easily" glide from text to plate and assess any transformation of meaning that occurs with an awareness of the dialogue between media.

The dialogue between media builds upon two narrative systems—that of visual and textual communication. Mitchell argues that there is "semantically speaking, no difference between texts and image" (702). He continues, "from the standpoint of referring, expressing intentions, and producing effects in a viewer/listener, there is no essential difference between texts and images" (701). In contrast, O'Dea suggests that the "unspeaking image must be narrated towards meaning" (66). For O'Dea, an image relies on words for meaning, and Heffernan likewise suggests that one medium speaks for another (7). Yet both text and image communicate independently and differently within the annuals, and indeed within any form combining media. Ekphrasis works to bridge this difference by sealing the relationship between media and encouraging the text to speak for or about art. However, in speaking "for" art, ekphrasis speaks

differently than its visual partner. The engravings suggest their own narratives, contain

their own symbolism, and follow their own artistic trends. Lines rather than words

direct the viewer's eye and subtle shading and expressions suggest—but do not

declare—tone. Art historians have long recognized the narrative power of art, and the

critical history of studying visual symbolism suggests that art is very capable of speaking

for itself.[32] Within the annuals, text provides an additional semantic dimension to the

images, narrating the images not "towards" meaning but adding, expanding upon, and

even departing from preexisting visual meaning.

Glenn Dibert-Himes' example of the differences of meaning—and the resulting

tension—between text and image in Landon's "Cottage Courtship" reveals the complex

relationship between media and the often-divergent narratives active in each. While the

narratives of text and image are joined by theme, space, and title, their meanings

intensify and diversify when studied together; separated, the tension between media

deflates and the multiple meanings diminish. During Dibert-Himes' exercise on

teaching "Cottage Courtship," his students expressed their "surprise at the congruities

between the engraving and the poem" (171). Their study of the engraving—projected on

a screen at the front of the class—and the poem—provided as a handout—reveals that

when poem and engraving are viewed together the engraving "sets up expectations that

the verbal text undermines" (Dibert-Himes 171). By undermining the engraving's

narrative, the poem embarks on its own agenda, one that for Dibert-Himes provides an

opening to discuss nineteenth-century gender roles with his class (172-173). Dibert-

Himes completes his students' multi-media interaction with Landon's text by providing

a recording of Henry Russell's score written to accompany the poem and engraving. While Dibert-Himes' students encounter both engraving and poem together, their encounter depends on modern technology to join the media. However, for nineteenth-century readers of the annuals the spatial proximity of media allows for an immediate analysis of the interaction of media.

The ability for the engravings to be removed from the annuals and sold independently is evidence that their visual narratives were perceived as capable of working independently from their text. Watts suggests that images do not need text to communicate meaning, and he argues that poetry "without entering into minute detail, may illustrate, in a page, the true spirit of a picture" (vi). He continues, noting, "the embellishments will speak, or rather have spoken, for themselves" (vii).[33] Likewise, Frederic Schoberl, editor of the *Forget-me-Not*, argues that the "graphic embellishments" in his annual, "will speak for themselves" (iii). The editors posit the annuals' engravings as fully capable of operating independently of the text; the engravings do not need the poetry to speak for them. However, a reviewer of the annuals in the 1829 *Monthly Review* takes a different approach to the engravings:

> They are all, without any material exceptions finished in the first style of art. But then they are mere engravings. If they had not been connected with narrative or descriptive matter, we do not know but that they would have had prodigious success. Being married to verse or prose, they must take their companions for better or for worse, and we fear that in most cases the latter must be their lot. (597)

The "mere engravings" are only successful after being "married to verse or prose" (597). To the reviewer, the quality of the engravings is dependent on the quality of the text with which they are paired. Second-rate poetry thus has the power to reduce the perceived success of the engravings, regardless of an engraving's own merit.

By pairing poetry with engravings of the work of popular artists, the editors strove to make the "marriage" between poetry and engraving a harmonious one by providing readers with instantly recognizable names. In Southey's "Stanzas, Addressed to J. M. W. Turner, ESQ. R. A. on his View of the Lago Maggiore From the Town of Arona," the acknowledgement in the title of Turner as the artist is a purposeful recognition of a popular artist—it is not just any depiction of Lago Maggiore, but it is Turner's depiction [Figure 2.3]. Likewise, it is not just any poem about a Turner painting, but a poem by a Poet Laureate. The reference to Turner's work instructs the reader to view W. R. Smith's engraving. The opening line continues the reference to the engraving by again naming the artist; "Turner, thy pencil brings to mind a day" (Southey 238), but the poem quickly departs from the scene in the engraving. The engraving reminds the speaker of an actual day, rather than a frozen moment captured in ink; the poem differentiates experience from the temporality of the engraving. The poem is about the speaker's recollection of the view, not Turner's depiction of the view. Contrary to the cloudiness of the engraving, the speaker remembers, that "no storm threaten'd on that summer-day" (Southey 239). Despite these moments of difference, the closing stanza compares reality to the scene in the engraving, and seems to approve
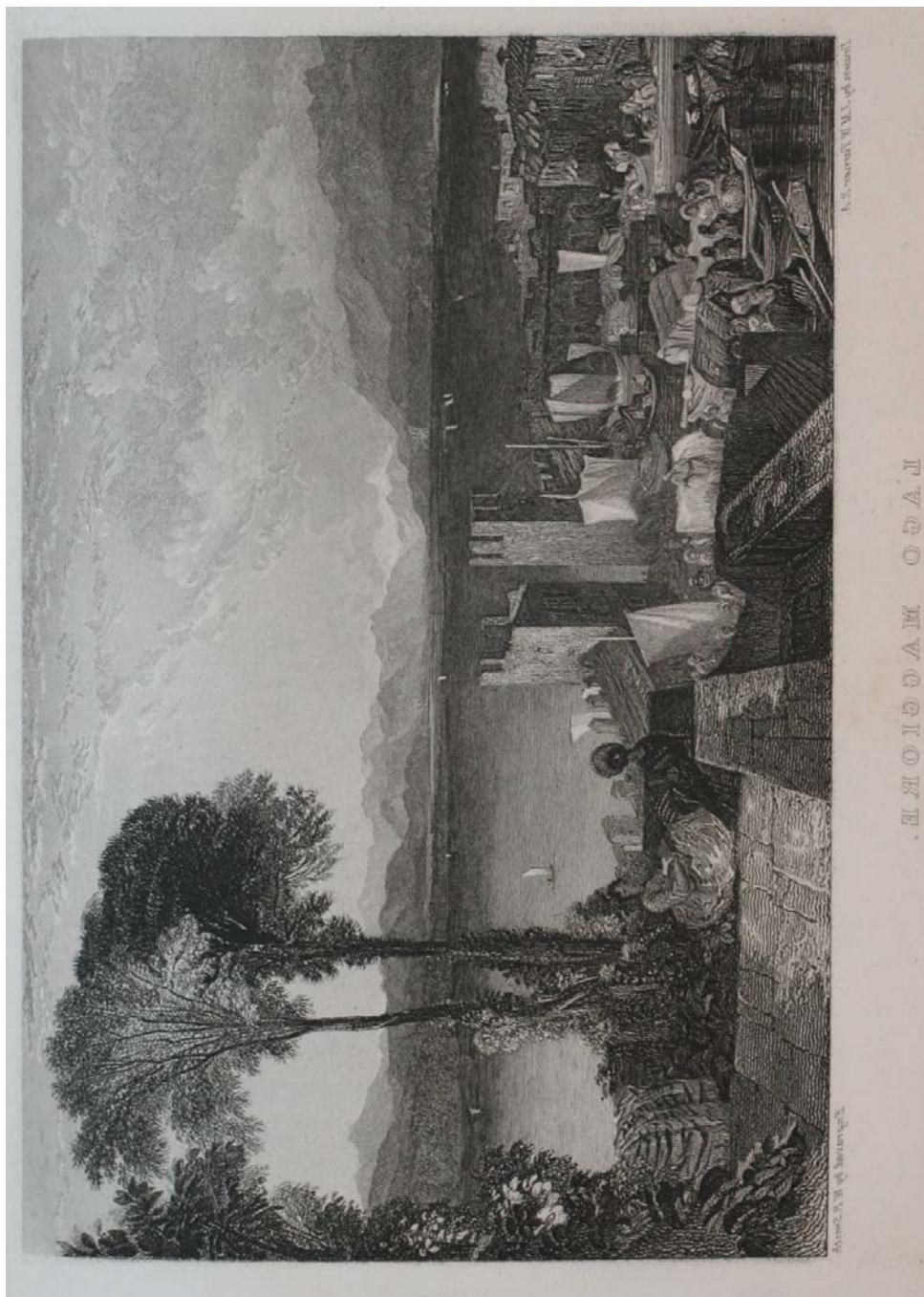
Figure 2.3. J.M.W. Turner, "Lago Maggiore," Engraved by William Smith. *The Keepsake*, 1829. Collection of the Author.

of the artist's perspective:

> Great painter, did thy gifted eye survey
>
> The splendid scene; and, conscious of its power,
>
> Well hath thine hand inimitable given
>
> The glories of the lake, and land, and heaven. (Southey 239)

In spite of the speaker's acknowledgement of the successful visual rendering of Lago

Maggiore, he questions the origination of the scene by asking whether the painter's eye

had "surveyed" the scene. Indeed, there are several surveyors of the scene: the artist,

the narrator, and the women depicted seated and looking out at the lake. Between the

poem and engraving we encounter two views of the lake—a visual scene by Turner and

a textual scene by Southey. Southey's title and acknowledgement of the engraving

within the poem draw the two views together, creating a merger between the visual and

textual descriptions of Lago Maggiore.

Turner's visual depiction of a scene Southey claims to have visited provides

Southey with a point of departure for the poem. Other engravings, particularly portraits

and landscapes, provide little visual narrative detail. In her preface to the 1835 edition

of *Fisher's*, Landon admits, "Some Engravings, portraits especially, though attractive as

works of art, are unmanageable as subjects for poems" (n.p.).[34] Of her poems

accompanying the portraits, Landon acknowledges that description of the portraits is not

enough, for "the days of poetical flattery are as much past" (n.p.). In many of Landon's

responses to portraits, she avoids flattery in favor of subtle sarcasm. Landon begins

"Verses," which appears in the 1829 edition of *The Keepsake*, with apparent "poetical

flattery." The poem begins, "Lady, thy face is very beautiful," but quickly shifts to a subtly sarcastic tone that notes "there is nought/About thee for the dreaming minstrel's thought" (Landon 121). The woman's beauty becomes nothing worth the minstrel's, and perhaps even the poet's, time. Hoagwood and Ledbetter note that Landon's treatment of the engraving of the Duchess of Bedford in "Verses" "amounts to sarcasm" (*Keepsake* n.p.). The sarcasm is apparent textually in several of the poem's lines and is enhanced by the engraving's representation of a contemporary and scandalous woman. Ekphrasis strengthens the sarcasm in the poem through the relationship between poem and engraving, and the engraving and the real Duchess.

Landon has the benefit of reality in trying to construct a poetical response to the portrait of the Duchess of Bedford. Numerous portraits in the annuals are of historical or contemporary figures, thereby providing writers with a history from which to build their poetic response. Other engravings depicting anonymous exotic women in exotic locales provide writers with enough suggestion of a visual narrative from which to build a textual response. Most anonymous portraits provide writers with no history to build upon save any intimation made by the engraving's title. For example, the simplicity of the engraving of "The Sisters" in the 1835 edition *Heath's Book of Beauty* stands in stark contrast to the annual's images of beautiful women in luxurious fabrics captured in detail in mezzotint prints. Other portraits in the edition at least provide creative titles or information regarding the pictured woman's rank, title, location, etc. In contrast, "The Sister's" drawing-like quality provides few details—visual or otherwise—for the author. Blessington, with little visual detail to go on, weaves a conversation between the two

sisters about a woman who "sinned—and suffered, loved—and died" (78). The narrative bears little relevance to the engraving besides its reference to two sisters.

Many poems invite the reader to acknowledge the engraving as the thematic starting place for the narrative. In the 1836 edition of the *Literary Souvenir*, Eleanor Louisa Montague's "The Discovery" faces an engraving of the same title. The engraving captures a moment of suspended action, with a mother leaning into her daughter. A small dog runs into the room, emphasizing the suddenness of the mother's arrival and the daughter's surprise at being discovered with a letter in hand. The poem uses the scene as a point of departure and builds a narrative based on the suspended action—the moment of discovery:

> Her hands are o'er the paper folded;
>
> She looks not in her mother's eye;
>
> Her lip into a smile is moulded;
>
> Her cheek the conscious blushes die […]. (Montagu 219)

The poem builds its story upon the visual stasis of the imagery but also the action implied in the engraving.[35] The visual image communicates both stasis and movement, and the women are frozen in an implicit rather than explicit plot. The poem actively engages the image with an expanded story, thereby activating any narrative potential within the image. The engraving's own narrative is both stagnant and pregnant with thematic potential, and it provides enough visual details to relay a story of a daughter caught by her mother with a letter.

In poems accompanying landscapes, the image often provides the framework for a story rather than a narrative to expand. To view Landon's poem the "Hindoo Temples and Palace at Madura" in the 1836 edition of *Fisher's* with its engraving, as nineteenth-century audiences would have, is to recognize the absence of Avyia from the engraving, for Landon writes the Indian poet into the scene. Landon encourages the reader to view the engraving and calls for the reader to "*look* on these temples" (50, my emphasis). The engraving focuses on the Indian landscape, but even the temples in which "a woman's triumph mid them is imprest" (Landon 50) are overshadowed by the natural landscape. Avyia is absent and the temples visually insignificant. To assume that Landon's inclusion of the Tamil poet is a "sophisticated formulation in the context of Imperial aesthetics" (Fernandez, n.p.), as Jean Fernandez does, is to overlook the format of the annuals and to speculate about authorial intention at the cost of the reality of the poem and engraving.[36] Such an approach also overlooks the role of the artist and engraver within the "formulation" of "Imperial aesthetics." Fernandez ignores the construction of the poem in its relationship to the engraving:

> When L. E. L. chose to write of a South Indian poetess, she was therefore entering into the highly contested territory of Indian-ness. L. E. L. recognizes the value of this poetess figure for her mission of resistance to patriarchal aesthetic traditions. […] L. E. L.'s text reads the inadequacies of the picturesque. The visual text cannot "represent" the hidden, secret, and feminine power of Indian art. (n.p.)

The visual "text"—the engraving—is based on a drawing by a British Royal Engineer, rather than finding its origination as an Indian creation, or even Landon's creation. Landon's ability to weave stories around the architectural focus of many of the poems in the 1836 edition allows the images to speak from a seemingly Indian perspective. Yet while the overall impression is of nostalgia or curiosity towards Indian culture, many of the poems allude to "the Christian knowledge that subdues," and India's existence in "darkness" suggest a darker image of imperialism than Fernandez suggests (Landon 44, 39).[37] Repeated references to the need to "subdue" India within the poems and the crumbling temples, graves, and death in the engravings, suggest British dominance over India. It is difficult to discern whether Landon indeed intends to make a feminist statement about patriarchal imperialism, or whether she simply attempts to incorporate stories into otherwise uneventful engravings of exotic locations. Neither poem nor engraving provides an answer about Landon's artistic motivations besides her need as editor and writer to provide "poetical illustrations."

If there are any conscious constructions of imperialism in "The Hindoo Temples, & Palace, at Madura," it may be in the context of the engraving, not the poem. The engraving, "The Celebrated Hindoo Temples, & Palace, at Madura," began as a drawing based on a sketch by Captain Chapman of the Royal Engineers [Figure 2.4]. In the engraving, based on W. Purser's drawing of Chapman's sketch, dark trees dominate the architecture and the few individuals in the foreground. The figures fade into the background as they head towards the faintly seen temples. Avyia is not present; indeed no individual dominates the scene, and humanity appears secondary to nature's

overbearing presence in the form of the tree. As the engraving is several degrees

removed from its original source, it is impossible to know the focus of Chapman's

original sketch, or his purpose in creating it.

The visual construction of "Hindoo Temples and Palace at Madura" and "The

Celebrated Hindoo Temples, & Palaces at Madura" is not limited to the poem and

engraving. Landon provides supplementary material to the poem in which she informs

her readers that "Madura was at one period the centre of 'might, majesty, and dominion'

in India" (51). We learn more from Landon about the geographical and historical scene

in the engraving than we do from the engraving itself. The engraving hints at the scene's

importance—it is after all a "celebrated" scene—but Landon's footnote and her poem

clarify the reason. Landon's footnote reinforces the decay represented by nature's

domination in the engraving: "though at present much decayed, it is in still great repute

for the magnificent ruins which surround it, and for the fine pagoda and choultry in its

neighborhood" (51). She connects her footnote back to the theme of her poem by

discussing "female education" (51). The footnote frames the poem and engraving within

contemporary contexts. Landon provides a triad of references for the reader to take in—

the image, poem, and supplementary material.[38]

Landon's use of supplementary materials—prefaces and footnotes—adds an

additional layer of meaning not only to her poems, but also to the engravings. In

Landon's "The Upper Lake of Killarney" in the 1832 edition of *Fisher's*, the presence of

a short footnote adds a layer of meaning otherwise absent in the engraving. The

engraving, "The Upper Lake of Killarney, Ireland" provides the reader with the subject,

Figure 2.4. William Purser, "The Hindoo Palace and Temple at Madura," Engraved by William Floyd. *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrapbook*, 1836. Collection of the Author.

and the engraving's subtitle provides the specific vantage point from which the view is taken, "near the tunnel on the Kenmare Road—Carran Tual in the Distance." Despite the specificity of place, Landon avoids a description of the scene and instead weaves a narrative around the story of Kate Kearney, who is neither identified nor named in the engraving or poem. The poem questions, "why doth the maiden turn away" (Landon, "Killarney" 17), but the engraving depicts no maiden; the only human form in the scene is that of a man pointing his cane towards the lake [Figure 2.5]. Landon's footnote justifies her story's reference to a narrative not depicted in the engraving: "The romantic story of Kate Kearney, 'who dwelt by the shore of Killarney,' is too well known to need repetition" ("Killarney" 17). Landon does not name Kate in the poem, and she neither retells the tale nor embarks on a description of the engraving. The poem questions of Kate's fate, "how many share such destiny" (Landon, "Killarney" 17), but the answer relies on the reader's knowledge of Kate's destiny. The poem builds its meaning upon the assumption that readers will associate the location of both the engraving and the poem with Kate's well-known story. In addition, the footnote's proximity to the poem and engraving transfers its own intertextual references to poetry, song, drama, history, and art to both the poem and the engraving.

The tale of Kate Kearney, who "lived on the banks of Killarney" (Owenson, lines 1-2), underwent a multi-media revival in the period. Lady Morgan (Sydney Owenson, 1776-1859) popularized Kate's story in her ballad "Kate Killarney," which was published in *Twelve Original Hibernian Melodies* (1805) and various other collections of Irish ballads. Thomas Crofton Croker's (1798-1854) *Popular Songs of Ireland* (1839)

Figure 2.5. William H. Bartlett, "The Upper Lake Killarney, Ireland," Engraved by William Le Petit. *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrapbook*, 1832. Collection of the Author.

recounts the traditional Irish tale of the "Court of Cahirass," a song that tells of the "fatal" meeting between a man and the seductive "Katey" near Killarney (174). Irish painter Richard Rothwell (1800-1868) exhibited his painting of Kate Kearney at the Royal Academy in 1835 (Redgrave 370); however, the painting was not placed in full view of the public (*Gazette* 331). The *Literary Gazette* reported that

> […] in spite of the warning held out in the song, the artist has ventured to depict the fascinating smile of Kate Kearney: but lest even her resemblance should be attended by danger, the hanging-committee of the academy have placed it as nearly out of sight as possible. (331)

The hanging-committee appears to take to heart the ballad's warning about Kate. Lady Morgan's poem warns: "from the glance of her eye shun danger and fly/for fatal's the glance of Kate Kearney! […] Beware of her smile/ for many a wile/ Lies hid in the smile of Kate Kearney!" (Owenson, lines 3-4). By removing the painting from the main exhibition rooms, the hanging committee protects the public from Kate's seductive and fatal glance.

In Landon's poem, Kate "turns away" ("Killarney" 17). The absence of Kate in the engraving and from descriptive passages in the poem prevents us from seeing Kate. Like the hanging-committee, Landon protects the reader from the danger of Kate's gaze, but we are nonetheless invited to look for Kate in both the text and engraving as the footnote transfers the "well-known" tale of Kate to each. Landon interweaves Kate's story with an older, traditional Irish tale—that of the Irish Chief O'Donoghue.[39] The footnote's brief mention of O'Donoghue acts as an intertextual reference to the larger

cultural resurrection of the legend of O'Donoghue. The Act of Union precipitated English interest in Ireland and the period's resurgence of English interest in Irish tales and Irish tours increases the possibility of a reader's awareness of the legends associated with Lake Killarney; like Kate's story, the story of O'Donoghue did not need repeating.

While O'Donoghue is not named in the poem, the footnote clarifies that he is the "chieftain" mentioned. The poem marries both stories by depicting Kate as a woman so enchanted with the chieftain in the "haunted lake" that she turns away from "love and flattery" (Landon, "Killarney" 17). Rather than bewitch men, Kate appears bewitched by the story of O'Donoghue, and the poem warns not of the danger of Kate's eyes, but instead warns against becoming caught up in the Chieftain's legend, for "Over such visions eyes but weep" (Landon, "Killarney" 17). Despite the traditional depiction of Kate as a bewitching seductress, Landon's poem positions Kate in a more sympathetic light, as a woman too enthralled with the mythical prince to be a fatal seductress. The poem's tale is more about O'Donoghue and his yearly appearance above the surface of the lake than it is about Kate. By focusing on Lake Killarney's association with the tale of O'Donoghue, Landon cements her poem's connection to the engraving. For in the engraving we cannot see Kate, but we can, like the individual pointing to the lake, search the lake's surface for the mythical chieftain and his city.

Alone, the engraving is simply a depiction of Lake Killarney from a specific vantage point, but Landon's footnote transforms and multiplies meaning in the engraving.[40] The artist W. H. Bartlett depicts the lake surrounded by mountains, rocks, and trees, which create a circle around the lake, thereby forcing the viewer's eye to

acknowledge the engraving's subject—the lake itself. The lone figure of a man pointing out to the lake—perhaps to the spot where O'Donoghue disappeared—reinforces the subject of the landscape. The engraving's subtitle only provides details regarding the specificity of place; neither the title nor the image itself alludes to any of the legends associated with the area. However, coupled with the information in the footnote, the engraving becomes part of a larger narrative tradition, invoking Irish legends (that of Chief O'Donoghue), the historical location of Kate's home, traditional Irish ballads, contemporary works, and Landon's own poem. The footnote asks us to look past the view "near the tunnel" and instead look at the lake through the lens of myth and history. Rather than unravel the connection between poem and engraving by departing from a descriptive response, Landon's footnote cements the connection between the poem and engraving, linking image and text through the association of Lake Killarney with Kate Kearney.

In "Lismore Castle, Co. Waterford," also in the 1832 edition of *Fisher's*, Landon continues her use of appended explanatory notes to justify her departure from the engraving. The engraving, based on a drawing by Bartlett, depicts two fly fishermen in contemporary dress fishing. Lismore castle casts an imposing figure in the background. The fisherman's pole provides a visual line that directs the viewer's eye to the castle in the background, thereby making the castle the central focus of the engraving, despite its smaller scale. Landon's poem begins with a description of the castle as seen in the engraving, "How calmly, Lismore, do thy battlements rise/ O'er the light woods around thee" (21). The poem's descriptiveness creates a verbal representation of the

engraving's visual representation of the painting of the castle, which in turn is a representation of the castle itself. The poem then shifts from a representation of the present—the castle and the engraving—to the medieval past. The footnotes provide supplementary excerpts from O'Driscol's *History of Ireland*, a "Popular Tradition," and reference to Henry II's promulgation of English law in Ireland in 1172. The footnotes continue the poem's connection to the past. The engraving's contemporary image appears to work counter to the medieval references, but Landon remedies this within the poem: "I see thee Lismore, if I dream of the past" (21). We are asked to look past the engraving to what the castle historically represents, and the notes function to explain the historical significance of the castle. The poem's descriptiveness provides a link to the engraving, while the notes function to re-situate the poem and engraving in the past.

Just as the presence of a work of art allows for an ekphrastic reading of the text, the absence of a work of art can also influence a work's meaning by unraveling the ekphrastic connection. For *The Keepsake* in 1831, the Earl of Mulgrave composed "The Bridemaid: A Sketch" to accompany an engraving. The engraving was not completed in time, but the story was nonetheless published, prompting Mulgrave to entice the editor to include the following insert: "Sir, You must be perfectly aware that the following pages were written solely and expressly as an accompaniment to the beautiful engraving of the Bridemaid. They have not separate merit whatever […]" (insert, 222). Mulgrave objects to the publication of his story without the engraving, but he decides that he does not want to delay the publication of the annual. However, he finds that without the accompanying engraving, his text no longer has the intended meaning. Without the

insert, the reader would be none the wiser, for despite descriptive passages in the story, there is nothing in the text to direct the reader's attention to a visual counterpart to the text. Without the public's access to or awareness of the engraving, the ekphrastic-type meaning of the story falters, and the story becomes just a story, rather than a story with a visual partner.

Within the annuals, poetry is the most prevalent textual companion to engravings, but short stories are numerous in annuals like *The Keepsake*. The annuals' short stories are not ekphrastic in the poetic tradition, but their relationship to their visual counterpart is not that of text to illustration. Rather, as the image predates the story in most cases, the text in the annuals' short stories provides a "verbal representation" of the "graphic representation" of the engraving. Through thematic similarities, descriptive passages, and through its mere placement near an engraving, the annuals' prose, like its poetic sister, enters into dialogue with its accompanying images. The presence of short stories in the annuals is in itself significant, as the annuals "allowed for the development of the short story at a time when the genre was not yet fully shaped" (Ledbetter, "Lucrative" 215). As with ekphrastic poetry, the relationship between prose and picture is a complicated one, and the relationship triggers a dialogue between media that is reminiscent of that in ekphrastic texts. The traditional placement of engraving and poem in close proximity within the annuals seals the ekphrastic relationship between media. Shared titles between engraving and poetry rhetorically enforce this relationship. Despite this spatial relationship, the connection between text and image is not always

clear. The static in conversation between text and image is especially evident in the annuals' short stories and longer poems.

Shelley's short story "The Elder Son" in *Heath's Book of Beauty* (1835) has, at first glance, a questionable relationship to its accompanying engraving. The story is paired with an engraving titled "Ellen" that depicts a young woman holding a book.[41] The title of the story and the engraving share no similarities and there is nothing in the opening paragraphs to aid the reader in making a connection between text and image. A textual reference to the engraving does not occur until after fifteen pages of the story have passed, and Ellen—the subject of the engraving—is not named as the first-person speaker of the narrative until thirteen pages after the start of the story.[42] When Shelley does refer to the engraving, she weaves its creation into the story, thus inviting the reader to make the connection between image and text. Ellen recounts that "as I indulged in reverie, my head resting on my hand, my book falling from my fingers, my eyes closed; and I passed from the agitated sense of life and sorrow into the balmy forgetfulness of sleep" (Shelley 109). The passage aptly describes the posture of the woman in the engraving, but it occurs at a spatial distance from the image. Shelley remedies this distant association by weaving the creation of the image into the narrative. Clinton, witness to Ellen's repose, makes a "hasty sketch" of her sleeping which is reminiscent of the image of Ellen in the engraving (Shelley 109); Clinton's sketch provides a textual cue to the reader to remember the engraving. When Ellen awakes, she finds the sketch "beyond [their] contract" and asks Clinton to relinquish the sketch (Shelley 109-110). Clinton willingly does so, and he parts from Ellen with "no memorial beyond a

remembrance which he could not destroy" (Shelley 109). In reclaiming the sketch, Ellen

seeks to preserve the privacy and uniqueness of her image. In contrast, the annual's

engraving is very much a public and distributable work of art.[43]

The placement of the engraving in other annuals does not occur at the beginning

of the story or poem but rather near a relevant passage of the text. In the preface to

Friendship's Offering (1832), the editor Thomas Pringle (1789-1834) specifically refers

to one of his own contributions. Pringle notes of "The Fairy of the Lake" that the

> […] *design*, so far as it can claim originality, is exclusively the Artist's
>
> own; the corresponding passage of the poem which accompanies it,
>
> having been introduced on purpose, and very recently—although some
>
> parts of the same poem were written many years ago. The 'Dream of
>
> Fairy-Land,' in truth, was originally a mere juvenile flight of fancy—a
>
> school-boy's reverie—without any definite aim, but […] the idea of an
>
> allegorical application was suggested by this picture; and thus flutters
>
> forth with painted wings […]. (vii)

Pringle tries to distance himself from the contemporary engraving by noting that the

poem's creation spans twenty years, and while he acknowledges the originality of the

artist's design, he invites a connection to the artwork by providing a "corresponding

passage." The poem precedes the engraving by several pages, thus establishing itself as

the primary medium. The delayed placement of the engraving appears purposeful, as it

appears adjacent to a passage of the poem that describes the scene depicted. Regardless

of which medium came first, the passage's proximity to the engraving invites an

ekphrastic reading of the poem. Pringle's mention of his poem in the preface encourages this connection, and he admits that his poem fluttered "forth with painted wings" only after the "idea of an allegorical application" was suggested by the picture. As with Coleridge in the "Garden of Boccacio," Pringle does not shy away from his poem's indebtedness to art.

With Pringle's "Fairy of the Lake" and Scott's "My Aunt Margaret's Mirror," the placement of the engraving alongside a relevant portion of text encourages the reader to acknowledge both text and picture. Other poems use rhetoric to invite the reader to look upon the engraving. Landon's "Henry IV to the Fair Gabrielle" begins with a description of the engraving by referring to the scene's action. The king appears to put aside Gabrielle's veil in the engraving, and the poem begins accordingly, "Nay, fling back that veil" (75). Felicia Hemans' "Evening Prayers" not only incorporates the setting of its accompanying engraving into the narrative, but also repeatedly asks the reader to "Gaze on" (156). The poem's repetition of the word "gaze" invites the reader to "gaze" upon the engraving. The concept of looking is a prevalent theme in many of the annuals. In the 1836 edition of *Fisher's*, many of Landon's poems invoke the tradition of looking from the perspective of a tourist, and this theme begins with the frontispiece depicting a gathering of tourists at Niagara Falls. [44] The continuation of the theme of looking is apparent in the engraving of *The Cloisters, Fountain's Abbey*, which likewise depicts a gathering of contemporarily dressed tourists exploring. A footnote to Landon's poem provides a textual tour of the abbey complete with architectural details (41). In the engraving "Warkworth Hermitage, Northumberland," a tour guide is

depicted pointing the hermitage out to a group of individuals. Landon's poem balances description with a narrative of the hermitage's history, and her supplementary footnote provides everything from architectural details to the hermitage's location on the Coquet River (13). These moments make the connection between media explicit and difficult to overlook. Just as Hemans' poem invites the reader to "gaze on," Landon's poems and explanatory notes encourage the reader to look, and accordingly, to be like the individuals in the images tourists of the scene.

Whether the text bids us to look or whether the spatial proximity of text and image forces us to look, the relationship between picture and text within the literary annuals is difficult to avoid. Whether in a poem that reluctantly responds to yet another portrait or in a short story that incorporates descriptive prose to refer to a landscape, most of the annuals' literature works in conjunction—but not necessarily in harmony—with its accompanying image. The ekphrastic tradition thrives in the annuals' poetry, and the annuals' inclusion of art provides the reader with the benefit of witnessing the interaction between media firsthand. The focus on the visual within the annuals reminds readers of the multiplicities of meanings inherent in the genre, for text, image, and the combination of text and image all contribute to the overall meaning of the work. To overlook the relationship between text and engraving is to look for meanings that may not exist, as the relationship between the two media may undermine definitive meanings or generate new ones. The annuals' text exists in a format that invites the reader to both see *and* read the work, and in doing so, we may learn to celebrate rather than ignore the tensions within.

Perhaps the true originality of the annuals is their successful façade of originality. The illusionary nature of the genre—the promotion of recycled works, copies of original works, the bindings' faux silk covers, etc—requires that we look carefully at the annuals and that we look with an awareness of the production processes that create the illusion of originality. Indeed, the production of the annuals relies on the ability of the finished product to represent what it is not—an original work of art. In this unoriginality is the undeniable reality of the annuals as a prevalent and powerful cultural artifact of the nineteenth century. Rather than dismiss the annuals as products of mass-production and popular culture, our designation of the annuals as cultural artifacts opens up the opportunity to study further the interaction of text and image within print culture.

Despite flashier trappings and an increase in the number of engravings per edition of most of the annuals, by the 1850s, the public had seen too much of the annuals. By the 1830s, the quality of the engravings began to decline and the annuals' readership shifted to a primarily female audience (Hootman, *Index*). As early as 1828, a reviewer in the *Monthly Review* observed that the market was heading towards saturation:

> […] the competition cannot be but useful to the public, but we apprehend it will not be equally so to all the publishers, for it is almost impossible that an adequate sale can be found for each of the works of this description which have lately issued from the press. (541)

Publishers would make adequate sales well into the Victorian era, but by the 1850s, the annuals' popularity fizzled out. Harry Hootman observes that in 1832 the annuals sold

7,078 copies, but that by 1847 the annuals' sales declined to only 1,587 (*Index*). Edged out of the market by changing tastes and an emerging tide of Victorian magazines and literary miscellanies (Hutchison 474), the annuals disappeared from readership and critical view for decades. As the annuals became less of a reputable outlet for established writers, writers like Scott sought other means to position their work in a marketplace that still expressed an interest in visual materials. As the literary annuals began their decline, the rise of the novel prompted an increasing demand for illustrated books. Illustrated books, like the annuals, present an element of illusion by promising originality through the pairing of text and image. For some texts, this promise proves profitable; for others, the power of visual imagery to communicate its own meaning presents consequences for the text as a whole. Like the literary annuals, illustrated books invite us to read and see the work and as we look, to question the consequences of the interaction of media upon the meaning of the work.

Notes

1. *The Flowers of Loveliness* proves to be an exception to the usual format of engraving preceding the text. In *Flowers*, the engravings were designed after the poems (Hawkins 21). Furthermore, not all of the literature in the annuals is accompanied by an engraving.

2. Margaret Linley suggests that Landon "recontextualizes and embellishes" the engravings, and as a result of this recontextualization she argues that Landon's poems give the engravings new life (63). Yet this "new life" depends on the existence of the engraving. Lee Erickson also dismisses the contextual relationship between poems and engraving and observes, "much of the poetry in the Annuals simply described the engraved plates" (41). Landon's work may show some apathy to the multitude of engravings to which she was tasked with responding to, but her poetic "illustrations" demonstrate the complexity of meaning within ekphrastic works.

3. As he did with Gillray and Cruikshank, Thackeray distinguishes between "genius" and the commercial artist, decrying of Landon that "An inferior talent […] must sell itself to live—a *genius* has higher duties; and Miss Landon degrades hers" (763). The writers of the *Literary Gazette*, however, expressed their appreciation of the "exhaustless versatility" of Landon's "genius" (803).

4. Daniel A. Bose's echoes Thackeray and declares that there is "hardly a memorable instance in the Annuals of a first-rate illustration to a first-rate poem" (39).

5. Daniel Riess suggests that Landon later felt that she "prostituted her poetic talents for money and fame by publishing in the annuals" (820); however, he also notes

that "her willingness to participate in degraded or commercialized literary venues fills many with antipathy and disgust, yet that very willingness defines her importance in English literary history" (824).

6. Margaret Linley argues that Landon's poems seem to "have little affinity with engravings," but concedes that her poems demonstrate "an astonishing ability to turn the adversities of the book trade into creative material" (64).

7. It is difficult to believe that the annuals single-handedly "lowered poetic standards," or that by including engravings the annuals forced the subordination or prostitution of a writer's talent. Such judgments reflect not only stereotypes about the commercial nature of the relationship between media in the annuals, but also present a critical perspective blinded by biases against mass-produced literary products. Rather than condemn the annuals for their commercial appeal, it is relevant to question why the annuals and engravings were so popular. While the public acceptance of a work does not denote its aesthetic value, it does suggest the need to evaluate the work in terms of its cultural importance. The reader's perspective of encountering text and image together is a valid—and valuable—subject to study for what it reveals about the period's print culture. Accordingly, recent work by Hoagwood, Ledbetter, and O'Dea has begun to turn attention to the relationship between text and image within the annuals.

8. In the early-nineteenth century, several factors—such as the cost of papermaking, the Napoleonic Wars, the Book Trade Crisis (1826), the Great Reform Bill (1832), and changes in taxation—influenced the overall cost of the production of books (Eliot 28). As the cotton industry became mechanized, there was an increase in the

availability of rags for paper, and as supply increased, the cost of books decreased

(Erickson 7). The invention of the Fourdrinier Machine further mechanized

papermaking, allowing for faster and cheaper production of paper (Feather 6). The iron

press increased book-making productivity, but publishers were still faced with the need

to composite type—a time consuming and expensive project (Feather 7). Seeking faster

ways to get news in print, newspapers embraced the steam-powered press by 1814, but

the book industry was slower to embrace the new technology (Feather 7).

9. Several critics, such as Linley, have embarked on the study of the act of

giving and receiving literary annuals. Linley notes that "bestowing a present of a gift

book allows for the self-conscious staging of sympathy and affection as a semiotic

dynamic at play in the performance and intervention in the fantastic world of beautiful

things" (57).

10. Sypher notes that the annuals "displayed the wealth and taste of the host and

hostess, and offered a subject at hand for conversation with visitors and guests" (122).

While circulating portfolios of graphic satire likewise provided fodder for conversation,

their portfolio format allowed them to be removed at will when discriminating company

entered. In contrast, the annuals were meant to be displayed and seen in the in public

receiving room of the house.

11. Stephenson notes that the annuals "were designed, like a piece of furniture,

for a particular space in the early nineteenth-century home, a space that was specifically

coded feminine, and, since intended not for use and entertainment of the family but for

the entertainment of visitors, a space that became the main stage upon which to act out

the rituals of middle-class social life" (132). The annuals, then, become major actors in the staged domestic sphere.

12. Despite the prints' appearance as a new decorative object, Basil Hunnisett observes, "the very proliferation of engravings made them commonplace" (3).

13. In this light, Ann Hawkins considers the annuals' engravings the "nineteenth century equivalent of clip art" (21).

14. The separation of text and image on the page is a conventional arrangement as letterpress and engravings were printed separately.

15. While Watts was negotiating with Henry William Pickersgill (1782-1875) for permission to have his painting the *Oriental Loveletter* (1824) engraved, Pickersgill sold the painting (Watts 255), leaving Watts with the need to look elsewhere for suitable art.

16. For contemporary artists, a mention in a poem by Landon provided a highly sought after publicity opportunity. Eric Adams notes that "the rendering of successful exhibition pictures into verse was Miss Landon's specialty; her attentions were the surest sign that a painter had arrived" (51).

17. Many engravings also include information about the publishers of the engravings. The "publishing line" usually appears centered underneath the title in small letters (Hunnisett 52).

18. While the art of engraving has been criticized for this practice, Hunnisett reminds readers that painters often practiced the same division of labor within their studios (55).

19.   The division of labor in engraving ateliers allowed engravers to develop specializations and sped up the overall engraving process (Heath 58).

20.   Bernard Denvir notes that "never before had the public been able to avail themselves of so many books about art, and never before had there been so many anxious to do so" (14).

21.   Observing that many annuals are "deteriorating" in the "quantity and quality" of their illustrations, Watts strove to refocus his annual on art while also boasting of the quality of his annual's engravings.

22.   For example, the 1832 *Forget-Me-Not* includes an engraving of Don Juan and Haidee from Byron's *Don Juan* and the 1834 *Friendship's Offering* provides an engraving of "The Chieftain's Daughter" accompanying an excerpt from Scott's *Waverley* novels.

23.   Moorman suggests that growing financial demands prompted Wordsworth to publish in *The Keepsake* (453). In a letter to a friend, Dora Wordsworth notes that: "Father […] could not feel himself justified in refusing a so advantageous offer— degrading enough I confess but necessity has no law, and galling enough but we must pocket our pride sometimes and it is good for us" (qtd. in Moorman 453). In "pocketing" his pride, Wordsworth also pocketed money. Wordsworth eventually disentangled his name from the annuals, and Manning suggests that this decision was based on a "contractual disagreement" with the editors, rather than his disdain of the annuals (60).

24. The aggressiveness of editors in securing the participation of well-known writers has been well documented. For details of Heath and Reynolds's tour through the country courting authors, see Scott's journal and the letters of Coleridge and Southey.

25. Sypher notes that Landon's "initialist signature" is "almost part of the genre" (121).

26. The Countess of Blessington served as editor and contributor for the following annuals: *Heath's Book of Beauty's* (1834-1849), *Gems of Beauty* (1836-1840), *Flowers of Loveliness* (1836-1837), and *The Keepsake* (1841-1850) (Hootman 33-34). Norton assumed editorial duties for *Fisher's* after Landon's death in 1838 (Hootman, *Index*), and she also edited and contributed to *The English Annual* (1835-1838), and *The Keepsake* (1836) (Hootman 33-34).

In an attempt to disassociate her business—and public—identity from her personal self, Harriet Devine Jump suggests that Gardiner worked to separate her public scandals from her professional role as writer and editor by writing "moralistic" poems in the annuals (9). In contrast to Gardiner's attempt to disassociate herself from her work, Landon's sentimental and emotional poems invite a comparison to her life; however, Leighton reminds us that Landon was a "drawing room attraction by night and a hack journalist by day," writing for hours, not out of inspiration, but out of the necessity to financially survive (52). For a detailed discussion of women writers and the annuals, see work by Patricia Pulham, Jump, and Hoagwood and Ledbetter.

27. Pulham argues that "when women write of women" the subject and the poet "blur into one" (28). To Pulham, this process is "exacberated by the presence of the

female body […] there is little distinction to be made between the female poet and the female 'object' depicted in the engravings for both are essentially 'on display' and eroticized in the process" (28).

28. Hoagwood and Ledbetter note that the tendency to equate the "page with the person" and to insert a "supplement of personal feeling" into texts is detrimental to our understanding of works as cultural artifacts (12). The fiction of "[…] personal feeling […] disguises commodity-production as personal feeling. A related critical fiction is the illusion that literary commodities are themselves thoughts and feelings, rather than manufactured ones" (Hoagwood and Ledbetter 5). Landon's poems, in particular, often disguise the commodity nature of her work by participating in the period's trend for sentimental women's writing. Many of her poems are quite sentimental, even if the accompanying engraving communicates little emotion. Landon's poems respond to the expectations of her role as a woman writer in a market with an expanding female readership, and "the love, passion and suffering that became associated with L.E.L. through her poems became entangled with the life of Landon" (Hoagwood and Opdycke 6).

29. The financial needs of writers like Coleridge, Scott, and Shelley are often cited as the basis for their participation in the annuals in an effort to excuse their participation in such a commercial venture. Yet differentiating between a writers' individual work with that of the annuals on the basis of profit is difficult, for each product entered the marketplace designed to garner profits and publicity for its creator.

30. Coleridge's letters are a testament to the volatile publishing atmosphere surrounding the annuals. Hall printed poems in the *Amulet* without Coleridge's permission (752), and Reynolds attempted to secure Coleridge's employment as a writer by offering him a financial arrangement pending Coleridge's agreement to "contribute to no other Annual" (Coleridge, *Letters* 754). When Reynolds learned that Coleridge provided poems to Watts, he amended the condition (Coleridge, *Letters* 639). Watts, like Reynolds, attempted to secure Coleridge exclusively. Coleridge's letters cite financial need and family responsibilities as his reason for accepting the offers of Heath and Reynolds (Coleridge, *Letters* 777).

31. Hoagwood and Ledbetter observe, "sometimes the text has little in common with the picture except a title, but together they produce a subtext in two languages— first the engraved art, and then the textual after-image of the visible object" (101). The dialogue of art and literature communicating together creates an additional subtext.

32. Wendy Steiner's P*ictures of Romance: Form against Content in Painting and Literature*, provides an overview of the narrative power of pictures and text.

33. Admittedly, it is in Watts' interest to have both poetry and picture speak for themselves, for if the "embellishments" successfully speak for themselves, they can also potentially sell for themselves too.

34. Portraits in the annuals ranged from historical figures to contemporary figures of fashionable society.

35. O'Dea argues that when a "mood" or "scene" is depicted, more is required of the writer, and he notes "the potential degree of intersection between the verbal and

visual texts is implicitly more acute; the 'scene' or 'mood' the image suggests in itself that it has been severed from a beginning and a end, cut off from a narrative to which it naturally belongs" (66). Yet the image's own narrative builds on this severing and thus asks the viewer to create their own version of the narrative to which the scene belongs.

36. Fernandez is not alone in writing "personal feeling" into Landon's poetry in the 1836 edition. Writing about the "Immolation of Hindoo Widow," Linley argues, "Landon expresses an affiliation with the colonized woman that sensationalizes and universalizes the condition of female oppression" (69). It is prudent to heed Hoagwood and Ledbetter's advice against equating the "page with the person" (12).

37. The multiple references to India and South Asia in the 1836 edition capitalize on the public's curiosity with the country's growing empire, a curiosity that presented an avenue for publishers to make profits. An advertisement at the end of the annual heralds an upcoming edition of the "Views in the Himalayan Mountains, India" complete with twenty-five "line engravings on steel" and dedicated to the queen. Eight additional poems in the 1836 edition refer to Asia or India and alternate between references to foreign and English scenes.

38. Harris notes that in providing supplementary notes, Landon offers a "well-rounded" illustration of the engraving (150).

39. The story of the Irish Chieftain O'Donoghue, whose "memory [had] been cherished by successive generations with affectionate reverence" (Croker, *Fairy* 172), was relayed in a recent 1834 republication of Croker's *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland* (1825) and in Hannah Bourke's poem, "O'Donoghue, Prince of

Killarney, a Poem" (1830). In 1829, O'Donoghue's story was brought to the stage by

playwright James Robinson Planché (1796-1880) in *Thierna-Na-Oge*, which opened on

Drury Lane to positive reviews (*Dramatic Magazine*, 68). The 1829 *Keepsake* includes

a story of "The Legend of Killarney" by Thomas Haynes Bayley.

40. In concert with the rest of the annual, "The Upper Lake of Killarney,

Ireland" participates in the annual's inclusion of numerous depictions of Irish

landscapes.

41. Hoagwood and Ledbetter suggest that "mimetic images of reading women

become a frequent feature of *Keepsake* art throughout the years, in a thinly disguised and

conventional advertisement for itself" (120-121).

42 . Of Shelley's story "The Trial of Love," O'Dea notes that Shelley

> Does not […] overemphasize the engraving in her own tale in an attempt
>
> to force the connection between them. To describe the scene in minute
>
> detail would inflate it out of proportion with the duration of the scene in
>
> the tale […]. Instead, Shelley allows the momentum of the preceding
>
> action to carry the moment, using" visual cues. (68)

Shelley may not "overemphasize" the engraving, but the editor's placement of the

engraving in the middle of the story next to its textual counterpart does emphasize the

engraving.

43. The contrast between the private nature of the content and the public nature

of the literary form is part of the thematic nature of the annuals.

44. Additional poems in the 1836 edition of *Fisher's,* such as the "Scenes in London" series*,* are also visually based but have no accompanying engraving.

CHAPTER IV

"APPROPRIATE EMBELLISHMENTS":

ILLUSTRATED SUPPLEMENTS TO SIR WALTER SCOTT'S WORK

In a letter dated February 1829, Charles Heath advises Sir Walter Scott that the success of his republished works depends on the inclusion of images. Heath recognizes that illustrating Scott's work would make them "certain of a great sale," but he reminds Scott that as his works are "not *new* works the Plates will be a great attraction" (qtd. in Heath 54). Heath continues, noting that the "extensiveness" of the sale of Scott's "Novels and Tales […] will depend on their *excellence* both as to design and Engraving" (qtd. in Heath 54). As Heath was well aware, the reprinting of texts with illustrations expands the meaning of the existing text by introducing a multi-media dialogue. The "new" meaning created by expanding the text to include visual images has implications for the text as a whole. Despite creative marketing and the expansion of the text through the inclusion of visual counterparts, the finished product is not a new text because it has entered the market once before. Nonetheless, the republished text depends on the illusion of originality created through the addition of illustrations for its new success. A text reissued as an illustrated work must offer some premise of originality in order to distinguish it from its previously published form.[1]

The saturation of the market with copies of visual works endangers a work's perceived originality, and instead of promoting the originality of their illustrated

collections, editors promote visual reality. To make Scott's work new, editors promise

readers access to real scenes from Scott's novels and real landscapes from Scotland.

Editors assure readers that the illustrations depict "real life" and "true" views of Scotland

(Wright n.p.), that the illustrations "record real scenes, and not imaginary subjects" (Tilt

n.p.), and that the illustrations relate with "perfect authenticity to the corresponding

relations between the real existing scenes, and their introduction into the Waverley

Novels" (Skene 5-6). In illustrated supplements to Scott's work, the concept of reality

supplants originality.[2] The promise of new realities makes Scott's work new by

transferring visual meaning back to the text and vice versa, and the editors' constant

promotion of visual reality works to validate the realities of place, history, and

personages in Scott's text. At the same time, the illustrations attempt to make Scott's

work real through representations of fictional characters and actual Scottish locations,

thereby conflating fictional representations with true representations. Detailed histories

of topics ranging from medieval armor to castle halls add validity and reality to the

fiction of Scott's text. Editorial comments, quotations from Scott's work, and histories

of places and personages provide ongoing commentaries that seek to justify the

relationship between text and image. In this sense, it is the text—not the images—that

promotes the façade of visual reality.

Text in the illustrated supplements binds the illustrations to the original source

text and to the other illustrations in the supplemental editions. The illustrations, in turn,

represent both the accompanying text and the source text. As with ekphrastic texts, the

dialogue between text and image communicates new and multiple meanings. This

dialogue further serves as a reminder of the limits of visual representation and the tensions inherent in the construction of multimedia works. The format of the supplemental illustrated works divides images from the entirety of the source text; the distancing of media increases the risk of ekphrastic alienation. Yet the addition of text—excerpts from Scott's work, editorial comments, and shared titles—maintains and encourages an ekphrastic connection between text and image. The reality-effect between text and image becomes important in preserving meaning in the supplemental illustrations.

By boasting of the appropriateness and the reality of the images in relation to the source text and in relation to Scotland itself, the editors of supplemental illustrated editions encourage the illusion of textual and visual harmony. The success of this façade relies on an illustration's ability to offer something new to the text, and Scott's publication history encourages the trend of continually making his work appear original. When Scott emerged as the "author of Waverley," he republished authoritative editions of his novels, editions made new through the addition of supplementary material (illustrations, revised prefaces, appended introductions, detailed notes and appendices, etc.) bearing his name.[3] Scott understood the period's demand for visual works, noting in his journal that "the taste of the town will not be satisfied" without engravings (489). Scott's repeated endeavors to illustrate his work—both textually and visually—multiply our understanding of illustrative material, and Richard Maxwell suggests that Scott's works are doubly illustrative—illustrated works and works illustrative of "venerable tomes or newly written commentary" (2). Scott's addition of material to his pre-existing

works provided new fodder for artists, and Maxwell identifies a "revolution in book design" that allowed for the illustration of a "supplemental commentary to a poem" that would have been inconceivable in earlier periods but was "entirely plausible and urgent" in the 1820s (45).[4]

Illustrations of Scott's work are found in traditional illustrated editions—with frontispieces and vignettes comprising the visual material of the book—and in books produced independent from the original text. The illustrated editions present picturesque landscape engravings, portraits, dramatic narrative scenes, and engravings of historical Scottish regalia that related to Scott and his work. With or without Scott's participation, supplemental works including Charles Tilt's *Landscape Illustrations of the Waverley Novels, with Descriptions of the Views* (1832), Rev. G. N. Wright's *Landscape-Historical Illustrations of Scotland, and the Waverley Novels* (1836-1838), and Heath's *Waverley Gallery of the Principal Female Characters in Sir Walter Scott's Romances* (1841) rely in part on Scott's reputation for their publishing success.[5] Many of the editions make liberal use of Scott's text, and their images illustrate the primary source and excerpts from Scott's notes, appendices, and introductions. Several factors, such as the inclusion of quotations from the novels, the appearance of characters in landscapes, and the knowledge that we are viewing illustrations tied in some way to Scott's texts, work to maintain inescapable connections between text and image.

The republication of writers' works with illustrations challenges the notion of the existence of a single authoritative text by expanding the concept of an author's work to encompass visual materials. Publishers used the expanding printing industry to generate

a Waverley industry, an industry that grew to such an extent that it "becomes difficult to distinguish the popularity of his [Scott's] writings from the plethora of Scott-related art and sub-artistic merchandising" (Wood, "Holiday" 84). Gillen D'Arcy Wood observes that Scott "tribute industries—sightseeing at Scott locales, and the collection of Waverley paintings, prints, and even crockery" work to combine our "perception of Scott the author with 'Scott' the visual media brand name," and he notes that this began in Scott's lifetime (174). Nicola Watson argues that Scott designed Abbotsford as "the site of the writer's work," and he "consciously designed" his home to "display his income and status derived from authorship" and "to exemplify and epitomize his writing" (91). By positing Abbotsford as a visual representation of himself and his work, Scott encouraged the designation of Abbotsford as a destination of the "literary tourist" (Watson 93). Watson suggests that Scott designed Abbotsford as a location where visitors could see the "Minstrel of the North within the Border landscapes and settings" of his poetry (93-94).[6] The association of his texts with specific places, such as the enormously successful *The Lady of the Lake* (1810) with Loch Katrine, contributed to a growing tourist industry that sought to make connections between literature and place (Watson 161), and, in doing so, to make literature visible. Scott's determination that Scotland, his family (both canine and human), and his work should be represented accurately further emphasizes his complicit role in establishing a visual tradition surrounding himself and his work.[7] The establishment of Scott as a "brand name" occurs in part due to the blending of text and image—whether on crockery or in illustrated books. Scott—the Wizard of the North—becomes larger than his texts

through the pairing of text and image. The publication of supplemental illustrated editions separate from Scott's work is indicative of the expanding Waverley industry.

Illustrated supplements to Scott's work owe their existence in part to technological advances in the printing industry that improved the ability to pair high-quality engravings with text. The public's demand for illustrated works intensified as illustrated works became more readily available, and by the 1820s the general expectation was that "every publication … should be illustrated" (Houfe 16). The expense of copper-plate engravings had previously made illustrated works unaffordable to the general reading populace due to the limited number of impressions allowed by the material (Houfe 12).[8] Luke Herrmann attributes the financial failure of Scott's *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland* (1825, 1826), lavishly illustrated by J. M. W. Turner, to the book's cost, which was high due to its large copper-plate engravings (110). The advent of steel-plate engraving allowed for a "new type of book" (Hunnisett 3)—affordable illustrated books that could meet large production demands.[9] In contrast to the high cost of *Provincial Antiquities*, which sold for £15 on India paper and £8 on regular paper, Robert Cadell's edition of Scott's *Poetical Works* (1833-1834) with steel engravings sold for 1£ 15s (Herrmann 196). Steel engraving, stereotype printing, and cheaper paper heralded a new era of illustrated works, and these technological improvements helped to make possible the variety of illustrated editions of Scott's work. In 1829, the *Literary Gazette* reports that in subsequent copies of the Magnum Opus "all of the steel-engraved plates were being cut in duplicate so that there would be no loss in definition" (886). Duplicity preserves the

façade of originality. By duplicating the plates, the publisher promotes the quality of the work, thereby promising high quality despite its mass-produced status.

During the Romantic period, the definition of "illustration" expands from a form of textual "elucidation" and "enlightenment" to include "pictorial elucidation of any subject" and an "embellishment of a literary…book by pictorial embellishment" (*OED*). The two forms of illustration—textual and visual—are apparent in much of Scott's work, and both forms of illustration ask us to search for what is being illustrated. Gerald Finley differentiates Turner's watercolors from his illustrations by suggesting that illustrations "demand the support of other illustrations" (28). Similarly, Jonathan Harthan defines illustration "proper" as "a picture tied to a text" (12), and Edward Hodnett argues that the "primary function of the illustration of literature is to realize significant aspects of the text, and it must be judged first of all as it succeeds in this function" (13). Illustrations in supplemental illustrated editions of Scott's work are doubly tied to the text—they are tied to their accompanying text, which usually includes excerpts from Scott's works, and tied to the absent but omnipresent source text.

By the 1820s, illustrations could determine the success or failure of a work (Finley 27), and editors sought celebrity artists to help further the success of illustrated works. The "wide circulation" of the engravings of artists "opened the eyes of a new generation of artists to the seemingly limitless artistic potentiality of literature" (Altick 41). As contemporary literature became a valid subject for the fine arts, artists began to have an impact on the literary market, and artists like Thomas Stothard and Robert Westall "determined the way English literature was to be presented in visual form to

readers of illustrated books" (Altick 41). Accordingly, illustrated editions marketed not

only the celebrated name of the "Author of Waverley," but also the names of the artists,

who were often members of the Royal Academy. Engravers, despite their exclusion

from the Royal Academy, also reached celebrity status, and of his choice of engravers

for *The Waverley Album: Containing Fifty-One Line Engravings to Illustrate the Novels*

and Tales of Sir Walter Scott (1832), Heath claims that "of their merit, it is superfluous

to say more than" their names (ii). Heath also includes the names of the artists and notes

that their "names are a sufficient guarantee of excellence" (Heath, *Waverley* ii). [10]

It perhaps comes as no surprise that the pairing of literature and engraving in

illustrated books received critical disdain similar to that of the literary annuals. Wood

suggests that for writers the increase in illustrated books "symbolized the spread of an

infantilizing visual medium to the domestic sphere and, more seriously still, the

encroachment of the visual arts into literature's sovereign domain, the printed book"

(173). Literature's hold on its sovereignty in the printed medium had been slipping for

centuries, and writers like Scott recognized a future in sharing the throne—at least

temporarily—with their artistic counterparts. [11] In negotiations with Cadell on the

subject of Turner's illustrations, Scott states that if

> Mr Turner is to have his way in the illustrations the work will be void of
>
> that propriety which gives interest to an illustrated poem which I conceive
>
> to be the propriety of the union between the press and pencil which like
>
> the parties in a well chosen marriage should be well considered before
>
> hand. (Vol. 11, 493)

Scott attempts to maintain his control of the work while recognizing that the work

depends on the union of "press and pencil." Like a "well chosen marriage," the pairing

of the arts requires negotiation and compromise between the individuals enjoined in the

commercial and artistic enterprise of producing an illustrated work.

Publishers faced the task of keeping the relationship between writers, artists, and

engravers as harmonious as possible, which proved to be an exhausting endeavor. Of

Cadell's coordination of the Magnum Opus release,[12] Scott observes that the "poor

fellow [Cadell] … looks like one who had been overworked," and he notes that "keeping

paper makers up to printers, print[er]s up to draughtsmen, artists to engravers, and the

whole party to time, requires the utmost exertion" (*Journal* 576). Despite his sympathy

for Cadell's task and his willingness to cooperate with his publisher, Scott sought to

maintain separate spheres for the separate facets of a work: art, engraving, literature,

and publishing. Nonetheless, Scott recognized that each individual needed the other,

proposing that

> We should lay our heads together on the subjects as each has his
>
> particular province in which he will have an especial claim to be
>
> consulted. Mr Turner is unquestionably [the] best judge of everything
>
> belonging to art. Your opinion will be necessary with regard to roads
>
> travelling and the arrangement of time …. [and the] Author may be held
>
> the fittest judge of the adaptation of the scenery to the composition. (qtd.
>
> in Holcomb 203-204)

In Scott's plan, each individual maintains his own area of expertise, and his letters repeatedly reiterate the desire to maintain control over his text.

Scott's negotiations with Cadell over Turner's visit to Scotland demonstrate Scott's attempt to control visual representations of his work.[13] While he concedes that each of the individuals involved in the work brought his own expertise to the enterprise, Scott asserts his authority by requiring that he, not Turner or Cadell, choose the Scottish locations for illustrations. Scott argues that "on this occasion no one but myself perhaps can make him [Turner] fix on fit subjects … I naturally must know best what will be apposite to the subject although in the point of art in general I am a poor advisor" (*Letters*, Vol. 11, 486). Scott justifies his assertion through his identity as the author of the text and his firsthand knowledge of Scotland. Scott submits that Turner maintains the artistic authority in their endeavor, but he proves wary of Turner's recent experiments with color and urges modesty in the artist's addition of color to the illustrations (*Letters,* Vol. 11, 493). While Scott maintained some distance from the artists who adapted his work to visual media, he knew that accurate and appropriate depictions of his work required that he be at the artist's "elbow when at work" if possible (*Letters,* Vol. 1, 226-227).

Artists clamored for Scott's patronage, but Scott's financial situation often limited the amount of influence he had over the publication of his texts. John Landseer, writing to recommend his son Charles as a potential artist for "preparing the embellishments for the forthcoming edition of the Waverley Novels," can only "guess at how far" Scott has "deputed to the booksellers" or "retained in [his] own hands the

power and responsibility of superintending the accompaniments to this new edition"
(*Private Letter-books* 248). Landseer vows to be silent if Scott still holds "the reins,"
but he advises Scott to maintain his authority over "those mercenary publishing gentry"
who are "most ignorant of what they're most assured, namely, the Science of adapting
Fine Art to Literature" (*Private Letter-books* 248). Landseer places the publisher outside
the process of adaptation and identifies the author and artist as the authority figures for
the illustrated text. Scott's letters attest to his continued attempts to maintain some
semblance of authorial control over publications carrying his name, and John Sutherland
suggests that despite Scott's financial shortfalls and the loss of control over his
copyrights, he "kept his publisher [Cadell] on a very tight rein" (204).

While Landseer bypasses the publisher in soliciting Scott for work for Charles,
the publisher, not the author, usually chose the illustrators for a work (Hodnett 10). An
artist's involvement in the relationship between publisher and author often pitted them
against varying purposes and egos, and many artists resented the intermediary role of the
professional engraver. The desire to preserve control over a work and receive credit for
an original work of art meant that an increasing number of artists learned to engrave
their own work, and in doing so appear to preserve some impression of originality
(Hunnisett 35).[14] However, Basil Hunnisett notes that "any engraving is but a copy of
an original, even if the exemplar originates with the engraver, i.e. he has both drawn and
engraved the work" (34). Since an engraving is no longer the original work it represents,
but rather something new, issues of artistic ownership often arise.

For artists like Turner, the engraving trade provided a reliable income source, but the market also carried a set of risks involving the distribution of artists' works. Turner's struggles to maintain control over copper-plate engravings of his work epitomize the difficulty in identifying an original work of art in illustrated editions. Tilt purchased Turner's original copper plates from *Provincial Antiquities* and then republished Turner's work on a smaller scale, without Turner's permission. The new engravings appeared in *Illustrations, Landscape, Historical, and Antiquarian to the Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott* (c. 1834). Turner, incensed at his lack of control over the new distribution of his work, published advertisements in the papers clarifying that the prints had "NOT been engraved from his Drawings, or touched by Mr. Turner" (qtd. in Herrmann 202). Turner considered the new work "plagiarism…calculated to deceive the public and to diminish the reputation of the painter" and "his profits" (qtd. in Herrmann 202). Despite Turner's assertion that the work was not engraved from "his Drawings," the engravings represent his work and are copied from his copper plates. Tilt maintained that as he owned the copyright and the plates, the right to reduce, engrave, and republish the plates was his (Herrmann 202). The issue went to court, with Turner arguing that the "moment the plate had been used for the specified number of copies there was an end of it, and could be no longer used in any way against the interest and consent of the artist" (qtd. in Herrmann 202). Tilt, however, claimed that as he had "purchased the plates he then had the right to use the plates" (Herrmann 202). Turner lost the case.

John Martin's introduction to Tilt's collection acknowledges his "strong opinion" of the matter, but while he claims to "decline any expression of it," he elaborates on the

publisher's negotiations with Turner (n.p.). Martin clarifies that Tilt had originally

sought Turner for original contributions, but as the "application was refused" he

"determined to copy on a smaller scale two or three of the plates that were appropriate"

(n.p.). Martin boasts that the new plates "were engraved by an artist whose masterly

execution of Mr. Turner's designs, in unquestionably the finest work amongst the

number that have appeared from him, is the best test of the proprietor's wish to do him

justice" (n.p.).[15] The three engravings in Tilt's collection based on Turner's copper-

plate engravings bear Turner's name, not the artist who reduced the plates to

accommodate their transformation from copper plate to steel plate. Martin gives Turner

credit for the image, thereby acknowledging the original source of the image.[16] Text

underneath the engravings identifies the illustrations as "drawn by J. M. W. Turner, R.

A., for the Provincial Antiquities of Scotland." Yet Turner's designation of the situation

as plagiarism is somewhat warranted—the illustrations in Tilt's collection are not done

by Turner.

Turner's frustration over the use of the original copper-plate engravings for

Provincial Antiquities demonstrates the fragility of the concept of an original work in the

expanding print market. As portable and reusable objects, engravings supplant an

original work of art. An original multiplies in the transformation in form from one

medium to another and an engraving's inherent multiplicity—not its originality—is what

makes it unique as an object in the print market. Nonetheless, editors rely on an

engraving's ability to represent and preserve original artwork. Cadell, in writing to Scott

about securing Turner for *Poetical Works*, remarks that he "has no alarm for imitators,"

for Cadell felt that "no one can take the scenes—no one can take the descriptions of the scenes" like Turner (qtd. in Finley 79-80). To Cadell, the engravings, despite their identification as mass-produced objects, maintain some appearance of originality because of the work they represent. The engravings maintain a link to their creator— they are Turner's "scenes." Realizing the commercial value of having Turner's name associated with the work, Cadell proves anxious to reassure Scott that Turner's work, however engraved, maintains its artistic uniqueness.

Similar to the critical reaction to the pairing of canonical writers' text in the literary annuals, the addition of illustrations to a writer's work is often seen as diluting textual meaning and as being symptomatic of the commercial nature of publishing. As such, critics often dismiss Scott's willingness to pair his work with illustrations as a decisions based on financial necessity. The 1826 collapse of John Ballantyne's printing firm had left Scott with a debt of £121,000 and with few options for maintaining his honor and his livelihood (Sutherland 292-293). John Sutherland observes that after the collapse, Scott began the "very complex business of setting up a trust" in order to avoid appearing to "'dabble in trade'" (293-294). Edgar Johnson suggests that Scott determined that "all his major literary efforts" would be "devoted to wiping out his debts" (967) and that he thus "sentenced himself to a lifetime of servitude, driving himself to toil at his desk" (971). Despite Scott's attempts to avoid appearing as a tradesman, the obvious financial motivation of his writing makes it easy to read much of Scott's oeuvre as purely commercial.

Whatever the motivating factors for the creation of illustrated editions, critics have been quick to separate Scott from illustrated editions of his work and from art in general. Catherine Gordon argues that "Scott had no pretensions towards a serious appreciation of the visual arts; his concern for the success of the engravings was commercial" (310). Adele Holcomb agrees with this approach, suggesting that Scott "regarded the illustrations of his poems and novels as a concession to popular taste; the obligation was not one in which he took keen personal interest" (199). Wood states that Scott "was indifferent to art" (174), and he argues that Scott "distrusted the commercial union of word and image" ("Holiday" 84). The dismissal of Scott's participation in the fine arts attempts to separate the author from the growing commercial art and engraving business. This separation maintains distinct spheres for literature and art, and for writers and artists.

In a letter to the artist David Wilkie, Scott expresses a "deep personal interest" in illustrated editions of his novels (Vol. 11, 73).[17] Scott recognizes that Wilkie's name is a "tower of strength" and hopes he can count on Wilkie's "inimitable pencil [...] to ornament" his novels (Vol. 11, 73).[18] Contrary to critical assertions about his ambivalence to art, Scott's "deep personal interest" in his work encompassed visual representations of his work, and Wilkie remarks that Scott had a "known love for the Arts" (*Private Letter-books* 251).[19] Scott's letters demonstrate a certain level of ambivalence about paintings and painters, but they simultaneously demonstrate his knowledge of the art world and his desire to maintain control over his work. In a letter to the Earl of Elgin, Scott admits that his "own acquaintance with art is so very small"

(Vol. 11, 97), and in his acknowledgement of Tilt's recent publication of illustrated

works, Scott claims to "pretend no knowledge of art" (Vol. 12, 471). Yet Scott's letters

to Elgin and the Duke of Buccleuch are full of his assessments of contemporary artists

and art.[20] Scott sat for numerous portraits by well-established artists and his social circle

included artists James Skene, Sir Edwin Landseer, and Wilkie. There is little evidence

to suggest that Scott fought the use of his text in illustrated editions, although his letters

to Cadell indicate some difficulty in his dealings with Turner.

J. D. W. Murdoch argues that Scott's hesitancy in working with Turner stemmed

from Scott's opinion that the artist's work in the "reissue of Samuel Roger's *Italy*"

(1830) eclipsed the text (38). In *Italy*, the illustrations' placement directly onto the page

of text implied "parity between picture and poem that Scott, a dying man trying

desperately to save his self-respect, found hard to bear" (Murdoch 38). Murdoch

suggests that Scott and Cadell reached a compromise that included the placement of

Turner's images outside textual boundaries (38). However, Turner's images on the

facing page, rather than the same page as the text, demonstrate a conventional pairing of

text and engraving within Romantic-period steel-engraved illustrated works.

Instead of demonstrating an apparent concern over the parity of text and image,

Scott's negotiations with Cadell over Turner's illustrations are illustrative of Scott's

awareness of the importance of a carefully timed publication. Scott remarks to Cadell

that "the difficulty appears to…be in time. There is no fear of finding plenty of subjects

but how we are to get time to engrave them so well as we wish seems doubtful" (*Letters*

Vol. 11, 493). In the same letter, Scott reiterates his sense of urgency:

Time strikes me as valuable on many accounts. The success of Mr

Rogers by dint of beautiful illustrations will not have escaped the Trade

who will make eager attempts to imitate it & it is in such a race that the

Devil catches the hindmost. If you agree with me in this measure you

will start as soon as you can for the publick tire of illustrated books & of

[*illegible*] in printing & of every thing. Therefore *Carpe diem*. (*Letters*

Vol. 11, 493)

Scott perceives that the success of Roger's poem occurs "by dint of illustration" rather

than through the merit of the text alone. Scott does not express any wariness towards the

interaction of text and image in Roger's market-proven illustrated work; instead, Scott

expresses his eagerness to have his work enter the market before the inevitable

movement of other illustrated works into the market.

Cadell justifies the inclusion of engravings with the ambitious Magnum Opus

project by noting that "without plates […] 5,000 less of the Waverley Novels would

have sold" (qtd. in Wood 175).[21] Cadell knew that the period "was the age of

graphically illustrated Books" (qtd. in Finley 184). It was also the age of multiple

versions of a work. The market allowed for a multifaceted distribution of a text and

many of the handsomely bound collections of illustrations from Scott's work began as

serial publications, providing an affordable form for buyers and promising future and

reliable sales for publishers as bound works.[22] The ability to dissect, append, and

redistribute a work creates a seemingly endless array of publishing possibilities. The

prospectus for Cadell's 1834 publication of Scott's *Miscellaneous Prose Works* promises

"a new, extended, and corrected [edition] to be continued in Monthly volumes; with notes, and illustrations. Embellished with Portraits, Frontispieces, Vignette Titles, and Maps" (n.p.). Cadell makes Scott's work "new" through the addition of supplemental material, but he and Scott also recognize the commercial profit gained through the dissection of a text from supplemental materials. Cadell advertises proof impressions of engravings from the Waverley Novels "sold separately, to suit any Edition of the Novels" (n.p.). Similar to the sales of prints from the literary annuals, the engravings from illustrated editions become new objects, and their connection to the text—to "any Edition"—makes them marketable products in their own right.

Scott's letters to Cadell demonstrate the variety of ways the author envisioned the distribution of his work. Scott suggests that selling his novels with vignettes will aid in competing against "inferior editions being forced into the market" and will open the "Waverley novels to the lowest purchaser in the new Edition" (Vol. 11, 78-79). Illustrations, in this case vignettes, aid in expanding the class of purchasers of Scott's work. The ability to make a "new edition superior by illustrations & embellishments," allows an old text to appear new, or at least younger, just "as a faded beauty dresses and lays on [a] prudent touch of rouge to compensate for want of her juvenile graces" (Scott, *Letters* Vol. 11, 7). Furthermore, Scott recognizes that a "proposed sale without engravings would suit a numerous class of purchasers who have engravings already and being satisfied with them would only desire the improved and illustrated text" (Vol. 11, 78-79).[23] In 1828, Scott proposes to Cadell a republication of his text separate from the latest illustrated edition. He accepts Cadell's earlier proposal to sell the prints

independent of the letterpress but further proposes selling the text independent of the "expensive embellishments" (Vol. 11, 78-79). Scott severs his already printed text from their newest embellishments, pinning the success of the new work on the assumption that the revised text will appeal to new buyers. The illustrations, having gained merit through their previous attachment to the text, become an additional product to sell independently as prints.

While each reissued and ornamented edition of Scott's work enters the market as its own entity, no work with Scott's name ever escapes the looming presence of the author and his work. Skene, a longtime friend of Scott, banks the success of his book *A Series of Sketches of the Existing Localities alluded to in the Waverley Novels* (1829) on the "aegis" of Scott's "powerful name" (n.p.). Skene calls upon Scott for the "protection of an attempt" which Scott's "encouragement alone could excuse" (n.p.). Skene states that without Scott's "aid and countenance" he could "lay little claim to notice" (n.p.), and he recognizes that his work's existence stems from the aid of the "habitual indulgence of nearly forty years' uninterrupted intimacy and friendship" and "the favor of [Scott's] name" (n.p.). Skene demonstrates a degree of humility in his introduction, but his submissiveness to Scott's "powerful name" works to legitimatize his artwork. Skene continues this rhetorical strategy in his *Memories of Sir Walter Scott* by crediting Scott with the idea for the collection of sketches (159). Illustrated supplements like Skene's advertise their relationship to Scott and/or the source text(s). Through such references, Scott maintains a staunch authorial presence over even posthumous illustrated editions.

Just as publishers rely on the power of Scott's name for publicity, they also vie with similar publications for success. Rather than compete with other publications outright, many editions use others to promote their work, demonstrating the often-symbiotic relationship between works. The publication of Tilt's publication of the *Landscape Illustrations of the Waverley Novels* came shortly after Skene's *Series of Sketches*. Scott, who was loyal to his friend but aware of the potential of Tilt's larger work, negotiated with Tilt to add an acknowledgement to Skene (Murdoch 33). In the preface to Tilt's publication, John Martin acknowledges Skene for his assistance in the "liberal" lending of his etchings, and he advertises Skene's collection as one "necessary to every illustrator of the novels of the Author of 'Waverley'" (n.p.).[24] By acknowledging Skene, Martin promotes Skene's work.

Other publishers bank the success of their illustrated books on preexisting or forthcoming editions of Scott's novels and poems. Tilt advertises *Landscape and Portrait Illustrations of the Waverley Novels* (1832) to "bind with the new edition of the Waverley novels" (the Magnum Opus edition, 1829-1834). Skene claims that Scott proposed that the publication of *Sketches* coincide with the publication of "each volume of the new series of novels" (*Memories* 159). In his collection of portraits of women in the Waverley novels, Heath acknowledges his indebtedness to the Magnum Opus "now in the course of publication, which they [the portraits] are peculiarly adapted to embellish" (*Waverley*, i-ii). Robert Fisher also advertises his book *Landscape-Historical Illustrations of Scotland, and the Waverley Novels* as "designed to serve as embellishments to the various editions, or as a separate work" (qtd. in Hunnisett 136).

The illustrated supplements embellish and bind to previously published work, and they invite us to acknowledge a relationship between the illustrations and the original source texts.

Fisher, Tilt, and Heath fully capitalize on the growing demand for illustrated books and on Scott's fame. Heath, always the entrepreneur, acknowledges that his *Waverley Album* plates had "already appeared appended to the beautiful duodecimo edition of Novels, Tales, and Romances published" (i). Despite the previous appearance of the plates, Heath recognizes a continued advantage to repackaging Scott's work, for

> [The] edition having long been out of print, and the Plates having passed into other hands, the present proprietor hopes their re-appearance in a collected form, at a price unexampled even in this age of cheap publications, will not be deemed unacceptable to the lovers of Fine Arts, the admirers of departed Genius, and the new numerous subscribers to the new and complete edition of the Waverley Novels. (*Album,* i-ii)

Like so many of his fellow publishers involved in the literary annuals, Heath recognizes the market for books for "lovers of Fine Arts" and literature, and he expresses his intent to capitalize on both. Rather than exist solely as embellishments *or* as separate works as Fisher advertises, Heath's illustrated supplements exist as embellishments to previously published works *and* as separate works; they are tied to and separate from the revised and rereleased Waverley novels. In this way, illustrated editions enter the market determined to sell on their own merits—with advertisements about the latest technology and work from the best artists—and on their link to Scott.

Even in a market inundated with illustrated works the pretence of originality remains important. In a reversal of the usual format for the literary annuals, the success of the illustrated supplements depended on the illustrations' ability to accompany the text, rather than the texts' ability to accompany the illustrations. Scott writes to Cadell hoping that he is "aware that it is from the happy adaptation of the works of [an] Artist to the poetry that the publick will judge that the illustrations have been actually designed for the publication" (qtd. in Holcomb 204). To Scott, the success of the adaptation depends on the artist's ability to make his work appear as if it has been designed solely for the purposes of the edition. The images' fidelity to the source text determines this definition of originality. The issue of originality presupposes the ability to transfer meaning from a textual to a visual medium. Yet the question of what original work to represent and what corresponding meaning to capture—the artist's or the writer's— creates an additional tension between text and image that is compounded by traditional divisions between the arts.

Westall, writing to Scott, admits that Scott is "more difficult to paint from" for he has "embodied" his "own ideas and presented them to the mind so completely that little is left for the pencil to perform" (qtd. in Gordon 301). Scott also recognizes the difficulty in adapting a textual work to a visual medium, and he observes that "nothing is more difficult than for a painter to adopt the author's ideas of an imaginary character, especially when it is founded on traditions to which the artist is a stranger" (*Letters*, Vol. 1, 226-227). Both Westall and Scott observe that it is difficult to transfer meaning from one medium to another. Yet publishers rely on the illusion of the ease of this transfer for

successful publications. The difficulty in adapting an author's ideas speaks to the

limitations of representation, and many illustrated editions are less concerned with being

original than they are with the illusion of reality.

Thematically speaking, Scott's texts often depict a struggle between reality and

fiction. In *Waverley, or 'Tis Sixty Years Since* (1814), Scott blends history and fiction.

While the story is characterized as a historical novel, it is less about historical actions—

Scott provides a limited view of the events—and more about the individual's navigation

of the historical events. James Kerr describes *Waverley* as "an evasion of history" where

the "real is visible in the novel only in its effects" (2-3), and James Buzard defines

Waverley as a "translation without an original" (34). Of Scott's historical fiction, Sadee

Makdisi suggests that Scott's "image of the Highlands has in cultural terms virtually

taken over from and supplanted the 'real thing'" (n.p). The Waverley novels lose some

of their fictional power when associated with real places, real history, and real

landscape. In illustrations, we are asked to see the Waverley novels and to accept the

images as true representations of the novels and of Scotland itself. Yet text, image, fact,

and fiction blur in such a way that to discern the "true" reality of either textual or visual

representation is difficult. Illustrations of Scott's work depict narrative realities and

actual realities of place, thereby demonstrating what Adele Holcomb identifies as two

categories of illustrations: "real" illustrations that depict "actual scenes described in

literature" and "ideal" illustrations that depict narrative incidents (211). We can expand

these categories to encompass a third category of "real" illustration that includes "actual

scenes" from nature.

Holcomb's concept of "real" illustrations presupposes our ability to identify them as such. This identification relies on the reader's acknowledgement that the scene depicted is from a literary text and not from the artist's imagination. To aid readers in making this connection between text and image, editors pair engravings with excerpts from Scott's text that correspond to the scene in the engraving. The placement of Scott's text adjacent to the illustration asks us to accept the engraving as real due to the availability of the source text. While the illustrated editions draw upon readers' understanding of the text for meaning, they also acknowledge the limitations of readers' imaginations. Catherine Jones argues that the "experience of likeness" in viewing illustrations "is dependent upon the process of recognition" (212), but this recognition is limited in the depiction of fictional events and fictional characters. In a review of Wright's collection, the editors of the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1837) note that

> The illustrations, most of which are here beautifully delineated, and over some of which the pencil of Turner has thrown its magic hues of light and shade…afford the readers of the Waverley Novels…that delight which results from seeing realized the pictures which the fancy and imagination had imperfectly sketched. All men may read the matchless works of the great Wizard of the North—few, comparatively, can visit the scenes over which his wand of enchantment waved. To them it will be great value to have beside them mountains which they cannot climb, rivers they dare not ford, and districts they are doomed never to behold. (637)

The illustrations attempt to bridge the gap between fiction and reality, which positions the text as an authoritative work that nonetheless faces limitations in its ability to communicate meaning. The illustrations provide access to inaccessible landscapes and to the text itself—they make real Scott's text. The readers can only "imperfectly" see "realized" pictures in the novel and are "doomed" not to behold the actual places; thus, the illustrated edition picks up where "fancy and imagination" fail.

Despite his liberal departure from history, Scott strove for accuracy in the visual representation of his work. In August 1831, Scott scolds Cadell on his choice of an engraving, arguing that

> [I] cannot see how you can make Bowes Castle pass from Mortham a
>
> place totally unlike it in situation & appearance and so far separate […] I
>
> conceive you are still mistaken about Flodden of which you cannot have a
>
> view that will illustrate the text for you can from no corner see both the
>
> north & south side of the hill at once. (qtd. in Holcomb 206)

Scott proves critical of an artist's willingness to alter a scene's reality to fit prevailing picturesque tastes, and he significantly notes that the text illustrates a visual perspective that art cannot. Scott proves equally fickle regarding the representations of his characters. In response to John Masquerier's illustrations for the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, Scott addresses the issue of costume: "The Minstrel should wear over his dress what we call a Maud or Low Country plaid […] The Minstrels other clothes should have an antique cast…A broad belt about his waist is also part of his costume" (*Letters,* Vol. 12, 378-379). In a letter to Thomas Eagles in 1811, Scott provides ample details about

the costume and armory for specific Border paintings, and he reiterates his adamancy

about the correctness of dress (*Letters*, Vol. 12, 413). In an additional letter to Cadell,

Scott approves the latest proofs of his illustrated work, but he remarks that while "Mr

Kidds picture is capital … Rob Roy should have breeches & leggings instead of a dress

which is neither a kilt nor a lowland dress" (*Letters*, Vol. 11, 7). In an additional letter,

to George Ellis in 1804 regarding Ballantyne's possession of *Lay of the Last Minstrel*,

Scott remarks that he "should have liked very much to have had appropriate

embellishments" (Vol. 1, 263). Scott repeatedly urges for the accuracy and

appropriateness of the embellishments, and he argues that if one is to "have illustrations

at all you must have them appropriate" (qtd in Holcomb 206). While Scott does not

define his meaning of "appropriate" illustrations, his letters nonetheless make obvious

his desire that text and image should represent as accurately as possible his texts.

The editors' assertions about the reality of the engravings' depictions of actual

places infuse reality into the text; furthermore, the illustrations verify the realities in his

fiction. Cadell's 1834 prospectus for *Prose Works* advertises "The Designs of the

Landscapes from *Real* Scenes, by J. M. W. Turner, RA" (Cadell, my emphasis).

Likewise, Skene's introduction notes that his task "coincides with the wishes of Sir

Walter Scott" who is

> desirous that the illustrations of the pencil may be added to those of
>
> description to render as intelligible as possible the localities on which his
>
> fictitious narratives have been founded; and this circumstance ensures the

most perfect authenticity to the corresponding relations between the real

existing scenes, and their introduction into the Waverley Novels. (5-6)

Skene asserts the authenticity of the engravings and the text by reminding the reader that

Scott has given him his blessing. He continues, noting that the "Sketches do not

presume to claim any merit beyond that of strict fidelity" to the texts (6). In his journal,

Skene claims that Scott had dictated "the identity of the subjects to be etched"

(*Memories* 159); therefore, the illustrations' "appearance obtained the advantage of

perfect authenticity" (*Memories* 159). Skene based most of the etchings on drawings

completed during tours through Scotland with Scott, and he notes that "many of the real

localities of the Waverley Novels were connected with my collection of drawings, of

which a part had been taken at his suggestion, many during the various excursions we

made together" (*Memories* 159). Tilt's publication also advertises his adherence to

textual reality, and he notes that the edition is "intended to illustrate the novels of Sir

Walter Scott" and that the edition's object is to "record real scenes, and not imaginary

subjects, and this plan … has been rigidly adhered to" (n.p.). Cadell, Skene, and Tilt

advertise their work as somehow real, either in relation to Scott's works and/or in

relation to "real existing scenes."

An illustration has a limited ability to represent text and place. The reality in

many of the engravings stems from the source text, fictional narratives, and actual

locations. There is no single reality represented in the illustrated supplements; instead,

each illustrated edition represents multiple realities from Scott's text. The fictional

nature of Scott's work and the limitations of visually representing text threaten the

success of this endeavor. Tilt admits that his enterprise is restricted, and he claims that

some of Scott's novels do not offer good "subjects for the pencil of the artist" (n.p.).

Likewise, Skene avoids illustrating *The Antiquary,* finding that since "no existing

localities apply, it cannot, of course, be accompanied by Etchings" (n.p.). Skene avoids

representing "localities" without exact "existing" corresponding locations and admits

that other topics are also difficult to represent.   For the engraving of the "Fall of

Lediart" from *Rob Roy*, Skene notes that the "tumult of sounds" exist beyond the "reach

of visual representation," and he acknowledges that in this instance "representation falls

short of the original" (52).

Wright also recognizes the limitations of representing sound in his collection of

landscapes and dramatic narrative pieces. In "Edinburgh—March of the Highlanders,"

Turner positions the city according to Scott's text: "the rocks which formed the back-

ground of the scene, and the very sky itself, rang with the clangs of the bagpipers,

summoning-forth, each with his appropriate pibroch, his chieftain and clan" (qtd. in

Wright 11). In the illustration, Edinburgh forms the "back-ground of the scene" and the

gathering highlanders in the foreground eclipse the city [Figure 3.1]. Wright observes

that while the artist finds "his art incompetent to convey ideas of sound," he has devoted

his "attention to those of sight with greater assiduity" (12). Wright argues that Turner is

successful in his endeavor to represent the scene:

> No drawing can be more correct, no filling-up more perfect, no colouring
>
> more warm or deep: the calm scene of nature is exquisitely touched; the
>
> continuous motion of the legions advancing solemnly towards the field of
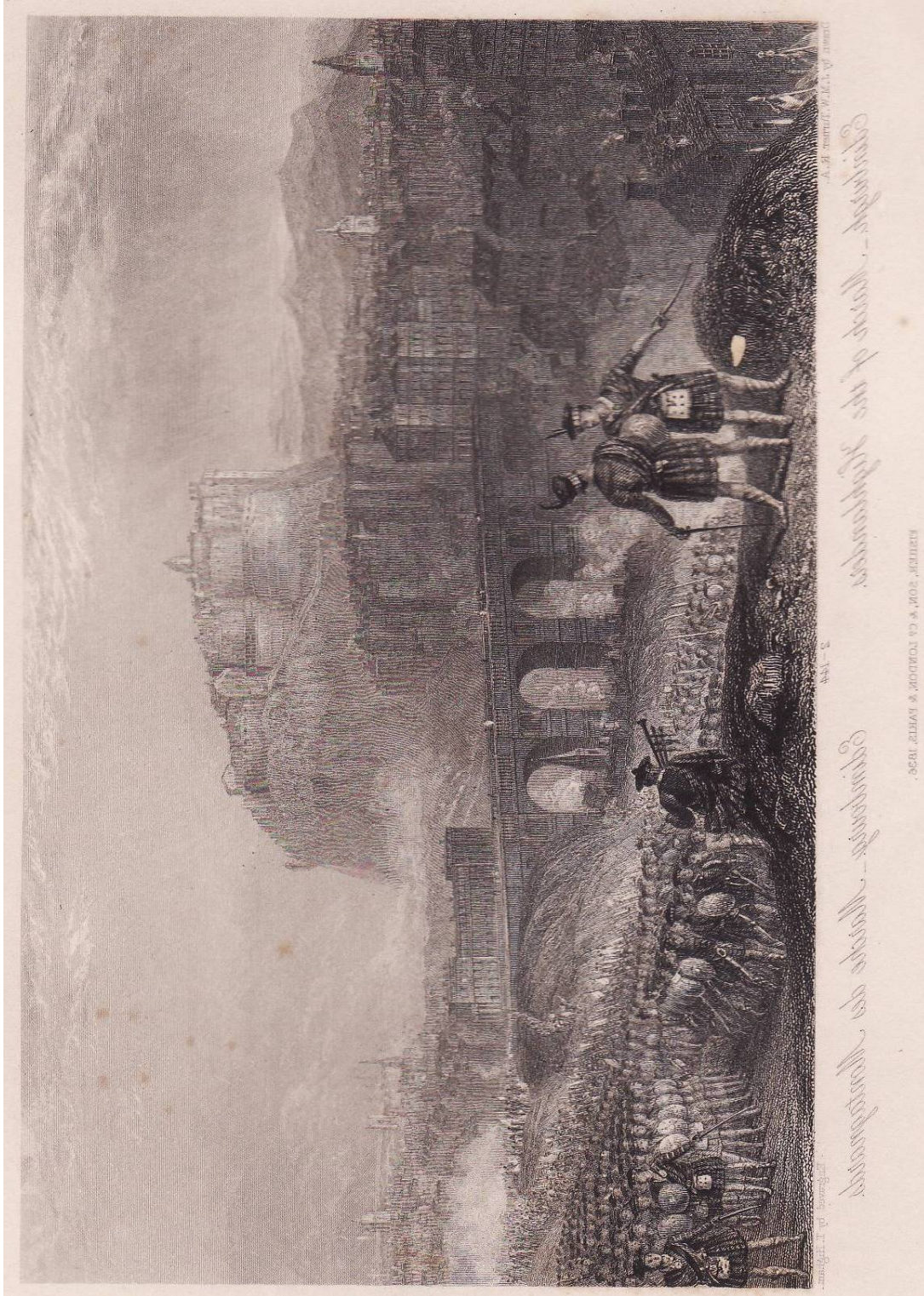
Figure 3.1. J. M. W. Turner, "Edinburgh—March of the Highlanders," Engraved by Thomas Higham, *Landscape-Historical Illustrations*, 1836. Collection of the Author.

> battle powerfully narrated; the sound of the departing feet seems to
>
> vibrate on the ear. (12)

Yet the image is historically incorrect. Edinburgh's North Bridge did not exist when

Charles Edward Stuart marched with his Highlanders (Garside n.p.). Nonetheless,

Turner's "correct" representation of the scene validates the image's connection to

Waverley.

When no original exists from which to base an engraving, artists and editors

often choose to create their own reality. Wright's collection includes an engraving of

"The Antiquary and Lovel," which Wright identifies as a "sketch from the romantic

coast of Aberdeen, in the vicinity of the supposed site of Monkbarns" (26). Wright

imparts to the illustration as "much reality as it is susceptible of" representing (26).

Scott's text does not provide an actual location for Monkbarns; therefore, the engraving

does not depict textual reality, but rather creates it, transferring to the text the possibility

of a real place. Likewise, Skene offers a sketch of Craignethan Castle as an example of

the castle Tillietudlem from *Old Morality*. Skene offers the plate "not as the actual

original of the imaginary Tillietudlem … for that mansion was the pure creation of

fancy" but as a visual representation of "the intimate knowledge possessed by the author

of the characteristic features which distinguished baronial towers of the higher class of

the Scottish nobility" (63). The image is a visual incarnation of Scott's knowledge of

Scottish baronial castles. An engraving of Mirkwood Mere, the subject of one of

Edward Waverley's poems, also depicts a fictional place, but Tilt hopes that the "beauty

of the lines here quoted, will, it is hoped, be an excuse for the illustration of a subject,

the scene of which is entirely the creation of the fertile imagination of the Author" (2).

Scott's text provides the reality for the illustration, and Tilt credits the "Author"—not

the artist or engraver—with the "creation" of the engraving.

Scott's works do not always identify specific places, leaving editors the option of

fabricating a location or inventing a relationship between text and place that may not

exist in the novels. When faced with a fictional place, Wright speculates about an actual

place, thereby forcing a visual reality onto fictional passages. The first *Waverley*

engraving in *Landscape-Historical Illustrations* is of "The Pass of Bally-Brough," a

fictional pass with no exact corresponding location in Scotland. Scott describes the

"tremendous" pass that

> was extremely steep and rugged, winded up a chasm between two
>
> tremendous rocks, following the passage which a foaming stream, that
>
> brawled fare below…The descent from the path to the stream was a mere
>
> precipice, with here and there a projecting fragment of granite or a
>
> scathed tree, which had warped its twisted roots into the fissure of the
>
> rock … 'This,' said Evan, 'is the pass of Bally-Brough…' (135)

The engraving depicts Evan precariously perched on the precipice overlooking the

stream, and the image includes all of the visual details from Scott's passage. Yet despite

the descriptiveness of his language, Scott does not name the location of the pass.

Wright, however, chooses to speculate, noting that

> If the author had any precise mountain glen in his 'mind's eye,' when he
>
> described the Pass of Bally-Brough, his picture is such an exact copy of a

> dark defile in the wild vale of Glencoe, that, in conjunction with popular
>
> opinion, we have concluded that this gloomy spot must have been his
>
> original. (8)

Realizing that his speculation carries some risk of refutation, Wright challenges "let the

description be compared with our illustration, which is faithful to nature, and the identity

will immediately appear" (8). Wright encourages a comparison between the engraving

and the text for the actual location of the Pass of Bally-Brough, but since he reiterates

that the image is faithful to "nature," he imparts the "reality" of Glencoe onto the text.

Wright challenges readers to deny the accuracy of the engraving's depiction of both

Glencoe and the Pass of Bally-Brough. Scott's description of the pass becomes

secondary to nature and to the visual representation of Glencoe as the Pass of Bally-

Brough. Nature dominates fiction, and "popular opinion" trumps authorial intention.

Wright deviates from his assuredness about the Glencoe—Bally-Brough

connection in his discussion of Tully Veolan. He admits that the location of the mansion

"is applicable to many [mansions], but peculiar to no individual mansion. The delighted

imagination of the readers of Waverley determined to establish an identity the author

never meant, and applied the description to Warrender-house, upon Burnstfield Links"

(8). Wright shifts from his earlier determination to establish a location for Bally-Brough

and pits readers' desire for the identification for specific locations against authorial

intention, recognizing that the author perhaps "never meant" to compare Tully Veolan to

Warrender House. Accordingly, there is no illustration of Tully Veolan.

Many of the landscapes attempt to enhance the reader's understanding of place within Scott's work, but other landscapes attempt to represent what words cannot. In the text accompanying the illustration for *Rob Roy*, Wright quotes Frank Osbaldistone, who upon visiting Roy's retreat refrains from describing the scene: "I will spare you the attempt to describe what you would hardly comprehend without going to see it" (qtd. in Wright 38). Osbaldistone's comment speaks to the limits of textual representation— words cannot describe the view. Unlike Osbaldistone, Wright makes an attempt at descriptive representation by describing Loch Lomond in detail. His description goes into elaborate detail; Wright notes the size of the lake—"twenty-three miles in a direction north and south"—and labels it as the "most picturesque of Scottish Lakes" (39). Wright's factual details make real both the illustration and the text, and the engraving visually represents what Osbaldistone could not put into words and allows the reader to see the Loch. The engraving imparts reality back onto Scott's text.

Melville's drawing depicts Osbaldistone and Bailie Jarvie leaving Rob Roy's hide out, but their small forms allow the landscape to dominate the image. Rob Roy and his men appear as diminutive forms standing on a cliff at the edge of the lake in the right background of the frame [Figure 3.2]. Clouds form an arch above the lake that direct the viewer's eyes back down to the lake and the men in the boat, and the circular shape of the lake itself helps keep the frame tight. Overall, the engraving appears to be less about *Rob Roy* and more about Loch Lomond. Yet this is not just any portrayal of Loch Lomond, but a portrayal of the loch linked back to Scott's novels; thus, no matter how diminutive the human forms, their presence maintains the illustration's link to the

Figure 3.2. Henry Melville, "Loch Lomond," Engraved by Robert Sands, *Landscape-Historical Illustrations*, 1836. Collection of the Author.

literary text. The engraving's depiction of an actual scene in the novel strengthens this link, and the presence of excerpts from the text further reinforces this connection. Despite the visual representation of scenes from the novels that favor image over text, the text remains the predominant tie that connects the illustrated collection to the source text(s). After all, the landscapes are not just of Scotland, but also of Scott's Scotland, and in particular Waverley's Scotland.

In *Waverley*, Edmund Waverley is the reader's guide through the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 and through the Scottish landscape. Waverley makes "a work of art out of the landscape," bringing "to the landscape a taste for the picturesque and the romantic which leads him to transform reality into pictures, to render the world into an occasion for aesthetic experience, as a scene in a painting or a work of literature" (Kerr 24). Illustrations of scenes from *Waverley* make literal this transformation, making a "work of art" out of the novel and making the novel real through the engravings. The images render the fictional story into non-fictional representations of real places, allowing the reader to access and to experience the landscape as Waverley does. The illustrations from *Waverley* make literal Waverley's consumption of the Scottish landscape, and the landscapes become literary references and markers of tourist possibilities in Scotland.[25] The text is thus imprinted onto the landscape. While fictional places and fictional characters limit the possible modes of representation, the ability to provide visual representations of real places from the novels position many of the illustrations within the larger context of travel literature.

In the *Landscape-Historical* collection, Wright decrees that the publisher's goal

has been to depict an authentic view of Scotland, which is not just any view but Scott's

view:

> Perhaps Scott's greatest powers are displayed in scenic descriptions—his
>
> haunted glen, his ruined abbey, and deserted hall, are all sketched with
>
> the hand of a master. The original of these he studied early from life, in
>
> his native land: and wherever it was possible to ascertain the precise
>
> locality which constituted the original of the Novelist, our Landscape
>
> Illustration has been designed from it; exhibiting, therefore, at the same
>
> moment, a true characteristic View in Scotland. (Wright n.p.)

Wright equates Scott's view of Scotland with the "true" view of Scotland, and as Wright

draws upon the novels for the descriptions to the images, he equates the illustrations with

also being a "true characteristic View in Scotland." Wright argues that Scott's

"unconfined topographical knowledge" which has "wandered, with the most varied

fancy, over the romantic portions of every country in Caledonia," makes it possible to

view "Illustrations of Scott" as "identical with those of Scotland" (n.p.). The engravings

are not depictions of places from fictional novels, but rather, according to Wright's

logic, accurate portrayals of Scotland itself.

In Wright's edition, the illustrations' fidelity to Scott's work furthers the

equation between Scott and Scotland. Likewise, in the introduction to *Heath's

Picturesque Annual for 1836: Scott and Scotland,* Leitch Ritchie argues that the edition's

purpose has been to "illustrate, at the same moment, SCOTT and SCOTLAND" (iii,

original capitalization). The edition strives with the "utmost possible fidelity" to depict

"existing scenes, and yet to superadd a moral interest, by peopling them with the

creation of genius" (Ritchie iii-iv). The engravings are not depictions of places from

fictional novels, but rather, according to the logic of Wright and Ritchie, accurate

portrayals of Scotland itself. The editors' continued assertions that Scott and Scotland

can be so equivocally compared magnify Scott's role as a national writer. For the

potential tourist and the armchair travel enthusiast, the illustrations allow readers visual

access to places mentioned in the text. Watson argues that a place does not produce an

author's works but rather that an author's works produce concepts of place; text "invents

and solicits tourism" (12).[26] In this light, the entirety of Scott's oeuvre acts as a virtual

advertisement for Scotland. Illustrated supplements do more than create an idea of

place—they also preserve preexisting concepts of place. Regarding an engraving of

Scott's study at Abbotsford, Martin remarks that while "the room may be altered and

destroyed" the "hand of the artist will transmit remembrance of it to the latest posterity"

(n.p.). The illustration solicits interest in Scott's home and preserves Scott's study for

posterity.

Time complicates the possibility of representing place. Most of Scott's

Waverley novels are historical fiction; they separate the past from the present. Yet by

arguing that their editions represent "real" and "true" illustrations of Scotland, the

editors invite comparisons of the illustrations to contemporary notions of place, and

illustrations often vary in their depictions of the past and the present. The focus of

Skene's etching of the "Grassmarket" from the *Heart of Midlothian* is the architecture of

the buildings on the winding street, which, he laments, will soon be among the "past memorabilia of the ancient city" due to contemporary plans to improve the street (84). The scene's depiction of a gathering mob links the illustration to its textual counterpart, but the illustration's focus is primarily the area's architecture, not the building tension in the textual narrative. The second chapter of *Midlothian* begins with a lengthy description of the Grassmarket's "large open street" and "high houses," and Scott relates Edinburgh's execution place to Tyburn in England, thereby allowing English readers a contextual sense of place (*Midlothian* 26). Skene's etching visually preserves a place soon to be transformed by modern improvements. Likewise, Wright's depiction of the Grassmarket depicts the location as "it now appears" rather than during the violent riot "detailed by the novelist with the most exact fidelity" (51). Rather than represent the historical past as depicted in Scott's novel, Skene and Wright present the Grassmarket within the context of the present, thus preserving contemporary notions of a real place. At the same time, the accompanying text encourages our recognition of the Grassmarket within the context of the novel, which seals the illustrations' connection to the history of the actual Grassmarket.

Many of the engravings depict conflicting moments of time—such as the Grassmarket of *Midlothian's* past and the Grassmarket of contemporary Edinburgh—and juxtapose prevailing stylistic tastes against realistic representations. In *Illustrations of Walter Scott's Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1808), J. C. Schetky departs from the picturesque in order to differentiate the illustrations in his collection from previous depictions of the same view. Of the "View of Harwick," an "object passed by William

of Deloraine," he differentiates his view of the bridge from William Gilpin's (1724-

1804) earlier portrayal, noting that Gilpin, "for the sake of the picturesque effect," has

"annihilated all the houses in the vicinity, and part of the battlements of the bridge itself"

(17). In contrast, Schetky avoids such "fanciful and whimsical delineation" and portrays

the modern town (17). For Schetky's purposes, reality trumps the picturesque. By

alluding to Gilpin's earlier work, Schetky widens the source of the image to encompass

multiple realities. The image draws upon the text's depiction of the scene, Harwick

itself. In differentiating his drawing from Gilpin's, Schetcky invites a comparison

between the two depictions and a comparison between his depiction and reality.

By placing the reader at the scene, the illustrated collections serve as virtual

travel guides by allowing readers access to specific locations. To emphasize the reality

of actual locations, many editors provide specific details related to the scene depicted.

Of the *Illustrations of Walter Scott's Lay of the Last Minstrel*, Schetky strives repeatedly

to establish specific vantage points from which the views were drawn. The subtitle of

the work advertises this approach, for the illustrations consist of "Twelve Views of the

Rivers Bothwick, Ettrick, Yarrow, Tiviot, and Tweed." Schetcky justifies each

illustration's perspective by quoting Scott's poem. Martin also provides specific details

about locations, noting that the Castle of Crichton is "ten miles south of Edinburgh" on

the "banks of the Tyne" (n.p.). Martin provides not only a detailed history of the castle,

but also a detailed description of the castle from the vantage point of a tourist. These

visual and textual details make it possible for potential tourists to identify the exact

location represented in both text and image, while also reiterating the editors' desire to

make the illustrations appear as authentic as possible. Of Branksome Castle, Schetky notes, "the present View of Branksome is taken from the opposite bank of the Teviot. To the left of the Castle is a level field, probably the lawn distinguished as the scene of the duel in the Lay" (Schetky 10). The reader receives not only the view of the engraving, but also the reality of the location itself. The text imparts enough details for potential tourists to seek out the specific location of the river, the castle, and the lawn.

Contemporary interpretations of place often intersect with an illustration's depiction of specific localities. Skene's sketch of "The Clachan of Aberfoyle" from *Rob Roy* shows a "wild and picturesque scene," a scene he claims remains unaltered with the exception of a "more civilized-looking mansion" in the landscape (45). Skene asserts that any "stranger who visits it is at no loss to discover the real or supposed localities of the various incidents of the Tale of which it has been made the theatre" (45). Whether the scene represents reality or fiction is irrelevant; instead, what is relevant to visitors of the area is the larger concept of representation and place within the context of Scott's work. The area may be picturesque, but it is not just any picturesque place, the mansion sits on ground made hallow through its association with Scott's text. Indeed, according to Skene, the improvement in the mansion is due in part to the "newly-acquired celebrity of this retired spot" (45).[27] The innkeeper and household of the modern mansion ensure that visitors to the area are not disappointed with what they see; with the "usual license of commentators" they "enlarge upon the text, and to heighten the effect of their narrative, by a few illustrations and particulars drawn from other sources than what the Tale affords" (Skene 45-46). Skene's illustration also enlarges upon the text by

providing a visual counterpoint to the text's depiction of the Clachan of Aberfoyle. The

illustration, like the extraneous stories of the innkeeper, heightens the effect of Scott's

narrative by making it "real" to the reader. Just as a the innkeeper, acting as tour guide,

directs visitors around the village and surrounding hills to views associated with Scott's

works, Skene's illustration makes visible the picturesque area. The vantage point of the

illustration positions the viewer as a tourist coming upon the town from the road.

Viewers, like tourists traveling along the "hill road" notable for its "picturesque beauty"

(Black 218), encounter the town as a small part of a scene made famous through its

association with Scott.

As viewers of illustrations, readers are participants in the scenes depicted, and

figures appearing as tourists or participants in a scene encourage the recognition of the

tourist potential of the location depicted in an engraving. In many of the illustrations for

Scott's *Poetical Works*, Turner places small figures in the foreground that act as tourists

of the scene or representations of the artist and the author during their travels. Such

figures often point to the subject of the illustration, thereby directing the viewer's eye to

the print's focal point. Of Turner's illustration of Loch Coriskin for the *Lord of the

Isles,* George Dekker notes that

> The decision to depict the scene as if from the viewpoint of a contemporary
>
> tourist-artist sketching a tourist-artist sketching, draws attention to the acts of
>
> seeing and imagining: of creating a narrative or pictorial image in response to
>
> the powerful impression made by a particular site. (171)

In accordance with Dekker's observation, Wood considers the placement of tourists in a scene the "standard signifier of Romantic tourism" (Wood 182). The placement of a "tourist-artist sketching" reminds us that we are looking at an image directly inspired from a scene, and tourist figures direct attention to the focal point of the image. However, text and image often depict conflicting perspectives, and these conflicting perspectives place the reader and viewer in varying and contrasting positions to each medium's subject.

The view depicted in the engraving of "Edinburgh Castle" in Tilt's *Landscape Illustrations* differs from the view described in the text accompanying the engraving, which in turn departs from the view described in the corresponding passage in the novel. In *The Abbot*, Scott positions the page, the falconer, and their companions at a distance from the castle, and the falconer points out: "see, yonder is the old castle" (qtd. in Martin 46). Clarkson Stanfield's illustration places the castle in the background—the castle is "yonder," not near. Stanfield places rocks on either side of the frame, thereby narrowing the visual plane to direct the viewer's eye towards the castle. A lone sheep perched on the rocks looks towards the castle; however, the shepherd and his flock in the foreground look away from the castle. The shepherd and his sheep are unaccounted for in the corresponding passage from Scott's novel. The text accompanying the illustration further changes the perspective. Instead of describing the view in the engraving or describing the moment in the narrative when the travelers first come upon Edinburgh, Martin describes the view from the castle itself. He places the viewer at the vantage point of the castle. Martin notes that from the castle is "obtained a most extensive and

varied prospect—the New Town, the Firth of Forth, and the shores of Fife" (46).[28]

Image and text present the viewer and reader with two conflicting views of the castle:

one from afar and one from the castle itself.

Stanfield's inclusion of a shepherd and his flock endangers the thematic

connection to Scott's work by transforming a potentially narrative image into a pastoral

landscape. Stansfield's image is illustrative of the competing realities in many of the

collections' depictions of actual places. The illustrations depict multiple realities, and

many illustrations, like "Branksome Castle," strive to balance views from Scott's texts

with actual views of Scotland. Historical connotations associated with real places and

contemporary artistic trends complicate the two competing views—views based on

fiction and reality. These competing realities are realized in varying depictions of the

same scenes. James Duffield Harding depicts Doune Castle after its heyday as an

"extensive pile" (n.p.), and Martin's text provides a brief history of the castle. Despite

the accompanying text's thematic focus on the castle and its role in Scott's novel, the

image depicts the castle off-center. The subject of the engraving is a picturesque

landscape—not the castle. The two figures in the foreground are not tourists or figures

from the novel, but stylized figures in a pastoral landscape. The figures gaze away from

the castle towards the cattle grazing on the banks of the river, and direct our eyes to do

the same. In contrast to figures in Harding's illustration that look away from the castle,

Skene's illustration of the same scene depicts places figures walking towards the castle

to create a visual line directing the viewer's eye to the stately castle. The "stately

grandeur of its lofty pile, the singular beauty of its position" determines its place as the focal point of the engraving (n.p.). Livestock, not people, populate many of the illustrations in Tilt's edition. In both "Branksome Tower" and "Crichtoun Caslte," the visual focus of the engraving is on landscape and livestock, not the tower and castle [Figure 3.3]. Martin's editorial comments position Branksome Tower as "the ancient seat of the noble family of Buccleuch" and the subject of an ancient but still popular ballad (n.p.). Copley Fielding's drawing captures none of the tower's former splendor, and Martin concedes that the tower is "greatly restricted in its dimensions" and "retains little of the castellated form." While the engraving minimizes the tower's role in the scene, it positions the tower as very much a part of the Scottish landscape. Of the Castle of Crichton, Martin details its precarious position on a "precipitous bank" of the Tyne River, and he comments at length on the architectural details of the formidable castle. The engraving, one of Turner's contested images from *Provincial Antiquities*, centers the castle in the upper-plane of the engraving [Figure 3.4]. Despite this central placement, the castle lacks the visual detail given to the trees, hills, cattle, and figures at the bottom of the frame. Turner, like Fielding, positions the castle as part of the Scottish landscape, which, in turn, plays a central role in Scott's fiction. Thus, despite their minuteness, the tower and castle maintain their link to Scott's work through a purposeful blending of fiction and landscape.

The impact of textual, historical, visual, and fictional realities upon a place is best realized in the popularity of depictions of Melrose Abbey. Canto II of the *Lay of the Last Minstrel* begins, "If thou would'st view fair Melrose aright,/ Go visit it by the

Figure 3.3. Copley Fielding, "Branksome Tower," Engraved by W. Radclyffe. *Landscape Illustrations of the Waverley Novels*, 1833. Collection of the Author.
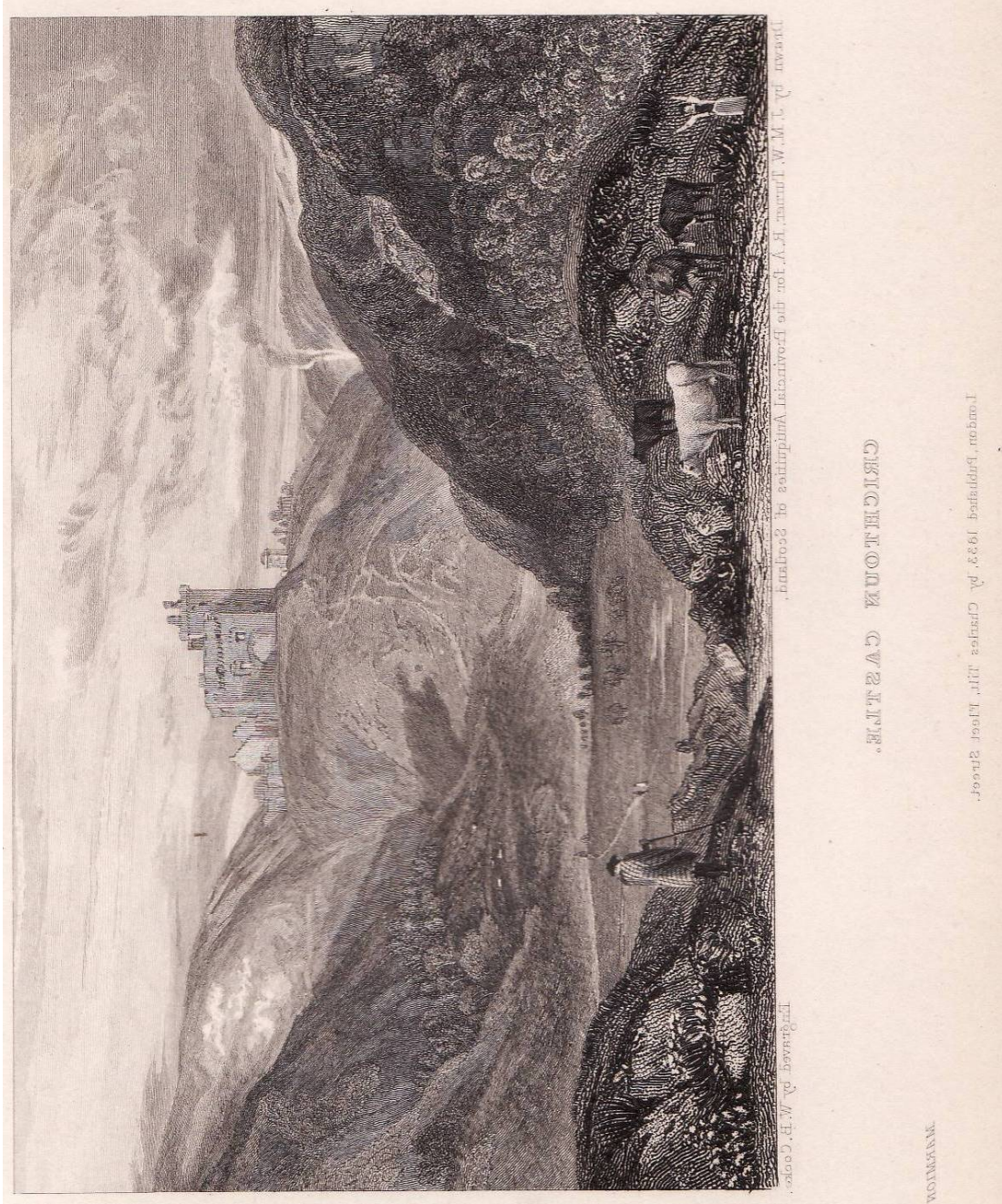
Figure 3.4. J. M. W. Turner, "Crichtoun Castle," Engraved by W. B. Cooke. *Landscape Illustrations of the Waverley Novels*, 1833. Collection of the Author.

pale of moon-light" (n.p.). The sixth illustration of the *Illustrations of Walter Scott's Lay of the Last Minstrel* does just this, and the image allows the armchair traveler access to the famous abbey at night. The illustration depicts Melrose Abbey by moonlight, and the accompanying text includes the relevant passages from the *Lay* and a detailed history of the abbey itself. Writing on tablets placed at the bottom of the ruins includes excerpts from Scott's poem. History, fiction, and reality merge in the illustration and the text. The power of this convergence has a direct correlation to the actual location of Melrose Abbey, for tourists sought Scott's Melrose Abbey. Skene's introduction suggests that the "natural attractions" of locations are "heightened by the spell" of Scott's "magical touch" (5). Using Skene's logic, text has the power to transform the meaning of "natural attractions" through the linking of place and literature. Perhaps no location was more touched by Scott's magical touch than Melrose Abbey. Watson notes that Johnnie Bower, the Abbey's custodian, capitalized on the popularity of the poem and its illustrations by providing nighttime tours of the Abbey; in lieu of moonlight, Bower led tourists with a large tallow candle placed at the end of a poll (97).

Text and image work together to situate the viewer/reader at various localities and they also work together to place readers as witnesses of historical events. In Ritchie's comments accompanying an illustration of Queen Mary's Closet at Holyrood Palace, he positions the viewer as a voyeur to the historical events that transpired in the room. The illustration itself is unremarkable; it depicts a small room with a chair and desk [Figure 3.5]. Historically, however, the room is important as it is the location of Lord Darnley's murder of Queen Mary's secretary, David Rizzio. Ritchie
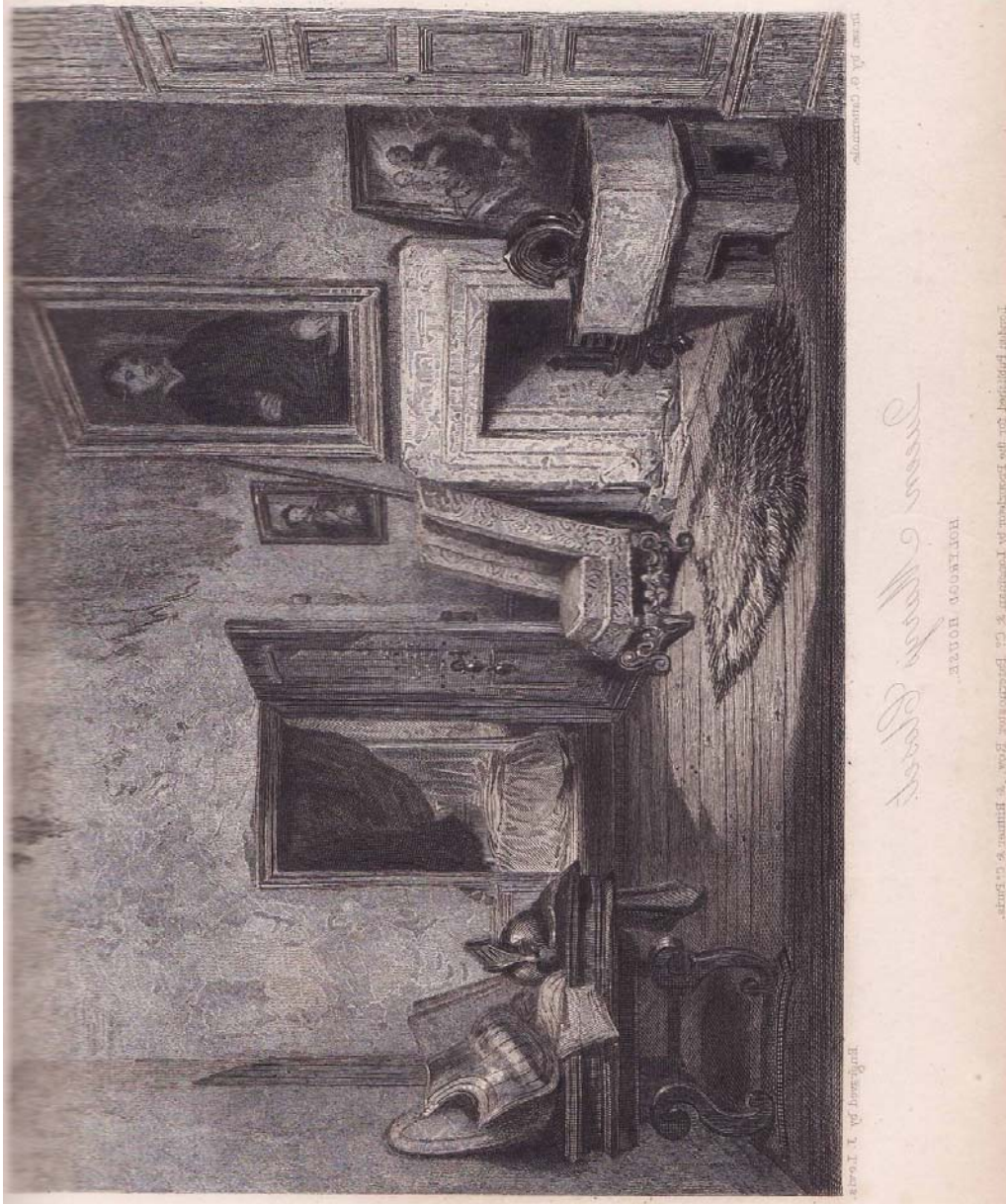
Figure 3.5. George Cattermole, "Queen Mary's Closet: Holyrood House," Engraved by J. Lewis. *Scott and Scotland*, 1835. Collection of the Author.

distinguishes between what viewers of the room (both in person and through print) see and what the room would have looked like in the past. Ritchie notes that in March 1556 the "arrangements of that little room were somewhat different. The heavy table which you see on the right was in the middle of the floor […]" (169). He then departs on an elaborate process of setting the scene for the murder. Ritchie asks the reader to picture the evening: "It is seven o'clock in the evening. The song, the tale, the jest have gone around […] the beautiful queen is happy…Hark! There is a noise without—a dull, harsh, yet quick disagreeable sound. Look towards the door. Who is there?" (169-170). Ritchie's storytelling transforms an otherwise uneventful engraving into a suspenseful crime scene; by directly addressing the reader, Ritchie places the reader as a witness to the murder. Yet before Ritchie reveals the identity of the figures behind the door, he laments that "Shadows" prevent him from revealing any more of the tale; rather than continue with the familiar narrative of Rizzio's murder, Ritchie relinquishes the tale to the "master-seer, to whom is given, not only to behold, but to command, the specters of history" (170). The text shifts to Scott, whose narrative takes over the story of Darnley's murder of Rizzio.

Continuing to invite readers to "see" Scott's texts, the illustrated editions also provide depictions of the characters that inhabit the landscapes of Scott's works. In Wright's *Landscape-Historical Illustrations of Scotland, and the Waverley Novels*, itself a blending of "real" and "narrative" illustrations, George Cruikshank's crude caricatures stand in stark contrast to Turner's dramatic and picturesque scenes. Cruikshank's engravings are employed to distinguish the collection from others:

The Publishers assume the merit of having been the first to illustrate the

scenes of mirth, of merriment, of humour, that often sparkle on and

relieve the calm and beautiful narratives of human life which fill the

pages of the Waverley Novels; and of having insured the success of the

attempt by the quality of the talent employed in its execution. (n.p.)

Wright justifies the inclusion of Cruikshank's work by arguing that while the caricaturist

may appear to capture "rather strange notions of Highland hospitality… in this

representation he does not stand alone" (n.p.). Wright turns to another Scottish writer to

support his claim that Cruikshank's representations of "Highland hospitality" are

authentic and quotes a poem from Robert Burns at the end of the preface. In this way,

Wright uses fiction—not reality—to exemplify Highland hospitality, and through

fictional representations of the Highlanders he imparts reality onto the images.

Wright proves uncharacteristically silent in the text accompanying Cruikshank's

engravings, and he leaves the caricatures and excerpts from Scott's texts to speak for

themselves. Cruikshank's caricatures isolate moments from the text, but the textual

excerpts from the novels move the meaning of the illustrations past their singular

moment to include the larger narrative. Cruikshank's etchings are narrative illustrations,

but they are simpler than his graphic satire, and they are not narrative in the Hogarthian

tradition. The illustrations' allusion to the larger textual narrative depends on the

placement of quotations from Scott's texts in proximity to the illustrations. Alone, the

scenes are merely comic caricatures, but when paired with the text accompanying them,

the illustrations enact the novels' narrative. Many of the illustrations are of Scottish

characters accompanied by text that demonstrates Scott's use of the Scottish dialect. The dialogue in the textual excerpts—and not the image itself—creates narrative movement.

In his postscript to *Waverley,* Scott claims that it has been his "object to describe these persons, not by a caricatured and exaggerated use of the national dialect, but by their habits, manners, and feelings" (493). Ironically, Scott's use of colloquial language merges with Cruikshank's images to create an exaggerated and comic depiction of Scott's characters. One of many examples of this appears in Cruikshank's depiction of Meg Merriles from *Guy Mannering.* Cruikshank depicts the moment when Meg insists that the preacher eat her stew, and the accompanying text provides Scott's dialogue of the scene [Figure 3.6]. Meg scolds the preacher, yelling: "If ye dinna eat instantly, and put some saul in ye, by the bread and the salt I'll put it down your throat wi' the cutty-spoon, scaulding as it is, and whether ye will or no. Gape sinner, and swallow" (n.p.). The preacher appears to have acquiesced and cowers before Meg who is forcefully offering her "goodly stew" from the "witch's cauldron" (n.p.). A brief note—not by Wright but rather from Scott's novel—adds validation to the scene by noting that "A savory stew, or *potage a la Meg Merillies de Derncleugh,* has been added to the *Almanach des Gourmands* by Monsieur Florence, cook to Henry and Charles, late Dukes of Buccleuch" (n.p.). The stew's reality—albeit a reality created from fiction—works to legitimatize the fictional scene.[29]

Unlike Cruikshank's caricatures and Turner's dramatic landscapes, other collections offer portrait galleries that pair text and image into a virtual "who's who" of

Figure 3.6. George Cruikshank, "Gape, Sinner, and Swallow!" Engraving, *Landscape-Historical Illustrations of Scotland*, 1836. Collection of the Author.

Scott's work. In particular, the women in Scott's novels prove a popular subject for illustrations. Like the landscapes, the portraits respond to and depart from the reality represented in Scott's novels, for the portraits represent real textual characters that are nonetheless fictional; we are asked to "see" Scott's women in his descriptions and then recognize our vision in the portraits.

Women in the illustrated collections are commodities in the larger context of illustrated books and their stylized forms are highly reminiscent of women from *Heath's Book of Beauty*. Heath notes that his collection is "deemed a most appropriate Holiday Offering" (6), and like the annuals, the edition enters the market in time for holiday gift giving. The introduction of Heath's *Waverley Gallery of the Principal Female Characters in Sir Walter Scott's Romances* (1841) decrees that the Waverley women "form a family of beauties interesting to us for almost every reason that can render women interesting" (5). Yet these are no ordinary beauties, for they

> Are beings with whom we have hoped and feared with a reality too
> intense, they have become part of the experience of our lives. Taken
> quite simply as the studies of a great literary master, they appeal to all our
> gentler feelings with a warmth unequalled by any other imaginary
> sisterhood. This has always been regarded as one of the sun-shiny walks
> of art. (Heath 5)

According to Heath's introduction, the women are a real "experience" of everyday life. To this end, Heath vows to "please our natural love of pictures with a glimpse at the possible faces of these women—to show the ideas that artists skilled in all the niceties of

plastic expression form from the great master's descriptions—is the object of this gallery" (*Gallery* 6). The evocation of Scott's name—the "great master"—cements the connection to Scott's work. By making the women "real," Heath positions the edition as a book whose purpose aligns itself with the higher purpose of art. Lengthy excerpts from Scott's novels position the women within the larger context of the stories and remind readers that they are viewing Waverley women.

In their new form as bound illustrations, Scott's fictional female characters become marketable objects. Terence Hoagwood and Kathryn Ledbetter note that in literary annuals like *The Keepsake* that images of women are designed to "excite the middle-class female reader's desire for romance and satisfy her yearning to demonstrate a sophisticated knowledge of art" (95). The illustrations present a "mirage of emancipation" by seemingly challenging "conventional notions about women" (Hoagwood and Ledbetter 96). The annual "explored female sexual fantasies," but the "artists distanced their subjects by making them exotic eastern maids, mythological characters, or medieval rustics" (Hoagwood and Ledbetter 96). Similarly, the illustrations of women in Heath's gallery evoke sensuality and sexuality, while their identification as fictional women—despite Heath's claim to their reality—positions them at a safe distance from the reader.

Lengthy textual excerpts from Scott's novels activate an additional level of meaning that positions the sensual images within the larger context of the novels. In the illustration of "Effie Deans" from *The Heart of Midlothian*, Effie stands tall and proud as she glances defiantly out of the frame. As the novel's fallen woman, much of Effie's

behavior represents the antithesis of "conventional notions" of nineteenth-century women's behavior. Heath's choice of text to accompany the engraving invites us to pause with "pleasure" when viewing the illustration:

> [Effie's] growing charms…had no power to shake the steadfast mind, or divert the fixed gaze, of the constant Laird of Dumbiedikes. But there was scarce another eye that could behold this living picture of health and beauty, without pausing on it with pleasure. (87)

Scott's text, positioned appropriately adjacent to the image, enhances and justifies any overt sexuality apparent in the engraving. Together, text and image invite the reader to explore "sexual fantasies" in the image and to take pleasure in doing so.

Like the landscape collections, most illustrated portrait galleries begin with *Waverley*. In Heath's *The Waverley Album* (1832) and the *Waverley Gallery*, Flora is the first woman portrayed. In the *Waverley Gallery*, she appears as the frontispiece. Without the accompanying title, the image is nondescript; her stylized form suggests that she could be any woman in the literary annuals. Flora appears seated at a window with one hand raised to her brow and the other holding her sewing. Unlike many of the engravings of Scott's heroes and heroines there is nothing about the scene to designate the woman as Flora or the setting as Scottish. There is no narrative action in the image, and there is nothing in the portrait or the background to invite the reader to make a connection between Flora and *Waverley*. Only the engraving's title and the excerpt from Scott's novel explain her identity and justify the portrait's inclusion in the collection.

For readers of text, the lack of visual detail in Flora's engraving is pertinent. The excerpt from the novel included with the engraving begins with Waverley's first meeting of Flora:

> There was no appearance of this parsimony in the dress of the lady herself, which was in texture elegant, and even rich, and arranged in a manner which partly of the Parisian fashion, and partly of the more simple dress of the Highlands, blended together with great taste. Her hair was not disfigured by the art of the friseur, but fell in jetty ringlets on her neck confined only by a circlet richly set with diamonds. (qtd. in *Waverley Gallery* 11)

Flora's adoption of French mannerisms and fashion seems to distance her from her otherwise staunchly Jacobite political views (which in 1745 are also views with French associations), but in the novel, descriptions of the complicated heroine always return to her Scottish identity. The image depicts nothing that we can discern to be indicative of the "simple dress of the Highlands." Instead, she appears as any woman seated at a window [Figure 3.7].

In contrast to the simplicity of the Flora's portrait in the *Waverley Gallery*, in the *Waverley Album*, details in the portrait readily identify Flora as Scott's heroine. The setting is distinctly Scottish—the Glen of Glennaquioch—and Flora's nationality is immediately identifiable by the tartan worn around her shoulders. The editors include an excerpt from the novel to describe the scene: "here, like one of those lovely forms which

Figure 3.7. J. R. Herbert, "Flora MacIvor," Engraved by Thomas Hollis. *The Waverley Gallery*, 1866. Collection of the Author.

decorate the landscape of Pouissin, Waverley found Flora gazing at the waterfall; two paces farther back stood Cathleen, holding a small Scottish harp" (Scott 235). Flora's "lovely form" does not gaze at the waterfall, but rather away from it; she gives a sidelong glance out of the frame of the engraving towards the reader. Flora's glance acts to invite the reader into the scene and allows the reader to experience the scene from Waverley's perspective. Cathleen looks towards the waterfall, and lines created by the curved lines of her harp and the angle of her body guide the viewer's eyes to Flora, reinforcing Flora's status as the focal point of the engraving and the accompanying text. Flora is very much a part of the landscape; the tartan flowing from her shoulders runs parallel to the waterfall's flow. She is, in this way, a form decorating the landscape and the subject of Waverley and the reader's gaze.

Flora's portrait also begins Tilt's *Portraits of the Principal Female Characters in the Waverley Novels; to which are added, Landscape Illustrations of The Highland Widow, Anne of Geirstein, Fair Maid of Perth, Castle Dangerous* (1833). A brief excerpt from the novel describes Flora's "jetty ringlets," but the text then shifts from Scott's description of Flora to a longer, unrelated quotation from John Wilson's "An Evening in Furness Abbey." The excerpt from Wilson's poem designates the woman as "fine and pious" and having "designed,/ In her own brain and her own heart, his tomb!" (n.p). The excerpt from Wilson's poem shifts the textual description from a purely physical description (Scott's text) to a more psychological portrayal of a woman. The use of additional authors continues throughout the collection. A descriptive excerpt from *Waverley* describes Rose Bradwardine's "profusion of hair of paley gold" (n.p.),

but the additional accompanying text shifts to another poem. Excerpts from a poem by Burns describe a woman with "flaxen ringlets" and "eyebrows of a darker hue" that are "Bewitchingly o'er-arching" (n.p.). A quotation from Alexander Pope's *Rape of the Lock* accompanies the portrait of Julia Mannering from *Guy Mannering*. Diana Vernon from *Rob Roy* is accompanied by an excerpt from Roger's *Italy* that decries the "mirth" and "arch" of the "overflowing …innocent heart" of a woman (n.p.). A warning about women's love from Lord Byron's *Don Juan* accompanies the portrait of Lucy Ashton from the *Bride of Lammermoor*:

> Alas, the love of woman! It is known
>
> to be a lovely and a fearful thing;
>
> For all of theirs upon that die is thrown,
>
> And if 'tis lost, life hath no more to bring
>
> To them but mockeries of the past alone. (n.p.)

Byron, not Scott, tells Lucy's tragic tale.

Tilt's portrait collection is emblematic of the fragility of a text when paired with images. The inclusion of additional texts relegates Scott's authorial presence to the sidelines. Descriptions of women by Burns, Byron, and Rogers, among others, stand in for Scott's descriptions of his heroines. Significantly, the editor does not acknowledge the additional authors or their works; recognition of the supplemental texts relies on the reader's knowledge of other popular literary works and other popular fictional women. The only factor differentiating the additional text from Scott's work is a larger font size that visually separates the other works from Scott's work. In both placement and size,

Scott's text appears as little more than an epigraph to each portrait—the other literary works overshadow Scott's text. Shared titles between the engravings and excerpts from Scott's text work to maintain the connection to the novels, but the authorial presence of other writers weakens the women's connection to Scott. Furthermore, the additional quotations transform our understanding of the characters. Wilson's text makes Flora appear more calculating and Burns' poem makes Rose appear more emblematic of a "Scotch cast of beauty" (Scott 93). The association of Scott's women with other literary women magnifies each character's strengths and weaknesses.

The inclusion of additional texts in Tilt's work alienates the illustrations from their association with Scott's texts. Later illustrated works also alienate images from overt associations with Scott's work. In his 1881 publication of *Royal Characters from the Works of Sir Walter Scott Historical and Romantic*, William T. Dobson declares that his book's purpose is to "awaken an interest in and create a desire for a more thorough and personal knowledge of the Royal Characters portrayed by Scott." Dobson positions the book as one "acceptable to be placed in the hands of youth," and he continues the educational approach by including detailed and documented histories of the major Royal figures in Scott's work (n.p.). The images are classic in style; technologically, the images represent new improvements in illustration and photography. The illustrations and Dobson's text, however, have little to do with Scott. Scott becomes a hook for Dobson to use to catch the attention of a younger readership, and through Scott's fiction and with the aid of illustrations Dobson hopes to renew an interest in history, but not necessarily Scott's version of history.

The spatial separation of text and image in the supplemental collections allows media to communicate meaning independently to some degree; however, the inclusion of additional texts encourages our recognition of connections between media. While many illustrations force realities upon fictional narratives and fictional places, the images nonetheless preserve their link to Scott's works through text. Editorial comments justify the illustrations' representations of Scott's work by turning to Scott's texts. The combination of an editorial voice with text from Scott's works reminds readers that they are viewing Scott's world; text works to validate the illustrations. The illustrations make Scott's text real by including images of Scottish scenery, and editorial comments make both text and image real through the inclusion of detailed histories of castles, battlefields, and landscapes. Furthermore, the editorial comments establish connections that promote an illusion of coherence between the supplemental illustrations and the original source texts and between reality and fiction. Thematic similarities between the illustrations and text bind even Cruikshank's caricatures to Turner's picturesque landscapes, and editorial comments offer logical explanations for possible stylistic disharmony. The circumstances and scenes of the illustrations may vary, but the inclusion of text maintains a thematic link to the work of the Wizard of the North.

Tilt's gallery of women departs from this pattern. Unlike the other supplemental collections, there is no editorial voice in Tilt's collection to wax poetically about the women's status as Waverley women or to assert synchronized meaning between text and image.[30] The women become interchangeable with other literary women; they are literary types rather than Waverley women. The distancing of source text and

illustration threatens the synchronicity of meaning between text and image, and the absence of editorial comments weakens the link between media. Tilt's collection does not attempt to promote a façade of originality. Instead, a new reality emerges—the reality that Scott's fictional women share commonalities with a myriad of other literary women, and, as such, they are commodities in the print market. Tilt's collection serves as a reminder that all the collections, regardless of their approach, are cultural artifacts in the larger context of the print market. They, like the texts themselves, are designed to sell, and this design builds in part on illustrations' ability to transform a text—or to transform our perception of a text.

Each illustrated edition capitalizes on the newness of the illustrations or revisions to reinvent and recycle Scott's texts. Similarly, editors today seek to compile authoritative versions of Scott's text, thereby challenging the authority and authenticity of earlier versions of Scott's work.[31] Illustrations are complicit in this process, and they, like Scott's text, reappear in new ways. In the multi-part *Plates to Illustrate the People's Edition of Sir Walter Scott's Novels* (Corson H.PEO.3 184?), Fisher resells many of the plates from Tilt's *Landscape* collection. Readers could purchase the small, chapbook-size collections of illustrations (usually containing two illustrations each) and paste the illustrations into their own copies of Scott's work. The first batch of illustrations is advertised for "every purchaser of the People's Edition" so that readers may "enrich" their copies. The editors advertise the fifth release of illustrations, however, to illustrate "All Editions of Sir Walter Scott's novels," not just the People's edition. Remnant plates are made new again through their removal from the larger supplemental

collections. The illustrations, like Scott's work, thus move from one generation to the

next, continually edited, repackaged, and made "new."

Notes

1. Scott was not the only author in the period to republish his works with illustrations nor was he the only author to have his work illustrated in supplemental collections. For instance, Byron's work was also the subject of supplemental works such as *Finden's Illustrations to the Life and Work of Lord Byron* (1833).

2. Richard Maxwell uses the term "illustrated supplements" to refer to illustrations of Scott's work (3). I am taking his definition a bit further. For the purposes of this chapter, "illustrated supplements" refers to those works published independently of Scott's novels and poems.

3. Scott published his original Waverley novels anonymously and published the *Tales of my Landlord* series (later grouped with the Waverley Novels) under the pseudonym Jedediah Cleisbotham. For a detailed overview of Scott's revisions, see Jane Millgate's "The Interleaved Waverley Novels" in *Scott's Interleaved Waverley Novels: an Introduction and Commentary.*

4. Illustrated supplements are full of examples of the use of illustrative material; for example, Copley Fielding's illustration of *Branksome Tower* is based on the notes to the poem, not the poem itself (Martin n.p.).

5. Maxell suggests that the "illustrative supplement" becomes a "magical sign of authorial presence" (3).

6. Watson notes that not long after Scott's death in 1832, Abbotsford became a tourist attraction, receiving up to 1500 visitors in 1833 (100).

7. Maida, one of Scott's beloved dogs, was the subject of so many portraits that Scott wryly comments, "he [Maida] has sate to so many artists that whenever he sees brushes & a pallet, he gets up & leaves the room" (Vol. 6, 252).

8. Bamber Gascoigne notes that while copper was easier to work with, "its relative softness meant that a plate began to show signs of wear after a few hundred impressions, giving an anaemic appearance with total loss of the more delicate lines in the printed result" (12c).

9. Steel's durability ensured its affordability, which in turn made it an immensely popular engraving medium from 1825-1845 (Hunnisett 3).

10. In addition to the influence professional artists wielded over the market, novice artists also fueled the expanding industry. The engravings made from the sketches of the legions of tourists drawn to Scottish scenery helped to "feed the appetite for illustrated books" (Altick 69). The engravings of various locales linked to Scott's work tapped into an expanding market of visual material linked to Scott's texts. Richard Altick finds it "reasonable to suppose every representation of Scottish scenery owed at least part of its saleability to its association, however faintly implicit, with the Wizard of the North" (69).

11. Text and image have been sharing space for centuries. Harthan traces the history of illustrated books to ancient Egypt, and he notes that the adoption of the codex form in 100-500 AD increased the possibilities for combining text and image on the same page (12).

12. The Magnum Opus collection is a forty-eight volume illustrated collection of all of Scott's novels released between 1829-1833 (Todd and Bowden 348). For the edition, Cadell employed thirty-five artists and thirty-eight engravers (Todd and Bowden 886). For information on the publishing history of the edition, see Millgate's *Scott's Last Edition: A Study in Publishing History.*

13. Work by Alastair Durie, Gerald Finley, and Wood provide detailed accounts of Scott's tour of Scotland with Turner.

14. Skene endeavored to act as artist and engraver for his *A Series of Sketches of the Existing Localities Alluded to in the Waverley Novels*, an enterprise that proved too taxing for the artist. Skene notes that as he was the

> Engraver as well as draughtsman, the minuteness of the work necessary to bring the scale of the engravings to the size of the novels, made it too severe a strain upon the eyes, so that it was discontinued at the close of the first volume. (*Memories* 160)

The second volume remains unpublished in manuscript form (*Memories* 160).

15. Martin asserts that he and the publishers acted "with all possible courtesy" to Turner (n.p.).

16. Martin credits Skene for many of the drawings. For example, W. B. Cooke's engraving of the "Brig. of Bracklin" from the *Lady of the Lake* is credited to J. Bentley who drew the image "from a sketch by J. Skene, Esq."

17. In general, Scott expressed an active interest in most of his work. In 1817, Scott wrote to Joanna Baillie expressing that he has "reserved a very great interest in my works which I have found highly advantageous" (*Letters,* Vol. 5, 25).

18. When soliciting Wilkie for work, Scott appeals to his reputation as an artist: "you, who are beset by the sin of modesty, will be least of all men aware what a tower of strength your name must be in a work of this nature" (Vol. 11, 73). Scott continues, intimating that the artist "if possible, contribute a sketch or two from your inimitable pencil, to ornament an edition of the Waverley novels which I am publishing with illustrations of every kind, and in the success of which I have a deep personal interest" (Vol. 11, 73).

19. In 1827, Sir Thomas Lawrence invited Scott to become an honorary Professor of the Royal Academy (*Private Letters*, 247).

20. In letters to Buccleuch, Scott reviews auction paintings by Correggio and Watteau in a manner that distinguishes him as a discriminating purchaser for his patron. Scott proves capable of distinguishing originals from copies. He criticizes the number of copies posing as originals and notes, "a picture should be as unsuspected as Caesar's wife" (Vol. 11, 134).

21. For a record of illustrations to Scott's Magnum Opus edition of the Waverley Novels, see Peter Garside and Ruth M. McAdams, *Illustrating Scott: A Database of Printed Illustrations to the Waverley Novels, 1814-1901*.

22. For example, Tilt's *Landscape Illustrations* was originally issued as a series of plates from April 1830 to December 1831 with "four plates to a part in twenty parts" (Todd and Bowden 880). It was then bound as a three-volume set in 1832.

23. The newly "illustrated" text had a revised introduction and appendices.

24. Several engravings from Tilt's collection expand upon Skene's sketches. Skene's original drawing is adapted to an additional drawing by G. Cattermole, which is in turn engraved by William Finden.

25. Of Turner's work on *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery in Scotland*, Wood argues that Turner's pictures do not "illustrate" Scott's work, rather

> Instead of pictorially dramatizing Scott, the illustrations effectively document the Romantic tourist industry, with the author, artist, and publisher—the triumvirate of the illustrated book trade—as emblematic consumers of trademark Waverley landscapes. (179)

The "triumvirate" of author, artist, and publisher are producers rather than "consumers" of Waverley locations. The images identify and verify Scottish localities for readers and tourists. The tourist and/or reader, not the producer, becomes the consumer. Makdisi notes that within the texts "people and land are reduced not only to one another, but to the level of aesthetic objects to be taken in and consumed by the eager eye of the 'tourist:' the character, the narrator—and the reader" (n.p.).

26. For critical discussions of Scott and tourism, see work by Dekker, Susan Oliver and Watson.

27. James Hunnewell, in his 1871 book *The Lands of Scott,* notes that the Baillie Nichol Jarvie Inn (whose name is linked to Scott's novel), is "easily reached from Glasgow" (180). In Adam and Charles Black's *Picturesque Tour of Scotland* (1842), they provide specific directions for tourists to get from Bucklyvie Station to the Clachan of Aberfoyle (218).

28. For more information on the view and the castle, the editor directs readers to Scott's *Provincial Antiquities* (46).

29. Peter Garside's article on *Guy Mannering* and the Picturesque provides an extensive study of Meg Merrilies as a 'Picturesque' figure, and he traces the various transformations of depictions of her character in early illustrated versions of the novel.

30. In the *Waverley Gallery,* Heath's preface provides the only editorial voice, but detailed passages from the novels situate the portraits within the context of the stories.

31. A 1999 edition of the Waverley novels, the Edinburgh Edition, claims that it is the "first reliable text of Scott's fiction" (Hewitt xvi). The edition "aims to recover the lost Scott, the Scott which was misunderstood as the printers struggled to set and print novels at high speed in often difficult circumstances" (Hewitt xvi).

CHAPTER V

THE IMPLICATIONS OF LOOKING:

TEXT AND IMAGE IN THE MOXON TENNYSON

By the Victorian age, illustrated works saturated the market; in 1844, the editors of the *Quarterly Review* remarked with disdain that "'Illustration,' as now used by booksellers and printsellers is incapable of being defined. Every engraving, every wood-cut, every ornamented letter, however meaningless, however absurd, is an illustration" (192). While the editors prove critical of the market's saturation with illustrated works, their comments also demonstrate the variety of means available to illustrate a work. The continued advent of new technology, new techniques, and new concepts ensured that publishers and authors could continue to recycle text through the inclusion of visual media. For Sir Walter Scott, illustrated supplements with elaborate engravings expanded the dialogue about his work; for other authors, the integration of text and image permitted by improved wood-engraving techniques provided innovative ways to revise old texts. Edward Moxon's 1857 republication of Alfred, Lord Tennyson's *Poems*, with illustrations by celebrity artists and engravers, provides a telling example of illustrations' ability to aid in the evolution of textual meaning. The spatial proximity between media in the Moxon Tennyson ensures that the connection between media remains active.[1] Several illustrations interrupt their poetic counterpart by appearing in the middle of the poem. Other illustrations, such as those for "The Lady of Shalott," act as bookends that

contain the poems, thereby encouraging the reader to slow down to read image and text.

The placement of illustrations at the top of the page, such as John Everett Millais'

"Mariana," creates linear movement that directs our eye to the text. From the symbolic

resonances of the Lady of Shalott's wild hair in William Holman Hunt's illustration of

the "Lady of Shalott" to the looming trees in J. C. Horsley's illustrations for

"Circumstance," the images impart meaning to the text; in turn, the text imparts meaning

to the images. Our immediate encounter with text and image occurs regardless of our

awareness of the intention and attribution of their pairing; this encounter is therefore

most relevant in studying the multi-media dialogue in illustrated works like the Moxon

Tennyson.

Contributing artists to the Moxon edition adapted their work from Tennyson's

text and from their own pre-existing works.[2] The revised poems invite comparison to

earlier poems; the illustrations invite comparisons to drawings and paintings; the

symbolic nature of the poems and the engravings invites intertextual readings of both.[3]

With such a rich literary and visual history, it is tempting to approach the Moxon

Tennyson looking for points of textual and visual fidelity. Unlike the spatial alienation

that occurs between source text and image in illustrated supplements, in illustrated

editions of poetry, text and image square off in an apparent battle over meaning. Yet

what is at stake in discussing meaning within illustrated works has less to do with an

image's narrative fidelity and more to do with multi-media interaction. W. J. T. Mitchell

argues that "*comparison itself is not a necessary procedure in the study of image-text*

relations. The necessary subject matter is, rather, the whole ensemble of *relations*

between media" (*Picture* 89, original emphasis). Regardless of how an illustration

represents a text, the ensuing multi-media dialogue creates meaning, in turn, this

meaning fashions an illusion of originality and newness that extends to both the

illustrations and the poems. In Moxon's illustrated edition of Tennyson's *Poems*, the

placement of media alerts readers to the limits of representation and to the implications

of viewing text and image together. The act of producing a work that combines media

encourages recognition of these meta-textual moments, and many of Tennyson's poems

encourage this reflexivity by incorporating visual themes.

Moxon's edition of Tennyson's poems is a republication with revisions of *Poems*

(1830), *Poems* (1832), and *English Idylls and Other Poems* (1842). [4] Richard Herne

Shepherd, an early Tennyson bibliographer, suggests that textually the 1857 edition has

"no special or peculiar" value since it is a republication of earlier editions (33).

Shepherd argues that the edition relies on the illustrations for "significance and

importance" (33). Despite the recycling of early poems, *Poems* (1857) is made to appear

new through Tennyson's revisions and Moxon's addition of fifty-four illustrations by

nine well-known artists which were engraved by six well-established engravers.[5] The

book is divided into sections according to the original publication date of each text.

These dates are deceptive. For example, "The Lady of Shalott" appears in the section

designated "Poems 1832"; however, the text of the poem is that from the 1842 version of

the poem, not the 1832 version. The edition gains its "significance and importance" not

only through the illustrations, which alone would make for a peculiar book, but rather

through the interaction of text and image. This interaction makes "The Lady of Shalott" appear new yet again in 1857.

We can trace Tennyson's "Lady of Shalott" through multiple editions in the Romantic-period and in the Victorian era in order to understand more fully the interchange of meaning in the illustrated edition of the poem. In Tennyson's 1832 version of "The Lady of Shalott," the poem moves from an external description of the bower's "four gray walls" to a description of the Lady's life. Confined in a tower, she "leaneth on a velvet bed" and is "fully royally appareled" (10). Restricted by a curse that requires that she weave images of the outside world reflected in a mirror, she "lives with little joy or fear" and has "no time" to "sport and play" (11, 10). Despite her inevitable death that comes when she decides to look at Camelot directly, the Lady maintains some control over her fate; by acting, the Lady "becomes a person instead of an automaton" (Shannon 216). Clothed in "snowy white" with her hair encircled in a "cloudwhite crown of pearl," the Lady braves the "squally east-wind" to make her way on the river to Camelot (16-17); chanting loudly a "longdrawn carol, mournful, holy," she dies before reaching Camelot (18). The Lady leaves her tale on parchment laid on her breast that declares the "charm…broken utterly" and invites the onlookers to "draw near and fear not" (18) The onlookers, "knight, minstrel, abbot, squire, and guest," cross themselves, bless the stars, and read with wonder the Lady's final words (19).

A revised version of the poem appears in 1842 in which Tennyson limits the descriptive language in the beginning of the poem to the "shadows of the world" outside rather than to the cloistered Lady herself (69). Tennyson reveals that the Lady is "half

sick of shadows," but otherwise he discloses few details about the Lady. The 1842 poem renders the Lady silent both in death and in the removal of the textual apparatus—the parchment—that tells her tale. When the Lady's lifeless body appears at the water's edge, Lancelot muses "a little space," thus granting the lady only a brief acknowledgement. Her audience shrinks to the knights of Camelot, who cross themselves with fear. Rather than conclude with the Lady's words on the piece of parchment, the poem concludes with Lancelot remarking that "she has a lovely face/ God in his mercy lend her grace" (75). Lancelot, rather than the Lady, becomes the focus of the poem's conclusion, and he, rather than the Lady of Shalott, gets in the metaphorical last word.

In the 1842 version of the poem, appearing in *English Idylls and Other Poems*, the only acknowledgement of Tennyson's revisions appears in a small printer's note in the book's back matter.[6] The new version of the poem supplants its predecessor, but it is, according to the attributions at the beginning of the book, the 1832 version. Tennyson's revisions shift the role of the Lady from an empowered (albeit cursed) woman capable of telling her own tale to a woman reduced to exist almost exclusively as the recipient rather than the holder of the gaze. These differences, significant in their implications about gender and about the role of the artist, reposition the 1842 poem as a new poem entirely, which, in essence, shares only a title and theme with the earlier version.[7] In 1857, the poem appears again with two illustrations that situate both the reader and Lancelot as voyeurs of the Lady's life. Both versions of the poem ask: "But who hath seen her weave her hand?/ Or at the casement seen her stand?" (68). The 1857

poem makes visible the unseen world of the "fairy Lady of Shalott" through William

Holman Hunt's illustration of the Lady at her loom. Dante Gabriel Rossetti's

illustration, appearing at the end of the poem, situates the Lady as the recipient of

Lancelot's musing gaze; Lancelot dominates the image, peering curiously at the passive

image of the Lady in the boat before him. When the 1857 poem is paired with Hunt and

Rossetti's illustrations, it is neither the 1832 nor the 1842 version but a new version.

For the Lady of Shalott, the repercussion for looking is death. Fortunately, for

readers, the implications involved in looking require only that we acknowledge the

active dialogue between the image that we see and the text we read. Yet this dialogue is

overlooked in favor of critical discussions centering on an illustration's perceived

fidelity to a text rather than its interaction with the text. The presence of a poem within

full view of an illustration requires a rereading of the text itself. Likewise, the close

proximity of the poems in the Moxon edition to their visual partners changes the

illustrations' visual meanings by making them susceptible to interpretations based on

textual meanings. Elizabeth Prettejohn notes that the arrangement of text and image in

the edition allows for an "interpretative strategy where we may decode the pictures by

reference to the poetic source" (*Art* 223). The reverse is also true. Kathryn Kruger notes

that by choosing different aspects of the poems to work with, the artists create "meta-

texts" within the work (109). The pictures' placement next to, below, and above the

poems asks us not only to read the poem in the images, but the images in the poem. The

work as a whole is thus highly self-reflexive and meta-textual.

The Moxon Tennyson is celebrated as a "landmark in the history of illustrations" (Dalziel 681), as a work of "total art" (Helsinger 171), and as an exemplification of "aesthetic triumph" (Lewis 175). Gregory R. Suriano suggests that Pre-Raphaelite participation in Victorian illustrated books like Moxon's artistically changes "the course of graphic art" (15). Stylistic differences between the illustrations, however, have historically resulted in a critical approach concerned with the edition's cohesion or lack thereof. Unlike Shepherd, who views the book's success in terms of its illustrations, others view the book's illustrations as cause for its commercial and aesthetic failure. Percy Muir calls the edition an "unfortunate aberration" that "perpetuated the unfortunate fashion of employing a variety of artists in one volume—always dangerous and here disastrous" (132, 131). Jack Harris attributes the commercial failure of the edition in part to the "disparate" styles of the illustrators that create an "odd amalgam" of a work (26). Thomas Jeffers suggests that the edition's commercial failing is due to the combination of Pre-Raphaelite art with "banalities by Landseer, Mulready, and Creswick, who didn't truly understand the spirit of Tennyson's medievalism" (235).[8] Elizabeth Helsinger describes the edition as a "visually discordant volume" (160), and Richard L. Stein considers the collection "as a whole … uneven and slightly disappointing" (279).[9]

Moxon's choice of a rather eclectic mix of older Royal Academy artists and younger members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood results in a variety of artistic approaches to Tennyson's poetry.[10] Pre-Raphaelite artists like Millais,[11] Rossetti, and Hunt share space in the volume with Academy artists like Clarkson Stanfield, Thomas

Creswick, and Daniel Maclise. Theoretically, stylistic similarities among the artists

should form some sort of visual cohesion to the work; however, the juxtaposition of

allegorical Pre-Raphaelite works against the more traditional vignette style of many of

the Academy works prevents stylistic homogeneity. The varying artistic styles make it

easy to separate the illustrations into two categories: Academy art and Pre-Raphaelite

art.[12] While there are distinct differences in how the artists interpret and adapt textual

meaning, there are also many similarities in how the illustrations enter into dialogue with

the text. These similarities cross the two categories of Academy and Pre-Raphaelite art

and remind us not to dismiss either artistic style too readily. The complex exchange of

visual and textual meaning remains active regardless of the illustrations' aesthetic

approach, for both traditional vignettes and Pre-Raphaelite allegorical scenes are capable

of imparting meaning to the text. While predating the illustrations, the text echoes this

transfer of meaning by imparting meaning and narrative to the illustrations.

The process of requiring artists to respond to the various texts invites us to read

the images as illustrations. This reversal of the ekphrastic tradition results in an

unavoidable acknowledgement that a text precedes the image. As discussed in the

previous chapter, the very definition of "illustration" encourages us to look to the text for

visual meaning. Yet in the Moxon Tennyson, many of the illustrations refuse to act as

traditional illustrations—they do not bind to the text in the same way illustrations of

Scott's work bind to his novels.[13] The absence of concrete realities (of place, of history,

of personages) in Tennyson's poems limits the possible amount of reality available to

anchor the images to the text. Without specific localities or specific objects to pull from,

the artists are open to visually representing the poems in a variety of ways. Stylistically, the overt literariness of Pre-Raphaelite art makes it a fitting accompaniment to text in illustrated works. Elizabeth Helsinger suggests that Pre-Raphaelite strategies for making poetry new include acts of "repetition," and "translation" (*Poetry* 2). Repetition and translation imply the existence of an original to which to respond, and in illustrated books, the implied original is the text

The literariness of the Pre-Raphaelite's work makes it tempting for critics to make comparisons between the Pre-Raphaelite's illustrations and their paintings, a temptation that several of the artists also struggled to overcome. By recognizing the engraving process as one that can transform and adapt visual and textual meaning, the issue of artistic and authorial originality arises. For Rossetti, the engraving process weakens artistic power. In a letter to William Allingham in 1856, Rossetti complains that his work has been "hewn in pieces" by engravers working to transform his drawings into illustrations (*Letters* 146). Rossetti, at work on several illustrations for the edition, identifies the engravers of his work as "ministers of wrath" (*Letters* 146).[14] After taking "more pains with one block" than he had "with anything for a long while," Rossetti is dismayed to find that engraver George Dalziel has performed his "cannibal jig in the corner" (*Letters* 146). The process of working with the engravers leaves Rossetti feeling "like an invalid" (*Letters* 146).[15] In Rossetti's complaint, the act of engraving weakens the artist. In an appendix to *The Elements of Drawing* (1857), John Ruskin echoes Rossetti's sense of loss by decreeing that that the edition's illustrations are "terribly

spoiled in the cutting, and generally the best part, the expression of the feature, entirely lost" (224).

Just as Rossetti and Ruskin lament the loss of meaning in the process of transforming a drawing into an engraving, other critics lament the loss of meaning incurred by pairing the poems with illustrations. In his 1894 study of Tennyson's illustrators, George Somes Layard argues that Rossetti has "unhesitatingly attempted to overpower the text" (9).[16] Likewise, in a 2001 critical discussion of the edition, Kruger suggests that the artists in the edition "efface" parts of the poems when choosing one portion of the poem to illustrate over another (112). A recurring sentiment in these arguments, among others, is that an element of visual and textual meaning is lost in the illustration process.

When paired with the artist's initials, the engraver's initials (their "jig") remind us of the commercial and collaborative nature of illustrated works and of the multiplicity of meaning inherent in multi-media works. The engraving process that consumes the singularity of the original drawing has implications for the text as well.[17] For example, Ledbetter argues that Tennyson's poems in the periodicals acquire meaning dependent on its "material package," for "each reproduction of the text in a new publishing format gathers its own set of meanings because of the material package unique to the particular format" (*Tennyson*, 1). Gerard Curtis also argues for the importance of the form of the book; he argues that

> Thanks in part to the emphasis supplied by the sister-arts tradition,
>
> Victorians were keenly aware that the act of reading involved an

acknowledgement of the visual value and semiotics of material signifiers:

print (typography) and the book itself. (104)

Furthermore, the material package represents trends in book publishing, a continued public interest in the sister arts, and technological advances in printing techniques. In particular, the edition marks an important trend in Victorian illustrated books—that of the resurgence in the popularity of wood engraving.

In the late-eighteenth century, Thomas Bewick (1753-1828) revived wood engraving by innovatively cutting the design on the end grain of the block rather than on the plank, thereby allowing for the production of high quality images, which in turn elevated the medium (Buchanan-Brown 19).[18] Printers can lock up wood blocks with the letterpress, which allows the illustrations and text to be printed on the same page, "thus providing an intimate design relationship which had not normally been possible when the medium was either copper or steel" (Finley 186).   The intimate relationship between text and image makes the work susceptible to criticism from a society that remained wary of the value of mass-produced work and mass-produced art.[19] John Buchanan-Brown responds to Victorian criticism about wood engravers by reiterating that it is "irrelevant" to compare a print with an original drawing because the two are not the same (288). Engravers act as "an extension of the artist" to "translate" the artist's and the draughtsman's line (Buchanan-Brown 288). As an "interpreter of the artist's idea" (Faxon 65), the engraver, like modern screenwriters, must interpret, translate, and adapt visual and textual meaning into new forms.

The use of wood engravings in the edition complicates the topic of artistic originality. In some cases, the wood-engraving process eliminates the role of the engraver as an interpreter of an artistic piece and resituates the artist, or at least the artists willing to draw on the wood block themselves, as the primary creator of the engraving.[20] The Dalziels had "perfected the art of facsimile" by having the artist draw directly on a wood block that had been painted white (Suriano 25). Yet it is the engraver's hands, not the artist's, that perform the "cannibal jig" (*Letters* 146). Engravers used a burin and graver to cut away the image, had the artist review the process, and then made a mold from the block to make a metal electrotype (Suriano 25). Layard interprets this process as highly destructive, for no original drawings survive the process (24). The original artistic source—the drawing—is consumed in the process. In an effort to preserve the original, artists would often have photographs of the woodblock taken (Suriano 26), but the photograph is itself a facsimile. As Rossetti's letter to Allingham attests, the consumption of a work begins with its inception and execution, not its entrance into the market. The engraving process destroys originality defined by artistic singularity and creates new originality by transforming a work into a distributable product.

The active role of the engravers in the overall production of a work has consequences in the perception of a work's meaning, a consequence of which Rossetti was fully aware. Rossetti's violent tone in reaction to the process of engraving his work continues in an additional letter to Allingham in March 1855:

> That wood-block! Dalziel has made such an incredible mull of it in the
> cutting that it cannot possibly appear. The fault however is no doubt in
> great measure mine—not of deficient care, for I took the very greatest,
> but of over-elaboration of parts, perplexing them for the engraver.
> However some of the fault is his too, as he has not always followed my
> lines … In short it is such a production as could give no idea of anything
> like care or skill on the part of the designer … (*Letters* 24-25)[21]

Rossetti appears willing to take some of the blame for the work's perceived flaws, but

his statement implies that his design is too complicated—perplexing even—for the

engraver. Again, Rossetti implies that something is lost in the engraving process, and he

suggests that the production process itself denies the "idea" of the artist's skill.[22]

Rossetti fears that the impact of the transformation of his work into an engraving

relegates the role of the artist to the margins. There appears to be little love lost between

Rossetti and the Dalziel brothers, for the Dalziels share his frustration with the

illustration process, albeit for different reasons. In response to Rossetti's expressed

dissatisfaction with the engraving of his work for Allingham's the "Maids of Elfin-

Mere," the Dalziels suggest that the

> Drawing was a remarkable example of the artist being altogether
> unacquainted with the necessary requirements in making a drawing on
> wood for the engraver's purposes. In this Rossetti made use of wash,
> pencil, coloured chalk, and pen and ink, producing a very nice effect, but
> the engraved reproduction of this many tinted drawing, reduced to the

stern realities of black and white by the printers' ink, failed to satisfy him. (86)[23]

The stern reality of the engraving medium is that an engraving simply cannot be a drawing.[24]

It is the relationship between engravers and editors, with artists playing an important role, which drives the production of the illustrated text. The Dalziels' active role in the production of the edition exemplifies this relationship. The Dalziels note that

> Previous to Mr. Moxon entrusting Millais' drawing to us, he had placed all the subjects with different artists, but found great difficulty in getting the work from them. He gave us a list of those waited for, and placed the completion of the engravings in our hands, asking us to look up the artists, which brought us in close communication with those engaged upon the work. (82)

Moxon asks the brothers to "superintend the printing of the book" and no sheet went to the press without their approval (Dalziel 82). While the Dalziels did not engrave all of the illustrations in the edition, their role in the production of the work reiterates the active role engravers played in the coordination and production of an illustrated work. In the production process, the writer, like the artists, takes on a marginal role. Layard notes that while the subject of various illustrations was discussed between the artists and Moxon, the designs were "never seen by the poet until in a completed state—some of them, indeed, not until they had already cut upon the wood" (5). Scholars such as June Steffenson Hagen and Allan Dooley have traced Tennyson's active and almost obsessive

role in the production of publications of his work. Hagen notes that the poet exercised "great control" over previous major editions, and oversaw everything from the color and type of cloth of for binding to the spacing of the lines of text within the book (Hagen 101).[25] Hagen notes that Tennyson was particularly concerned that the spacing of the type "attract…the eye and facilitate…reading" (26). While it appears Tennyson met with Moxon during the edition's publication month (Hagen 102), there is little evidence in Tennyson's journal or surviving letters to suggest that he was as active in this illustrated edition of his poems as he had been with previous and subsequent editions.

In their 1901 record of their fifty years of working with "distinguished artists" such as Rossetti, engravers and brothers George and Edward Dalziel predict that Tennyson's 1857 illustrated edition of his poems will "always be known as 'Moxon's Tennyson'" (83).[26] They were right in their prediction. The very designation in critical discussions of the edition as "Moxon's Tennyson" or the "Moxon edition" reiterates the commercial and collaborative nature of the work,[27] which overshadows Tennyson's singular text(s), creating a larger text defined by the multiplicity of visual and textual meaning. Yet despite what the collaborative nature of illustrated books reveals about the materiality of texts, the author's and the artists' participation, or lack thereof, is superfluous to the reader's understanding of the work. The only aspect of the final product that reveals its inherent multiplicity is the attribution of the illustrations to various artists and engravers, and these attributions only appear at the beginning of the edition and in the corner of many of the engravings in the form of small, barely legible initials. While Moxon's name is inextricably linked to the edition, Tennyson's poems

are the binding force for the entire work. The illustrations share an important element—they all illustrate Tennyson's poems.

In Scott's illustrated supplements and in the prefaces to the literary annuals, editorial comments help to establish an approach to the work. Text acts as a multi-media guide; it describes the images and explains possible stylistic disharmony between media. The Moxon Tennyson does not provide these guidelines for reading and instead leaves the reader to encounter to the multi-media dialogue unaided. With text predating the illustrations (and in some cases, paintings predating the illustrations), it becomes tempting to want to establish a hierarchy for interpretation. After all, the reality of visual design is that readers are likely to notice the illustration before reading the poems. The poems, however, determine how readers are to look at and read the multi-media interaction. Roger Gaskell identifies three "principal ways in which a text can refer to images" (233): text refers to images by their placement on the page, through reference systems (plates, figures, numbers), and through explanatory captions attached to the plate or page (233). Alternatively, if "the image is not keyed to the text, this tells us that it is probably not necessary for a linear reading of the text, but has some other function" (Gaskell 233). The Moxon Tennyson's only reference system occurs in the table of illustrations, not on the pages in which we encounter text and image.

Without the guidance of editorial text or a formal keying system, the direct and immediate relationship between text and image drives the creation of meaning. For example, Daniel Maclise's second illustration to "Morte D'Arthur" defies Gaskell's categories. The keying device is space, not text. The illustration's placement mid-poem

keys it to the text, for its placement occurs near the corresponding moment in the narrative. Maclise's illustration dominates the page, and its placement allows enough room for only two lines of the poem. The text's relegation to the bottom of the page makes it possible to overlook it in favor of the image looming large above it. The illustration interrupts the text, forcing the reader to switch from reading a text to reading an image. Maclise depicts the queen as she leans over the dying Arthur, and the corresponding passage in the text appears in the middle of the facing page. An understanding of the picture depends on the assumption that the reader has read the facing page or is familiar with Arthurian legends. In this way, the image illustrates the poem, making visible the text's description of the dying king.

As with other opening illustrations in the collection, the placement of the poem's title between the text and Maclise's first illustration links the media and alerts the reader to potential thematic and narrative similarities between them. Yet as with the second illustration for the poem, Maclise's first illustration assumes visual dominance over the text by allowing only two lines of the poem to fit on the page. The text on the same page as the illustration decries that "So all day long the noise of battle roll'd/Among the mountains by the winter sea" (Tennyson 191). The illustration does not depict a battle; instead, it depicts Sir Bevidere returning Excalibur to the lake. In the illustration, Sir Bevidere is on the "winter sea" and the mountains make up the background, but the illustration's narrative moment foreshadows the text's narrative [Figure 4.1]. In the poem, Bevidere makes two attempts to return Excalibur before he finally does as the dying King Arthur bids him to do and tosses the sword into the lake. Only on his third
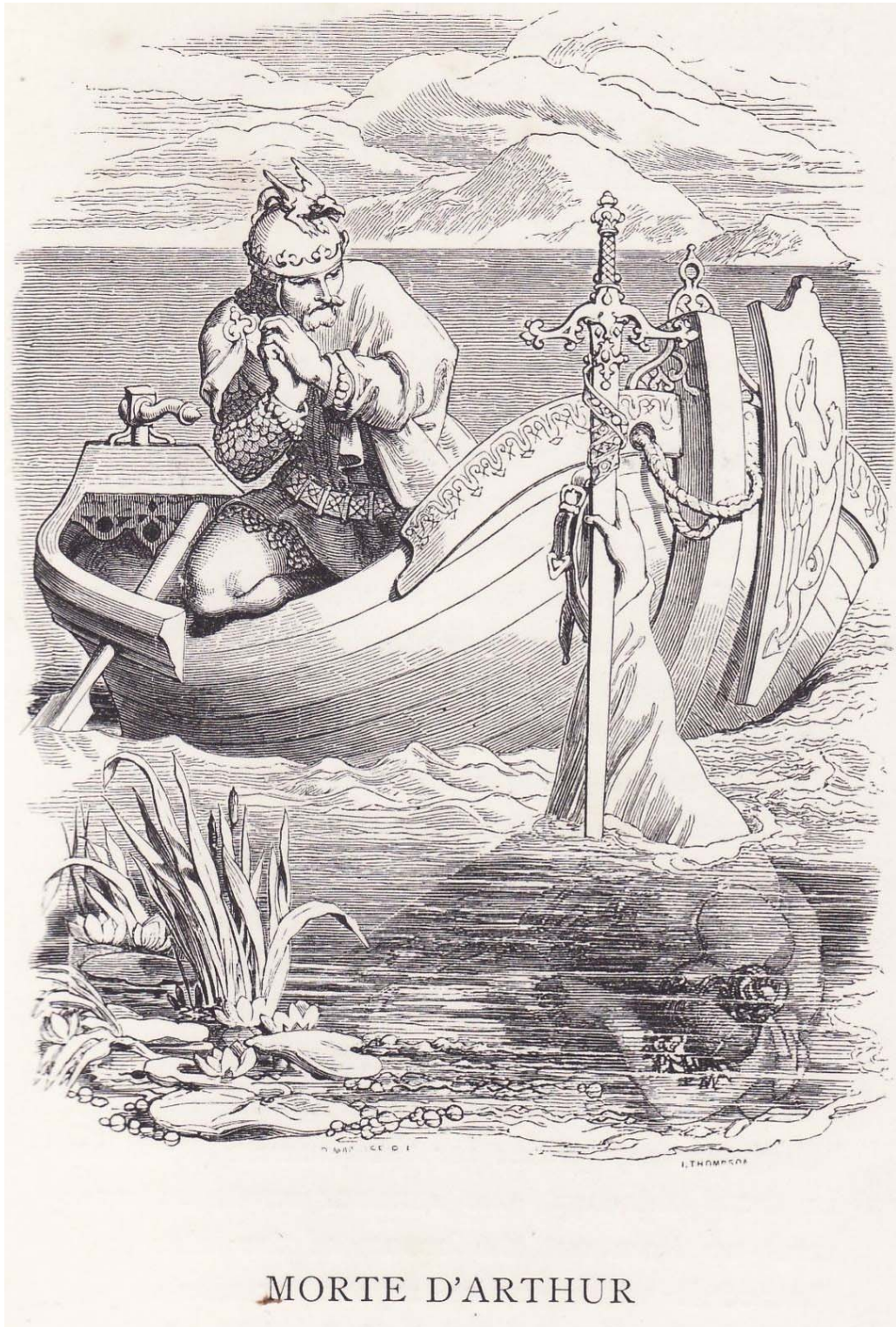
MORTE D'ARTHUR

Figure 4.1. Daniel Maclise, "Morte D'Arthur," Engraved by J. Thompson. *Poems*, 1857. Collection of the Author.

trip to the lake does Bevidere "leap down the ridges lightly" and "plunge…among the bulrush-beds" to throw the sword into the water (Tennyson 196). Before the Lady of the Lake can grasp the sword, the sword dramatically makes "lightnings in the splendour of the moon" and shoots through the air "like a streamer of the northern morn" (Tennyson 196). An arm, "clothed in white samite, mystic, wonderful," rises out of the lake to catch Excalibur "by the hilt" and brandish "him/ three times" before drawing the sword beneath the water (Tennyson 196). The narrative recounts the sword's return to the Lake twice, once as Bevidere experiences it and again as he relays the story to Arthur. This repetition occurs on a single page.

The repetition of the story of Excalibur's return to the lake makes it difficult to overlook the details of the action itself. Yet should readers flip back six pages to the opening illustration, several thematic differences become apparent. Maclise's first illustration depicts an arm holding Excalibur by the blade rather than the hilt. A seemingly surprised Bevidere does not leap through the bulrushes to the lake, but rather sits poised on a boat at the lake's edge. The difference in media invites a difference in meaning. Just as an engraving cannot be a drawing, an illustration cannot be a poem; therefore, an illustration's departure from the text should come as no surprise. In an approach similar to many of the Pre-Raphaelite illustrations in the edition, Maclise's illustration is less concerned with narrative fidelity than it is with emotional fidelity. The Lady of the Lake bows her head, perhaps in sorrow at the King's impending death or in shame at Bevidere's repeated avoidance of his appointed task. Likewise, Bevidere looks down to the Lady, perhaps in wonder or in shame. The imagery of two forms

looking down to the water at the bottom of the visual frame form visual lines that direct

the reader's eye down to the text itself. The second illustration also establishes a parallel

relationship to the first illustration by also depicting the lake. The repetition of the

image of the lake establishes continuity between the illustrations and reiterates the

central role the lake plays in Tennyson's narrative.

Maclise's illustrations are indicative of a recurring juxtaposition in the edition

between some illustrations' adherence to textual narrative and others' reliance on visual

symbolism. Many of the illustrations from artists outside the Pre-Raphaelite

Brotherhood are literal visual interpretations of the text, and they bind to the text in

identifiable ways. Rather than liberally depart from the poems or attempt to evoke a

mood rather than a narrative, such illustrations provide specific visual counterparts to

textual moments. Like Stansfield's adherence to textual details in "Edwin Morris,"

Thomas Creswick's illustration to "A Farewell" includes the "lawn and lea," the "river,"

the "alder tree," and the "aspen" mentioned in the poem (Tennyson 348). Rather than

strive to strike a moral or emotional chord in sync with the poem, these illustrations

provide a visual checklist of imagery from the poem. Meaning in such illustrations is

internal—we need look no further than the text for insight into the illustration's

meaning.

Illustrations like "A Farewell" are stylistically similar to vignettes, a stylistic

choice that several critics find out of place in the edition. Allan Life implies that the

"picturesque motifs" of the vignettes fail as illustrations due to their dependence on the

text for "what little iconographic meaning they possess" (493). However, this

dependence on the text is what makes the vignettes illustrations, for the literalness of many of the vignettes makes them adhere to traditional expectations associated with illustrations. The common stylistic choice of pairing vignettes with text also establishes an "illusion of homogeneity among the works of different artists" (Lewis 177). For the Academy artists, the vignettes join their work together and make it possible to distinguish their work from much of the Pre-Raphaelite artists' work. According to Becky Winegard Lewis, when the Pre-Raphaelite artists chose to depart from the vignette style, they "put their illustrations on a more equal footing with the poetry" (177). The vignettes should not be dismissed so lightly.

Horsley's illustrations for "Circumstance" are stylistically vignettes that provide a visual narrative parallel to textual narrative. In the foreground of the first illustration appear "two lovers" whispering by "an orchard wall," while in the background children play and a couple dotes on an infant (Tennyson 62). The illustration on the facing page depicts a funeral procession passing "two graves grass-green … beside a gray church-tower" (Tennyson 63).[28] Both of the illustrations follow the poem's narrative. The poem encourages the shift in the illustrations' depiction of scenes of life to scenes of death; the closing lines announce the inevitability of death, for "so runs the round of life from hour to hour" (Tennyson 63). The second illustration echoes the poem's shift in tone: a forlorn couple follows a funeral procession and a woman and child stand beside two gravesites. The over-reaching branches of a tree tower over both scenes. In the first illustration, delicate lines form the shape of the tree and a significant amount of the wood block has been removed to leave the tree's leaves primarily white [Figure 4.2].

CIRCUMSTANCE

Two children in two neighbour villages
Playing mad pranks along the healthy leas ;
Two strangers meeting at a festival ;
Two lovers whispering by an orchard wall ;
Two lives bound fast in one with golden ease ;

Figure 4.2. J. C. Horsley, "Circumstance," Engraved by J.
Thompson. *Poems*, 1857. Collection of the Author.

The stronger lines in the illustration are the curved shapes of the couple in the

foreground, which reemphasizes the first half of the poem's focus on humanity and the

"two lives bound fast" (Tennyson 62). The tree's branches form an arch over the couple,

thereby forming a frame at the top and side of the illustration. The tree itself is

unremarkable and might not be worth noting if it were not for the repetition of the image

of the tree in the second illustration. The poem's narrative builds upon images of

doubles: "two children," "two strangers," "two lovers," "two lives," "two graves"

(Tennyson 62-63). In light of the poem's focus on duality, the repetition of the image of

a tree becomes important. In the second illustration, the engraver has removed only

small amounts of the background of the tree [Figure 4.3]. In relief printing like wood

engraving, this process leaves behind strong lines for the ink. With so much wood left in

relief, the image is darker than the tree in the preceding illustration. The tree's placement

in the center of the frame makes it the dominant part of the image. The tree looms over

the scene, placing humanity in a secondary role to nature, which reiterates the somber

tone of the poem's conclusion.

Horsley's two vignettes create and frame narrative. Many of the vignettes, like

so many of the Pre-Raphaelite illustrations, frame the poems visually and thematically,

thereby inviting an acknowledgement of their relationship to the poems. Vaughan notes

that a vignette with "its rounded corners, establishes a system of peepshows, distant

evocations that accept the separateness of image and text and yet allow the two to co-

exist on the page without overt conflict" (149). Likewise, Lewis notes that the vignettes

CIRCUMSTANCE

Two graves grass-green beside a gray church-tower,
Wash'd with still rains and daisy-blossomed ;
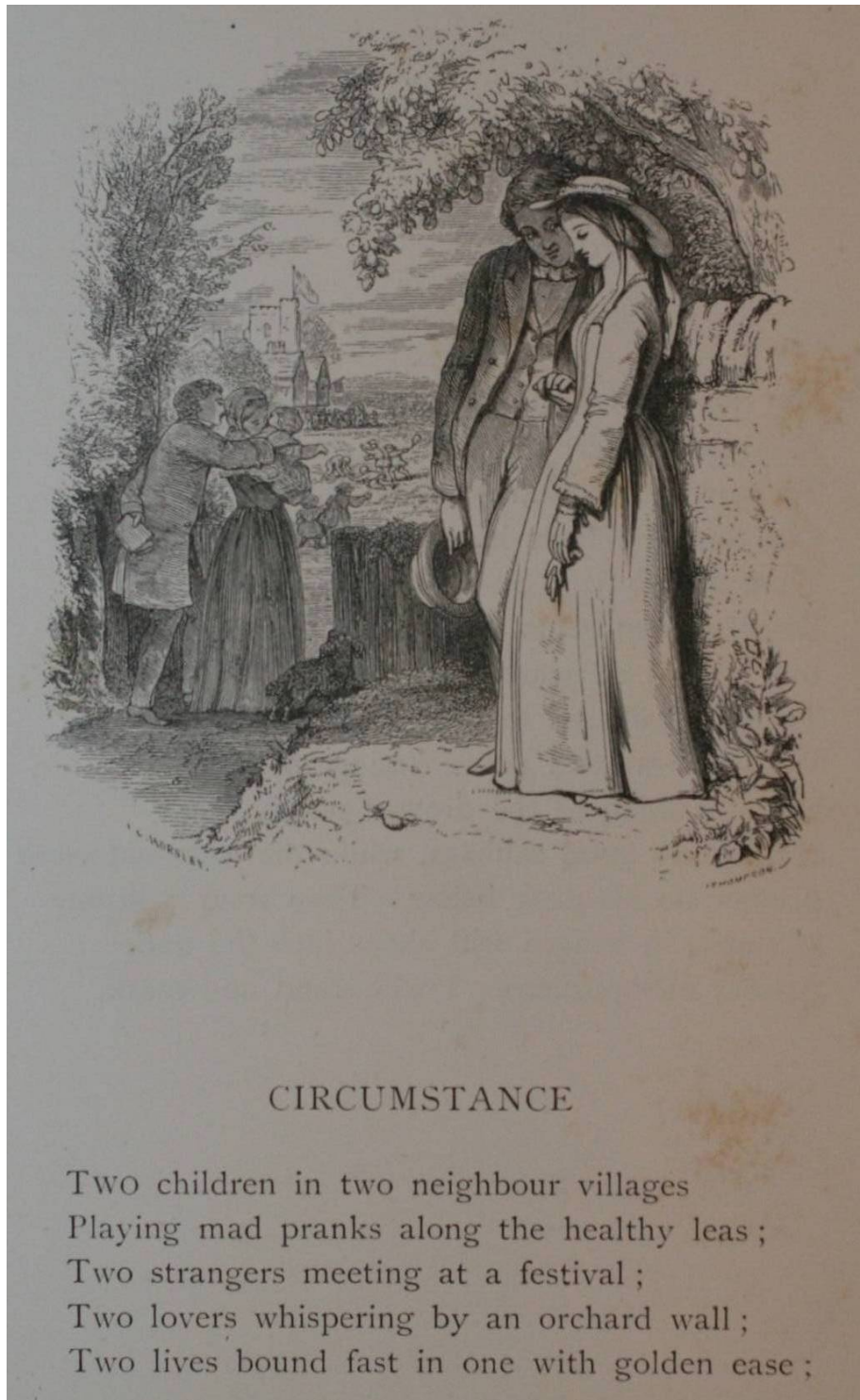Two children in one hamlet born and bred ;
So runs the round of life from hour to hour.

Figure 4.3. J. C. Horsley, "Circumstance," Engraved by J.
Thompson. *Poems*, 1857. Collection of the Author.

"tend to lean backward away from the words, and prevent any conflict or integration with the passage" (177).[29] The blurred lines of a vignette's borders blend the visual frame of the illustration with the page, which in turn creates a visual integration with the page that extends to the text. The combination of this blending with the overt literalness of many of the vignettes makes it easy to overlook them in favor of the tightly framed and highly allegorical Pre-Raphaelite illustrations. Missing from the vignettes are the hard lines that define the frame in most of the Pre-Raphaelite illustrations (for example, Rossetti's "Mariana in the South" and "The Palace of Art"). Even the lines in Millais' "Mariana," which have softly tapered edges, reinforce the separation of text and image. Lines from the walls, ceiling and floor create architectural details that frame the illustration and add to the claustrophobic atmosphere of the image. The room closes in on Mariana, and as it does so, it closes out the text. Thus, in contrast to many of the Pre-Raphaelite illustrations, the vignettes invite us to acknowledge the text rather than prevent visual integration with the text.

Just as visual lines create or destroy borders between media, they also direct the reader's eye away from or towards the text. In Millais's illustration of "Mariana," Mariana's bent form creates an arch that encourages the eye to move past the visual frame and down towards the text. The arbor in Mulready's illustration of "The Gardner's Daughter; or The Pictures" forms a similar arch at the top of the illustration. The placement of Hunt's illustration at the beginning of the "The Lady of Shalott" creates a visual hierarchy favoring the image literally above the text. Rossetti's engraving of Lancelot concludes the poem, creating a virtual bookend to the poem.

Visual lines within the illustrations reinforce the dominance of visual imagery over the

beginning and end of the poem, but the lines also move the reader's eye to the text. In

Hunt's illustration, the Lady of Shalott's hair dominates the top of the frame. The

heaviness of her hair adds weight to top of the frame, pushing the viewer's eyes down to

the text. In Rossetti's concluding illustration for the same poem, the prostrate body of

the Lady forms a horizontal line at the bottom of the frame directing the viewer's eye to

both Lancelot and the text above him [Figure 4.4]. These dual horizontal lines begin and

end the poem, effectively framing it. As the artists worked independently, it is likely

that this effect is due to editorial decisions regarding the placement of the illustrations

rather than artistic intention. Intentional or not, the effect remains the same. The

placement of text and image in such close proximity to each other invites direct readings

of the relationship between media, and visual lines that direct our attention to the poem

continue this invitation.

While narrative similarities exist between text and image, as in Creswick's

illustrations for "Circumstance," stylistic disharmony between text and image evokes the

question of the possibility of an illustration accurately conveying a text's meaning. A

pervasive critical perception is that illustrations expand, capture, allegorize, and interpret

textual meaning.[30] Stein claims that Rossetti's "Lady of Shalott" "expands upon

Tennyson" and that "Rossetti translates Tennyson into his own language" (291). Kruger

suggests that Hunt desires to "capture the essence of Tennyson's poem" (117). These

perceptions hinge on the assumption that an "essence" exists and on our recognition that

an illustration in some way changes textual meaning through expansion, translation, etc.

THE LADY OF SHALOTT

Died the sound of royal cheer;
And they cross'd themselves for fear,
  All the knights at Camelot:
But Lancelot mused a little space;
He said, "She has a lovely face;
God in his mercy lend her grace,
  The Lady of Shalott."

Figure 4.4. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, "Lady of Shalott," Engraved by the
Dalziel brothers. *Poems*, 1857. Collection of the Author.

Other critics suggest that the illustrations can accurately represent the text. Helsinger argues that Rossetti's illustrations "capture a tone or mood or idea representative of the whole poem, inventing décor and details to produce a highly condensed, replete image *of* the text, not simply a rendition of a scene *from* it" (159, original emphasis). Yet in the illustration process, change is inevitable due to changes in medium; an image cannot be text but it can adapt textual meaning. The artists adapt the text's meaning to fit a visual medium; in turn, the engravers adapt the original work of art to fit the technical requirements of a mass-produced engraving. Layard mentions rather humorously that even though Tennyson does not describe the Lady of Shalott's hair, Hunt does not depict her bald (40). Artists add their own element of reality to the text, adding hair when needed and including visual symbolism from other cultural traditions. If we think of illustrations as adapting meaning from the text rather than striving to match it entirely, it becomes easier to depart from discussions of an image's fidelity to the text.

Aesthetically, it is probably best that the Lady of Shalott is not bald; however, Tennyson objected to Hunt's liberal depiction of her hair. Tennyson was particularly unhappy about Hunt's depiction of the Lady's hair being "wildly tossed about as if by a tornado" (qtd. in Hunt 95). Tennyson argued that an "illustrator ought never to add anything to what he finds in the text" and should "always adhere to the words of the poet!" (qtd. in Hunt 95, 96). Hunt responded to Tennyson's criticism by noting that he had "only half a page on which to convey the impression of weird fate, whereas [Tennyson] uses[s] about fifteen pages to give expression to the complete idea" (Hunt 95). Hunt writes that he

> Had purposed to indicate the extra natural character of the curse that had
>
> fallen upon her disobedience by reversing the ordinary peace of the room
>
> and of the lady herself; that while she recognised that the moment of the
>
> catastrophe had come, the spectator might also understand it. (95)

Hunt attempts to aid in the reader's understanding of both the illustration and the poem

by emphasizing the Lady's disobedience. Hunt appears fully aware of the differences in

meaning within each medium. Knowing that he cannot capture the entirety of the poem

in a single image, he attempts to capture a single but meaningful moment. Hair, wild or

not, becomes a necessary addition.[31]

In both the 1832 and 1842 poems, the people gaze "where the lilies blow/Round

an island there below" but cannot gaze at the Lady herself. Hunt's illustration allows

readers to see the Lady "weave her hand." Visually, the illustration enacts a part of the

narrative denied the characters in the poem and the readers of the poem. Hunt's

illustration symbolically visualizes the Lady's internal struggles through her wild hair

and the unraveling of the thread on her loom; his depiction of the Lady departs liberally

from the poem—after all, she has hair [Figure 4.5]. In choosing to include visual details

not mentioned in the poem, Hunt adapts the text and imparts larger cultural symbolism

to the poem; for example, the Lady of Shalott's long and flowing hair evokes Victorian

notions of women's sexuality and morality. Stein argues that as a "central feature of

Pre-Raphaelite iconography," the Lady of Shalott's hair becomes an

> …emotional symbol, the most telling indication of her loss of aesthetic
>
> and moral control. A series of visual puns is present in the imagery:

THE LADY OF SHALOTT

Figure 4.5. William Holman Hunt, "Lady of Shalott," Engraved by J. Thompson.
Poems, 1857. Collection of the Author.

coming undone, moral looseness, and not keeping one's hair on (the

related American idiom is letting one's hair down). (292)

Carol Rifelj notes that nineteenth-century visual and textual representations of women's

loose hair are often associated with eroticism and sexuality (88). Rifelj suggests that

loose hair signifies distress and "disheveled hair became a traditional sign of general

physical or emotional disarray" (89). In the revised poem, Tennyson provides few

details as to the Lady's emotional state; far from providing just an aesthetic element to

the image of the Lady, the Lady's wild hair is suggestive of her emotional state. Hunt's

depiction of the Lady's loose hair and the unraveling threads on her loom are

emblematic of her internal distress and the implied loss of her virtue. Victorian readers

well versed in such iconography could transfer the visual symbolism of the Lady's hair

onto the poem, thereby inflecting sexual and moral undertones from the illustration into

the text itself.

In the version of the poem in the Moxon Tennyson, the poem's descriptiveness is

limited to the Lady's surroundings and to the world she cannot access:

> Four gray walls, and four gray towers,
>
> Overlook a space of flowers,
>
> And the silent isle imbowers
>
> The Lady of Shalott. (68)

The 1832 version of the poem is even more descriptive of the bower. The poem

describes "the little isle is all inrail'd/ With a rose-fence, and overtrail'd/With roses" (9).

The text's descriptive passages in the revised poem are limited to the world outside the

bower. Edgar Shannon notes that the only access to "clues as to the identity and circumstances of the mysterious Lady" are through "outside appearances" (209). The conflict between the inaccessible realities of the world outside the bower and the threat of the mysterious curse propels the poem's narrative. Thematically, this tension appears realized in the illustration as the Lady's work on her loom unravels.

The depiction of a woman at her loom, like the depiction of a woman's hair, has symbolic resonances that reverberate through literary and art history. In the context of the poem, Shannon notes that the act of weaving positions the Lady as a "passive observer" who "derives her art solely from scenic impressions" (211). The mirrors hung in her bower provide the scenes she uses for her art and act as intermediaries between art and life. Kruger extends the metaphoric reading of visual imagery in paintings and drawings of the "The Lady of Shalott" to the act of weaving. She argues that

> Through scenes of textile manufacture, the artist conveys to the viewer ideas of womanly virtue or promiscuity by portraying the order or disorder of her threads, the relaxed or rigid posture of her body poised over her work—whether her body opens to or resists the male penetrating gaze. (108)

In Hunt's illustration, the threads of the Lady's work entangle and confine her, but her body neither opens to nor resists a "male penetrating gaze." In the mirror behind the Lady, a knight rides away from the bower, seemingly unaware of her presence. Yet she is the object of the reader's gaze, and her arched neck and curved figure direct the reader's eyes to the text. In turn, the text activates the narrative implied in the

illustration by telling the Lady's tale. In Part II of the poem, the Lady responds to the "two young lovers lately wed" by stating that she is "half-sick of shadows" (70), but she does not act on this despair until Part III when Lancelot passes her window on his way to Camelot.

When the Lady chooses to look to Camelot, she triggers the curse that confines her. Rendered silent in death, the Lady's riverside appearance is unexplained, thereby leaving "Knight and burgher, lord and dame" to wonder "Who is this? and what is here?" (Tennyson 74). In the poem's conclusion, Lancelot provides the answer by identifying the "lovely face" as belonging to the "Lady of Shalott" (75). The Lady's image, rather than her text, provides him with the information he needs. In conjunction with the poem, the illustration casts Lancelot as a central figure in the Lady's tale. Four descriptive stanzas in Part III of the poem encourage the illustration's attention to the red-cross knight. In these stanzas, the poem shifts from a focus on the Lady to the subject that causes her to activate the curse. Likewise, the placement of Lancelot in Rossetti's illustration positions him as the figure whose mere appearance precedes the Lady's downfall. Lancelot looms over the deceased Lady, whose own head tilts away from the text and the men who gaze down upon her. She is marginalized in death; her figure takes up only a small portion of the illustration and is largely shrouded by her cloak. The small boat is almost coffin-like in appearance and does not fit in the frame. Lancelot is in the act of looking—an action that for the Lady proved fatal.

Both Hunt's and Rossetti's illustrations contain visual clues that link the illustrations to the poem, yet each illustration contains its own narrative elements that

create resonances that extend to larger cultural myths surrounding Arthurian legends.

Like ekphrastic texts, whose connection to art is active, illustrations are never free from

the text they seek to represent. Vaughan suggests that unlike Rossetti, Millais appeared

sensitive to the difference of an image appearing on the printed page with the text rather

than beside it, as was often the case when exhibiting paintings paired to poetry (153).

These differences are apparent in Millais' treatment of Mariana, a lovelorn character

from Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* and the subject of one of Tennyson's poems.

Tennyson's first version of "Mariana" appeared in 1830; Millais exhibited a painting of

Mariana at the Royal Academy in 1851 (Vaughan 151). Of Millais's changes between

the painted and the engraved work, Vaughan suggests that Millais was aware of his

illustration appearing "in the presence of the full poem, rather than taking an extract as a

pretext…the whole effect of the picture depends upon the presence of the text beneath

it" (154).[32] Vaughan's suggestion implies a parasitic relationship between illustration

and text, with the picture dependent on the text for meaning.

Millais' illustration lacks the exquisite details of his earlier painting, which is

rich with literary and visual symbolism, but such details are almost unnecessary when

the text is so readily available. Rather than try to capture the entirety of the poem's

narrative in the image, Millais' illustration, like Hunt's depiction of the Lady of Shalott,

captures an emotional state.[33] By limiting the narrative depicted in the illustration to

Mariana's emotional state and not her setting, Millais encourages a reading of the poem

for additional details. The illustration alone does not communicate Mariana's narrative;

paired with the text, however, the illustration adds emotion to her story. The poem

includes an epigraph from *Measure for Measure* that further keys the text to the

engraving and alerts us to the setting of both the poem and the illustration [Figure 4.6].

Millais depicts Mariana in the "moated grange"; through the windows of her bower, we

can see the "blacken'd waters" of the moat and the poplar shaken so hard by the wind

(9). The poem's title, epigraph, and content invite readers to recognize a larger textual

and visual history, while also imparting emotional tension to the illustration.

If Millais was aware that his illustration's appearance within full view of the text

had implications for visual meaning, we must recognize that the same is true for the

poem. The absence of visual details in the illustration allows the poem to speak for

itself. The poem is rich with details that invoke the senses: Mariana feels "cold winds"

(8), watches "gusty" shadows (9), cries tears "with the dews at even" (9), and hears the

ominously "slow clock ticking" (10).[34] Millais' painting of *Mariana* similarly depicts

such minute details. The painting requires, Prettejohn suggests, a "half-an-hour—

perhaps more" for the viewer to take "the responsibility of looking seriously" (11). In

contrast to the "heavy demands" the painting makes on the viewer (Prettejohn 11), the

illustration requires little interpretative work. The poem, not the illustration, details

Mariana's tedious and emotional wait for her lover. In the illustration, Mariana's

collapsed form on the window seat visualizes her total emotional collapse. Mariana has

turned away from the window, and she has turned from the decaying imagery so

eloquently described in the poem.

Millais' illustration for "The Sisters," a tragic tale of love and revenge, also

demonstrates his awareness of the implications of an image appearing within full view of

MARIANA

, "Mariana in the moated grange."—*Measure for Measure.*

Figure 4.6. John Everett Millais, "Mariana," Engraved by the Dalziel brothers. *Poems*, 1857. Collection of the Author.

 the poem. Rather than attempt to capture the entire narrative, the image represents only one line from the poem. The third line of each stanza carries a variation of the line, "The wind is blowing in turret and tree" (109-111): the wind blows, howls, roars, rages, and raves. The repetition of the phrase "O the Earl was fair to see" concludes each stanza. Millais depicts neither the Earl nor the sisters, but instead the turret and wind, which reemphasizes the poem's repetition of this imagery. A dark castle turret dominates the foreground [Figure 4.7].   In the background, three poplars bend as if blown by the wind, and a full moon evokes the "silent night" of the Earl's murder (110). Alone, the illustration is unremarkable, as it seems incapable of self-narration. Paired with the poem, the stony silence of the illustration works to enhance the poem's dark, tragic, and vengeful tone. The illustration's depiction of a turret with stairs leading to the top represents not only the poem's repeated lines but also the presumable spot of the sister's death. In the opening stanza, the narrator notes that the Earl and her sister "were together, and she [the sister] fell" (109). The next stanza states simply that the sister died but gives no indication as to how. The poem's repetition of the imagery of the turret and the illustration's focus on the turret suggests that the sister literally fell to her death from its heights. Yet the poem implies that the sister also fell morally, for after being "together" with the Earl, she dies "with shame" and goes to "burning flame" (109). The narrator responds to her sister's death by seducing and then murdering the Earl. Rather than depict the poem's narrative and thus create the need to take into account the poem's sexual and murderous undertones, Millais' illustration allows the text to speak for itself. The image enters simultaneously into dialogue with the poem by
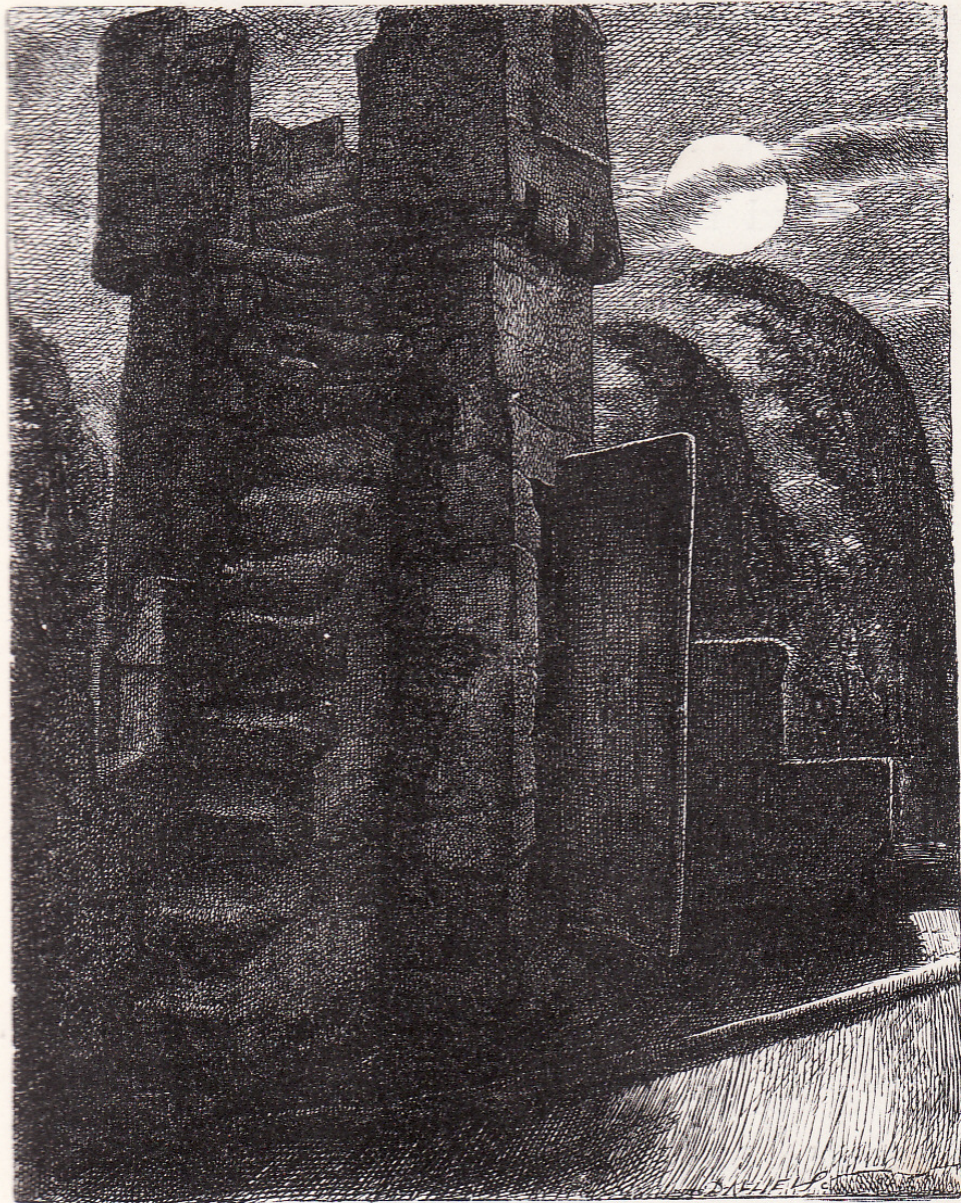
THE SISTERS

Figure 4.7. John Everett Millais, "The Sisters," Engraved by the Dalziel brothers.
Poems, 1857. Collection of the Author.

echoing the story's dark theme.

Since Tennyson composed his poems before the illustrations, the poems rarely explicitly invite a direct comparison between text and image. In some poems, the text bids us to look for a visual counterpart, and in these moments, the text projects meaning onto the illustrations. Tennyson's "Edwin Morris, Or, The Lake" invites the reader to seek an illustration. The narrator notes:

> I was a sketcher then:
>
> See here, my doing: curves of mountain, bridge,
>
> Boat, island, ruins of a castle, built
>
> When men knew how to build, upon a rock
>
> With turrets lichen-gilded like a rock. (229)

The narrator invites the reader to "see here" and to look at his "doing" in the illustration. Stanfield's illustration complies by providing a literal visual interpretation of the "sketch," which is complete with a boat, island, castle, and rocks. Stanfield positions the viewer away from the castle, allowing his illustration to take in all the visual elements mentioned in the stanza. Despite the poem's existence before the illustration, the text invites a direct connection between illustration and poem. The narrative persona claims credit for the sketch, encouraging an acknowledgement of the visual theme of the poem and inviting the reader to look for a sketch. The illustration's focus on the setting recalls the speaker's times on the lake, but it also ignores the larger part of the poem's narrative.

"Edwin Morris" invites us to "see" the illustration; the act of looking, and specifically the act of looking at an illustration, becomes a thematic part of the poem. The relationship between Tennyson's poem "The Gardener's Daughter; or, the Pictures" and Horsley's accompanying illustration also dramatically incorporates the theme of looking. The subtitle of the poem—the "Pictures"—alerts us to the visual theme of the poem, which is also realized in Horsley's illustration. The poem itself is preoccupied with visual themes and with the artist's relationship to both his work and the world around him. Art proves a subject of the poem and plays an integral role in the descriptive language of the poem. The poem's plot echoes the painterly descriptions of the scenery.[35] In the poem, two "Brothers in Art" discuss Love as a necessary artistic intermediary between artists and their subjects (203). The narrator teases Eustace by arguing that his painting of Juliet is not Eustace's work, but rather Love's. Love proves "a more ideal Artist" than the actual artist:

> 'Tis not your work, but Love's. Love, unperceived,
>
> A more ideal Artist he than all,
>
> Came, drew your pencil from you, made those eyes
>
> Darker than darkest pansies, and that hair
>
> More black than ashbuds in the front of March. (204)

Eustace, who is in love with Juliet, responds by challenging the narrator to paint an equally beautiful painting. Juliet enters the challenge by instructing the narrator to "Go and see" the Gardener's daughter (204). After seeing Rose, Juliet says that the narrator "scarce can fail to match [Eustace's] masterpiece" (204). The trio departs on a quest to

find Rose, and Eustace, the first to spy the Gardener's daughter, prompts the narrator to "Look! Look!" (207). The narrator looks.

After introducing Rose into the narrative, the narrator begins a lengthy description of both the Gardener's daughter and nature, establishing what Tennyson called the "central picture" of the poem" (qtd. in Hallam Tennyson 197).[36] The narrator describes Rose's "One arm aloft," her dress that "fitted to the shape," and the "bounteous wave" of her hair "as never pencil drew" (208). Eustace encourages the narrator to "climb the top of Art" and to paint Rose, a painting that will prove "Love,/ A more ideal artist he than all" (209). What the narrator sees colors his response to the world around him. Rose becomes the source of "Love at first sight" (209) and the inspiration for his masterpiece. After looking upon Rose, the narrator "could not sleep for joy" (Tennyson 209); Rose consumes his thoughts and enhances his awareness of the sights and sounds around him.

At the poem's conclusion, the narrator turns to the recipient of the story, observing that the listener's eyes have "been intent/ On that veil'd picture" (Tennyson 212). The veil, the narrator admits, is drawn because the painting "May not be dwelt on by the common day" (Tennyson 212). Lawrence J. Starzyk suggests that the narrator's hesitancy in unveiling the portrait stems from his realization that he cannot achieve a "verbal rendering" or "painted representation that actually squares in the present with what Rose represented years earlier" (50). This hesitancy, Starzyk argues, reflects the narrator's opposition "to the idea of contrast or fundamental difference between object and its artistic representation" (50). Yet the listener is not susceptible to this opposition;

unable to view Rose in life, the listener can only compare the narrator's verbal description of Rose with the painting of Rose. Poetry and painting must stand in for Rose herself. To aid in making the connection between art and life, the narrator positions Love as the intermediary; he advises the viewer to "Raise thy soul;/ Make thine heart ready with thine eyes" (Tennyson 212). The narrator removes the veil and invites the listener to "behold her there" (Tennyson 212).[37]

The speaker never describes the painting that the listener sees. Instead, the final stanza describes Rose in relation to the narrator; the speaker denies readers a descriptive passage that unveils the painting. We learn what Rose represents, not what the painting represents. She is the "idol" of the speaker's "youth," his "first, last love," the "darling" of his "manhood," and the "most blessed memory" of his "age" (212). She is also silent; Rose's only comment in the poem positions her entirely in relation to the speaker: "I am thine" (211). Love, as the intermediary between the artist, his subject, and his work, further distances Rose from the painting of Rose. The listener, after all, does not actually behold Rose but rather a painting of Rose. Yet Rose's reality—or unreality—is irrelevant once she has been captured in paint because the listener cannot view her as a referent. The earlier reference to the exaggerations in Eustace's painting of Juliet reinforces the poem's thematic acknowledgement of Art's inability to depict reality. Love may prove a more "ideal Artist," but love creates artistic fiction (204). The poem positions Love, veils, landscape, and memory as intermediaries and boundaries between the artist and his subject. In this way, we can never truly see what the painting/illustration represents. The painting's referent becomes an abstract identity, a

possession, a memory, and a symbol rather than an actual woman. Furthermore, as a copy of Rose and not Rose herself, the painting is decidedly fiction.

While "never [a] pencil" had drawn Rose before her meeting with the narrator, she is doubly captured on canvas and page in the poem and the illustration. The reader, like the listener in the poem, beholds a picture of Rose [Figure 4.8]. Horsley's illustration unveils Rose, and it depicts her suspended in the initial moment in which the narrator first sees her. While the narrator notes that his "prelude" (the poem) has "prepared" the viewer for the sight of Rose, Horsley's illustration precedes the poem; the reader becomes privy to the painting in the light of the "common day," before the narrator allows the listener/reader access to the image. In this way, Horsley's illustration undermines the narrative of the text; the reader cannot prepare their eyes for the speaker's vision of Rose because the reader encounters the illustration before the text. Horsley's illustration makes visible the inaccessible and positions the reader as a voyeur in relation to a beautiful and mysterious woman. The illustration is implicated in the poem's positioning of Love (and Rose) as an intermediary between life and art. This allows the reader, not the listener, to judge the success or failure of this relationship early on in the poem. Yet the inability of the reader to judge the illustration/poem/painting in relation to the gardener's daughter herself renders such judgment moot. The illustration, itself an engraving based on a drawing based on a poem, reinforces and participates in the poem's acknowledgement of the fictionality of representation.

The narrative voice in Tennyson's "Miller's Daughter" also invites a comparison between text and image, and this comparison binds the media together. In the opening

THE GARDENER'S DAUGHTER;

OR,

THE PICTURES

Figure 4.8 . J. C. Horsley, "The Gardener's Daughter; or, The Pictures,"
Engraved by J. Thompson.   *Poems*, 1857. Collection of the Author.

line of the poem, the narrator declares:

> I SEE the wealthy miller yet,
>
> His double chin, his portly size,
>
> And who that knew him could forget
>
> The busy wrinkles round his eyes. (Tennyson 86, original capitals)

The first lines of the poem invite the reader to "SEE the wealthy miller," but Millais's image depicts the narrator and his wife (the Miller's daughter), not the wealthy miller. The text invites the reader to "see" the narrative unfold, and the illustration appears to comply by making visible a portion of the narrative. The poem continues, "In yonder chair I see him sit,/ Three fingers round the old silver cup" (Tennyson 87). In the illustration, the narrator—not the Miller—has his fingers around a cup, perhaps the same silver cup. The corresponding narrative moment occurs in a stanza on the facing page. The narrator asks his wife to fill his glass and to "give [him] one kiss" (Tennyson 87); the illustration captures this moment. The reader is thus doubly privy to the narrative— through the narrator's exchange with his wife depicted in the illustration and the textual narrative itself.

As the editors of the *Quarterly Review* observe, there is more than one way to illustrate a text; this variety, however, can often prove discordant in terms of meaning. The variety of illustrative approaches to Tennyson's poetry in the edition has in part been responsible for the often ambivalent and negative reaction to the volume. Additional blame has fallen on Rossetti's and Tennyson's shoulders. Rossetti's

difficulty in working with the engravers resulted in a "tardy delivering of the drawings" that delayed the edition by several months (Jeffers 233). The delay caused the edition to miss the Christmas book season, which resulted in disappointing sales (Hagen 24). By 1863, 5,000 unsold copies of the book remained; of these books, Moxon was only able to sell 2,210 (Hagen 24). The leftover stock and wood blocks were eventually sold to Routledge and Co., who then reduced the cost of the book and sold the remaining copies for 1£ 1s (Dalziel 86). According to the Dalziels, Routledge wanted to produce a new illustrated edition of the poems but could not meet Tennyson's terms, which were "too high to leave any margin of profit for the publisher" (86). To the Dalziels, Tennyson is responsible for "the book being so long out of print" (86). Rossetti's quest for artistic perfection and Tennyson's desire to regain authorial control over the work (or at least the work's profits) directly influenced the text's sales.

While the work gathered dust on publisher's shelves, Tennyson continued to publish new poems. Many of the contributing artists to the Moxon edition continued to recast their contributions from the edition into the market in new forms.[38] The Moxon Tennyson is one of many illustrated works in the nineteenth-century that demonstrate the movement of a text through several generations via visual materials. An image's ability to move a text forward into new generations is perhaps nowhere more apparent than in film adaptations, where our encounter with the text is limited, if it exists at all. Text and image are isolated and no longer share a page or space, but adaptations nonetheless encourage and often force the connection between image and text. These shared

moments, no matter how brief, remind viewers that a text predates the image. At the

same time, visual meaning in film struggles to escape the constraints of textual meaning.

Notes

1. Of the illustrations' placement, William Vaughan proposes that "technically … the images almost invariably occur outside the poem's space, rather than integrating with it" (149). While the images do not integrate with the text in the same manner that William Blake's illuminated works do, they nonetheless invite the reader's eye to acknowledge the poem's space, thereby integrating the image with the text.

2. Other artists exhibited earlier versions of works based on Tennyson's poems. Suriano notes that "nearly every Pre-Raphaelite painting and drawing is related to literature" (32). For this reason, Helsinger proposes that literary critics should pay more attention to the "uniquely active role of visual and material arts practices in making poetry new" (*Poetry* 3).

3. The use of larger cultural myths, such as Arthurian legends, and direct allusions to other poems, such as John Keats's "Eve of St. Agnes" and Sir Thomas Malory's *Le Morte de Arthur*, expands meaning in the poems to other texts.

4. *Poems* (1857) is a "reproduction of the Tenth Edition of the Poems, though some of the pieces are arranged in different order" (Wise 98).

5. The artists were Thomas Creswick, John Everett Millais, William Holman Hunt, William Mulready, J. C. Horsley, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Clarkson Stanfield, and Daniel Maclise. The engravers were the Dalziel Brothers (George, Edward, John, and Thomas), W.J. Linton, T. Williams, John Thompson, W. T. Green, and D. T. Thomson.

6. A printer's note declares that "the second division of this volume was published in the winter of 1832. Some of the poems have been considerably altered. Others have been added" (n.p).

7. Much critical attention has been paid to the gender and artistic implications of the poem. Erik Gray views the Lady as a poet figure who becomes an artist when she "willfully" enters a "state in which she cannot assert her will" (Gray 47). He notes that the 1842 revisions "downplay the defiant perversity of the Lady's choice, in order to emphasize that the choice is in fact an aesthetic one" (Gray 52). David Goslee argues that she is "defined almost exclusively by negation" in the 1842 version (55). Shifting to the gendered implications of the poem's aesthetics, Carla Plasa argues that in choosing to act the Lady attempts to cross "from private/'feminine' to public/'masculine' worlds" (250). Kathy Alexis Psomiades notes that the poem constructs the opposition between the Lady's "private artistic activity to the real world outside her tower" as a "*problem*" (27, original emphasis).

For a close reading of gender in the poem, see Edgar F. Shannon's article "Poetry as Vision: Sight and Insight in 'The Lady of Shalott.'"

8. Landseer does not appear in the volume.

9. The Moxon Tennyson shares much with Romantic-period literary annuals that also combined a variety of texts with a variety of engravings. In Charles Tilt's edition of scenes from Scott's work, George Cruikshank's crude characters coexist, seemingly in harmony, with picturesque landscapes by J. M. W. Turner.

10. Vaughan dates the end of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood as 1855 (152). Due to aesthetic and thematic similarities between their works, most historical accounts tend to continue to group the artists together under the umbrella term of "Pre-Raphaelite" even after 1855.

11. Millais was also a member of the Royal Academy, but he is most often associated with the Pre-Raphaelite movement. For example, in his overview of nineteenth-century art, Robert Rosenblum groups Millais with the Pre-Raphaelites, rather than with Millais' fellow Royal Academy artists.

12. In general, the continuous cross-referencing at work in much of the Pre-Raphaelites' oeuvres encourages us to identify their work as "self-conscious effort[s] to develop a distinctive collaborative approach" (Stein 103). Most of the members of the group used a common color palette of vibrant jewel tones in their paintings and worked with similar themes (primarily literary, biblical, and medieval subjects). The group's aesthetic goals include an adherence to the "absolute truth to nature" (Rosenblum 263), which, according to Richard Humphreys, "involved both a precise naturalism and a commitment to historical exactitude" (126).

13. Julia Thomas suggests that many of the illustrations mark a "movement away from the Hogarthian narratives produced by Cruikshank…to the more abstract designs associated with the Pre-Raphaelites" (71).

14. Rossetti provided illustrations for "The Lady of Shalott," "The Palace of Art," and "Sir Galahad."

15. Rossetti writes to Hunt in 1855 noting that he thinks "illustrated editions of poets however good (and this will be far from uniformly so) quite hateful things" (*Letters* 14). Rossetti claims that he does not "feel easy as an aider or abettor" in the process (*Letters* 14). Despite Rossetti's disdainful opinion, his letter continues by offering ideas for illustrations for the "Lady of Shalott."   Helsinger suggests that

> Rossetti was anxious to defend his status as a creative artist even when
>
> working for a commercial publisher and a popular audience to sell other
>
> poets' poems. (The myth of an artist's detachment from commerce itself
>
> was not without important market value, an irony with which artists since
>
> at least the beginning of the nineteenth century had been struggling).
>
> (155)

16. Layard does not appear to think the overpowering always has negative consequences, noting that in some cases Rossetti's illustrations are successful and sometimes brilliant (9).

17. Critical discussions of Tennyson tend to distance the poet from art, or at least art associated with commercialism. Layard argues that Tennyson displayed a "general insensibility to pictorial art" (7) and had a "curious indifference" towards the "pictorial and plastic arts" (6). Hagen suggests that Tennyson's aversion to the "illustrated and lavishly bound 'coffee-table books'" demonstrates his dissociation from "the predominant taste of his times" (22). However, Tennyson's participation in commercial ventures like the literary annuals and illustrated books suggests that the Poet Laureate was willing to conform to the "taste of his times." Kathryn Ledbetter finds the

discrepancy between Tennyson's actions and his expressed disdain for popular

publications ironic (9). While he was by no means an active participant in the

production of the illustrations for the Moxon edition, Tennyson did travel with Moxon to

meet Creswick, Mulready, Horsley and Millais to discuss the project (Tennyson, *Letters*

89).

18. Improved impression rates allowed by the newer steam presses also made

the wood engraving process an economic one (Buchanan-Brown 14).

19. In the Victorian period, illustrated materials included illustrated books, serial

magazines, and a growing number of illustrated newspapers, such as the *London

Illustrated News.*

20. The process also required a distinct set of skills on the part of the engraver

and encouraged the continuation of the tradition of established engraving firms.

21. In an effort to preserve control over the engraving of his work, Rossetti

enlisted the help of other Pre-Raphaelite artists. While in Bath in 1856, Rossetti writes

to Ford Madox Brown in London to express his hope that Brown could save his St.

Cecily block "a dig or two" and to ask him to impress upon the engraver that "none of

the work is to be left out" (*Letters* 143). Rossetti encloses a letter for Brown to pass on

to Dalziel. The letter expresses his knowledge that Dalziel is "cutting a

drawing…that…will soon be finished," and Rossetti requests that the proof be sent

directly to him for retouching (143). Despite his absence from London, Rossetti proves

determined to remain a part of the illustration process.

22. Alicia Faxon suggests that some of Rossetti's unhappiness with the illustrations is due to the "distortion of Rossetti's extremely individualistic representations by conventional Victorian pictorial modes and figural types" (64).

23. The Dalziel brothers note that Rossetti was a "man difficult to please in his literary work as well as in his art" (89).

24. In contrast to Rossetti's approach, Millais appears to understand the tonal limitations of the engraving medium, and he formats his corrections to W.J. Linton's proofs for the engraving of "Dream of Fair Women" accordingly. Millais sends a sketch marked with white paint, rather than with pen and ink, chalk, and color-wash (Marsh 12). His efforts to make Linton "understand [his] wishes," results in his satisfaction that the new proof is "quite a facsimile" of his original drawing (qtd. in Marsh 13).

25. In a letter to Moxon before the publication of the 1832 edition of his poems, Tennyson asserted his interest in arranging, correcting, and ensuring a correct type of his poems in the volume (80).

26. The Dalziel brothers also engraved many of the illustrations in the Abbotsford edition of the Waverley novels.

27. A small sampling of critical references to the work are as follows: Jeffers refers to the work as the "Moxon edition" (232), and Faxon and Lewis each call the work the "Moxon Tennyson."

28. Andrew Leng suggests that Millais's painting, *A Huguenot*, was "originally planned as an illustration to the line, 'Two lovers whispering by a wall'" from "Circumstance" (64).

29. Lewis's article is conceptually and verbally repetitive of Vaughan's earlier work.

30. Julian Treuherz, Elizabeth Prettejohn and Edwin Becker acknowledge that Rossetti "evoked the spirit of poetry" in "highly original" art, while also acknowledging his homage to Flemish painting and medieval manuscript illuminations (176). As the Dalziel brothers, not Rossetti, engraved the illustrations, the corporate nature of Rossetti's work challenges the concept of "highly original" art. In discussing his illustrations of Tennyson's poems, Rossetti emphasizes the importance of illustrations "where one can allegorize on one's own hook on the subject of the poem, without killing, for oneself and everyone, a distinct idea of the poet's" (qtd. in Stein 284). As a visual "interpreter" of Tennyson (Stein 298), Rossetti encourages the viewer to look to the text and not to the illustrations alone. In Rossetti's logic, the poet's original meaning is not lost in the illustrations.

31. While Tennyson provides little in the way of describing the lady, multiple generations of artists would try to represent the Lady and her story. Kruger suggests that it is this position of the Lady as "both subject and object" that "contributes to the poem's popularity, suggesting why so many artists became preoccupied with its theme" (114). Lynne pierces observes that by the end of the nineteenth-century the Lady had become "a concept rather than even a narrative archetype" (71). Indeed, she became a popular "concept." Richard Altick estimates that over three hundred paintings exist from Tennyson's work (449), and each painting maintains an implied link to Tennyson's text.

These implied connections encourage us to read images through the lens of textual meaning and a brand name.

32. Lewis echoes Vaughan's sentiment and argues that Millais "understood more clearly the accepted and traditional role of the illustrator to make visible the meanings and descriptions of the author's intent" (178).

33. The focus on "personal emotion was to remain a constant goal of Pre-Raphaelite art" (Stein, *Ritual* 130).

34. Herbert Tucker argues that the concluding stanzas of "Mariana" challenge John Keats' "To Autumn" by enacting a "point-for-point reversal" of Keats' poem" (76). Tennyson's poem rehearses "several of the leading images in Keats…backwards" (Tucker 76).

35.   Tennyson admits that a Titian painting influenced many of the autumnal descriptions in the narrative (Jordan 38). Stopford Augustus Brooke celebrates the "changing scene[s] painted" throughout the poem (103).

36. Tennyson claims that the passage "describing the girl, must be full and rich. The poem is so, to a fault, especially the descriptions of nature, for the lover is an artist, but this being so, the central picture must hold its place" (Hallam Tennyson 197)

37. Tennyson's poem proves to be a happier story than that of the Duchess in Robert Barrett Browning's "My Last Duchess," whose portrait is similarly veiled. Both poems, however, position the narrators as men in possession of veiled paintings of women. Starzyk argues that "both men regard the veil as a sign of the property that they

possess but choose to hide. The unveiling in each case reminds the spectator admitted to vision that the possession is 'mine,' the speaker's, not the listener's" (44).

38. Many of the artists, such as Hunt and Millais, would paint works based on their illustrations. Suriano suggests that this "interchangeability of sources between paintings and illustrations was so obvious that most Victorian artists had no hesitation about basing important canvases upon previously published illustrations" (32).

CHAPTER VI

NINETEENTH-CENTURY AFTER-IMAGES AND
TWENTIETH-CENTURY MEDIA

In his 1807 lectures at the Royal Academy, John Landseer tries to alter the perception of engraving as a visual form secondary to painting by changing the language used to discuss it. Wishing to distinguish engraving as a "distinct language of Art" (3.177), Landseer must nonetheless explain engraving's relationship to its visual predecessors and does so by acknowledging that while engraving may share "a resemblance to Painting in the construction of its grammar," that "its alphabet and idiom" and "mode of expression" are "totally different" (3.177). To bolster his argument, Landseer states that a "Statue is to be looked at as being a statue—not a real Figure; a Picture, not as a portion of actual Nature; a Print, not as a copy of Painting" (3.178); an engraving, he reminds his audience, is just that—an engraving, not a painting. Two hundred years later, Landseer's argument about what language to use to discuss the movement of a medium from one form to another continues in modern discussions of film adaptations.[1] Landseer's argument for the formal recognition of engraving as an art builds upon the assumption that engravers and painters share a common goal of representation, albeit representation communicated through different artistic languages. The goal of representation may be the same between media, but the final project remains remarkably different. Unlike a painting, an engraving exists in

multiple;[2] as a translation of a painting, an engraving serves to disseminate the work of

art, and it moves a previously singular work into new forms and to new audiences. By

terming an engraving a translation, Landseer implies such a movement. The debate over

how to study film adaptation also revolves around an ongoing linguistic battle over

rhetorical details, a battle that finds its root in several centuries' worth of debate about

the relationship between visual and textual arts and the relationship between an idolized

original and its seemingly subpar successors.

In a 2006 critical work on film adaptation, Linda Cahir proposes seeing film

adaptations as "translations of the source material" rather than adaptations (14). Cahir

distinguishes between adaptation, which moves an "entity into a new environment," and

translation, which moves "text from one language to another" (14). Linda Hutcheon,

also addressing the topic of film adaptation, makes a similar distinction about adapted

texts. According to Hutcheon, they are not something to be reproduced but rather

something to be "interpreted and recreated" in a new medium; the resulting film is an

autonomous work (64). Like Landseer's argument about engraving, Cahir and Hutcheon

make potentially contentious claims by moving away from fidelity-based studies of the

adaptation of media. By openly acknowledging markers of difference, Cahir and

Hutcheon encourage a shift in the approach to studying adaptations; as we have seen in

the preceding chapters, the approach to multi-media works has as its heritage a long

history of critical analysis that places value on originality, singularity, and the

preservation of a work's elusive spirit.

Film adaptations of nineteenth-century works move texts forward for proceeding

generations to encounter them in ways that Sir Walter Scott and his enterprising

publishers could not have imagined. The roles of producers, directors, screenwriters,

actors, cinematographers, etc. amplify the collaborative nature of film adaptation; film

studios replace engraving ateliers and publishing firms. Repackaged for visual

consumption rather than a general readership, adapted films seem spatially alienated

from their textual ancestors. Cahir suggests that when translating a text to film a "new

text emerges—*a unique entity*—not a mutation of the original matter, but a fully new

work, which in form and in function, is independent from its literary source" (47). The

lineage between works, however, proves that this independence is a façade. The

moment a film announces (explicitly or otherwise) a relationship to a pre-existing work,

an implied connection between text and image emerges.[3] As with ekphrastic texts, the

relationship between media invites viewers to seek out an intermedia connection, a

connection that exists regardless of the spatial alienation between film and text. Many

films invite recognition of the connection between text and image by employing filmic

devices that work to remind viewers of their status as constructed works and of their

lineage in previous visual and textual works. Film adaptations encourage viewers to

acknowledge, with varying degrees of recognition, film's textual heritage; accordingly,

Gary Bortolotti and Linda Hutcheon suggest a rethinking of the study of film adaptation

to recognize biological "lineages of descent" between media (445). As with the

implications involved with rethinking adaptations as translations, the concept of a

"lineage of descent" invites critics to look back to past forms without forgetting that the

past and present forms of a work are different. Taking a biological approach to adaptations means stepping away from judging adaptations in "terms of fidelity to the 'original,'" and instead, means celebrating the "diversity" of forms, while also recognizing that the forms "come from a common origin" (Bortolotti and Hutcheon 445). The act of looking back seems to invite a continuation of fidelity studies.

A telling example of the active connection between film and its visual and textual predecessors appears in the film adaptation of John Fowles' *The French Lieutenant's Woman* (1969, 1981).[4] While the text is a twentieth-century work, it pays homage stylistically and thematically to the nineteenth century; it is, in its way, a textual adaptation of nineteenth-century novels. Using costumes, mirrors, and nineteenth-century visual motifs, the film also exhibits a hyperawareness of its existence as a constructed work, thereby creating a meta-commentary about the construction of media. In *FLW*, the film expresses an awareness of its instability as a single text due to visual references to Victorian paintings and the interjection of the novel into the text of the film. Seemingly innocuous moments involving costume, character, and mirrors work with their textual counterparts to create commentary about nineteenth-century gender roles and the self-reflexivity of twentieth-century media.

In discussions of the adaptation of his novel, Fowles addresses the issue of textual fidelity; in the preface to Harold Pinter's screenplay, Fowles insists that the film does not provide a new version of the novel but acts rather as a "blueprint of a brilliant metaphor for it" ("Forward" xii). Susan Lorsch argues that the metaphor is unsuccessful; she suggests that the film "ultimately fails to fully exploit the promise of

the metaphor" and fails "to do justice to the spirit" of the novel (n.p.). Lorsch asserts

that there is a "spirit" of a work to be identified, thereby inviting a reading of the film

that looks to the novel for points of intersection and moments of fidelity. Film theorists

such as Robert Stam, however, warn against the assumption that novels have an

"originary core" (57). Stam suggests that "there is no transferable core: a single

novelistic text comprises a series of verbal signals that can generate a plethora of

possible readings, including even readings of the narrative itself" (57). Novels "generate

a plethora of possible readings" that film can then multiply further. Likewise,

illustrations multiply meaning in the revised and republished poems of Alfred, Lord

Tennyson and verify the narratives in Scott's texts in illustrated supplements.

Fidelity-based studies of film adaptations reflect a fear that visual meaning can

somehow overpower or weaken textual meaning; faithfulness to a text means that the

text holds its own in a battle of meaning against its visual opponent. Indeed, Fowles

acknowledges that "novelists have an almost archetypal fear that illustration will

overstamp text" ('Preface xiv), and he playfully labels screenwriters "demon barber[s]"

("Preface" viii). Screenwriters thus perform their own "cannibal jigs" (Rossetti 146),

and their purpose of reducing and translating textual material for a visual medium

reflects the inevitable loss of meaning and material in adaptations. Despite his

recognition of the uneasy relationship between media, Fowles expresses his willingness

to have his work visualized; he argues that

> If the text is worth its salt, it will survive being 'visualised.' If it meets its
>
> match, then word and image will marry…and enhance each other. If

image does 'drown' the text, then the latter was never going to survive

anyway. ("Preface" xiv)

The success of a film adaptation for a text, according to Fowles' logic, relies on the

overall quality of the text itself; a high-quality text has the power to hold its own against

visual media. The implied imagery in this comparison, like so many discussions of the

Sister Arts, involves violence; unless text and image are well matched, the "marriage"

between the two media ends with the destruction of the text. In this scenario, it would

behoove authors and screenwriters to play careful matchmakers with their work, lest an

image "drown" the text's value. Once the match is made, Fowles acknowledges that

each person involved has their "proper domain" in the ongoing relationship ("Preface"

x). Just as Fowles recognizes a hierarchal relationship between media, he also falls prey

to traditional aesthetic prejudices by differentiating between "cinema" and "true

cinema." "True cinema," Fowles suggests, is "conceived and executed by artists as an

art, or at least as a craft by sincere craftsmen" ("Preface xiii). He, like so many before

him (Landseer, Thackeray, Wordsworth, etc.), appears uncomfortable with the

commercial implications of mass-produced media.

Whether a film acts as a "metaphor" for a text or strives to represent a director's

vision of a novel's elusive core, finding the language to discuss adaptation often results

in a continued debate over issues of textual fidelity and artistic singularity. In these

discussions, an underlying assumption emerges regarding film's ability to adapt text—an

assumption that film can be faithful to text and that word and image can marry

harmoniously. This assumption overlooks markers of difference between media, and as

Richard Stromgren and Martin Norden note, "two things can be quite similar and at the same time completely different" (167). Film, after all, contains multiple after-images rather than any single after-image; as a medium, it is neither fully visual nor fully textual, and it can, in a single frame, communicate meaning visually, aurally and textually.

In an attempt to put an end to fidelity-based studies, Dudley Andrew urges critics to give up "battles over the essence of the media or the inviolability of individual artworks" (37). Andrew acknowledges that film and literature employ different "semiotic systems" but nonetheless advocates a search for similarities in narrative or character between the media that echoes André Bazin's search for the "spirit" of a work (20). Andrew encourages a search for "equivalent narrative units in the absolutely different semiotic systems of film and language" (34). Andrew draws on E. H. Gombrich's semiotic theories and observes that a "tuba sound is more like a rock than like a piece of string" (Andrew 33). However, a tuba sound is not a rock; an engraving is not a painting; an image is not a text; a film is not a novel. The search for "two systems of communication for elements of equivalent position" (Andrew 33) is problematic if one accounts for the different meanings inherent in visual and textual products and the elusive definition of an "equivalent position." Karel Reisz, *FLW's* director, notes that he and Pinter "tried to find a filmic, not an equivalent—you can't find an equivalent—but a filmic *notion* that would give us this double view" (qtd. in Kennedy 28). A "notion" may be an apt word for discussing adaptation, as it acknowledges moments of similarity while also recognizing that the film is not the text.

Similar to the interchange of meaning between illustrations and text, film and text do not communicate meaning equally; it is worthwhile to accept the differences between text and image, differences that do not exist in binary form but rather in a multiplicity of meanings and representations.

Perhaps, then, Fowles' suggestion that the film adaptation of his novel acts as a metaphor for the novel is an appropriate approach to the film. Metaphors invite comparisons without insisting on absolute equivalence; likewise, Brian MacFarlane notes that film's "frame-following-frame is not analogous to the word-following-word experience of the novel" and argues that the two separate signifying systems—one visual and aural, the other verbal—in each media create different meanings (26-27). By recognizing and accepting differences between media, critical approaches to film adaptations are free to discuss more fully how film adaptations appropriate and adapt textual and visual meaning. As with the study of ekphrastic texts, it is possible to study the relationship between text and film without continually seeking equivalent meaning or a faithfulness to the original or source work. By looking for "notions" and "metaphors," instead of "essences" and "spirits," we are encouraged to recognize that film communicates meaning in a manner different from text, yet this very difference—at once audible, textual, and visual—often works to maintain rather than sever a lineage of meaning between media. Again, Bortolotti and Hutcheon's biological theory proves useful—films look back to a common ancestor without being that ancestor. Charles Smithson, the novel's representative Darwinian, might agree with this approach.

In the film adaptation of *FLW*, an emphasis on the construction of self—emphasized through long scenes focusing on dress and mirrors—works to establish a kinship with the novel's preoccupation with Victorian identity and Victorian texts. These moments announce the film's lineage to the novel by reemphasizing the self-reflexive narrative voice so prevalent in the text; the film never strives to recreate this narrative voice, but it thematically acknowledges its own construction through the modern plot line centering on the making of the film adaptation of the novel. From the opening scene viewers are alerted to the movie's structure as a film-within-a film; the film opens with Anna applying make-up, and a man with a clapboard interrupts the scene to identify the "film" as *The French Lieutenant's Woman*. An additional subtext about the performance of identity forms through the repetition of key images, such as ivy and mirrors, which work to underscore the film's awareness of its own inherent fictitiousness and to activate nineteenth-century visual meaning in a twentieth-century visual form. Visual meaning is inherently different from textual meaning due to differences in semiotics, yet the allusions to nineteenth-century visual media work with textual meaning rather than against it. By juxtaposing two prevalent nineteenth-century art styles—Victorian narrative painting and Pre-Raphaelite painting—the film announces its heritage in preexisting works. The visual allusions are, in their own way, the film's footnotes, epigraphs, and illustrations; they create a series of visual narratives that communicate meaning to the film's overall narrative. The two distinct art styles also work to differentiate between and link together two of the film's main characters—Sarah Woodruff and Ernestina Freeman.

The film reflects the novel's focus on characterization in triplicate through the Sarah/Anna/Streep and Charles/Mike/Irons relationships; the continued emphasis on the construction of their identities reiterates their role as characters. Lest viewers forget this, Anna and Mike are filmed reading scripts in several scenes, and the actors playing Sam, Mary, Mrs. Poultney, and others appear repeatedly (as actors) in scenes from the modern set. In the opening scene of *FLW*, Meryl Streep (playing an actress named Anna, who is portraying Sarah from the novel) is being made up as the character she is about to portray. Later, Anna pauses in front of a mirror in wardrobe to express her approval of the next costume chosen for her character. In moments that mirror these twenty-first century scenes of performativity, Ernestina flits about in her nineteenth-century bedroom in her crinoline, conferring with her maid over which dress to wear to receive Charles. In another nineteenth-century scene, the camera lingers on Sarah, who after arranging a shawl purposefully over her nightgown, pauses in front of a mirror. Viewers watch women dressing themselves for the characters they are about to portray, respectively, a twentieth-century actress, a suitable bride for a Victorian gentleman, and a nineteenth-century "woman." While these moments are loaded with what they have to say about gender roles, they also echo larger thematic concerns of both the novel and the film, that of the construction of meaning and the performativity of identity.

The novel constructs Charles and Sarah as characters representative of an era. As a neo-Victorian novel, Fowles' text emulates its textual predecessors; in both plot and narrative structure, the novel employs techniques "typical of the Victorian novel" (Salami 107). The novel is both a melodramatic romance and a refutation of nineteenth-

century tropes. The "literally intrusive author" (Dodson 296), inserts himself into the narrative using material from a variety of sources; epigraphs from the works of Alfred, Lord Tennyson, Thomas Hardy, Jane Austen, Matthew Arnold, and other nineteenth-century literary and historical giants precede each chapter, thereby reiterating the historical, literary, and social heritage of the novel.[5] Footnotes with statistics, terminology, and historical facts dot the pages of the book, constantly reminding the reader that to read the story alone is not enough. Like Landon and Scott, Fowles supplements his text; by doing so, he continually changes the meaning of the central narrative. In her work on the use of glosses and paratexts in nineteenth-century works, Susan Egenolf observes that the "gloss and the central text often exist incompatibly" (5); the gloss "provides a theoretical means of understanding the decentralization of an authoritative historical voice" (7).[6] Egenolf argues that the "explicit differentiation of editorial commentary from the central narrative illustrates the continuing instability, or, more positively characterized, maleability of the print narrative, as well as the blurring of literature and history" (187). The narrator's intrusion into the text, especially in Chapter Thirteen, also decentralizes the "authoritative" historical voice that he employs in the footnotes. The narrator seems to suggest that modern readers need such supplements in order to picture the novel's narrative within the context of Victorian England. Furthermore, the footnotes and epigraphs reiterate the narrator's role as a twentieth-century assimilator of nineteenth-century meaning and nineteenth-century forms.[7]

The emphasis on a Victorian literary heritage has important implications for the novel's characters. Ernestina, in particular, seems to be a stock character straight out of a Victorian melodrama; she appears to be "so very nearly one of the prim little moppets, the Georginas, Victorias, Albertinas, Matildas, and the rest who sat in the closely guarded dozens at every ball" (Fowles 27). In her first dialogue in the novel, she remarks to Charles that they stand on the Cobb near the "very steps that Jane Austen made Louisa Musgrove fall down in *Persuasion*" (Fowles 13). Multiple under-handed compliments by the narrator, however, make it clear that Ernestina is more Becky Sharp than the humbled Louisa Musgrove. The narrator compares Ernestina's pretty face to the "drawings of the great illustrators of the time—in Phiz's work, in John Leech's" (Fowles 26). The reference to Phiz (Hablot Knight Browne) and Leech situates Ernestina within the illustrated pages of *Punch* and Charles Dickens' novels, both of which are quintessential examples of Victorian comedy and drama; however, Phiz and Leech were primarily comic and narrative illustrators, so the compliment has a tinge of sarcasm to it;[8] Ernestina, for all her femininity and fashion, is more caricature than character. The narrator informs readers that "at first meetings she could cast down her eyes very prettily, as if she might faint"; however, he also warns that this fragility is in part a façade as in her eyes appeared the "imperceptible hint of a Becky Sharp" (Fowles 27). Like William Thackeray's Becky Sharp, Ernestina proves a calculating woman who relies on artifice to navigate her society.

In the screenplay and film, Ernestina's understanding of feminine wiles occurs in scenes depicting her in the act of dressing; the film renders her as "pretty as a picture"

(Pinter 5) through a series of framing devices. The viewer's first glimpse of Ernestina in

the film is as she prepares to greet Charles; hurriedly dressing to greet her beloved,

Ernestina confers with Mary regarding which dress suits her best. Mary suggests that

she looks "as pretty as a picture" in her "pink" dress. Ernestina agrees, replying, "Yes,

yes … I'll wear *that*."[9] The emphasis on "that" reflects her awareness that the pink

dress flatters her best; her decision is a calculated one. When she goes downstairs to

greet Charles, the camera lingers on the details of Mrs. Tranter's house, and the film

constructs a series of frames for Ernestina's "pretty" picture. Ernestina is filmed framed

by doorways, windows, and the sides of the conservatory; she appears, amongst all the

Victorian splendor of the house, as the Angel in the House. The window through which

Mary and Sam watch the engagement take place also works to enclose Ernestina, placing

her as a central figure in the Victorian romance unfolding in the conservatory and on the

screen. The visual details of Mrs. Tranter's house—the framed engravings, doilies,

candlesticks, picture frames, flowers, etc.—paint a picture of their own. In contrast to

the wild greenery of the Undercliff, Aunt Tranter's house appears as the subject of a

highly staged still-life depicting Victorian domesticity.

Within the domestic sphere of her aunt's house, Ernestina proves to be somewhat

of a contradiction. In the novel, she engages in behavior deemed acceptable for

Victorian women; she keeps a journal, presses flowers, and reads sentimental poetry.

Yet the home is where much of Ernestina's artifice is revealed, and Ernestina, like Sarah

and Anna, lingers in front of mirrors. In one such scene, she evaluates her body in front

of a mirror and loosens her hair, something she knew to be "vaguely sinful" (Fowles 29).

In these private moments, Ernestina flirts with sexuality in ways she cannot downstairs in the more public rooms of the house. Likewise, the film distinguishes her behavior in the private sphere of her room from that in the public drawing room; she composes her "pretty picture" above the stairs but enacts it downstairs. While Charles is off hunting for artifacts, Ernestina, with her long hair let down, lounges on a chaise in her bedroom wearing only her crinoline. Mary brings in flowers, and Ernestina looks up from her reading to direct Mary on the placement of the flowers; Mary's first choice of a location is unacceptable, and with Ernestina's direction, Mary places them in front of a dressing-table mirror. While the note accompanying the flowers designates the flowers as from Ernestina's "beloved," Sam, not Charles, picked and delivered them. Ernestina is unaware of this detail; after she approves of the flower's placement, she chides Mary for her interest in Sam, who is from London and thus suspect as a suitor. The tone in her voice provides a sharp contrast to the soft, feminine voice she uses in the public rooms of the house. Ernestina's hair is literally down, and the assertive tone she uses with Mary hints both at Victorian class divisions and Ernestina's hidden resolve.

Just as Ernestina is "so very nearly" the "little moppets" of Victorian novels, she is also "not quite" as prim as she appears (Fowles 27). After a meeting with Sarah in the Undercliff, Charles ponders over whether to inform Ernestina that he encountered Lyme-Regis's notorious woman. His choice not to do so stems not from his fear of offending his fiancée's sensibility, but rather from his awareness that Ernestina was too distracted for such a conversation. Charles becomes the "arbitrator" in a "material dispute" over the wearing of "grenadine" when it "was still merino weather" (Fowles 106). For

Ernestina, always in the "height of fashion" (Fowles 10), this oversight in her wardrobe is a social transgression worthy of self-reproach. Slightly dismayed with his fiancée's behavior, Charles admits that "her humor did not exactly irritate him, but it seemed unusually and unwelcomely artificial to him, as if it were something she had put on with her French hat and her new pelisse" (Fowles 106). In both the film and novel, Ernestina plays the part of a demure Victorian woman, but it is a role she "puts on" with her clothing.

In the novel, Ernestina uses fashion, fainting, and Victorian poetry to her advantage;[10] she manipulates gender conventions to advance herself, just as Sarah manipulates her supposed gender transgressions to maintain her social freedom. After his meeting with Sarah in the Undercliff, Charles announces to Ernestina that he must depart for London to address "legal and contractual" matters related to their upcoming marriage (Pinter 59). Ernestina, aware of the details of their marriage contract and realizing that Charles has no real reason to depart, declares "Fiddlesticks!" In the novel, this scene occurs indoors. Ernestina protests and briefly puts aside her usual submissive role. Charles interprets Ernestina's protestations as somewhat "mutinous" (Fowles 208); her assertive tone and demure image do not harmonize, and Charles "did not like her when she was willful: it contrasted too strongly with her elaborate clothes, all designed to show a total inadequacy outside the domestic interior" (Fowles 209). Ernestina concedes temporary defeat, but only because she realizes that she can use her submissiveness to her advantage. Eyes appropriately downcast, Ernestina relinquishes her suitor to London with the knowledge that as a woman she could use "obedience to

have the ultimate victory. A time would come when Charles should be made to pay for his cruelty" (Fowles 209). Placing her hands in his waistcoat pocket, Ernestina refuses to let go until she has been kissed; Charles does so, admitting that she was "very prettily dressed" (Fowles 210).

In the film, Ernestina shouts "Fiddlesticks" in the setting of a Victorian semi-walled garden. The viewer's first glimpse of Ernestina in this scene is from Charles' vantage point inside the conservatory. Against the backdrop of an ivy-covered wall, Ernestina aims and shoots an arrow from her bow. Playing archery, and proving rather good at it, Ernestina looks every bit the height of fashion; she is, from Charles' vantage point, as pretty as a picture. Outside of the domestic sphere, Ernestina loses some of her submissive façade; in the garden, she does not act demurely but rather boldly, and after demonstrating her archery skills, she proceeds to look Charles in the eyes. Charles, who had earlier kissed Sarah, struggles under her gaze. As the couple walks to retrieve Ernestina's arrows, the background shifts from that of a walled garden to a forest. In both the film and novel, the forest is associated with Sarah and clandestine encounters, thus, its presence as the backdrop to Charles and Ernestina's conversation is significant. The forest recalls Charles' earlier meeting with Sarah in the Undercliff and also suggests that Ernestina is not as caged as she might appear; the garden is, after all, not completely walled. Rather than settle for a conservative kiss on the cheek, Ernestina insists on a kiss on the lips and pulls Charles to her. Ernestina appears less docile and more assertive when removed from the domestic sphere and the watchful eye of her chaperone.

Aesthetically, exchanges between Charles and Ernestina pay homage to Pre-Raphaelite paintings depicting love and longing. In contrast to the primarily green, blue, and red color palette associated with scenes containing Sarah, scenes with Ernestina play off a predominately green, pink, and purple palette. The repetition of this color scheme proves reminiscent of several of Arthur Hughes' (1832-1915) paintings, such as *April Love* (1855), *Amy* (1857), and *The Long Engagement* (1859), which relate thematically and aesthetically to the film. *The Long Engagement*, depicts "the true-life ardors and frustrations of a Victorian couple" (Rosenblum 264). In the painting, a couple stands underneath a tree, the man pulls down a leaf from the tree to place over his lover's head as a sign of their engagement. The couple does not make eye contact; the man looks up to the tree and the woman, who is dressed primarily in purple and pink, leans into him. Several visual clues suggest that the long engagement will continue; neither couple appears young, the woman wears no engagement ring, and her name, carved in the tree, is covered in ivy. Ivy trails up the tree, and it proves significant as a symbol of "steadfastness and fidelity" (Rosenblum 264). The painting includes, as do many Pre-Raphaelite paintings, a "fanatical pursuit of truth to nature"; its depiction of the surrounding greenery is so detailed that "a botany lesson could be given from a microscopic of any passage" (Rosenblum 264). Likewise, the greenery in the conservatory is highly detailed, and ivy serves as a sprig of mistletoe for Ernestina and Charles' first kiss.

The ivy in the engagement scene might not be worth mentioning if it were not for the repetition of the imagery in the film and in Pre-Raphaelite painting. In the film, ivy

features prominently in the semi-walled garden, in the conservatory, and in the woods of the Undercliff. When Charles breaks off his engagement to Ernestina, the sides of the conservatory once again frame her and recall the earlier engagement scene. In a purple dress instead of pink, she stands against the backdrop of the conservatory expressing her anger at Charles. Like the ivy in Philip Calderon's *Broken Vows* (1856), a painting in which ivy represents broken promises rather than promised love, ivy proves representative of falsehood rather than fidelity. The ivy motif appears again during Sarah's "confession" to Charles in the Undercliff; in the scene, ivy trails up the trunks of many of the surrounding trees. While the color palette in the scene is almost monochromatically green, the ivy stands out against the brown-gray bark of the trees; Sarah, in turn, stands out against the trees. While it may be tempting to contrast the planned wildness of the conservatory with the actual wilderness of the Undercliff, the ivy creates a link between the two locations. In neither location does the ivy represent fidelity and steadfastness; instead, the film inverts ivy's traditional iconography within Victorian visual media to alert viewers to elements of deception occurring in the scenes. Charles lies to Ernestina, just as Sarah lies to Charles, and each becomes increasingly entangled in their lies. As a recurring visual motif, the ivy connects the scenes; ivy appears in the Victorian scenes and in the dilapidated conservatory in which Mike and Anna practice their lines.

The contrast between Ernestina's behavior in indoor and outdoor spaces figures prominently in the film's treatment of the break-up scene. In the novel, Ernestina reacts to the end of her engagement the way any earnest Victorian heroine would act—she

faints. Charles, however, interprets Ernestina's faint as another moment of artifice: "his first instinctive move was to go to her. But something in the way she had fallen, the rather too careful way her knees had crumpled and her body slipped sideways onto the carpet, stopped him" (Fowles 300). In the film, the scene happens in the drawing room, and a lingering shot of Charles and Ernestina sitting in front of the fireplace pays homage to Victorian narrative painting. Victorian narrative paintings, like William Hogarth's work, are loaded with visual clues and demand to be read; such paintings relay a "story, idea, or anecdote" with a "moral import" and do so "with a degree of representational realism" (Lister 9-10). Likewise, Reisz crowds the interior shot with symbolism, creating a mise-en-scène that communicates a narrative about a failed romance.

From August Leopold Egg's *Past and Present* series (1858), to Robert Braithwaite Martineau's *The Last Day in the Old Home* (1862), to William Powell Frith's *The Road to Ruin* series (1887), to Sir William Orchardson's *The First Cloud* (1887), many Victorian narrative paintings depict the demise of a relationship occurring within domestic interiors. In these paintings, relationships fail due to a transgression on the part of one partner, and in almost all of these works, the interior, usually rendered in some detail, becomes symbolic of the doomed relationship and the domestic harmony that could have been. The body language of the couples is likewise important in these paintings, and the distance of the couples from each other implies an increasing degree of alienation. In *The Last Day in the Old Home* and the first painting in the *Past and Present* series, the men seem out of tune with their wives' emotional anguish. The

domestic space emphasizes the emotional distance between the couple in Orchardson's *The First Cloud*: a large amount of space appears between the couple, and the woman's position with her back to the viewer and to her husband communicates the tension in the scene. The film, like such paintings, emphasizes the emotional distance between Ernestina and Charles through a medium shot that captures them sitting in separate chairs by a fireplace in the drawing room of Aunt Tranter's house.[11] The fireplace, decked out in a variety of Victorian trimmings, becomes an imposing barrier between the couple. The camera pauses briefly, capturing Charles' anxious expression and Ernestina's curious look, and the discomfort in their faces contrasts the domestic harmony of the highly staged room. The carefully arranged relics of Victorian domesticity (a fire screen, vases, family pictures, etc.) suddenly become empty signifiers of the domestic life Ernestina sought with Charles.

The conservatory, once a setting for courtship, glares back at the viewer from the mirror hanging above the fireplace and between the couple. The mirror participates in the unfolding narrative by reflecting the conservatory, which is a space associated with Charles's earlier proposal. The conservatory also provides an additional framing device for Ernestina, echoing the film's earlier portrayal of her as a pretty picture in the engagement scene. Rather than crumple near her chair as she does in the novel, Ernestina walks away from Charles towards the conservatory; she is not a fainting romantic heroine, but an angry and jilted woman. She, like the wife in Orchardson's painting, turns her back on Charles and the viewer; Ernestina's movement away from Charles and away from the viewer heightens the tension in the scene by increasing the

physical space separating her and Charles. Framed by the doorway to the conservatory, Ernestina is at first plaintive but then expresses her determination to enact revenge through the same legalistic measures she dismissed during her conversation with Charles in the garden; the law, not blushes, tears, or swoons, becomes her weapon. Ivy appears once again in the scene, as do the pale roses and birdcages that also featured prominently in the background of the engagement scene. In Victorian paintings, ivy carries additional meaning as a "symbol of memory" (Marsh 68); in this sense, the ivy, like the mirror, serves as a harsh reminder to Ernestina that Charles has lied.

The earlier scene in the conservatory provided a more detailed overview of the space's decorative trimmings, but shots of the conservatory in the break-up scene repeat several key elements from the earlier use of the setting. The pale flowers and hanging birdcages add an additional narrative to the scene that is reminiscent of Walter Howell Deverlle's *A Pet* (1853), a painting in which a woman in a pink dress pauses in the doorway of a conservatory to kiss a caged bird. Although the painting is seemingly innocent in its composition, Jan Marsh argues that it is less about a woman kissing a bird in a cage and more about "the 'keeping' of young women within the domestic enclosure of the home" (64). Likewise, Ernestina's pause in the doorway of the conservatory carries additional weight when the scene's context is broadened. Ernestina's first reaction to Charles' news is to flee, but the presence of her aunt in the hallway forces her back into the drawing-room; trapped, she heads to the conservatory but pauses in the doorway. Ernestina stands neither fully inside the drawing room nor outside in the conservatory; she stands at the threshold of the domestic sphere. Accordingly, her

attitude fluctuates from submissive and plaintive to aggressive and assertive; her presence on the threshold becomes symbolic of the novel's focus on changing Victorian gender norms. Ernestina is not an Angel in the House, but she is not quite a New Woman either. Ernestina exists on the edge of these roles, and she is, therefore, representative of the novel's chronicle of the changing attitudes towards gender roles; after all, the narrator reminds readers, "only one week before" John Stuart Mills had argued at Westminster for women's right to the ballot (Fowles 95). Readers are urged to remember March 30, 1867 as the "point from which we can date the beginning of feminine emancipation in England" (Fowles 95), and the narrator observes that Ernestina cannot be "exonerated" from this process (Fowles 96). That Ernestina reacts by promising to destroy Charles rather than fainting suggests that she is no docile wallflower but is instead a woman aware of her rights.

Unlike Ernestina, who is filmed mostly indoors, Sarah is filmed primarily in outdoor settings. These exterior spaces establish a series of contrasts between her and Ernestina. Like Ernestina, Sarah exists as an archetype of Victorian heroines; she "is a composite figure, reminiscent of a good many Victorian heroines" (Lovell 116) and representative of "different literary images of Victorian governesses" (Struggs 24). She also appears to be a foil to the chaste Ernestina; Sarah is Eve in Lyme-Regis' Garden of Eden (Raaberg 531), "a figure from myth" (Fowles 11), Diana the "chaste huntress" (Scruggs 20), the novel's heroine, and a consummate actress. The narrator informs readers that Sarah had no interest in the "artificial aids" of the burgeoning Victorian fashion industry (Fowles 136), and Charles' initial perception of Sarah is that she

contains "no artifice" (Fowles 14); however, Sarah, like Ernestina, spends much of the

novel and film acting. While it takes Charles the duration of the narrative to realize this,

he begins to see glimpses of Sarah's façades during the afternoon tea with Ernestina,

Aunt Tranter, and Mrs. Poultney; it is then that Charles realizes that "the girl's silent

meekness ran contrary to her nature; that she was therefore playing a part" (Fowles 87).

Sarah plays many parts, and the novel constructs Sarah's identity through how others see

her; described as the French Lieutenant's "woman," she is, for the purposes of Lyme-

Regis, his whore. Her appearances prove deceptive and she does not live up to the

legacy of her supposed sexual transgression until her encounter with Charles in Exeter.

Initially, the wildness of the outdoor scenes, particularly of the Undercliff, seems

to contrast the highly staged interior scenes; however, the outdoor scenes are also highly

staged. Outdoors, the film's lighting and color scheme shift to richer, vibrant, jewel

tones consisting of deep greens, rich reds, and a wide range of blues. The lighting style

becomes more shadowed, although it is several degrees brighter than the indoor scenes,

it is a lighting style that attempts to emulate natural light. Reisz notes that they strove

for "high definition" lighting in the film, such as that seen in "Victorian paintings,"

specifically a "front and side light—a pre-Impressionistic kind of light—to paint the

object. We had our own shorthand motto for this: 'Constable, not Monet'" (qtd in

Kennedy 30).[12] John Constable's lush paintings capture the English countryside, not

domestic interiors, and his Romantic-period paintings use muted light sources and

provide a limited number of visual contrasts. The *plein air* style of light in Constable's

paintings differs dramatically from the light in the interior scenes and the bright use of

color and light in Pre-Raphaelite art. Given the film's use of jewel tones and direct light,

a better motto for the film's lighting might be "Rossetti and Hunt, not Monet." The

color palette and vibrant light of the Victorian sequences pay homage, purposefully or

not, to Pre-Raphaelite paintings. The film encourages the connection between Sarah and

art through the use of a Pre-Raphaelite color scheme that plays off contrasts and through

a series of framing devices that position Sarah as a central figure in a posed portrait. The

novel makes the connection between Sarah and the Pre-Raphaelites explicit through

direct comparisons of Sarah to Pre-Raphaelite art and in the story's conclusion in Dante

Gabriel Rossetti's home.

For viewers well versed in Victorian-period painting, the paintings multiply the

visual meaning in the scene through their own visual and textual histories. Pre-

Raphaelite painting is itself highly literary, both thematically and through the inclusion

or incorporation of text into picture frames. Likewise, Victorian narrative paintings are

"visual literature" (Lister 15), requiring viewers to process symbols, allusions, and active

narratives in a single image. The novel can, and does, make explicit connections

between art and life, and art and text. The film's implicit connections are not as explicit,

and the connection between film and art relies on the viewer's ability to process and

internalize the meaning communicated through visual clues. To aid in this processing,

the film relies on the repetition of key colors and key images, such as ivy and mirrors,

which add an additional level of symbolic meaning to the film.

The film, like the novel, affords viewers multiple views of Sarah, and she, more

than any character in the film, is the subject of multiple portrait shots. Yet rather than

clarify Sarah's identity, the repetitive shots only work to emphasize her duplicity. The first glimpse of Sarah occurs after she has been introduced as Anna, whom viewers recognize as the actress Meryl Streep. The final glimpse of "Sarah" is not of Sarah, but of a red wig in front of a mirror, a scene that reminds viewers of her inherent fictitiousness. A series of evolving portraits of Sarah that invoke the image of countless women in Pre-Raphaelite paintings occurs between these two scenes. While these shots reinforce her status as one of the central characters of the film, they also highlight the rather complex ways in which others interpret her character. She is never one Sarah, but rather several Sarahs; the film's employment of mirrors reiterates this multiplicity by reflecting back to the audience multiple Sarahs at once. Such scenes work with the film's color scheme and visual homage to Victorian paintings to create a series of contrasts between Sarah and the world around her.

The film's opening sequence lingers on a series of images that establish a visual contrast between Sarah and the sea. The opening sequence of her walking along the Cobb invites a comparison to John Waterhouse's paintings of Miranda from Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. However, thematically and visually, Sarah is not Miranda from Waterhouse's 1875 painting, where Shakespeare's heroine sits demurely on a rock with her yellow frock only slightly fussed by the wind; instead, Sarah is Miranda from Waterhouse's 1912 painting in which a red-haired woman stares expectantly out to a violent and monochromatic sea. Like Miranda, Sarah's pale skin and red hair present a stark contrast to the sea, and the use of this visual contrast—cream and red against deep colors—continues throughout the film in most of the scenes in which Sarah figures. In

such scenes, her dress, usually dark green or blue, appears to blend in with the background, but Sarah's pale face and red hair position her as somehow out of sync with her environment.

For the inhabitants of Lyme-Regis, Sarah's daily walks on the Cobb link her to the French Lieutenant for whom she supposedly pines; her presence by the sea carries strong sexual connotations. The image of a woman at the wharf also recalls Rossetti's unfinished painting of *Found* (1853-1862), which also establishes a visual contrast between a woman's flaming red hair and the earthier colors of the wharf.[13] The film echoes the painting's depiction of a netted lamb in a cart and the hint of ships in the wharf through the careful placement of a ship and several carts that appear in the background of the opening sequence.[14] In both the film and the painting, a man attempts to rescue a fallen woman who is resistant to rescue. Sarah responds to Charles' gallantry with a cold stare, and the woman in the painting seems unwilling to move despite the man's attempts to do so. The film's visual homage to Rossetti's painting adds an additional level of sexual subtext to the scene; the woman in the painting is a prostitute, and Ernestina, whose sense of self-decorum restricts her from explicitly identifying what the town considers Sarah to be, can only tell Charles that Sarah is called the French Lieutenant's "woman" (Pinter 13). Unlike the prostitute in Rossetti's painting, Sarah's gaze expresses no shame, and she is not the fallen woman she appears to be.

In the novel, Charles notes that the eyes of the woman on the Cobb contain "no artifice…no hysteria, no mask; and above all, no sign of madness" (Fowles 14). Charles' inability to read Sarah correctly precipitates part of his social downfall. The

film, like the novel, suggests that Sarah wears a mask, and it communicates Sarah's complexity as a character through a series of close-up shots. These shots pay homage to Pre-Raphaelite paintings while also demonstrating film's ability to establish a sustained narrative through the repetition of such shots. While painting can also frame individuals in close spaces, thereby creating tension and narrative, it cannot juxtapose a series of portraits over an expanding and yet immediate period of time. Since the camera lingers repeatedly on Sarah's face, much of her body language appears staged and invites a comparison to the stationary medium of painting.

Critics have noticed this staging; Charles Scruggs argues that Sarah's pose at the foot of a tree in the Undercliff echoes the work of three famous French artists that depict the female nude (Sarah, however, is clothed). Scruggs argues that the figures in Anne-Louis Girodet's *The Sleep of Endymion* (1791), Pierre Narcisse Guerin's *Iris and Morpheus* (1811), and Theodore Chasseriau's *Esther* (1842) "exude a sexuality deliberately un-Victorian, and all convey this sexuality through the position of the arm, which hints at wistful abandonment" (24). Scruggs equates sexuality with the French without acknowledging that sexuality was, in its way, a very Victorian preoccupation. By the 1860s, the nude in art had seen a "dramatic revival," and depictions of nudes "acquired unprecedented respectability in England" (Smith 101). One need only peruse the works of Frederick Leighton, George Frederic Watts, and most of the Pre-Raphaelites to realize that "wistful abandonment" with a touch of deliberate "sexuality" existed in abundance in Victorian art. Many of the artists' paintings, such as Watt's *A Study with the Peacock Feathers* (1862-1865), include poses reminiscent of Sarah's,

with a woman lounging with an arm raised over her head. Scruggs, however, continues

with his continental focus to suggest that "by linking Sarah with the sensuality of

Continental art (mostly French), Reisz casts doubt from the beginning of the story she

tells Charles about Varguennes" (Scruggs 24). There is no need to cross the channel to

look for visual clues that Sarah's story contains its own fiction.

In addition to visual allusions to Victorian paintings, the film depicts Sarah

creating art, thus creating her own fictional representation of herself. Departing from

Pinter's screenplay in which Sarah cries "softly" as she draws (Pinter 46), the film

depicts Sarah drawing a series of self-portraits. A lingering shot focuses in on Sarah as

she sits poised in front of a mirror while she draws. The viewer receives three views of

Sarah in this single shot: Sarah in the portrait, Sarah in the mirror, and Sarah's figure in

front of the mirror. The three views are not synchronized in meaning. In the mirror,

Sarah wears her "usual mask of resigned sadness" (Fowles 193); in her sketches, the

same pose in the mirror is repeated but with a hint of increasing madness in her eyes.[15]

The third view, from the audience's perspective, highlights the viewer's awareness that

Sarah has purposefully set events into motion that will have consequences for her and

for Charles. A fourth view of Sarah occurs audibly when Mrs. Fairley interrupts the

stillness of the scene by yelling that Mrs. Poultney wants to "see" Sarah; with this

interruption, prompted by Sarah's visibility at the dairy near the Undercliff, the camera

moves even closer to Sarah's reflection in the mirror. The visual discordance in the

scene between the multiple views of Sarah is complimented by the dramatic string

music, and the scene concludes having provided few answers as to which of the Sarahs depicted is the real Sarah.

Close-up shots of Sarah and her red hair are evocative of Rossetti's paintings of *Fair Rosamund* (1861), *Bocca Caciata* (1859), *Fazio's Mistress* (1863), and *Lady Lilith* (1868), which all depict women with masses of red hair and contemplative expressions. The film's use of a set color scheme for Sarah's clothes (also used in the novel) also proves reminiscent of Rossetti's many portraits of Elizabeth Siddal; indeed, Sarah's body language often mimics that of many women in Rossetti's paintings. The portrait shots of Sarah are expressive and evocative, but like Rossetti's redheaded women, her eyes and her face betray little of her motives or meaning. In the film and in many of Rossetti's paintings, the presence of mirrors does little to clarify the motivations or the identity of the women depicted. Elizabeth Prettejohn comments on the expressions of Rossetti's depiction of such women, noting that they

> Seem to make eye contact with the viewer…but there is often a sense of distraction, or a lack of focus in the eye. The figures are so close and vivid that the sense of engagement is strong, yet this is partly frustrated by our inability to fathom their psychology. ("Rossetti" 62)

Edwin Becker observes that in *Lady Lilith*, *Fazio's Mistress*, and *Fair Rosamund* "there is no action and no specific emotion dramatized" in the women's eyes (69); each painting's literary associations are only hints and "are flexible" to "allow the viewer to take a role in constructing their meanings" (Becker 72). Becker argues that in none of the paintings "does the picture 'illustrate' the story associated with the woman named in

the title. The pictures move resolutely away from Victorian conventions for narrative

painting" (9). Close-up shots of Sarah only work to amplify her complexity, and while

she is also surrounded with a variety of Victorian iconography, it does little to unravel

the mysteries surrounding her motivations. The scenes with Sarah invoke painting and

pay homage to visual symbolism without overtly communicating a clarified narrative; as

with Sarah's portrayal in the novel, she is both a stock Victorian heroine and an anti-

heroine.

The shot of Sarah in the mirror reiterates that she plays a part in the construction

of her story; likewise, she manipulates Charles' sympathy through an elaborate tale of

seduction and abandonment. Visual clues in the "confession" scene with Charles

underscore the constructiveness of her tale. Pinter and Reisz interpret the scene in the

Undercliff as a definite seduction of Charles: "Partly, it's a story she is making up for

herself while looking back at us over her shoulder—us and Charles—to see what effect

it's having" (Reisz 30). In the scene, Sarah appears surprisingly collected for the

emotional and socially unacceptable story she tells. Sarah's long red hair, itself infused

with visual symbolism as an "emblem of female sexuality" in Pre-Raphaelite art (Marsh

23), stands in stark contrast to the lush greenery of the Undercliff. The act of taking her

hair down appears purposeful, and Sarah must even give her head a good shake to

encourage her locks to come down. Sarah moves freely amongst the trees, casually

relaying the story of her supposed seduction, but Charles sits with his knees drawn up to

his chest, clearly uncomfortable with Sarah and her story; the camera frames Charles

tightly between tree trunks and branches to further emphasize his growing emotional discomfort.

The ivy motif returns in the confession scene; ivy winds its way up a tree that divides Sarah and Mike. Sarah appears against a backdrop of green trees; the color scheme and her body language mimic several of Rossetti's paintings of women against backdrops of greenery, such as *Proserpine*, *La Pia de Tolomei* (1868), *La Donna della Firesta* (1870) and *The Day Dream*. Prettejohn argues the connection between women and trees in these paintings links the women to Eve (216), and like Eve, Sarah's fruit of knowledge—the details of her alleged seduction—prove to have dire consequences for her male companion. Sarah's dress blends with the natural greenery, and her red lips and pale skin contrast the woods' deep greens. That Sarah's hair looks almost unnatural amongst so much green becomes even more symbolic when the film's conclusion reminds viewers that the hair is actually a wig. It, like the story she tells, is false.

Sarah weaves a story for Charles in the Undercliff and stages a story in Exeter. The novel provides a brief clue as to Sarah's scheme by noting that she unpacked a roll of bandage at the hotel in Exeter (Fowles 221). Her falsely sprained ankle has the desired effect, and Charles "could not take his eyes from her—to see her so pinioned, so invalid (though her cheeks were a deep pink), helpless. And after that eternal indigo dress—the green shawl, the never before fully revealed richness of that hair" (Fowles 271). In the novel, Sarah does not reveal the "richness of that hair" until the hotel room in Exeter, and its revelation has the desired effect. Finding her with her hair down, Charles becomes enamored: "her hair, already enhanced by the green shawl, was

ravishingly alive where the firelight touched it; as if all her mystery, this most intimate self, was exposed before him" (Fowles 272). By revealing Sarah's red hair earlier in the narrative, the film highlights Sarah's slightly dangerous sexuality without revealing her "most intimate self." Sarah lets her hair down during the confession scene; when Charles later finds her curled up in a tight ball in the barn, her hair spills over and around her in a manner reminiscent of Leighton's *Flaming June* (1885). The sexual undertones of these scenes are explicit when considered in terms of Victorian associations of sexuality with loose hair.

Lest viewers think that Sarah is vulnerable in the Exeter scene, the film employs an additional mirror to reflect the constructiveness of the scene. After purposefully staging the room in Exeter and choosing her costume (the green shawl over a cream nightgown) for Charles' expected arrival, Sarah pauses briefly in front of a mirror to adjust her hair. The camera centers Sarah and her reflection in the frame, but we do not receive a close-up of either Sarah or her reflection. Instead, the distance between the viewer and Sarah is magnified by a series of framing devices. The viewer's vantage point is from the bedroom looking into the sitting room through a doorway. The parallel vertical lines of the doorway create one frame, and the mirror over the fireplace creates a second frame; Sarah is thus doubly framed. Sarah's reflection in the mirror as she adjusts her hair reiterates that she is fabricating a narrative; additionally, the doorway resituates her as a character framed within a filmic narrative.

The screenplay, itself an important piece in the lineage from novel to film, emphasizes more fully the relationship between dress, artifice, and character. In an

excised scene, Mike comments that when Anna swished her skirt (as Sarah) it was "very

provocative," and he asks Anna if she meant for it to appear so; Anna replies, "Well, it

worked. Didn't it?" (Pinter 26). This brief exchange parallels Sarah's seduction of

Charles through the use of body language and dress with Anna's seduction of Mike. An

additional excised scene reemphasizes that Sarah is a constructed character, one who is

not a comfortable fit for the modern actress portraying her. Before Sarah's

uncomfortable Bible reading session with Mrs. Poultney, Anna stands with her back to

the camera in a corset: "her dresser is unlacing the corset. It comes off. Anna rubs her

waist. She sighs with relief" (Pinter 18). Anna murmurs "Christ" before the film cuts

back to the Victorian age (Pinter 18). The excised scene is loaded with meaning and

humor; Anna removes what had become an uncomfortable and painful costume—that of

Sarah's Victorian dress—and her profane use of religion precedes a scene extolling

Victorian religiosity. The removal of the corset also parallels Anna's later rejection of

Mike and Mike's association of Anna with Sarah.

Phones, trains, and helicopter noises provide jarring reminders that viewers are

watching a film, not a nineteenth-century romance, and jump cuts move the film back

and forth between the centuries. A placard announcing that the nineteenth-century

segment has moved forward three years (to a period after Charles' disgrace) is succeeded

by a visual shift in the film's lighting style. An artistic shift in the use of color and light

moves the film forward in time away from the Pre-Raphaelites to the Impressionists. A

distant shot of Charles sitting by the sea makes strong use of shadows and harsh black

lines; shadowed primary colors and dappled light replace the softer lighting and jewel

tone color scheme of the previous scene. The image is reminiscent of Claude Monet's *Terrace at Sainte Addresse* (1867), which also depicts a man staring wistfully out to sea. Yet the film's scene departs from the holiday atmosphere of Monet's painting by visually emphasizing Charles' predicament. Two looming cliffs frame the shot, and dark shadows on either side of the frame reiterate that Charles' seaside sojourn is tainted by unhappiness. The film cuts to this scene after a lingering shot of Mike on the couch contemplating his faltering affair with Anna; the clash of colors and discordant patterns on the couch where Mike sits echoes the awkwardness of the cast party at which Anna/David and Mike/Sonia all mingle.

The contrast in color and light from the modern scene to the Victorian scene depict the passage of time and Charles' emotional state; an additional visual shift moves the film even further forward in plot and narrative. When Charles responds to the news that Sarah has been found, he travels to the Lake District to meet her; in contrast to the shadows that dominate the image of his seaside wait, the Lake District scenes are warmly and directly lit. Sarah, with her hair entirely down, appears as an emancipated woman who has obtained both gainful employment and the social freedom she had for so long sought. Stylistically, it is an Impressionist moment; the color scheme shifts to warm creams and golds, and the light appears undeniably natural and sunny. After reconciling, the two lovers row off into the sunset.

The film conflates the novel's three endings into two by overlapping the Mike/Anna and Charles/Sarah romance; Charles and Sarah receive the happy ending, Mike and Anna go their separate ways. The film's conclusion additionally echoes

Sarah's desire to destroy what she saw as a failed relationship. In the novel, Sarah justifies her decision to disappear from Charles by comparing her relationship with him to that of an artist to a work of art: "if an artist is not his own sternest judge he is not fit to be an artist. I believe that is right. I believe I was right to destroy what had begun between us. There was a falsehood in it" (Fowles 351). Art, in Sarah's logic, proves a fitting metaphor for her relationship with Charles, and she establishes herself as a credible creator—and destroyer—of their relationship. After agreeing to meet with Mike, Anna leaves the wrap-up party without saying a word to him. Mike finds himself in her dressing room; near the dressing table sits Sarah's wig, and Mike pauses to touch it before continuing his search for Anna. The mirror reflects the falseness of Sarah's hair, and the reflection reiterates that not only were Charles and Sarah fiction, but the relationship between Mike and Anna was as well. The dressing-room mirror and Anna's retired wig provide a visual bookend to the clapboard scene at the beginning of the film. The viewer is left with Mike calling after "Sarah," who exists only as an after-image in the rejected red wig.

From its homage to Victorian painting and its use of artistic tropes and symbolism, the film accrues meaning. Film's ability to adapt and translate textual meaning creates new meaning, meaning that is independent from the textual nature of the novel; we read Fowles' text and view Reisz's film differently due to the meanings inherent in the media. At the same time, however, intersections of meaning and the presence of visual and textual after-images connect text and image, and painting and film. By incorporating direct lines from the text and establishing a plot line that revolves

around the creation of an adaptation, *FLW* reminds readers of the active connection between media; the film is self-reflexive about its status as a film, and, in particular, its status as a film with narrative and textual roots in the nineteenth century. The film never strives to be the text or its spirit but rather strives to be its own medium, while it also invites acknowledgement of its textual and visual histories. Rather than become caught up in looking for harmony in a false binary system that divorces image from text by repeatedly seeking fidelity, it is useful to approach adaptation with a recognition of the internalization of the variant meanings between media.

Film adaptations, like illustrated texts, are an important reminder that there is no singular meaning in textual or visual works; adaptations such as *FLW* also work with narrative and form to remind viewers that an adaptation itself is an autonomous work. Landseer argues for a similar recognition of the inherent uniqueness of visual copies by observing that an engraving of

> The death of General Wolfe, for example, is no more a copy of Mr.
> West's picture, than the same composition, if sculptured or modelled [sic]
> in low relief, would be a copy. In both cases they would be, not copies,
> but *translations* from one language of Art, into another language of Art.
> (3, 178)

Landseer's example about engravings of Benjamin West's painting provides an apt example of the ability for visual media to move meaning into new forms, while also retaining the after-image of the original work. West's painting of General Wolfe depicts a historical event, the engraving depicts the painting, and Thomas Paine's poem on the

same subject provides its own memorial; separated by space and time, each form is nonetheless interconnected and in dialogue with each other. The singular event—Wolfe's death—exists as the elusive, authentic, and deceased original; its visual and textual predecessors exist as perpetual after-images that move through form and time into new media and new meanings. Reisz's film and Pinter's screenplay move Fowles' novel into new forms to reach new audiences. Instead of anchoring each medium to a fixed concept of originality, it is important instead to recognize a fluidity of authenticity and originality, recognizing, as Landseer and Cahir do, that adapted media act as translations of each other. By accepting that text and image cannot actually be the other, readers and viewers receive the opportunity to examine multi-media works, not for faithfulness to each other, but rather for their own meanings and their own dialogue, a dialogue activated the moment a relationship between text and image emerges.

Notes

1. Kamilla Elliott observes that the rhetoric in discussions of film adaptation is similar to that used in criticism of illustrations of novels (54); this observation can easily be expanded to include criticism of any visual form that relates to text in some way.

2. Walter Benjamin notes that "painting simply is in no position to present an object for simultaneous collective experience" (745).

3. Hutcheon notes that "when we call a work an adaptation we announce its relationship to other works" (6).

4. For purposes of clarity, the film adaptation will be referred to as *FLW* in the remainder of this chapter; the novel will be referred to by its full title.

5. Peter Conradi notes of the narrative voice that

> in substantiating and colonising the mid-Victorian world this authorial
> voice exhibits an earnest grasp of the efficacy of epigraphs from diverse
> sources, advertises a conspicuous range of intellectual goods and services,
> is always ready for energetic and polymathic digressions, shows a keenly
> fashionable awareness of appropriate socio-historical décor, has a
> Peacockian relish for cultural free enterprise and is much given to the
> historical transaction in which it explains each epoch to its neighbor. (46)

The film, likewise, attempts to "advertise" its own "intellectual goods." Mike and Anna's exchange regarding the percentage of women to men in Victorian England advertises the film's lineage to the text by incorporating data directly from the text. The

scene works additionally to substantiate the text by historicizing and contextualizing Victorian women's limited economic choices and Victorian men's sexual freedom.

6.   Egenolf concludes her work noting that a study of the "self-conscious technique of rhetorical varnishing" can apply to "any group of texts independent of time period or country of origin" (186).

7.   Fowles' use of glosses and textual supplements aids in the construction of a narrative persona and pays homage to nineteenth-century texts that employ the same devices.

8.   The narrator admits that Ernestina even "giggled" after viewing an edition of *Punch* with Charles (Fowles 95); this "giggle," the narrator suggests, links her to the beginning of the "female emancipation" movement in 1867 (95).

9.   In the screenplay, Mary and Ernestina choose a green dress (Pinter 5); by shifting the color to pink, the film establishes a set color scheme for Ernestina. Ernestina is shot in pinks, purples; Sarah in dark blue, and cream.

10.   While Ernestina reads to Charles from the "bestseller of the 1860s," Caroline Norton's *The Lady of la Garaye*," the narrator interrupts her recitation to provide a review of the work: "You may think that Mrs. Norton was a mere insipid poetastrix of the age. Insipid her verse is, as you will see in a minute; but she was far from an insipid person" (Fowles 95). The narrator provides a few stanzas from Norton's poem as Ernestina reads; however, Norton stops being insipid when Ernestina appropriates Norton's text for her own purposes. Ernestina adds her own twist to the poem, and she yells at the "hateful mutton-bone" who had fallen asleep during her recitation (Fowles

96). With her hands on her hips and her voice raised, Ernestina is no longer a picture of quiet, submissive domesticity. In her hands, the poem becomes a "missile," but it only lands a "glancing blow" since the intended victim was too lost in reverie about Sarah to mind the hit (Fowles 97).

11. Throughout the film, Ernestina and Charles share little space together. The camera often cuts back and forth between the two characters; when they do share space together, one of the two usually has their back to the camera. By contrast, Sarah and Charles often share space together in the same shot. While the camera cuts back and forth between their faces, their surroundings often emphasize the emotion in the scene rather than the cuts themselves.

12. Simonetti interprets color shifts in terms of the time period filmed; the Victorian characters wear

> costumes of intense colors that coordinate with the sets (dark green outfits match the vivid, green scenery in the forest; in Mrs. Poulteney's hall, Sarah's dress reflects the deep red hues of the stained glass; and costumes worn on the Cobb are dark grey, like the rough sea. On the other hand, modern clothes seem washed out and ordinary. (n.p.).

Modern clothes seem modern rather than "washed out and ordinary." The modern scenes also invert the color palette allocated to Sarah and Ernestina in the film; Anna, like Ernestina, wears pinks, purples, and stripes. Anna, much like Ernestina in the novel, is fashionably dressed.

13. As Anna/Sarah walks through the set (a car must depart before the filming continues), the film shifts visually from the allusion to Rossetti's painting to the allusion to Waterhouse's painting. The film, in many ways, is a series of such visual shifts. Jump cuts move the plot between centuries, and sound works with the visuals to make the transition between centuries more noticeable. Staged scenes within the narrative itself also work to hint at the constructiveness of the overall story and provide an ongoing commentary about Victorian society.

14. Pinter's script invites further comparison between Rossetti's painting and the scene. When Charles and Ernestina walk along the Cobb, Pinter's script notes that the "woman sways, clutches a cannon bollard" (13). In Rossetti's *Found,* the woman, a prostitute, is "found" by the wharf. There is no cannon bollard, but instead a cannon's barrel appears.

15. Sarah clutches her hand tightly to her chest, a pose that evokes Frederick Sandys' *Medea* (1866-1868), in which Medea, "crazed by rejection and impossible love," begins to prepare the instrument she will use to enact revenge on Jason (Hawksley 302).

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

SIGNPOSTS: THE PRESERVATION OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY

AFTER-IMAGES

> Still memory's halo, lingering pensively,
> Shall steep my soaring visions as they climb;
> Till many an aim, wish, feeling, hope shall be
> To brighter issues touched by thoughts of thine and thee!

> From "The Painter's Dream" by Alaric Watts

In "The Painter's Dream," Alaric Watts waxes eloquently about poetry's ability

to visualize painting. When the speaker has "ceased to gaze" upon the works of the

Masters that appear so vividly before him, he finds comfort in knowing that poetry—

"memory's halo"—will help to keep aloft his "soaring visions" (5). The painter speaks

to art and for art as he celebrates the diversity of forms he encounters. The poem is the

first literary piece in Watt's revitalized *Literary Souvenir*, an annual that reentered the

market in 1835 as the *Literary Souvenir, and Cabinet of Modern Art*. Watts' preface to

the annual identifies poetry as a branch of "the Fine Arts" (vi).[1] Watts argues that a

poem can "illustrate, in a page, the true spirit of a picture" (vi) and the poem realizes his

desire to establish an annual in which the poems are "suggested by the picture, not the

picture by the poem" (*Narrative* 166). The poem draws inspiration from a variety of

artistic works and provides a virtual roll call of established artistic Masters—the works

of Correggio, Rubens, Vandyke, Rafael, Watteau, Lorrain, and others all make an appearance in the painter's dream. While unaccompanied by a visual counterpart, the poem is inspired by visual works; the poem reiterates, however, that the harmonious union between painting and poetry is often just a "dream."

In his 1884 biography of Watts, Alaric Alfred Watts introduces his father's poem as one in which the poet, "representing his age," uses his poem to "apostrophize" art (169). However, the poem cannot speak for art unassisted. Watts appends a detailed list of notes to his poem that expand upon the poem's references to specific artists and specific paintings. Each note begins with the poem's corresponding stanza and line number as well as an excerpt from the poem itself. The notes provide an astounding amount of contextual information (biographical, historical, and critical) with which to interpret the poem.[2] The notes function here as a form of an "ekphrastic gloss" (Egenolf 6-7), and they work to resituate the painter's dream within the realm of art. The poem spans five pages and consists of seven stanzas; in contrast, the notes span fourteen pages. The disproportionate length of the poem in comparison to its supplementary material suggests that poetry cannot illustrate painting in just "a page." The poem cannot visually represent the work of the Masters, and Watts relies on the notes to reflect visual meaning onto his poem.

The other works in Watts' 1835 annual include engravings, an essay on "Poetry and Painting" by a Royal Academy artist, several ekphrastic poems, and a poem celebrating the "Spirit of Poetry." These works all contribute to an illusion of multi-media harmony, thereby functioning as textual advertisements of the literary and artistic

endeavors of the *Literary Souvenir, and Cabinet of Modern Art*. The annual, like so many other illustrated books circulating in the expanding market, combines text and image with the promise of newness. In this sense, Watts is correct in asserting that his father's poem is representative of an age; placed within the larger context of print culture, the poem speaks to the limitations of representation. The illusion of originality in such works builds on the premise that text can represent the "true spirit" of an image and that an illustration can be faithful to a text. Neither text nor image can do so. Contrary to W. J. T. Mitchell's assertion that there is "semantically speaking, no difference between texts and images" (702), there are inherent semantic differences between text and image that form through the variable ways that media interact. Watts' poem simply cannot represent the paintings it honors. However, the poem can activate an implied dialogue between itself and the absent art; the notes activate an ekphrastic connection between Watts' poem and the artists' paintings.

"Image and Text" has argued that text and image cannot faithfully represent the other. I argue that what they can do is engage in dialogue: with each other, with their historical and cultural moments, and with their successors and predecessors. In the works studied in "Image and Text," the immediate relationship between engravings and text make visible these connections. The dialogue between text and image differs from singular textual or visual meaning—the dialogue is active, fluid, and reflexive. The pairing of engraving and text, as this study has demonstrated, multiplies meaning and challenges the ever-changing and debatable continuum of aesthetic hierarchies. Our choice as literary critics is either to shun the unrealities promoted by mass-produced

works or to explore these unrealities as signifiers of the ways in which meaning

multiplies and changes in print culture.

In the biography of his father, Alaric Alfred Watts is philosophical about the

demise of the quality of the text and image in the literary annuals based on the

illusionary nature of the genre. Watts suggests that

> Taste is the touchstone of unreality, for with that which is artificial or
>
> inharmonious it cannot exist side by side. Now the "annuals" all started
>
> with a distinct fundamental unreality in them, which could not long
>
> conceal itself from the eye of taste; and they began to lose their hold upon
>
> the public when that unreality began to be fully apprehended. (162)

Watts notes that editors and publishers of the annuals became "less careful and

discriminative" of the practice of pairing any text to any illustration (163). For an

example of this trend, Watts identifies the practice of recycling illustrations of Sir Walter

Scott's work. Scott, Watts argues, is someone whose works were "universally known by

all intelligent persons" (164); thus, the unreality of pairing an illustration from a

preexisting text with a new and unrelated text was transparent. According to Watts, the

practice was "surely … an outrage upon the taste and common sense of the judicious

reader" (163-164). The public was not too outraged, for the annuals flourished for

several more decades.

Only three years after Watts' attempt at legitimizing the annuals' content, Letitia

Elizabeth Landon writes to Charles Heath proposing an idea for a "new sort of annual"

that has a "fair chance of popularity" (qtd. in Heath 181); her suggestion would have

made Watts cringe. Landon notes that since Heath has "published under various forms an infinity of female portraits" they should make

> a selection from them (avowing in the preface that such is the case)
> publishing one—two or even three successive volumes—and giving them
> a completely new literary character—Short tales and poems have had
> their day—make this work both for drawing room and library—Call the
> different portraits by the name of some heroine of all our great modern
> authors—and accompany each for five or six (more or less) pages of
> letter press to critical and anecdotical—amusing—and yet thoughtful—I
> am induced to make this proposal by the general praise and popularity of
> three papers of mine in the new monthly magazine called 'Female
> Portraits of Sir W. Scott.' […] The cost of the engravings would be
> comparatively small—the idea is new […] (qtd. in Heath 181)

Landon strikes on several possibilities for the remnant prints, but each possibility relies on the illusion that the prints will appear "new" through the addition of a literary status and a critical voice. Landon's signature, she suggests, will "give popularity" to the collection (qtd. in Heath 181), thereby validating the endeavor and enticing readers to accept the recycled prints in their new form. Landon's death in October 1838 prevented her from pursuing her plans.

Landon's proposal to Heath directly acknowledges the duplicitous nature of the annuals of which Watts proves so critical, but her suggestion also highlights the complexity of works pairing text and engraving. Despite their recycled status, the prints

gain a "completely new literary character" when paired with new text. The ensuing

multi-media dialogue transforms meaning. Illustrated supplements of Scott's work

recycle text with a seemingly endless array of visual works; they, like the recycled plates

in the annuals, work to promote the illusion of originality. Other illustrated editions

promote themselves not as supplemental to Scott's work, but rather as new works

altogether. One such example of this is the *Cabinet of Poetry and Romance: Female

Portraits from the Writings of Byron and Scott,* an 1845 publication that paired

illustrations based on the work of Scott and Lord Byron with "poetical illustrations" by

Charles Swain (n.p.). At first glance, the edition's link to Scott categorizes it as another

supplemental illustrated edition in a growing industry surrounding the Wizard of the

North, but Scott, like Byron, is almost entirely absent from the collection. Unlike the

illustrated supplements to Scott's work, the edition is not meant to "bind to" or

"embellish" Scott's work; instead, it moves Scott's work into a new form—Swain's

"poetical illustrations."

Swain's poems "illustrate" not only the portraits of women from Scott and

Byron's narratives, but also the accompanying engravings. Excerpts from the works of

Scott and Byron appear in snippet-form in Swain's poetic interpretations. Illustrations of

women from Byron and Scott alternate throughout the edition: Haidee from *Don Juan*

follows Rebecca from *Ivanhoe;* Catharine Seyton from the *Abbot* precedes Zuleika from

Bride of Abydos; Hermione from *Anne of Gerstein* precedes Medora from *The Corsair*.

The edition has no narrative cohesion, but the women in the edition share two

commonalities: they are highly stylized and sexualized representations of literary

women, and they are representative of an age. The edition's use of a triad of references—the images, Swain's poems, and the original texts—establishes a metacommentary about nineteenth-century illustrated works. The edition is less an interpretation of Scott's and Bryon's works than a visual and textual adaptation of their work.

Swain's edition, like so many others, appears in the market as a bastardized descendent of original works. Original and singular meaning appears diluted by the addition of supplementary texts, poetic adaptations, and stylized illustrations. Like the annuals that Watts denounced, such editions promote unreality. Yet before we denounce such works for their unfaithfulness to source texts and their perceived unfaithfulness to textual and visual meaning, it is important to pause and recognize the cultural relevance of the work. The production processes involved in creating multi-media works play an important role in the destabilization of singular meaning. The multiplicity of multi-media works reflects larger cultural and aesthetic trends that are complicit in the creating a façade of originality. A future study of Swain's edition might research the interplay of meaning between Swain's poems and the works of Bryon and Scott, the identities of the engravers and illustrators, the motivations of the publisher, and Swain's own literary history. The *Cabinet of Poetry and Romance: Female Portraits from the Writings of Byron and Scott*, after all, is not just about Byron and Scott, but rather about the movement of their work forward into new forms. The sensual illustrations depict portraits of fictional women and impart sexuality onto the original texts; Swain's poems recast Scott's and Byron's heroines into new poetic narratives. The illustrations in such

works do not illustrate the text any more than the text can provide an accurate "poetical illustration" of the image. Meaning in nineteenth-century multi-media works, like meaning in its imagistic successors in film and photography, is amplified and expanded.

I began "Image and Text" with John Landseer's argument for a rethinking of the language used to describe the art of engraving. Landseer argues that "Engraving is a distinct language of Art" (III, 177), but he also warns that "no Art has ever flourished, or ever can flourish as an Art … unless … it be HONOURED as an Art – unless it be cherished and respected as a mode of refined mental operation" (VI, 331, original emphasis).[3] Landseer observes that the neglect of an art form has consequences:

> The sure way ... to degrade any *Art*; to break down its pretensions to that honourable denomination; and to annihilate the benefits that, *as* an art, it is capable of imparting to Society; would be to ordain or contrive that it should be exercised for money, and for *no higher* reward. (VI, 320, original emphasis)

While multi-media works flourished in the nineteenth century, they were not and are still not "cherished and respected" as modes of "refined mental operation." Instead, they are debased as mass-produced products and are accused of prostituting writers' talents and taking hostage artistic freedom.[4]

Landseer sought to move discussions of engravings past the notion that they are simply copies of other visual works; "Image and Text" has also sought a movement away from studies that focus on fidelity to meaning or form. In this way, Landseer's rhetorical analysis of the language used to discuss art echoes throughout this study.

Multi-media works are, I argue, are a "distinct language" of art. They are works that are neither entirely visual nor entirely textual; they challenge critical conventions regarding artistic and authorial originality, and they enter into contested battles over fidelity of meaning. The willingness of critics to engage in this battle results in the loss of an opportunity to study the exchange of meaning in the rewardingly diverse assortment of nineteenth-century multi-media works. If we recognize multi-media works as part of a diverse and distinct genre we might be able to expand critical dialogue about such works past fidelity studies.

Once again, Landseer, the energetic proponent of engravers, may provide some valuable insight into how literary criticism should proceed in its approach to multi-media works. The strong reaction to his lectures by Academy members was prompted by the implication of the institution in many of Landseer's accusations about its role in upholding artistic standards for the commercial arts.[5] Landseer proves particularly critical of print dealers, whom he faults for their role in promoting the commercialization of engraving, but he places his final blame on the Royal Academy for allowing dealers to prosper. After comparing print dealers to dogs on a hunt, Landseer argues that the "Royal Academy had cleared no roads, and set up no directing posts, and even those among the well-intending public who were fondest of the sport – following these hounds, lost their way in the intricate and desultory chase" (III, 129). Had the Royal Academy addressed engraving as an art sooner, the Academy "would have conferred on Engraving a degree of relative honour and importance to Art" (VI, 318).

Over two-hundred years after Landseer's speech, the "desultory chase" continues. In "The Sister Arts in British Romanticism," Morris Eaves laments the fact that only a "small circle of scholars" provide adequate attention to literature and the visual arts, and he argues that

> The study of literature and the visual arts will not be much more satisfying than it now generally is until it more often enlarges its purview to take in histories of institutions, including the histories of crafts, technologies, and social groupings. (268)

Eaves proposes the establishment of directing posts within literary criticism of visual works; rather than focus on the "one-way logic" of studying exclusively text or image, Eaves suggests that literary scholars need to establish "bridges" that "acknowledge the abyss" of meaning, "offer views of it, and give us somewhere to go" (Eaves 269). It is time to set up critical "directing posts" that legitimatize the study of the construction of meaning in multi-media works within literary scholarship; it is time to read graphic satire, to look at the literary annuals, to recapture dialogue between text and image in illustrated works, and to move past fidelity studies of film adaptations.

"Image and Text" has striven to recover the multi-media dialogue in nineteenth-century print forms that have often been dismissed for their commercial status; each chapter has acknowledged the collaborative nature of such work and the ability of multi-media dialogue to promote newness, originality (or the illusion of originality), and (un)reality. Works such as the literary annuals and graphic satire challenge traditional notions of a work's coherence and singular authorship; they are unabashedly corporate

works that nonetheless establish a façade of originality. The final chapter on film adaptation demonstrates that the issue of textual fidelity and the biases against visual translations of textual meaning remain an active concern of literary criticism. The surest way to degrade multi-media forms is to ignore them, and I argue for a continued recognition of the valuable dialogue between media in works pairing text and image. "Memory's halo," the pervasive after-image of visual and textual media, lingers in multi-media works (Watts 5). Rather than linger on questions of textual and visual fidelity or engage in a "desultory chase" for essences and spirits, "Image and Text" encourages a movement towards new studies of multi-media works. As Landon notes in the preface to the 1836 edition of *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrapbook*, "we still go on: for how many beautiful scenes yet remain" (3).

Notes

1. Watts' changes to the annual are discussed in some detail in Chapter III.

2. For example, Watts identifies Poussin as "one of the earliest painters of the historical landscape" and declares Poussin's "finest work" to be the *Bacchanalian Triumph* located in the National Gallery (8). In other notes, Watts discusses the use of chiaroscuro in Correggio's paintings and the influence of Watteau on contemporary British art (11, 9).

3. Landseer argues that the admission of engravers into the Academy "would have conferred on Engraving a degree of relative honour and importance to Art" (VI, 318).

4. Such dismissals overlook the concept of the genealogy of meaning advanced by film scholars such as Gary Bortolotti and Linda Hutcheon (445).

5. Landseer acknowledges the controversial nature of his lectures' content; in an aside that appears in the published version as a footnote, Landseer expresses his awareness that "a literary blunderbuss is loading against" him (VI, 289).

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