Little Red and Black Books: Black’s and Murray’s Guidebooks to Scotland, 1850-1914.

by

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ABSTRACT

LITTLE RED AND BLACK BOOKS: BLACK’S AND MURRAY’S GUIDEBOOKS TO SCOTLAND, 1850-1914.

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Recent studies exploring the history of Scottish tourism have neglected to critically analyse nineteenth-century guidebooks. Nineteenth-century guidebooks to Scotland are a window into the complex negotiations between actors within a burgeoning mass tourist sector. This thesis offers a comparative analysis of Black’s Picturesque Tourist of Scotland and Handbook for Travellers in Scotland, revealing how sources often dismissed as ephemera constituted complex, multi-media, intertextual products. Examining, in turn, the history of modern guidebook publishing and cartography, the evolution of the guidebook preface, the incorporation of a rich visual culture within the volumes, and the formatting of proposed ‘tours’, this study suggests that there were distinctive features of each series that reflected broader editorial strategies and underscore how, as sources, historians must understand the particular features and intended functions of each volume, rather than aggregating them without attention to the variety of formats and texts encompassed within the genre.
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**Introduction**

The thunderous roar of the falls of the Braan, heard from the overhanging lookout at Ossian’s Hall, has captivated travellers for more than two hundred years. It is a spot where the wild grandeur and romantic scenery of Scotland can be found, situated just a short walk from the town of Dunkeld. The popularity of this sort of romantic imagery has long perpetuated desirable notions of Scotland.¹ The royal visit of King George IV in 1822, and then the purchase of the Balmoral Estate by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert in 1848, both served as catalysts for the rapid expansion of tourism to and around the country.² Alongside the robust tourism industry, nineteenth-century Britain also witnessed the development of commercial printing. The technological advancements of mechanized printing propagated by steam-driven presses, lithography, and type-setting machines, greatly benefited printing houses from the 1830s onward.³ The publishing industry was a fundamental contributor to the creation of British consumer culture, as well as an integral part of developing leisure practices.⁴ The mass production of print media, including newspapers, magazines, and advertisements were used to promote rail companies, hotels, excursions, and were critical to the development of Scottish tourism. The guidebook was among these new types of print media that emerged during the late 1830s. By the 1850s, guidebooks had become vastly popular in Britain, and were used widely both domestically and internationally.⁵

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¹ See: Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Aldershot, Scolar Press, 1989) for a further discussion of early picturesque travel to Dunkeld. Also see Chapter Three for a discussion of tourism and landscape aesthetic theory.


⁵ Companies such as John Murray, Adam and Charles Black, Karl Baedeker, and George and Peter Anderson of Inverness, were all publishing firms who were among the founders of the genre of guidebooks from 1830s to 1850s. As the nineteenth century progressed, there was an increasingly large market of individual publishers of guidebooks,
This study is an historical examination of guidebooks to Scotland from 1850 to 1914, and is set at the intersection between Scottish tourism history and the history of the book. It is structured as a comparative analysis examining the production of two popular and competitive guidebook series: John Murray’s *Handbook for Travellers in Scotland*, which published nine editions, and Adam and Charles Black’s *Black’s Picturesque Tourist of Scotland*, which published twenty-five editions within the chronology of this study. Investigating how guidebooks were produced, structured and what their intent was, is pivotal in understanding the complex negotiations across multiple industries that went into the publishing of such a text. Moreover, these negotiations affected how each guidebook positioned itself within the genre and impacted how the texts were to be used. This study begins in 1850 because of its proximity to royal purchase of the Balmoral Estate, and the completion of the Anglo-Scottish cross-border railway (running between London, Edinburgh, and Glasgow) in the same year, 1848. The onset of the First World War signals the study’s conclusion, as the war dramatically affected the tourism industry within Britain, altering long-established holiday trends. Alastair Durie and Stephen J. Page argue that the war did not stop tourism altogether but transformed it, changing who, where, and how tourists travelled. The following discussion is framed to answer the question: how have academics analysed, used, and critiqued nineteenth-century guidebooks in recent literature? It does so in two main sections. First, it explores the burgeoning field of Scottish tourism history. Second, it assesses how both historians and non-historians have examined guidebooks as their subject of inquiry.

such as Thomas Cook and Son, Ward Lock & Co, Bradshaw and many other smaller companies publishing regional guides within Britain.

6 Grenier, *Tourism and Identity*, 58. This line greatly reduced travel times, from 43 to 12.5 hours on trips from London to Edinburgh and increased the accessibility of Scotland for travellers coming from the south.

Scottish Tourism History

Prominent Scottish tourism historian Alastair J. Durie observed that while tourism is Scotland’s second largest industry behind oil, very little comparative work has been done to illuminate the nuances of its history. Durie notes that this weakness is now being strengthened by new scholarship. The foundational historical scholarship examining Scottish tourism emerged in the 1980s. Christopher Smout’s “Tourism in the Scottish Highlands from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries” and R.W. Butler’s “Evolution of Tourism in the Scottish Highlands,” published in 1983 and 1985 respectively, were trailblazers in the field; however, as surveys, these studies provide little depth or critical analysis of the subject. Smout analyses the changing perceptions of Scotland through the development of popular aesthetic theories, and his study is pivotal to many recent investigations that focus on how tourists viewed the Scottish landscape. Butler, working within the same chronology as Smout, explores the social, economic, and technological forces that impacted the Highlands as a result of modernisation, and does so by examining clearly-defined stages of tourism in Scotland. Both Smout and Butler, like many Scottish tourism scholars, use guidebooks as literary sources, but fail to critically analyse the nuances of guidebooks and their production.

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For works that discussion Smout’s contribution See: Fraser MacDonald, “Viewing Highland Scotland: Ideology, Representation and the ‘Natural Heritage,’” *Area* 30, no. 3 (Sept., 1998): 237-244.
John and Margaret Gold develop the study of Scottish tourism by examining the anatomy and propagation of the imagery of Scotland by the tourism industry since 1750.\textsuperscript{13} They do not explicitly examine tourism trends; they are more concerned with the representations of the country to tourists.\textsuperscript{14} Katherine Haldane Grenier, on the other hand, focuses on what those representations meant to English tourists in Scotland, by focusing on examinations of tourist literature in her \textit{Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770-1914}.\textsuperscript{15} Grenier inspects the signifiers that triggered immediate connections to what Scotland meant in the minds of tourists, in order to situate the country within a popular imagined context.\textsuperscript{16} Grenier does not focus on the images of “traditional” Scotland, as done by Hugh Trevor-Roper\textsuperscript{17} and Eric Zuelow.\textsuperscript{18} Instead, she applies an unconventional perspective where she investigates the clichéd “Balmoralised” and “Tartanised” images of Scotland, their impact on English tourists, and what this can uncover about tourists’ concerns and desires.\textsuperscript{19} Gold and Gold also analyse tourism through the lens of the tourist, but they focus on the images and landscapes, and their promotion, investigating material communications that depicted Scotland, Scottish life, and also taking note of what was ignored.\textsuperscript{20}

In contrast to Grenier, Zuelow provides an in-depth analysis of the popularisation of “Balmoralised” images of Scotland through Sir Walter Scott’s organisation of King George IV’s royal visit. He investigates Scott’s role as “pageant master” of this event, focusing on a themed

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{13} John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold, \textit{Imagining Scotland: Tradition, Representation and Promotion in Scottish Tourism since 1750} (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1995). Gold and Gold emphasise that Scottish tourism history has not been significantly addressed within British tourism history.
\item \textsuperscript{14} Gold and Gold, \textit{Imagining Scotland}, 9.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Katherine Haldane Grenier, \textit{Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770-1914: Creating Caledonia} (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).
\item \textsuperscript{16} Grenier, \textit{Tourism and Identity}, 3.
\item \textsuperscript{17} Hugh Trevor-Roper, \textit{The Invention of Scotland Myth and History} (London: Yale University Press, 2008).
\item \textsuperscript{19} Grenier, \textit{Tourism and Identity}, 1-3, 11.
\item \textsuperscript{20} Gold and Gold, \textit{Imagining Scotland}, 9-10.
\end{itemize}
guidebook written by him, under the pseudonym “An Old Citizen.” Zuelow offers an alternative account to Grenier, and investigates Scots’ response to the fanfare and rising popularity of tartan after the royal visit by examining the popular press. For many native Scots, the spectacle of tartanry, which Scott used to represent Scotland to the king, disrupted long-held conceptions of the Highland, Lowland distinction. Zuelow’s discussion presents a different perspective on the emergence of the fabricated traditions, and firmly connects them to networks of tourist interactions, both among the Scots themselves and between the Scots and the monarchy.

Applying a socio-economic approach, Durie similar to Butler, provides great insight into the complexities of Scottish tourism history. Two of the most prominent of these works are Scotland for the Holidays: Tourism in Scotland c1780-1939, a central text in the field, and Water is Best: The Hydros and Health Tourism in Scotland 1840-1940. Durie’s histories of Scottish tourism are not theoretical; instead, they dissect local and national socio-economic trends tied to nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century tourism. Quantitative analysis significantly enhances Durie’s analysis; however, he highlights the fact that the overwhelming majority of sources for tourism historians are qualitative, including periodicals, newspapers, travel accounts, journals, paintings, and guidebooks. Durie diligently utilizes local and national news publications and

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See: An Old Citizen [W. Scott], Hints Addressed to the Inhabitants of Edinburgh, And Others, In Prospects of His Majesty’s Visit. (Edinburgh: Bell and Bradfute, Manners and Miller, Archibald Constable and Co., William Blackwood, Waugh and Innes and John Roberts). The guidebook stresses the importance of “appropriate” attire as well as people to be on their best behaviour. 
22 Zuelow, “Kilts Versus Breeches,” 44-47. Zuelow discusses the contemporary debate over the assimilation of tartan as a symbol of Scottishness by examining newspaper coverage and looking at the periodicals such as Blackwood’s. The investigation into this contemporary debate provides insight into the formation and contempt for the emerging Scottish identity. 
24 Alastair J. Durie, James Bradley, and Maruerite Dupree, Water is Best the Hydros and Health Tourism in Scotland 1840-1940 (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2006). 
25 Durie, Scotland for the Holidays, 17. 
26 Durie, Scotland for the Holidays, 9.
periodicals for evidence throughout his studies, but he does not scrutinize guidebooks to the same degree.\textsuperscript{27}

Durie acknowledges a tendency on the part of historians to overwhelmingly present and analyze the Highland tourist experience while neglecting the tourist’s experience of the Lowlands.\textsuperscript{28} In response to this imbalance, Durie examines the entire country. For many tourists, the motivation to gain a Highland experience was to escape from the mundane aspects of life and to experience the extraordinary. Grenier argues that this could not be found within the urbanized central belt of Scotland and therefore, the Highlands are more frequently studied.\textsuperscript{29} Durie further explains the Highland focus discussing the impacts of Scott’s popular imaginings on Highland tourism. He uses Scott’s \textit{Lady of the Lake} as an example because it enticed countless number of tourists to visit the Trossachs since its publication in 1810.\textsuperscript{30} Indeed, Lowland tourism was popular, such as literary tourism, focused in Ayrshire, the home of Robert Burns and Abbotsford, the house of Sir Walter Scott. Sightseeing in the area of the border Abbeys also attracted many travellers.\textsuperscript{31}

Recent studies of Scottish tourism are slowly uncovering the nuances of Victorian and Edwardian Scotland and how it was represented, promoted, and consumed. Tourism history can be used to test the claims of social scientists such as David McCrone, Angela Morris and Richard Kiely, who argue in \textit{Scotland the Brand} that the popular representations of Scotland – as a place

\textsuperscript{27} Durie, \textit{Scotland for the Holidays}, 14-15. In Chapters 3 and 4 Durie uses local newspapers to determine numbers of guests as it was a frequent practice for resorts to publish their guest lists to attract potential visitors. The only drawback to Durie’s \textit{Scotland For the Holidays} is that it does not provide references only further readings after each chapter.

\textsuperscript{28} Durie, \textit{Scotland for the Holidays}, 2. Durie is referring to the work done by Smout, Butler, and Katherine Haldane Grenier.

\textsuperscript{29} Grenier, \textit{Tourism and Identity}, 1-2.

\textsuperscript{30} Durie, \textit{Scotland for the Holidays}, 45-46.

of kilts, tartan, heather and whisky – are recent nineteenth-century fabrications.\textsuperscript{32} Durie describes the representations of Scotland as “a dash of truth, a splash of history and a good deal of manufacture and manipulation!”\textsuperscript{33} Up to this point, however, there has yet to be a thorough examination of nineteenth-century guidebooks to Scotland, albeit they are frequently-used evidentiary sources. This study addresses this disparity in the scholarship by making guidebooks its central focus. Guidebooks, as sources of historical tourism, offer an avenue that requires further attention because they allow scholars to understand how popular print media attempted to facilitate travel. It is necessary to understand how guidebooks operated, especially when tourism historians, to date, have utilised them for discussions on representations Scotland without having a deep understanding of their functions, structures and wider connections to the tourist and publishing market.

**The Guidebook**

Print media, such as newspapers, periodicals, posters, and guidebooks, all contributed to the development of nineteenth-century tourism. They provided essential information for the tourist. Consequently, the guidebook was both embedded within and contingent on the developing social, political, intellectual, and economic contexts of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and can be viewed as an important artefact in of the development of mass tourism. Guidebooks are not insular textual productions, but are permeated by the wider world.

Recent literature, concerning Scottish tourism, has yet to critically analyse the guidebook as a source. Grenier offers few theoretical insights about the guidebook; however, she argues that guidebooks were signifiers that preserved the desired vision of Scotland and gave it


\textsuperscript{33} Durie, *Scotland for the Holidays*, 1.
Similarly, Mairi MacArthur delineates the guidebook’s perpetuation of kitsch images of Scotland. The guidebook industry was well aware of the value of romantic language, and used it wisely – and strategically – to entice tourists and reach specific audiences.

**Critics of the Guidebook**

Theorists of travel writing argue that the practice of tourism has been eviscerated by the guidebook, insofar as to say that it was principal in the commodification of travel, creating individuals who became unthinking consumers. German critic Hans Magnus Enzensberger comments on the commodification of tourism, stating that “[l]iberation from the industrial world has become an industry in its own right, the journey from the commodity world has itself become a commodity.” Roland Barthes’ critique of the “The Blue Guide,” in his *Mythologies*, resonated throughout twentieth-century evaluations of the guidebook. His critique is unabashedly negative. He perceives the Blue Guides as debasing the necessity and utility of the guidebook, and believes they are a product of ignorant bourgeois culture degrading the true quality of the landscape: following what he calls “Helvetic-Protestant morality” pursuing a combination of the cult of nature, and puritanism. Moreover, Barthes argues that the guidebook, in an attempt to enlighten tourists, is actually “an agent of blindness,” sheltering tourists from reality. Rudy Koshar, in a robust rebuttal of the postmodern scepticism towards guidebooks and their debasement of human agency, argues that guidebooks to Germany

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34 Grenier, *Tourism and Identity*, 79.
36 Rudy Koshar, *German Travel Cultures* (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2000), x, 2. This is within Koshar’s discussion of what past theorist believed to be the case with the guidebook and is not his own opinion.
40 Barthes, *Mythologies*, 76.
reinforced the “individuating” functions of tourism, even as contemporary ideologies thought otherwise.  

Koshar and David Gilbert bemoan academics’ unwillingness to address the guidebook as anything more than pure cliché. As a result, Koshar argues that guidebooks are an under-used primary source. Gilbert equates the apprehension and unwillingness of academics to study guidebooks, with the popularity of Barthes’ and Paul Fussell’s chastisements of the texts as products of “vulgar” mass tourism, following the critique of the passive nature of consumer culture. Gilbert argues that the guidebook’s central position in the study of tourism is as a transcultural text that creates an understanding of other cultures and constructs popular geographic knowledge.

John Walton also supports this analysis of guidebook, as he asserts, “each succeeding generation rewrites history in response to the dominant issues and changing agenda of the times; that historical sources are not static, unchanging ‘givens’ but can be pursued and created in negotiation with others.” Additionally, Walton contends that with the rise of postmodernism, these types of fluid sources are constantly open to challenge and reinterpretation by successive generations of users and academics. Annette Therkelsen and Anders Sørensen argue that nearly all studies of guidebooks in recent literature rely on assumptions about the way tourists

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41 Koshar, German Travel Cultures, 6. Koshar notes while not being able to assess the operations of tourists, he believes that guidebooks can be read in a way to highlight the condition where the possibilities of individual actions lay. This approach, while novel, seems as though rife with problems of Koshar’s subjectivity of where these conditions arise and seems to be attempting to answer questions about tourist agency without looking at the tourist.


45 Gilbert, “‘London in all its glory,’” 283.


read texts to create their theories, and that a critical study of how guidebooks are actually read is missing.\(^4^7\) They conclude, upon the results of their findings from recent interviews, that there are at least three typologies of guidebook users, and that the intended use of the guidebook, as prescribed by the publishers, or assumed by theorists, may differ from the reality. Therkelsen and Sørensen supply the field with an initial understanding of these typologies, which are the first step to understanding the effects of guidebooks on tourists’ experiences.\(^4^8\) It is critical to expand this investigation to uncover the typologies for earlier periods of tourism that used guidebooks.

Within the context of Scottish tourism, Gold and Gold are sceptical about the value of the guidebook as a source to trace forms of communication and the promotion of tourism, but do not degrade guidebooks based on their relationship to human agency. They argue that the complexity of identifying the audience of historical communications and their response hinders the establishment of a systematic cycle of communication, production, consumption, and response.\(^4^9\) This study accepts Gold and Gold’s scepticism; however, this does not preclude a thorough analysis of the production of the guidebook. Moreover, the subsequent chapters examine the *intended use* of the source through a systematic textual analysis of Adam and Charles Black’s and John Murray’s guidebooks, which were targeted towards the middle class. In so doing, it provides a foundation for further analytic elaboration of Gold and Gold’s cycle, just as Therkelsen and Sørensen provide ideas about how the texts were read. Furthermore, this study does not attempt to provide definitive answers about the degree of agency afforded to tourists using guidebooks or the ways in which theorists have posited how guidebooks were read.

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\(^{48}\) Therkelsen and Sørensen, “Reading the Tourist Guidebook,” 56-59.

\(^{49}\) Gold and Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, 11.
or consumed. Instead, it focuses on the guidebooks as multi-media texts that were intentionally structured following marketing and publishing strategies.

**Historical Studies of the Guidebook**

James Buzard, in *The Beaten Track*, provides textual analysis tracking the development of Baedeker’s, Cook’s, and Murray’s nineteenth-century European guidebooks. Through the conceptual lens of the tourist and “anti-tourist,” Buzard offers a unique analysis that demonstrates the guidebook writers’ attempts to provide travellers with complete and comprehensive travelling information, with the goal of facilitating independence; however, this function also increased the accessibility of travel and its commodification. Buzard calls this Baedeker’s, Cook’s, and Murray’s “heroic irony.”

David M. Bruce, Koshar, and Nicholas T. Parsons extend Buzard’s analysis, meticulously tracing the development of the Baedeker and Murray firms. Bruce and Koshar provide in-depth analysis of Baedeker and Murray, whereas Parsons supplies an overview history of the guidebook, from ancient times to the early-twenty-first century, including chapters on the founders of the modern guidebook. These studies provide insight into the formation and development of the guidebooks, demonstrating the competition between rival companies. Bruce argues that Baedeker came to dominate the jointly created market and was a “Giant of Tourism Guidebooks,” comparable to Murray’s immense role in general publishing. Koshar approaches the comparison differently, examining the guidebooks as part of the promotion of national identities, as they were signifiers to places pertinent to

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53 Bruce, “Baedeker,” 95, 105. Note: Bruce believes Baedeker’s success was a classic story of being at the right place at the right time.
nation’s origins.\textsuperscript{54} He then expands his arguments in *German Travel Cultures*, examining how popular and alternative guidebooks, as popular cultural artefacts, created or gave rise to important ideas of identity which were open to (re)interpretation by tourist-readers.\textsuperscript{55}

Additionally, Koshar expands his theory of the individuating function of tourism to his “the optics of tourism,” an opposing view to that of John Urry’s tourist gaze.\textsuperscript{56} Koshar’s optics of tourism was originally a theory suggested by Dean MacCannell that is an attempt to circumvent the tendency to reduce everything into a commodity. This approach is in contrasts to John Urry’s Foucualdian “Gaze,” where the “tourist gaze” has been criticised for its implications of an uncritical and passive extension of consumer behaviour perpetuated by mass tourism.\textsuperscript{57}

Ulrike Spring provides a different approach to studying the guidebook as a text in “The Linear City: Touring Vienna in the Nineteenth Century,”\textsuperscript{58} building on Michel de Certeau’s “Walking in the city” in *The Practices of Everyday Life*.\textsuperscript{59} Spring investigates how guidebooks prescribed paths and routes for tourists throughout the cityscape, and exposes the increasingly linear nature of European cities as many were physically restructured along linear designs.\textsuperscript{60} Spring argues that the perception of linearity emerged as the nineteenth century progressed having an impact on the tourist’s sense of space and time. The guidebooks were connected to perceptions of leisure spaces and she states that linearity emerges alongside the tourist reading

\textsuperscript{54} Koshar, “What Ought to Be Seen,” 325.
\textsuperscript{56} Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, ix.
\textsuperscript{57} Koshar, “What Ought to Be Seen,” 25.
\textsuperscript{58} Koshar, “What Ought to Be Seen,” 25.
\textsuperscript{60} Koshar, “What Ought to Be Seen,” 25.
guidebooks, and experiencing the city through their natural senses.\textsuperscript{61} Therefore, the mapping of tours presented an alternative way for tourists to consume the city, as they were guided by spatial representation.\textsuperscript{62} Spring asserts that the urban guidebook also transformed - from a thematically-organized text, to a linear-focused text that connected sites within a city to each other logically.\textsuperscript{63} Spring’s theory of linearity and sophisticated textual analysis contributes to the assessment of guidebooks by historians of tourism. Extrapolated to Scotland, her approach can demonstrate a larger European trend in the formulation of guidebooks, as well as the evolving styles of consumption of space by Victorian-era tourists in Scotland.

**Conclusion**

There is an obvious need to critically examine guidebooks to Scotland. Recent scholarship on Scottish tourism in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries utilises guidebooks as sources, but it fails to critically analyse them. This chapter was framed to answer the question: how have academics analysed, used, and critiqued nineteenth-century guidebooks? Many theorist-scholars frequently attempt to dissect the guidebook’s relationship to tourist agency. This study does not focus on answering questions on tourist agency or the assumed way tourist read guidebooks. Instead examines the composition of the text itself and its relations to the wider tourism and publishing marketplace.

This study will further examine Spring’s theory of guidebook linearity as it posits further research questions about European guidebooks: is guidebook linearity expandable to a nation? And if so, what insights does this provide about the text as well as its creator? Also, it is a goal of this study to address, in part, Gold and Gold’s criticism towards the guidebook as a source of

\textsuperscript{61} Spring, “The Linear City,” 21-22
\textsuperscript{62} Spring, “The Linear City,” 21-22.
\textsuperscript{63} Spring, “The Linear City,” 24.
systematic, traceable historic communication, by investigating the *intend use* of the text, as prescribed by the editor, a discussion frequently overlooked. Moreover, the following chapters address how guidebook editors’ and publishers’ communicative strategies may supply evidence to theories posited by Koshar, by changing the focus from the consumption of the text to the intended use of guidebooks. Furthermore, Grenier’s assertion about how guidebooks acted as signifiers of meaning while perpetuating desirable notions for Scotland is investigated in relations to the guidebook’s intertextuality and incorporation of multi-media material.

This study fills the gap in recent scholarship by investigating the internal structuring and organisation of guidebooks and how as texts they were interwoven with British publishing and tourism industries from 1850 to 1914. Scholars studying nineteenth-century English-language guidebooks primarily focus on the classic Baedeker-Murray comparison and neglect other popular texts. It is one of the main goals of this study to illuminate the intricacies of Black’s guidebooks to Scotland, as they were the longstanding yet forgotten British rival to Murray’s handbooks for Scotland.

This study will investigate the following key questions: first, how were the developments of nineteenth- and-early-twentieth-century Scottish tourism reflected in popular guidebooks? Second, how did the editors or authors of the guidebooks (explicitly and implicitly) intend for their guidebooks to be used by consumers - tourists – in Scotland? Finally, how were guidebooks structured, who were their intended audiences, and did they change over time? To answer these questions, this study compares John Murray’s *Handbook for Travellers in Scotland* with Adam and Charles Black’s *Black’s Picturesque Tourist of Scotland*. These guidebooks are excellent subjects for comparison. First, the popularity of these series among the middle-class, English-speaking audience, stimulated the publication of numerous editions from 1850 to 1914.
Second, both series were created by British printing houses. Finally, these guidebooks were for Scotland, not regional guidebooks or guidebooks to Great Britain. 64

This comparative study of Black’s and Murray’s guidebooks begins with a critical examination of the prefaces to illuminate broad changes within the guidebooks, as well as the intended use of the guidebooks. It then evaluates the different visual representations of Scotland provided by the guidebooks, and explores how the inclusion of maps, charts, and plans were meant to direct tourists and index space. Finally, the study investigates how guidebooks structured excursions within a multi-media and intertextual framework, which was also linked to the developing visual culture in Britain. Guidebooks were essential tools in the arsenal of tourists in Victorian and Edwardian Scotland; they were intended to direct the reader spatially as well as visually. Handbook for Travellers in Scotland and Black’s Picturesque Tourist of Scotland were among the most popular guides to Scotland. Therefore, a critical assessment is required to understand their intimate and important role in framing the tourist experience, and in uncovering the nuances of the Scottish tourism and British publishing industries.

Chapter 1
The Guidebook Preface: Dissecting The Source

Flipping through a newly purchased Black’s or Murray’s guidebook, the nineteenth-century reader witnessed a complex, multi-media text that was organised to serve as a travel aid. The guidebook, as a form of popular print media from 1850 to 1914, today is a rich resource that historians of Scottish tourism frequently use, but have yet to fully understand. Historians have been reluctant to critically analyse the guidebook, as it is often seen as ephemera, having little importance in comparison to literary works, such as novels and poems. Victoria Cooper and Dave Russell argue that during the mid-to-late-nineteenth century, books and magazines were imperative to Britons’ negotiations with, and understanding of, the opportunities of new leisure activities. Furthermore, leisure reading material increasingly became accessible in the 1830s because of technological advancements in industrial printing. The guidebook, or “handbook” as it is also called, provides a window into print culture of this period, which in this case was closely interwoven with the development of tourism in Britain. Guidebooks were among the forms of media used and consumed by tourists, and now, as artefacts and sources, they allow historians to examine how tourists were instructed to travel, as well as characteristics of the publishing market. Publishing guidebooks was a lucrative trade as the popularity of the text increased from the 1850s onward. J.R. Gretton notes that by 1851 Murray had amassed a profit

1 See the Introduction of the paper for a further discussion on historians’ reluctance to analyse the guidebook.
4 Note that the formal guidebooks published by Black’s and Murray’s in the 1830s and 1840s predated the advent of mass tourism. Within chronology of this study however guidebooks began to become enveloped in the wider mass tourism industry in Scotland.
of £10,000 from the sales of the handbook series. By 1873 Murray’s sold approximately 15,000 of its guidebooks annually. By the late-nineteenth century the demand for, and supply of, inexpensive guidebooks began diversify the market and to encroach on the traditional place held by the founders of the formal guidebook of the market.

For those touring Scotland from 1850 to 1914, John Murray’s *Handbook for Travellers in Scotland (HTS)*, and Adam and Charles Black’s *Black’s Picturesque Tourist of Scotland (BPTS)*, were two very popular guidebooks. The following investigation provides a brief corporate history of the publishing firms. It then critically analyses the prefaces of subsequent editions of Black’s and Murray’s guidebooks from 1852 until 1913. It proposes a distinct chronology of development marked by three phases based on editorial, stylistic, and technological changes in the production of the texts: 1852-1868, 1873-1886 and 1892-1913. This periodisation illuminates how popular guidebooks of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries were prepared, how they communicated their intent to their audience, and how they detailed and also reflected the developments of transportation and travel infrastructure.

The preface must be examined because of its significant analytical value. The preface was an integral component to Black’s and Murray’s guidebooks; however, not all publishers considered prefaces important. The guidebooks that did not include them were normally the inexpensive guidebooks in the late-nineteenth century. The preface was the first printed text the reader encountered upon opening the guidebook, apart from the frontispiece, and was a message from the editor. Its placement was important to its function: to frame the entire text. The preface

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6 *HTS*, 3rd ed. (1873), B.
7 Black’s had over triple the number of editions published than Murray’s within the chronology of this study. To overcome this obstacle, I selected editions of Black’s that are close to the same chronological spacing as the Murray’s, to track their development concurrently.
8 Note: The famous Baedeker guidebooks normally contained a preface framing the volume; however, inexpensive guidebooks such as Ward, Lock & Co. and M.J.B. Baddeley rarely did.
Preface and Introduction to Handbook for Travellers in Scotland

**PREFACE**

Notwithstanding the existence of other Guides for Scotland, the constant demand for a Handbook for Travellers in that country, and reiterated assurances that such a work is really needed, have induced the publisher to offer this volume to the public as part of his series.

If it possesses any superiority above its predecessors, it will be found to depend on its being compiled from sound and personal knowledge of the country, on the clearness of its arrangement, and the facilities of reference; and, above all, it is hoped, on its accuracy and completeness. But all perfection cannot be attained in a first edition of a work of this class, crammed so full of names, dates, and facts capable of verification on the spot, those who make use of it are earnestly invited kindly to point out any errors or omissions which may be detected, and to communicate them to the publisher.

An acute and experienced critic has repeatedly suggested the substitution of an alphabetical arrangement for that of an itinerary, which has hitherto been adopted and approved for the Handbook.

The advantages of the itinerary, or arrangement according to routes, are these:—every country is traversable only in certain lines, suited for paths or roads, and travellers follow those by a law as universal as that which carries a drop of water from the bourn to the rivulet, the river, and the sea. As these indicate the directions in which a land must be traversed, so also do they point to the modes in which it may conveniently be described.

**INTRODUCTION.**

I. Physical Geography

II. Conspicuous Heights of the Most Interesting Scotch Mountains

III. Geology

IV. Industrial History

V. Antiquities

VI. Travellers' View

VII. Places of Interest

VIII. Scottish Scenery

Source: HTS, 1st ed. (1867), a2-3.

Guidebooks to Scotland, as with other regions, served as one of the first channels of interaction between the tourist and their destination. Not all tourists used guidebooks in the same way, or for the same reasons, but their general purpose was to inform the reader and to assist them in an enjoyable leisure experience. This study does not explicitly explore the differentiation between the tourist and the traveller; as a result, it uses them synonymously, and

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9 This study acknowledges the fact that not every reader of these guidebooks intended to use these texts as a physical travel aid. This subsection of the audience can be classed as “armchair” or “imaginary” tourists. However, it is not within the scope of this paper to discuss this group in detail, as this study is more concerned with the composition, organisation, and structure of the guidebook rather than the different subsections of its audience.
only differentiates between the two when explicitly referencing Murray’s handbook series. The same applies for the usage of the terms “handbook” and “guidebook.”

**Competing Firms: A Brief Corporate History of the Guidebook**

The famous John Murray publishing house of London was a driving force in the creation of the modern guidebook. Within the timeframe of this study, Murray’s published nine editions of its *HTS*, from 1867 to 1913. Much of the primary source material concerning the history of the publishing house in the nineteenth century comes from an article written by John Murray III in 1889 in the *Murray Magazine*, and a biographical memoir of John Murray III written by his son, John Murray IV in 1919. A troubling result of these personal recollections is the inherent bias of the authors to represent their company positively. James Buzzard, Rudy Koshar and Esther Allen all use these sources when examining Murray’s guidebooks, and John Murray III himself.

John Murray III spent his formative years as a student at the University of Edinburgh and had a strong connection with Scotland; years later, he had a personal role in the composition of the *HTS* series. According to his son, “His [father’s] chief delight was making excursions over Scotland, which he seems to have explored pretty thoroughly… all the time making careful notes of antiquities and places of historical interest but above all of geological and mineralogical

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10 Note: The handbook series was sold to Edward Stanford in 1901; however, Stanford kept the original name of the guidebook.
features.” John Murray III’s *A Hand-book for Travellers on the Continent*, the first in a longstanding series of “Handbook for Travellers,” was a compilation of his own notes after his travels through Europe in 1829. This first guidebook was published by his father, John Murray II, in 1836. The elder Murray immediately saw his son’s project as a profitable venture and supported its publications.

John Murray III had a substantial role in the creation of new handbooks. However, he did not write them all, and enlisted the help of Sir Francis Palgrave, Richard Ford, Sir Gardner Wilkinson, and to write handbooks in Murray’s style for northern Italy, Spain, and Egypt in 1843, 1855, and 1867 respectively. Since the genesis of the idea of a “Handbook for Travellers,” Murray had wanted his handbooks to contain all of the necessary information to meet Englishmen’s needs when abroad, including facts and information about history, architecture, and geology, while simultaneously describing what should be seen. James Buzard argues that the co-authorship of the handbook series provide a level style and tone, as Murray’s “tastes, studies and predilections” became the undercurrent of the texts. After the death of his father in 1843, John Murray III procured the publishing house from his mother. William Zachs, Peter Isaac, Angus Fraser, and William Lister argue that although Murray did not become the

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16 *A Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent: Being a Guide through Holland, Belgium, Prussia, and northern Germany and along the Rhine from Holland to Switzerland* (London: John Murray, 1836).
17 Murray, “The Origin and History,” 628.
immediate heir to the publishing house, he did inherit his father’s strong reputation within the publishing industry, and his conservative approach to business.\textsuperscript{21}

Throughout his career, Murray III was an avid traveller who, by his own personal labour, created a series of guidebooks that remained at the forefront of the field until the introduction of cheap guides, according to John Murray IV.\textsuperscript{22} Murray’s handbook series was marketed to middle- and upper-middle classes of English-speaking travellers.\textsuperscript{23} The editor made this explicit in the “Murray’s Handbook Advertiser” in 1873, quoting The Times saying: “Mr Murray has succeeded in identifying his countrymen all the world over. Into every nook which an Englishman can penetrate he carries his MURRAY or RED HANDBOOK, because it is thoroughly English and reliable.”\textsuperscript{24} Murray III did not relinquish full control of the business until his death in 1892, when the firm was passed to his sons. The eldest son, Sir John Murray IV, received five-eighths of the business, while his brother, Alexander Henry Hallam Murray, received the other three.\textsuperscript{25} “Hallam” Murray, after the death of his father, oversaw the production of the “Handbooks for Travellers” series and held the position until his resignation in 1908.\textsuperscript{26} In 1901, John Murray IV sold most of the series to Edward Stanford of London, including the Handbook for Travellers in Scotland.\textsuperscript{27} Despite the sale of the guidebooks, Stanford witnessed the benefits of institutional continuity by retaining Scott Moncrieff Penney as editor, a position he held from 1898 until the Great War.\textsuperscript{28}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{21} Zachs, Isaac, Fraser and Lister, “Murray Family.”
\item \textsuperscript{22} Murray IV, John Murray III, 8. John Murray IV marks the change in the field of guidebooks were travellers cared little for intellectual information or what could be seen focusing more on where to eat.
\item \textsuperscript{23} \textit{HTS} 3rd ed. (London: John Murray, 1873), B. Cooper and Russell, “Publishing for Leisure,” 492.
\item \textsuperscript{24} \textit{HTS}, 3rd ed. (1873), B.
\item \textsuperscript{25} Zachs, Isaac, Fraser and Lister, “Murray Family.”
\item \textsuperscript{26} Zachs, Isaac, Fraser and Lister, “Murray Family.”
\item \textsuperscript{27} Cooper and Russell, “Publishing for Leisure,” 498.
\end{itemize}
Murray’s, as the original “Redbook,” prescribed and mapped travel routes across Europe. The popularity of the guidebook series was observed in “The Murray’s Handbook Advertiser;” it boasted an annual circulation of 15,000 copies in 1868 and 1873. Although the circulation numbers were supplied by the firm, they provide a rough estimate of the popularity of the handbook during the mid-nineteenth century. Murray’s became embroiled in a fierce competition for market shares late in the nineteenth century, especially with English-translated Baedeker guidebooks. Recent studies have examined the proliferation of the Baedeker guidebooks across Europe; however, they are not studied here because it was not until 1995 that Baedeker created an independent guidebook to Scotland. Previously, it was encompassed within the guidebook to Great Britain. Instead, this study focuses on the neglected Black’s guidebook series, one of Murray’s largest English-language competitors.

The Adam and Charles Black firm was prominent in nineteenth-century publishing. Within the chronology of this study Black’s published twenty-five editions of its principal Scottish series from 1852 to 1907. J.D. Newth’s Adam & Charles Black 1807-1957: Some Chapters in the History of a Publishing House, the major source for the history of Black’s,

29 HTS, 3rd ed. (1873), B. Murray’s “Handbooks” were the original “Redbook.” Many other guidebooks also received that nickname as other firms copied Murray’s choice of bindings including, Baedeker and Ward Lock and Co. John Murray III held much contempt for Baedeker by the end of the nineteenth century as seen in his response to an article in Pall Mall Gazette. Murray had grown ambivalent towards Baedeker because of its attempt to claim that it was the inventor of the guidebook when Murray had already started his series. Baedeker not only used Murray’s content and miss translated it, but copied the red binding material of Murray’s.

29 HTS 3rd ed. (1873), B. Note that this is for the total circulation of all Murray Handbooks.

30 HTS 3rd ed. (1873), B. Note that this is for the total circulation of all Murray Handbooks.

31 Koschar, “What Ought to be Seen,” 331-333.


34 Cooper and Russell, “Publishing for Leisure,” 492.

provides a useful narrative. Although Newth’s work is a non-analytic historical source, it affords critical evidence, given the relatively paucity of records on or related to Adam and Charles Black. Adam Black founded the firm in 1807 in Edinburgh, Scotland. It began as a bookstore, and then it slowly developed into a publishing house. Black’s first years in business garnered him a leading reputation in Britain, especially after the purchase of the copyright to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in 1827. During its formative years, the shop became known as centre for liberal political, academic, and legal thought. Charles Black entered into a partnership with his uncle to run the company in 1834, and greatly contributed to its promotion by adding to its copyright collection. He also controlled the day-to-day functions of the business, while his uncle pursued politics as a Liberal Member of Parliament.

Adam Black continued to expand the firm in the 1850s, and by the time of Charles’ death in 1854, he had brought his three sons into the partnership. Black’s next milestone was its relocation to Soho Square, London in 1891. Significantly, the departure from Edinburgh to London placed Black’s in the capital of the Empire, both in politics and publishing. G.E. Mitton, hired in 1899, became one of the most important contributors to the success of Black’s, and was renowned for her effective editorial skills. She transformed Black’s guidebook series, by restructuring the text, renaming the guidebook, and in doing so largely discarding the pretension to the picturesque.

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35 Newth *Adam & Charles Black*, 1.
38 Newth, *Adam & Charles Black*, 19-21. Adam Black held multiple terms as Provost of Edinburgh and in 1856 he was elected Member of Parliament for Edinburgh, a position which he held for nine years 1856-1865.
41 Newth, *Adam & Charles Black*, 63-64. Mitton was the editor for many titles including *Englishwoman Year Book* and *Writers’ and Artists’ Year Book*. As part of the conditions of her employment she was given time off she travelled to large parts of the world. She resigned in 1920.
Black’s first foray into publishing guidebooks was with the *Black’s Economical Tourist of Scotland*, first printed in 1826. It remained a popular text in Britain up until 1914. They also published multiple other sub-genres of guidebooks to Scotland, including *The Angler and Tourist’s Guide to the Rivers, Lakes and Remarkable Places in the Northern Counties of Scotland, to which is Added Instructions to Young Anglers*, *Guide to the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland, Including Orkney and Zetland*, and *Black’s Guide to the Trosachs*. Black’s numerous guidebook publications signals the firm’s significant involvement in the tourism and guidebook publishing industries for Scotland. These volumes obviously targeted a range of tourists, from those searching for prime fishing locations to those exploring the Trossachs. By contrast, Murray’s only produced one style of guidebook to Scotland, but it contained a wealth of information under a single title.

Black’s most popular guidebook series, *Black’s Picturesque Tourist of Scotland*, reached thirty-three editions before it was restructured in 1907. Cooper and Russell suggest that Black’s had published about 100 different guidebooks by 1900, and they were most popular among the middle and lower-middle classes, selling at an average cost of 2s. 6d. The BPTS was one of the

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42 Newth, Adam & Charles Black, 6.
43 Andrew Young, *The Angler and Tourist’s Guide to the Rivers, Lakes and Remarkable Places in the Northern Counties of Scotland, To which is Added Instructions to Young Anglers* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1857).
46 Note: It will be later demonstrated that the larger audience basis did not just encapsulate tourists who desired different activities and places when abroad but also a wide economical range.
Note: *Black’s Economical Tourist of Scotland* sold for approximately half of the *Black’s Picturesque Tourist of Scotland* at 3s. 6d. during the 1840s.
more costly guidebooks within the firm’s copyright, selling for 8s. 6d. for many years. Its price was comparable to the HTS which sold at 9s. to 10s. 6d. This cost comparison provides evidence to support Nicholas T. Parsons claim that Black’s Picturesque series was the only serious competition to Murray’s English handbooks. The cost of these guidebooks signals their status as luxury items for the affluent classes. Parsons also notes that the cost of a Murray’s was equivalent to an agricultural labourer’s weekly wage in the mid-nineteenth century. T. M. Devine estimates that in Glasgow in the 1890s, twenty-seven percent of the adult male workforce made the minimum wage of £1 a week, clearly putting the purchase these expensive guidebooks out of their economic reach. Although Black’s and Murray’s guidebooks were equivalent in price, and as a result targeted the same socio-economic demographic, Murray’s held a superior cultural significance, and was seen as the pinnacle of English language guidebooks.

The Formative Years, 1852-1868

Adam and Charles Black began publishing BPTS in 1840 and had printed seventeen editions before Murray’s started publishing for Scotland. By this time, Black’s had developed

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HTS, 5th ed., (1884). The sale price is denoted on the spine of the guide.
52 Parsons, Worth the Detour, 189.
54 BPTS, 1st ed. (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1840).
strong reputation for publishing guidebooks.\textsuperscript{55} In 1852, Black’s published the ninth edition of \textit{BPTS} in two volumes. The preface indicated the editor’s attempt to limit superfluous adjectives when describing the landscape: “Eloquence, or ambitious eulogium of the scenery to which the volume is meant to be a guide, has been studiously suppressed. A plain and intelligible account is given of those localities most worthy of the attention of strangers.”\textsuperscript{56} With the extra space, the editor included traditionally popular historical, literary, and illustrative descriptions of locations, rather than creating their own. For example, Black’s quoted “The Lady of the Lake” by Sir Walter Scott, when describing the Trossachs.\textsuperscript{57} Black’s decision to incorporate culturally significant material was to imprint descriptions more permanently on tourists’ conceptual renderings of Scotland.\textsuperscript{58} This tactic accentuated the intertextuality of the guidebook. Murray’s handbooks demonstrated a similar tactic: for example, they quoted Sir Walter Scott’s ballad \textit{Rosabelle} within the description of Rosslyn Chapel.\textsuperscript{59} Guidebooks had to appeal to the romantic tourist imagination to some degree, and they did this by including references to famous people and pieces of literature. Chapter Three of this study further discusses the relationship between the guidebook, and picturesque and romantic tourism.

Black’s did not explicitly stress the necessity of preordained routes or itineraries for those planning to tour Scotland. For example, Black’s ninth edition published in 1852 was the only one within this study to divided Scotland into “picturesque” tours.\textsuperscript{60} Later editions, like the seventeenth edition, published in 1865, did not include routes but instead offered “Skeleton

\textsuperscript{55} Cooper and Russell, “Publishing for Leisure,” 492.
\textsuperscript{56} \textit{BPTS}, 9\textsuperscript{th} ed. (1852), v.
\textsuperscript{57} \textit{BPTS}, 10\textsuperscript{th} ed. (1852), 194. Black’s also quotes Scott when speaking of the Viscount Dundee and his death at the Battle of Killiecrankie in 1689, 385-6
\textsuperscript{58} \textit{BPTS}, 9\textsuperscript{th} ed. (1852), v.
\textsuperscript{59} \textit{HTS}, 1\textsuperscript{st} ed. (1867), 124.
\textit{BPTS}, 9\textsuperscript{th} ed. (1852), 86.
\textsuperscript{60} \textit{BPTS}, 9\textsuperscript{th} ed. (1852), ix.
Tours.”61 The only thing that resembled routes in Black’s were lists in the index describing short sequences of destinations, such as: “Edinburgh to Stirling by Railway” found on page 159, or “Stirling to Dollar, Castle Campbell, and Rumbling Bridge” found on page 182.62 Black’s restructuring of the text, appearing in 1865, did not alter the type of travel information provided. Consequently, it offered the reader the opportunity to create more independent travel plans. In Black’s ninth edition, the editor solicited locations throughout the country that were the most noteworthy. However, the editor did not intend to influence the reader’s contemplation of the scenery.63 This allowed Black’s to provide visual cues for the understanding of space implicitly. Murray’s also provided visual cues, as well as embodied physical guidance through spaces, directing the reader along preordained routes throughout Scotland. It accomplished this by presenting maps and printed text descriptions that were organised along the designated routes, railway station by railway station; instructing the reader how do get from one location to the next.

John Murray began publishing HTS in 1867.64 The firm had already acquired a strong rapport with travellers from its European publications.65 Murray’s began the popular variation of the handbook stating:

NOTWITHSTANDING the existence of other Guides for Scotland, the constant demand for a Handbook for Travellers in that country, and reiterated assurance that such a work is

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61 A further discussion of “Skeleton Tours” occurs in Chapter 2. The Skeleton Tours provided minimal information and seemed like only suggestions.

62 BPTS, 17th ed. (1865), vii-x.

63 BPTS, 9th ed. (1852), v. Black’s also offers indexes road itineraries with distances, as well as railway maps 501-529.

64 HTS, 1st ed. (London: John Murray, 1867).

65 Koshar, “What Ought to be Seen,” 323.

Buzard, The Beaten Track, 66-67. Murray’s used the term English “Travellers” to refer to its intended audience. The usage of this term was a clever marketing strategy to attract an affluent English-speaking clientele who wanted to associate their form of travel with that of centuries past: where the cultural association of the “Traveller” linked them to the historically exclusive, elitist Grand Tour. Similarly, the firm used the novel word “Handbook” to differentiate its series from other guidebooks. Buzard notes the novelty of the usage of the word “Handbook” as it physically fit in a person’s hand in comparison to weighty volumes of previous travel writing such as J.C. Eustaces’ Classical Tours.
really needed, have induced the publisher to offer this volume to the public as part of his series. If it possesses any superiority above its predecessors, it will be found to depend on its being compiled from bona fide personal knowledge of the country, on the clearness of its arrangement, and the facilities of reference; and above all, it is hoped, on its accuracy and completeness.\textsuperscript{66}

Murray’s authoritative tone offered confidence to the audience, expressing the intent to offer the “Traveller” a handbook that was comprehensive, reliable, and superior over others in the genre, constructed on the integrity of the Murray legacy. Next, the editor invited keen travellers to contribute to the superiority of the series by reporting any errors or omissions – a trend that continued throughout subsequent editions. Black’s invited its audience to do the same.\textsuperscript{67}

From the outset, Murray’s explicitly intended to direct the reader along predetermined, desirable, and practical paths throughout the country. Ulrike Spring’s argument about the increasingly linear construction of nineteenth-century urban guidebooks is evident in Murray’s first and second editions. Murray’s preface explained its inclusion of an *Itinerary* over an *alphabetical* arrangement, which illustrated the change towards linearly organised guidebooks.\textsuperscript{68}

It stated that the *Itinerary* was useful because “every country is traversable only in certain lines, suited for paths or roads, and travellers follow these by a law as universal as that which carries a drop of water from the housetop to the rivulet, the river, and the sea.”\textsuperscript{69} Murray’s prescriptive route system was essential throughout all of its editions. The development of the itinerary system, presented below, traces the growth of the routes that were inscribed on to the Scottish land and seascape.

\textsuperscript{66} *HTS*, 1\textsuperscript{st} ed. (1867), v.
\textsuperscript{67} *HTS* (1867, 1868, 1873, 1875 1883, 1894, 1898, 1903)
*BPTS* (1852, 1873, 1889).
*Black’s Guide to Scotland* (1903, 1907).
Note: In the Black’s guidebooks the publishers invites travellers to send any corrections or suggestions; however, this information is not normally part of the preface but on the page before or after the frontispiece.
\textsuperscript{68} The emphasis is the original.
\textsuperscript{69} *HTS*, 1\textsuperscript{st} ed. (1867), v.
*HTS*, 2\textsuperscript{nd} ed. (1868), a2.
### Number of Routes in the Murray Handbook

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*Handbook for Travellers in Scotland*, editions 1-7 (London: John Murray)


Alternative refers here to variations of the same route, for example 5, 5A, 5B, and 5C. This is recorded as one route and three alternatives.

This table clearly demonstrates that Murray’s continually established routes across Scotland. Murray’s handbooks provide evidence for extrapolating Spring’s theory from an urban to a national, and a European scale. Murray’s guidebooks increasingly followed a linear organisation, constructing more routes linking locations together, and did not attempt to structure the text based on an alphabetical listing of sites. Further evidence of this will be discussed in the subsequent chapters. The linear composition of the guidebook was not explicitly apparent in *BPTS* because it did not consistently provide enumerated lists of traversable routes, although its organisation was fairly linear, connecting places within close proximity to one another.

Within the formative years of Black’s, the preface traced the significant infrastructural transformations in Scotland. The extension of the Perth to Inverness railway along the Old Highland Road, constructed between 1863 and 1865, was one of these changes. The extension and popularity of this railway demonstrated how infrastructural improvements could

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71 *BPTS*, 17th ed. (1865), v.
significantly alter regional tourism, as this expansion dramatically increased the magnitude and speed of traffic travelling north into the Highlands from the industrialized central belt. Furthermore, this railway improved the accessibility of rural communities adjacent to the line including Dunkeld, Pitlochry, Blair Athole, and Aviemore.\textsuperscript{72}

From this initial examination, it is clear that Black’s and Murray’s used two distinct approaches to the construction of their guidebooks. Black’s focused on the picturesque scenery of Scotland, providing travel instructions and offering information about what could be seen. Murray’s, by contrast, was a formulaic and prescriptive guidebook, directing the movements, paths, and routes of travel, and dictating what should be seen. It is evident that the preface supplied two types of information to the audience. The editor either instructed the reader explicitly on how to use the guidebook, including the organisational structure, or the editor detailed the content changes or advancements in transportation infrastructure that presented new opportunities for tourists.

**Shifting Markets: 1873-1886**

Market shifts within publishing principally contributed to this next stage of the guidebooks’ development. This section compares six prefaces, three from each series. However, only two editions of the *BPTS* were selected because the twentieth edition’s 1873 and 1875 printings had drastically different prefaces. The difference between these prefaces offers insights into the complex nature of the publishing industry. In 1873, *HTS* partially identified the editor. The preface stated that the editor also revised Murray’s handbooks for “North and South

Germany, France, etc…” Unfortunately, he was not explicitly named, but with this additional information it can be argued that this was the work of John Murray III, as he pioneered the series for the Continent. Cooper and Russell assert that the concealment of authorship of guidebooks in the nineteenth century was done to construct functional, neutral, and objective guidebooks. Murray’s concealment of the editor, however, was not universal. For example, it was known that Sir Francis Palgrave Richard Ford, and Sir John Gardner Wilkinson wrote guidebooks for Murray’s. Furthermore, later editions of *HTS* acknowledge the editor. It is evident that Murray’s did not wholly adhere to this trend.

Murray’s explicit and sincere recognition of the contributors to the guidebook further separate Murray’s from Cooper and Russell’s argument. This trend began with Murray’s fifth edition, and continued throughout subsequent editions. The preface stated, “[t]he Editor begs to take this opportunity of offering his sincere thanks to the many friends who have, by affording information and by revising proof sheets, rendered most valuable assistance in the preparation of the work.” Furthermore, Scott Moncrieff Penney, the editor of the seventh edition, thanked Dr. Christison, Secretary of the Society of Antiquities of Scotland, for revising notices on antiquarian information, while also extending this gratitude to the press for their positive reception of the previous edition. By contrast, Black’s did not frequently offer thanks to its contributors.

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73 *HTS*, 4th ed. (1873), a1.
74 Note: In subsequent editions the preface emphasises the fact that the editor has travelled throughout Scotland and is an authority of travel frequently revising the Handbook on the spot.
75 Cooper and Russell “Publishing for Leisure” 494.
76 *HTS*, 5th ed. (1883).
77 *HTS*, 5th ed. (1883).
78 *HTS*, 7th ed. (1898).
79 *BPTS*, 9th ed. (1852). This was the only preface examined within the sources presented in this study that provided any mention of the contribution of others to the guidebook and does not even thank them but just mentions that natives of some Scottish cities provided descriptions to accurately represent their cities.
The next stage in the development of Murray’s handbook was observed in the difference between the 1873 and 1875 editions, during which the structure of the text noticeably changed. This transformation was most apparent with the fourth edition’s compartmentalisation of its routes into eight sections. This was done to allow the editor to direct the reader to the most interesting places. For example, “Section I” contained “The South of Scotland-Lowlands-Land of Scott and Burns-The Border-Tweedside-Vales of Tweed, Nith, Upper Clyde,” and then provided information about the thirteen routes in the section. This significant restructuring pointed to the fact that the number of routes had reached a threshold, forcing Murray’s to divide the country into sections and provide a quick description of each, for the convenience of readers.

80 HTS, 4th ed. (1875), a1, v-vii.
81 HTS, 4th ed. (1875), v.
Evolution of Tables of Contents

By contrast, Black’s twentieth and twenty-ninth editions offered no information about structural changes to the guidebook. Instead, Black’s detailed specific changes to the content of the text. For example, they explained how the expansion of the railways would have a positive impact on travel: “The new branch line of the railway from Killin Junction to the village of Killin and Loch Tay side will be found of great convenience to Tourists.” In addition, Black’s prefaces supplied minute details to inform tourists about transfers of property ownership of popular destinations, such as Abbotsford, as well as changes to its hours of operation, and

82 BPTS, 20th ed. (1875).
83 BPTS, 26th ed. (1886).
admission fees. The contrast between the Murray’s and Black’s guidebooks above offers insight into what editors wrote when there were no structural changes to the handbook, and underscores what editors deemed to be important information for tourists.

Shifting trends in the guidebook market impacted Black’s 1873 twentieth edition and Murray’s 1883 fifth edition, and signalled the necessity to demarcate the chronology of this chapter. Black’s and Murray’s prefaces reinforced their novelty and niche within the market amidst the emergence of new guidebook-publishing firms, including Ward Lock and Co., and William Patterson. Black’s preface stated:

This work does not attempt to supply the place of a gazetteer, or to furnish the minute details and statistical information which are usually found in such a work. As the title implies, its chief object is to serve as a guide to the picturesque scenery of Scotland… It has been an object throughout to avoid high-flown or exaggerated language, and to combine an adequate fulness of description with the practical brevity of an itinerary.

The tone of this preface forcefully defined the key purpose of the text, asserting its own novelty and justifying its continued usefulness and value for tourists who desired the picturesque scenery of Scotland.

84 BPTS, 20th ed. (1875), vi.
BPTS, 26th ed. (1886).
85 Note: Murray’s had two printings of this edition; however, both prints had the same preface.
HTS, 5th ed. (1883).
HTS, 5th ed. (1884).
87 BPTS, 20th ed. (1873), v.
Similarly, Murray’s began to exhibit new conventions, as there is evidence that the firm struggled with the rapid increase of tourism on the heels of transportation developments. The preface to the fifth edition reinforces Buzzard’s notion of Murray’s “heroic irony.” It begins:

Since the appearance of the last Edition of the Handbook of Scotland, various circumstances have tended to increase the influx of tourist to all parts of the country. Chief among these are the rapid development of Railway and Steamboat facilities; the issues of varied and comprehensive series of Circular Tour Tickets; and the extension and improvement of Hotel accommodations. This increased demand has given rise to a large supply of Guide-books, chiefly treating of different districts independently, but it is believed that the special features of the Handbook for Travellers in Scotland give it a superiority over other books of the same class.

As depicted, tourism to Scotland in the early 1880s dramatically increased. The expansion of transportation infrastructure not only improved access to the northern reaches of Caithness and Sutherland but also to the Hebrides. The guidebook publishing market was also developing, new small, independent, and cheaper guidebooks, such as Baddeley’s *Thorough Guide Series The Highlands of Scotland*, which sold at 6s., William Paterson’s *Handy Guide to Scotland*, priced at 2s. 6d., and Ward, Lock, and Co., *Illustrated Guides*, sell at 1s., were swelling the market, threatening Murray’s traditional place in the market. John Murray IV wrote that his father’s labours had controlled the guidebook market until mass tourism demanded a supply of

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88 The language used within the Murray’s is the important factor to consider in this case, as it referred to itself as a “Handbook” not a “Guide-book” and to its users as “Travellers” not “tourists.” I believe even the capitalisation of the “T” in “Traveller” versus the “t” in “tourist” serves as an indicator that the Murray’s viewed the “Traveller” as the important audience. It was the style of the Murray’s to capitalize important words to make them stand out.

89 HTS, 5th ed. (1883). Ward, Lock and Co. were famous for providing guides which treated districts individually. For example Ward & Lock’s *Illustrated Guide to, and Popular History of The Land of Burns, Including Ayr, Arran, and Dumfries*, (London: Ward, Lock, and Co., NA, circa 1880). Black’s also created guides in this manner, as seen above.


cheap guides, and that is clear here. Murray’s criticism was not directed at the tourists, but rather at the guidebooks they used, because these volumes were seen as inferior products that did not follow the Murray mandate. To add fuel to the fire, Murray’s was losing significant market shares on its Continental publications, with the rise of the popular English-translated Baedeker handbooks. The comparison of Black’s 1873 and Murray’s 1883 demonstrates the shifting guidebook market in the later part of the nineteenth century. Although these editions were separated by a decade, both companies were seeking to accomplish the same goal: to retain their niche within an increasingly divided market.

**Adaptation and Change: 1892-1913**

The final stage of this investigation of the guidebook preface witnessed the greatest transformations in both series and continued developments in the wider market; for example, editors were named, titles were altered, coloured maps were introduced, and new transportation information was given. The death of John Murray III on April 2, 1892, signalled the beginning of this final phase of examination. Scott Moncrieff Penney, M.A. Advocate, the new editor of the Scottish series, ushered in a remodelled handbook which garnered much public acclaim. Much of the elitist tone in the preface was removed; for instance, prior to 1894, Murray’s referred to “Travellers,” but from the sixth edition onward this was largely dismissed and replaced by

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94 The preface to the eighth remodelled edition speaks to the encouraging reception of the handbook with Moncrieff Penney as editor. *HTS*, 8th ed. (1903), v. The sixth edition, published in 1894, seems to have been edited by Moncrieff Penney, judging by the style of the preface. In previous editions, John Murray III was not explicitly identified as the editor but it is probable that he edited the Scottish series. Having died in 1892 the sixth edition could not have been under his control. It was not until the seventh edition, in 1898, that Moncrieff Penney was named.
“tourists” and “travelling public.”\textsuperscript{95} Black’s, finally named their editor in 1903; Geraldine Edith Mitton (G.E. Mitton) and at once she began to restructure the series. During this last period, the Black’s series witnessed two name changes: from \textit{Black’s Picturesque Tourist of Scotland}, to \textit{Black’s Picturesque Guide to Scotland} and then to \textit{Black’s Guide to Scotland}.\textsuperscript{96} The first name change coincided with the firm’s relocation to London in 1891.\textsuperscript{97} The second change corresponded to it being exclusively centered in London, as well as Mitton becoming editor. The last title alteration indicated Black’s shifting focus within the guidebook market, away from the picturesque.

The Black’s twenty-ninth and thirty-first editions, published in 1892 and 1900 respectively, had identical prefaces that made the broad statement about the new editions being thoroughly revised and brought up-to-date, according to new travel infrastructure. Black’s also included new maps of Scotland, stating: “[s]ectional Maps have been inserted at frequent intervals throughout the Guide, and will probably be found sufficient for the majority of Tourists.”\textsuperscript{98} Similarly, Murray’s prefaced cited inclusion of new maps in the sixth and seventh editions, 1894 and 1898, stating: “the book is provided with special large scale-maps… showing the contours of the mountains, coloured in different tints to indicate at a glance their altitude.”\textsuperscript{99} Not only were sectional maps given in the seventh edition, but Murray’s editor also inserted “themed” maps, such as new large-scale maps of the region around Dumfries, also known as the

\textsuperscript{95} \textit{HTS}, 6\textsuperscript{th} ed. (1894), v.
\textsuperscript{96} Moncrieff Penney ed., \textit{HTS}, 8\textsuperscript{th} ed. (London: Edward Stanford, 1903), v. Note that Murray’s used the term tourist within its text in previous editions but within the preface it was the “Traveller” was the term used.
\textsuperscript{97} \textit{Black’s Picturesque Guide to Scotland}, 29\textsuperscript{th} ed. (London and Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1892).
\textit{Black’s Guide to Scotland}, 31\textsuperscript{st} ed. (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1900).
\textsuperscript{98} Newth, \textit{Adam & Charles Black}, 54.
\textsuperscript{99} \textit{HTS}, 6\textsuperscript{th} ed. (1894), v.
“Raiders country.” Black’s and Murray’s inclusion of maps, charts, and plans, and the popular cartographic practices of nineteenth century are further discussed in the following chapter.

Until 1907, the two guidebook series maintained distinct approaches to directing tourist practices. Murray’s consistently adhered to a regimented *itinerary* style of guide, whereby the revision processes frequently re-cast the principal routes or added new ones. For example, the preface to the sixth edition stated:

> [t]he great changes which have taken place in Scotland during the last few years, in the extension of railways, and the greater facilities for travelling, even to the most remote parts of the country, have made it necessary to recast, and in a great measure to re-write this Handbook.\(^\text{101}\)

The addition and revision of routes continued throughout all of the editions, and it was most prevalent in the earlier Murray’s, due to massive railway and steamship route expansions. By contrast, Black’s restated their intention not to explicitly direct travel but to inform their audience, stating:

> … [T]he number and variety of the Routes through Scotland are now so great, and the time and taste of visitors so dissimilar, that it would be too great an interference with the liberty of the Tourist to lay down any hard-and-fast lines of travel. But each district and the means of intercommunication have been described in as natural an arrangement as possible, so that the reader may readily choose what places and journeys will best suit his pleasure and convenience.\(^\text{102}\)

This passage illuminates three main developments in the tourism industry. First, Black’s identified that the expansion of transportation networks facilitated rapid mobility on an unprecedented scale, but also underscored the texts’ limited capacity to guide in a prescriptive manner as it would not be representative of the desires of all readers. Second, Black’s

\(^{100}\) *HTS*, 7\(^{\text{th}}\) ed. (1898). This study examines maps in greater detail in the coming chapter to ascertain the importance of maps within guidebooks.

\(^{101}\) *HTS*, 6\(^{\text{th}}\) ed. (1894), v. Another feature which Murray’s included in this last phase was an index and directory to aid the reader in finding information about hotels, shops, coaches, telegraph etc. The editor admits that this information will be a major focus of subsequent revisions as the information provided is liable to frequent change.


acknowledged that different leisure practices were emerging. Finally, the editor, following the template of previous editions, did not want to explicitly direct the tourist and underscored that the guidebook was a tool to be used to create their own experience.\textsuperscript{103} The editor’s assertion, to allow tourists to select a more independent travel plan, provides evidence for Rudy Koshar’s theory of the guidebook reinforcing the individuating function of tourism; whereby tourists made sense of their experience without the mental or physical cost of involuntary displacement by selecting their own destinations and paths.\textsuperscript{104} Murray’s guidebook, however, did not provide similar evidence to Koshar’s theory. Black’s and Murray’s distinctive strategies were employed to target different audiences and to demonstrate their novelty within the diversifying market.

G.E. Mitton transformed Black’s guidebook in name and in structure, beginning with the thirty-third edition in 1903, last numbered edition of the series. Mitton disposed of the traditional preface and instead began with “General Advice.” This transformation created a more efficient text, hybridizing the preface with the introduction.\textsuperscript{105} The transformation of the guidebook was immediate:

\begin{quote}
The time is past for prefaces giving dry geographical and mineralogical facts at length. … that is the sort of information to be found in a geography book rather than a guide, and it is not what the tourist wishing to enjoy a holiday in Scotland desires. He wants to know Firstly, how to get to the country; Secondly, what it will cost him; Thirdly, what he can best see in the time at his disposal…The difficulty that many persons experience on going to Scotland for the first time is to know where to go; they want to see some of the places rich in historical association, some of the world-famous scenery, and yet they have so vague an idea of the country that they do not know where to begin.\textsuperscript{106}
\end{quote}

Mitton’s transformation of Black’s crystalized in 1907. The series ceased to attach itself to previous editions and for the first time, it was divided into four sections address tourism in

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{103} \textit{BPTS}, 9\textsuperscript{th} ed. (1852), v.
\item \textsuperscript{104} Rudy Koshar, \textit{German Travel Cultures} (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2000), x, 6.
\item \textsuperscript{105} This provides a clear example that the editor of the Black’s guidebook unmistakably contributed to the overall change in the creation and structure of the guide, very much in the same way that John Murray III controlled the format of the guides to Scotland.
\end{itemize}
regionally Scotland. In addition, Mitton restructured the text and changed how it was to be read. She explained:

A town is taken as a centre and from it routes are worked out in every direction. If in the course of one of these routes another town is encountered, it is treated as a subsidiary centre and routes starred from it. These are put in small type and inset, so that the main route can be picked up at once if desired, and meantime every place becomes a centre on its own account; so no matter where one may be staying, one is never at a loss to find all radiating roads.

Mitton thus had created a new style of guidebook. She was clearly focused on the practical information that tourists of the twentieth century required, with specific “sites” as the nexus of routes. This reflected the urbanisation of Scotland, and possibly a new style of travel focused on the Scottish urban landscape.

The prefaces provided extensive information detailing the expansion of transportation infrastructure, especially in the Highlands and Islands, as a major factor that contributed to the frequent revisions of the guidebooks. Repeated extensions of the Scottish rail network had an immense impact on tourism in Scotland. Alastair Durie and Grenier both note that the relationship between infrastructural development and tourism from 1850 to 1914 was mutual: the tourist demand for railway lines contributed to its physical expansion, and the railway companies’ expansion and increased involvement in the tourism industry attracted more tourists. The same can be said for steamship companies. New forms of transportation became popular

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107 Black’s Guide to Scotland (1907). The four part of Scotland described are: East Central, North, West and South-West and South-East.
109 Alastair J. Durie, Scotland for the Holidays Tourism in Scotland 1780-1939 (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2003), 150. See Chapter 7 Transportation and Tourist 1850-1914 for an extensive discussion on this topic.
110 Durie, Scotland for the Holidays, 154. Grenier, Tourism and Identity, 64-65. As mentioned above railway companies were in increasing competition for market shares in the tourist business.
as the century progressed, such as cycling in the 1870s and then the arrival of the motor car in the 1890s.\footnote{111}{Durie, \textit{Scotland for the Holidays}, 150.}

The popularisation of the automobile was evident in Mitton’s 1907 \textit{Black’s Guide to Scotland}, in which she stated that the intended audience of the guidebook was two classes of visitors: “sportsmen and tourist in the correct sense, under which heading may be classed motorists, cyclists and pedestrians.”\footnote{112}{Mitton ed., \textit{Black’s Guide to Scotland} (1907), xxiii.} Furthermore, she noted that the contours of the road and their surfaces were indicated for motorists, as well as for long-distance pedestrian routes.\footnote{113}{Black’s Guide to Scotland (1907), xxiii.} From this “General Advice,” not much can be ascertained about the impact automobiles had on the guidebook. Moncrieff Penney addressed the subject to a greater degree six years later, demonstrating the increasing popularity of the car:

\begin{quote}
The revolution of the last few years has been the substitution in large measure of the motor car for the railway carriage, but as the principal roads run in the main alongside the principal railway lines, passing through the same towns and villages, and as the most interesting driving roads away from the railway and those round about the leading centres are all described in detail, the Handbook should still prove equally useful and interesting to travellers whether they travel by road or rail.\footnote{114}{HTS, 9\textsuperscript{th} ed. (London: Edward Stanford, 1913) v.}
\end{quote}

This brief statement provides evidence that the handbook was adjusting to the developments of transportation technology. Although a new mode of travel had to be taken into account, it is clear that Moncrieff Penney did not believe it was a danger to the handbook. This was in stark
contrast to the opinion of the editor of Murray’s fifth edition, who believed that railway and steamship expansion disrupted traditional travel in the 1880s, creating new tourist practices and inferior guidebooks. Although the effects of the motor car are not evident in Murray’s or Black’s, their use meant that tourists required new information when travelling, including: where to find petroleum, mechanics, tire shops, and importantly, the conditions of the roads. Consequently, new types of guidebooks were introduced.\textsuperscript{115} This is not to say that tourist practices had a massive overhaul, but tourists’ mobility was transformed and therefore, the traditional guidebooks to Scotland had to adapt to survive.

**Conclusion**

Guidebook prefaces offer critical insights into the structure and intent of the texts. This chapter has charted the longitudinal changes in *BPTS* and *HTS*, focusing on how they were prepared, how their editors communicated the intended use of the texts, how these guidebooks interacted with and responded to the developing market, and how they negotiated with the transforming leisure practices from 1850 to 1914. A root cause of the continued revision and remodelling of guidebooks was the need to remain current with the developments of travel infrastructure, which altered both the ways that tourists travelled and the places to which they ventured. As well, fluctuations in the tourist market forced publishers to adapt their marketing strategies to attract new readers. Additionally, developments in the guidebook publishing market, such as the emergence of inexpensive regional guides, significantly impacted how Black’s and Murray’s positioned themselves. Despite their individual difficulties, Black’s and Murray’s adapted to meet the ever-evolving requirements of new tourist practices, new demands

for tourist resources, and the overarching developments in the tourism industry from 1850 to 1914.

It is important to address how editors indicated that their guidebooks were to be used based on their communicative strategies. Generally, Black’s guidebooks described Scotland in regions, connecting places together logically, but without prescribing routes. This allowed readers to select their own routes that coincided with their desires. By contrast, Murray’s handbooks absolutely adhered to an itinerary style that structured Scotland into several geographic sections, and then into a series of routes, which steadily increased in number until the late nineteenth century. This style of guidebook sought to explicitly instruct tourists on the best ways to traverse Scotland, and to direct them to “what ought to be seen.”

What information do these structures offer historians about the people that guidebooks were targeting as their audiences? It is clear that Black’s guidebooks best served tourists who desired a less structured and regimented experience, at least for the majority of the series’ history, whereas Murray’s attempted to attract people who wished to see themselves as “travellers.” Murray’s also attracted those who desired a more formulaic and linear travel experience. Although each guidebook had its own target audience, it is impossible to know whether they always reached their intended readership. Furthermore, historians have little way of knowing if tourists at the time used guidebooks as they were intended to be used. Nonetheless, the study of the guidebook preface is critical to understanding the nature of the individual guidebooks, the publishing market, and significantly, guidebook culture – all of which contributed to, and interacted with, the development of the Scottish tourism industry from the mid-nineteenth century to the First World War.

Chapter 2
Maps and Guidebooks: Geographic Representations of Scotland

From 1850 to the onset of the First World War, tourists travelling through Scotland interacted with, and participated in, a dynamic tourism industry. A large number of these men and women brought with them popular guidebooks to assist them in navigating and planning a pleasurable vacation during the summer months. The previous chapter examined the guidebook preface to understand how the editor attempted to prepare tourists for their journeys, how they instructed the audience to use the text, and in doing so, the investigation illuminated the nuances of the guidebook’s position within the larger guidebook market. By examining the preface, the editor’s negotiations with the guidebook industry became apparent as they continually reasserted their novelty and utility, as the genre continually developed from 1850 to 1914. The index map of Scotland was the first image presented to the reader when they opened their guidebook, just as the preface (apart from the frontispiece) was the first printed text the reader encountered in *Handbook for Travellers in Scotland* and *Black’s Picturesque Tourist of Scotland*. It was with this first cartographic text that the audience began to conceptualize Scotland geographically.

Maps, charts, and plans became essential tools for tourists travelling in Scotland, and by strategically placing them alongside printed text, publishers created functional multi-media guidebooks. The purpose of this chapter is to continue the examination of how the guidebook was interwoven in the publishing and complex tourism marketplace in Victorian and Edwardian Britain. It is demonstrated throughout this chapter that the quantity and quality of maps included in guidebooks was connected to the growth popular geographic knowledge, was reflective of the developments in printing and cartographic practices, and was representative of the position of the...
guidebook within the market. Together these factors contributed to, and were associated with, how guidebook-publisher’s intended to facilitate travel in Scotland. Furthermore, maps, in conjunction with the meticulously detailed printed text, enabled tourists to travel with confidence in the authority of their guidebook and their own knowledge, navigating and experiencing the landscape.

**Nineteenth-Century Mapmaking**

Maps and cartography were part of the changing culture in nineteenth-century Victorian Britain. Geography, as a science, was institutionalised in 1830 with the founding of the Royal Geographical Society (RGS) in London, and it played an important role in scientific discoveries, surveying, and cartography all across the British Empire.¹ By the 1870s, the RGS had over 3,000 members and functioned worldwide. One of the RGS’s chief mandates in Britain was the promotion of geography in schools and universities, as part of a wider imperial program.² Instructing geography in schools came under the Education Act of 1870 and 1872, for England and Wales, and Scotland respectively. The educational reforms increased the demand for maps, atlas, and globes and propelled the practice mapmaking from an artisan craft in the 1830s, to an industrial economy by the 1870s.³ Moreover, nineteenth-century geographers commonly attempted to educate the public through exhibitions of their work; as a result, the field was

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³ Diana Webster, “Maps,” in Bill Bell ed., *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland: Volume 3 Ambition and Industry 1800-80* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 321. This periodisation was denoted because significant general interest in geography the years leading up to the Education Act of 1870 and 1872 would have been necessary for the subject to become implemented within the school system. This obviously would have had the support of the RGS.
directly in the public gaze. This all occurred within the context of rapidly-developing industrial printing technology, producing more print material than ever before.

The concurrent development of industrial printing and cartography allowed for a steady growth in the number of guidebooks containing a large variety of maps in the mid-to-late-nineteenth century. John Scally argues that illustrations, from satirical comics to maps, and woodcut engravings increasingly became accessible to the general public, as the cost of their production decreased. This happened during what Scally calls the “steam-printing revolution” of the 1830s. The production and inclusion of maps was essential to both Black’s and Murray’s. The early editions of both series provided limited numbers of maps for tourists; however, as the century progressed, Scotland was comprehensively mapped within the pages of both of these guidebooks, as maps became popular constructs of geographic knowledge that were supported by educational reforms.

The firms of John Bartholomew and W. & A. K. Johnston were prominent in the field of map production, and were both established in 1826 in Edinburgh, Scotland. J. Bartholomew had a close relationship with the Adam and Charles Black publishing house, sharing a commercial premise in 1859, at 4 North Bridge, Edinburgh. J. Bartholomew and W. & A. K. Johnston prepared maps for both Black’s and Murray’s guidebooks series. Johnston was the primary map publisher in Scotland for nearly fifty years before the company was overtaken by J. Bartholomew, as a result of Bartholomew’s technological advancements of contour layer

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5 Webster, “Maps,” 313-321.
7 Note: The John Bartholomew firm is referred to as J. Bartholomew on the maps they produced within Black’s guidebooks and will be referenced as such.
Christopher Fleet and Charles Withers discuss how J. Bartholomew was heavily involved in the wider geographic community, and John “George” Bartholomew, the third generation of the family, was a contributing and founding member of the Royal Scottish Geographic Society in 1884. This illustrates the connections between mapmakers and the broader cultural trends of Victorian Britain.

Edward Stanford, an English counterpart to the successful Scottish firms, was another successful mapmaker. Stanford’s Geographical Establishment was founded in 1857 and became a leader in the publishing industry, expanding into the bookselling business by the 1860s. While engaged in the publishing and bookselling trades, Stanford became involved in the production of maps for Murray’s Scottish handbook series and eventually purchased its publication rights in the early twentieth century.

These three prominent maps publishers continually updated their printing technology to remain competitive. Early engravers were able to produce accurate representations of buildings and create maps; however, the cost of revising such pieces deterred many producers from updating their illustrations. Urbanisation and infrastructural developments altered the landscape, and consequently many of these images became irrelevant and obsolete. Mapmakers frequently left products undated in the early-to-mid-nineteenth century to mask their obsolete materials. This extended the publishing lifespans of maps, decreased the immediate necessity to revise old

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9 Webster, “Maps,” 318-319. Both firms were primarily focused on publishing atlases for a public audience.

10 Fleet and Withers, “Maps and Map History,” 93.


Note: Edward Stanford Junior inherited his father’s business and became Geographer to the Queen in 1893.


produces, and was a cunning cost-cutting measure.\textsuperscript{14} This trend slowly abated as technological advances drove the industry forward reducing the cost of revisions.

Diana Webster argues that lithography, especially after the 1850s, was among the chief technical advancements that increased production and decreased the cost of maps in the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{15} Lithographic technology encouraged map publishers to more frequently revise their products. Litho stones, used in the process of lithography, were far more durable than the traditional copperplates used in map printing: whereas copperplates usually wore out after a few hundred prints, litho stones could print thousands of copies. As well, the litho stones were easily altered, in comparison to the expensive re-cutting of copperplates.\textsuperscript{16} The introduction of new map-making technologies, the expansion of transportation infrastructure, and increased tourist demand in Britain were all significant factors in the development of map and guidebook publishing. According to Iain Stevenson, no other place witnessed such a dramatic increase in map production as Edinburgh, the centre of map production and compilation in the late nineteenth and twentieth century.\textsuperscript{17}

The development of colour lithography dramatically improved the quality and clarity of maps, but it also increased the cost of the production, as well as the complexity of the skills required to read them competently. John Bartholomew, Junior, son of the founder of J. Bartholomew, advanced map design and production with the usage of colour lithography, “contour layer colouring.”\textsuperscript{18} Bartholomew introduced the idea of shading colours to represent

\textsuperscript{14} Webb, “For Inns a Hint, 207.
\textsuperscript{15} Webster, “Maps,” 317.
\textsuperscript{16} Webster, “Maps,” 318.
elevation of the land, starting with light green for the lowest elevation, then shading through brown to purple to white for the highest elevations (with his steam-driven lithographic press, which could print up to six different colours).\textsuperscript{19} This was an alternative to traditional “hachuring,” where elevations were denoted by slanted lines protruding off the sides of ridges or hills. Bartholomew’s innovation was then applied to Ordnance Survey maps from 1890 to 1895.\textsuperscript{20} This new style of map offered excursionists, hikers, and mountaineers a more detailed, albeit more complex, navigational tool for travelling through Scotland. Moreover, these new representations coincided with the developing geographic knowledge in Victorian Britain, where travellers frequently encountered illustrations and maps. James R. Ryan argues that this was compounded by the introduction of photography. These representations of Scotland, in illustrations, maps, and photographs, influenced the construction of geographic knowledge that was continually changing with different technological advancements.\textsuperscript{21} The following images demonstrate the evolution of lithographic technology.

\textsuperscript{20} Webster, “Maps,” 319-320.
Stanford’s Hachuring of the Basin of the Dee, in Murray’s Handbook


Bartholomew’s Colour Contour Map of the Aviemore District in Black’s Guide to Scotland (Part 1 and 2, in colour)

The introduction of colour contouring dramatically increased the legibility of maps, as well as the aesthetic qualities. As a result, J. Bartholomew earned a leading reputation in map publishing, and his creations were included in Black’s *BPTS* throughout its publication history and in Murray’s *HTS* from the sixth edition onwards. Prior to Murray’s sixth edition in 1894, Stanford’s Geographical Establishment held the sole contract for creating the maps for *HTS*. Bartholomew continued to produce maps for Murray’s guidebooks even after Edward Stanford purchased the copyright for the Scottish series in 1901. This provides insight into the complexity of guidebook production as firms interacted with each other based on the quality and utility of their products.

To add to a growing interest in, and familiarisation with, maps as orienting instruments in late-nineteenth-century tourism, Black’s and Murray’s employed several firms to prepare maps for their guidebooks, based on the strengths of the individual firms. Bartholomew’s contour layer colouring was a significant innovation, but not every mapmaker incorporated it; some continued to use traditional methods. This can be explained by the relatively high cost of colour printing in comparison to the customary two-tone hachuring methods. For example, Black’s thirty-third edition, published in 1903, used maps prepared by W. & A. K. Johnston (for city plans and low elevation hachured topography maps like the environs of Glasgow and the district map of Loch Lomond) and J. Bartholomew (for contour layer coloured maps such as the “Aviemore District” seen above).

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24 *HTS*, 8th ed. (1903).
26 *Black’s Guide to Scotland*, 33rd ed. (1903), 331, 379. Note: Black’s provided a list of maps and plans where asterisks marked maps that are large-scale and colour.
Travel in the mountainous Highlands required more detailed maps, especially with the increased traffic of climbers and hikers in the mid-nineteenth century. For example, Black’s describes the Aviemore district as “a capital place as a centre, for the walks, excursions, and drives are practically inexhaustible. It is also much patronised… on account of the air and quietness.” Therefore, it was necessary to provide a thorough topographical map to correspond with popular tourist activities. The publishers’ strategy of employing multiple firms to produce maps for guidebooks demonstrates the complexity of the composition of texts and provides insights into guidebooks’ involvement with the wider publishing market. As well, maps were becoming common constructs of geographic knowledge and increasingly part of the everyday life.

**Maps and the Structure of Guidebooks**

Travel writing had existed for hundreds of years prior to the nineteenth century, yet few works included travelling maps for their readers. Julia S. Carlson argues that it was not until the late eighteenth century that statistical and accurate maps were reduced to a size convenient for tourists; prior to the emergence of popular guidebooks, regional maps were sold separately from travel literature. Black’s and Murray’s handbooks inclusion of maps within their volumes made Scotland accessible to tourists through geographic representations. In fact, the addition of maps became intertwined with fundamental marketing strategies, as publishers frequently

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29 Julia S. Carlson, “Topographical Measures: Wordsworth’s and Crosthwaite’s Lines on the Lake District,” *Romanticism* 16, no. 1 (2010):73. Through Carlson’s examination of guidebooks to the Lake District in the mid-eighteenth century, it seems as though guidebooks did not offer maps to their audience until they were able to reduce them to a convenient size to fit alongside the text as a pocket map. This was seen with Thomas Hodgkinson’s reduced map of Thomas Donald’s map of Cumberland.
promoted the number of maps included in the guidebook on the frontispieces, as well as in their prefaces. This corresponded with the popularity and familiarity of Victorian geography, and a popular fascination with cartography and mapmaking in the British Empire. Not all guidebooks to Scotland incorporated maps of the same style or degree. For example, Black’s, Murray’s, and M.J.B. Baddeley, selling at 8s. 6d, 9s., and 5s., respectively, contained contour layer coloured maps by prepared by J. Bartholomew. However, inexpensive texts like Ward, Lock & Co.’s shilling guidebooks provided few maps and they were in black and white. The editor and publisher’s decision of what type, and how many maps to include within their guidebook, may be explained by the cost of production to profit ratio. Obviously, Ward, Lock & Co. could not have economically published guidebooks with many maps due to the cost of production in comparison to their one shilling price tag.

Tourists using a Black’s or Murray’s could function with only the maps provided in the guidebook, as Black’s states in 1892: “[s]ectional Maps have been inserted at frequent intervals throughout the Guide, and will probably be found sufficient for the majority of Tourists;” however, intrepid travellers could purchase additional maps. Guidebooks promoted supplementary maps for the convenience of the tourist in the body of the text. These additional maps could be purchased along with railway timetables at bookstores and railway stations kiosks.

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30 Note: Each edition of Murray’s HTS promotes the inclusion of travelling maps and plans on the frontispieces of the guides.
such as John Menzies and W.H. Smith. For example, the Ordnance Survey Maps of Scotland, *Black’s Large Map of Scotland* published from 1862 to 1880, and J. Bartholomew’s *Tourist’s Map of Scotland*, were all sold independently of the handbooks. Robert Lambert also notes that mountaineering clubs, such as the Cairngorm Club, produced tourist maps at a scale of one inch to a mile. Furthermore, competing publishing firms promoted the utility of each other’s maps. This was illustrated in Murray’s introduction in the third and fourth editions:

> A good field-glass adds much enjoyment to the excursion, and is often of more practical value in detecting a distant path, and thus saving the pedestrian much loss of time. A compass is indispensable for the pedestrian. Black’s large *Map of Scotland*, in 12 sheets (each sheet sold separately for 2s. 6d.), will be found of the greatest use to travellers, especially pedestrians. It is very clear and very accurate. The *Ordnance Map* is admirable, but unfortunately is completed only for part of Scotland.

The purchase both a guidebook (Black’s or Murray’s, at a cost of 8s., 6d. to 9s.) and the complete Black’s *Maps of Scotland* (at a cost of £1, 10s.), would have been a substantial investment of £2, a significant price before paying for accommodations and transportation. Thus, the cost associated with these texts and maps clearly demonstrates the socio-economic status of the target audience, the affluent portion of travellers. The investment in such detailed maps can be associated with a style of active travel, where the tourist demanded more topographical data than the handbook provided, such as orientation, trails and elevations for hiking and mountaineering excursions.

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38 Lambert, *Contested Mountains*, 38.

39 *HTS*, 3rd ed. (1873), 15.

*HTS*, 4th ed. (1875), 16.
Maps provided in guidebooks, as well as those sold independently, reduced the risk of tourists becoming disoriented in the Scottish landscape as well as the urban cityscape. Black’s and Murray’s structured their texts so that maps, charts, and plans were frequently inserted to provide tourists with an element of security when venturing to different locations. From Murray’s first edition in 1867 to the fifth edition, published in 1883, there was an increase from twelve to eighteen maps per guidebook.40 The eighth and ninth editions were the first within the series to announce proudly, on the frontispiece, that the guidebook contained “57 Travelling Maps and Plans.”41 By contrast, Black’s series witnessed a doubling of maps, charts, and plans within the chronology of the study but did not promote this fact. The ninth edition supplied thirty-one map illustrations and plans, then fifty in the twentieth edition and sixty by the thirty-third.42

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<td>Inclusion of Maps in Murray's Guidebook</td>
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(Note: the 1907 edition of Black’s Guide to Scotland stated that it included 50 plus maps and plans)

40 HTS, 1st ed. (1867).
41 HTS, 5th ed. (1883).
42 BPTS, 9th ed. (1852).
BPTS, 20th ed. (1875).
Black’s and Murray’s were further differentiated by the types and placement of images they offered. Murray’s style was to introduce a new location with a printed text description prior to presenting a regional map.\(^43\) Black’s, however, offered a district cartographically and then discussed the region within the print text. Furthermore, Black’s frequently inserted illustrations throughout the description to allow the reader to become spatially oriented with the map, as well as visually oriented with illustrative representation.\(^44\) Chapter Three further discusses the differing approaches of Black’s and Murray’s presentation of visual representations of Scotland.

The increasing trend observed in the above table was not exclusive to Scotland; the progression was also observed in other European guidebooks. Richard Ford’s \textit{Handbook for Travellers in Spain}, published by John Murray in 1855, included no maps; however, the eighth edition released nearly forty years later in 1892, included forty-two maps and plans.\(^45\) Baedeker’s guidebooks also witnessed this trend. David M. Bruce argues that maps were among the principal supporting components to Baedeker’s itinerary system. The firm opted for limited colour maps; however, they included them liberally. Bruce also notes that due to the cost of revision and updating, Baedeker rarely translated its maps for its non-German guidebooks.\(^46\) Baedeker’s English translated \textit{Southern France including Corsica}, published in 1902, contained thirty maps and thirty-six plans, and by the sixth edition in 1914, the number had risen to forty-two maps and sixty-three plans.\(^47\) This trend was also apparent in Baedeker’s \textit{The Rhine from

\(^43\) \textit{HTS}, 5\textsuperscript{th} ed. (1884), for an example see the Section III- Western Scotland on page 204. It provides a discussion of this area and does not offer a map until 208 (Firth of the Clyde-Arran, L. Fyne & L. Long, and then on page 244 it offers a map of Oban to Glencoe, Mull, Iona, Staffa, L. Awe, & c.

\(^44\) \textit{BPTS}, 20\textsuperscript{th} ed. (1873), see the environs of Edinburgh, 77.


\(^47\) David M. Bruce, “‘Baedeker: the Perceived ‘Inventor’ of the Formal Guidebook-a Bible for Travellers in the 19\textsuperscript{th} Century,” in Richard Butler and Roslyn A. Russell eds., \textit{Giants of Tourism} (Wallingford: CABI, 2010), 97, 99.

Rotterdam to Constance. The fifth edition published in 1873 had only fifteen maps and sixteen plans, whereas the fifteenth edition, published in 1903, had forty-five maps and twenty-six plans, a sizable increase. These examples provide evidence of a European wide trend in concurrent development of the guidebook publishing and mapmaking industries.

Types of Guidebook Maps

Guidebook maps, charts, and plans were important tools for tourists in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These geographic representations indexed space in multiple ways and offered a host of information, such as the topography of the landscape; transportation infrastructure including railway lines, steamship routes, roads, and paths; and political and geographic boundaries. The incorporation of extensive numbers of maps in guidebooks allowed readers to at once conceptualize Scotland visually and geographically, alongside descriptive printed text. Therefore, maps and other illustrations form broader texts which were to be read, interpreted, and navigated by the tourist.

Black’s and Murray’s offered a variety of maps within their guidebooks. This discussion divides them based on their intended utility, as well as their scale from smallest to largest. Index maps were possibly the first maps that tourists encountered when using a guidebook and these had a relatively small scale. They were placed at the front and rear inside-covers, attached to the binding board, and they split Scotland along a North-South parallel. These impressive maps experience continual revisions due to the expansion of transportation infrastructure and the internal restructuring of the guidebook text. For example, the Murray’s fifth edition index map’s

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legend highlighted railways, carriage roads, foot paths, and steam boat tracks. It also displayed route numbers that corresponded to the organisational structure of the guidebook. Black’s index map from the thirty-third edition, however, offered limited transportation information, a development from the early editions which supplied none.

**Index Maps: Handbook for Travellers in Scotland and Black’s Guide to Scotland**


Murray’s index map provides evidence of the firm’s prescriptive communicative strategy, as it directed tourists through a succession of routes in the form of itineraries across the countryside. When referring to the mapping of Scotland, Murray’s actually drew lines across the landscape for travellers to traverse, “by a law as universal as that which carries a drop of water from the housetop to the rivulet, the river, and the sea,” as stated in the preface of the first and
second editions. As infrastructural networks developed, so did number of possible routes, and the number of lines drawn on the index maps. Black’s index maps differed from Murray’s. First, Black’s did not to differentiate transportation networks; second, their enumeration strategy did not denote route numbers. Instead, it offered the page number where information could be found about a particular place. This distinction further illuminates divergent cartographic styles. Black’s index map was a tool to find a desired location within the text, while Murray’s provided a visual representation of a route system in Scotland.

In the first five editions of Murray’s guidebooks this differentiation was most apparent. The sixth edition, published in 1894, however, altered the traditional enumeration structure by adding red numbers - alongside the route numbers. Murray’s alteration of its enumeration system was a direct incorporation of Black’s index map structure: where each new red number denoted where information could be found about a specific place and the black numbers served their original purpose. Murray’s incorporation of Black’s enumeration strategies reveals two possible insights. First, the development of colour printing enabled Murray’s to create more comprehensive and complex index maps. Second, Murray’s was willing to adapt its communicative strategies to increase the accessibility of the text to the reader, in principle combining two previously separate indices to form a new efficient index map. Moreover, this demonstrated the advancement of geographic and cartographic knowledge among the readership, as Murray’s increased the complexity of the maps.

The adaptation of Murray’s strategies offers an understanding of the development of the guidebook, driven by the ever-evolving tourist market. Tourists wanted affordable and accessible

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49 HTS, 1st ed. (1867), v-vi.
HTS, 2nd ed. (1868), a2.
50 HTS, 5th ed. (1884), index map.
51 BPTS, 20th ed. (1873), index map.
52 HTS, 6th ed. (1894), index map.
handbooks that could, in a moment, direct them to the information they required - whether it was the route number to take from Fort William to Inverness, or the page number where they could find a description of Wick. This argument follows the trend of tourists’ compression of time in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, as well as the democratisation of cartographic knowledge that made navigating a map potentially more efficient than cumbersome text-based indices.

This compression of time and the need for efficiency is further demonstrated in the alteration of “Skeleton Tours” in the Murray’s handbook. Murray’s supplied “Skeleton Tours” from the first to the fifth editions, which lasted from three weeks up to three months and could be “transposed or extended at pleasure.” Murray’s then reduced the length of these tours in the eighth and ninth editions, from six days to one month. The compression of time spent travelling corresponded to the development of transportation infrastructure which increased the speed of travel, with the extension of railway networks and steamship lines across Britain, as well as a change in the form of mobility, the automobile.

Black’s and Murray’s also frequently added “pocket maps” to their guidebooks. The pocket map fitted within a sleeve at the front or back cover, against the binding board, and was easily removed and unfolded, providing an accessible and convenient reference tool for travellers. Carlson describes the pocket map as a tool for “active use,” for tourists on the move. The pocket map, in contrast to the index map, had a larger scale, more details, and tourists could

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53 HTS, 1st ed. (1867), lii-lix
HTS, 2nd ed. (1868), li-lx,
HTS, 3rd ed. (1873), [41-50]. Note: the brackets around the page ranges are how the pages were denoted in the text of the introduction of the guidebook.
HTS, 4th ed. (1875), [38-47].
HTS, 5th ed. (1883), [40-47].
54 HTS, 6th ed. (1903), lii-liv.
HTS, 9th ed. (1913), lii-lvi.
depart from the guidebook and inspect it independently. The utility of the pocket map, as a detachable text, creates obstacles for historians and geographers wishing to study how they were used. These maps, as with guidebooks, were seen as ephemera. Moreover, they were to be used by the tourist separate from the guidebook, and were removable, and so frequently they did not survive. The ones that do survive offer vital insights.

The foldout map was the third type of map included in Black’s and Murray’s guidebooks. It was very versatile and came in a variety of scales, from regional small-scale maps to large-scale town plans. When folded, it was the size of a standard page and, as its name suggests, when the map was “folded out,” it expanded to two or three times its compressed form. For example, the “Plan of Dundee” given in Murray’s fifth edition expanded to triple its compressed length. This style was very popular in both Black’s and Murray’s, and functioned optimally when kept fairly small, with only a few folds, unfolding upwards, out to the side, or a combination of the two. Foldout maps could become cumbersome on occasion such as the regional map in Tourist Guide to the Athole and Breadalbane Highlands of Perthshire. This very detailed map was nearly unmanageable due to its large size and positioning, attached to the inside back cover. The pocket map was a common substitute for unruly, inconvenient, and awkward foldout maps.

Charts were another popular type of foldout map. Carlson defines the chart as a relatively small local map within a larger regional setting. The choice of which charts to include in the guidebook, as later discussed with plans, was subject to the discretion of the mapmaker, and the information they provided varied greatly. For example, the chart of “Perth to Killin, Dunkeld and Blair Athol,” seen below, provides information about the railway passing

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56 Note: Only three of the Murray’s handbooks examined within this study contained pocket maps.
57 *HTS*, 5th ed. (1884), 322-323. Note that foldout maps are normally placed between numbered pages.
through the area, as well as a variety of tourist information, such as popular tourist attractions like Birnam Hill, Ossian’s Hall, and The Queen’s View at Killiecrankie; but there is no mention of the village of Birnam where the train station was located or of Blair Athol Castle, the home of the Duke of Athol.⁶⁰

**Perth to Killin, Dunkeld and Blair Athol in *Handbook for Travellers in Scotland***

Source: *HTS*, 5th ed. (1883), 298-299.

Black’s and Murray’s guidebooks became increasingly interwoven with the growing visual culture of the time period. Visual culture was partially invigorated by the introduction of photography and the printing of photographic images and illustrations, and importantly, by the development of colour contour lithography.⁶¹ Black’s and Murray’s inclusion of colour printing

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⁶⁰ *HTS*, 5th ed. (1883), 289-299.

⁶¹ Ryan, “Photography, Visual Revolutions and Victorian Geography,” 221. Ryan examines how landscape photography was embedded in the late-nineteenth century within geographic practices. As well, many of the
in the early 1890s could be explained by their confidence in sales being sufficient enough to cover the higher cost of production. Black’s and Murray’s began to present sectional maps, where the scale was frequently that of a compressed Ordnance Survey map at one inch to ten miles, to provide tourists with more details as the variety of available activities grew. As mentioned in the previous chapter, in 1875 Murray’s handbook was restructured to include eight geographic sections, to compartmentalize the routes across the country. This division of Scotland, however, did not immediately correspond to the creation of sectional maps. Murray’s sixth edition, in 1894, was transformative in that it provided evidence of the increased availability and affordability of colour-mapmaking. It was this edition that marked the introduction of the new sectional contour layer coloured lithographic maps. The number of maps then rapidly increased in subsequent editions of the Scottish series.

Black’s, similarly to Murray’s, provided regional colour contour maps, and in fact did so two years prior in 1892. This might be explained by Black’s close relationship to J. Bartholomew, and Bartholomew’s role in the preparation of the Ordnance Survey maps of Scotland. Moncrieff Penney, the editor of HTS, added a ninth section to the text of the guidebook in 1898 and 1903, and included an index map to the “Sections of Scotland,” dividing the country into twenty-three regions, as seen below. This effectively re-affirmed the significance and utility of cartographic representations of Scotland, and their vital place within the guidebook. These large maps, at a scale of one inch to ten miles, provided higher-quality

Victorian-colonial photographs were seen not as mere images and landscapes but of tasteful views, coinciding with the current ideas of the picturesque.

62 Black’s Picturesque Guide to Scotland, 29th ed. (London and Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1892). Preface. Speaks to the variety of tastes of tourists coming to Scotland, as well, Black’s Guide to Scotland ‘General Advice’ speaks to a number of different types of tourists such as the pedestrian, cyclist, motorist and the sportsman. See: HTS, 8th ed. (1903) for the New Map of Scotland, Index to Sections.

63 HTS, 4th ed. (1875), a1.

64 HTS, 6th ed. (1894), see the above table for the specific data on maps inclusion in Murray’s.

65 Black’s Picturesque Guide to Scotland, 29th ed. (1892), see the earlier discussion on the development of J. Bartholomew in Edinburgh.
geographic information about the region than had previously been seen, and they were added to meet the needs of the majority of readers. The presentation of these regions in this particular way essentialised Scotland through the construction of arbitrary geographic boundaries as if it had always been divided this way.

Sectional Map of Scotland in *Handbook for Travellers in Scotland*

Source: *HTS*, 8th ed. (1903).
Section 11 and 12 Expanded in *Handbook For Travellers in Scotland*

Source: *HTS*, 8th ed. (1903).

Glasgow, Greenock, Kilmarnock & Ayr and Dumbartonshire Railways
Plans were another type of foldout map available in Black’s and Murray’s guidebooks. They were very useful for tourists navigating foreign cities and towns, as their large scale provided detailed representations. Mapmakers constructed plans to fit the requirement of the guidebooks. Therefore, plans, similarly to charts, were subject to the discretion of the preparer. This is clearly demonstrated with the example of W. & A. K. Johnston’s plan for Dundee, seen below. The plan identified the main thoroughfares, streets, buildings, and railway stations, without detailing or marking the peripheries of the city in the same way. In essence, the plan constructed the periphery of the city; it was without street names, neighbourhoods, and it only detailed places of interest or of possible warning such as Barrack Park, Royal Lunatic Asylum, and Dundee Poorhouse. Moreover, the plan did not provide a scale.66 Johnston’s focus on the Dundee city centre and their lack of attention to the city’s periphery would not have met the requirements of all tourists. This clearly illustrates how guidebooks and mapmakers attempted to direct tourist practices and gazes. An inference can be made that the guidebook, along with the mapmaker, were attempting to keep tourists within the city center, on identified streets and in recognized neighbourhoods; thus, they constructed the “periphery” of the city as an uncharted, unexplored, and “unexplor-able” area, not suitable for the middle- and upper-class audience.

66 HTS, 5th ed. (1884), 322-323.
Maps, charts and plans were important additions to both Black’s and Murray’s series for Scotland. Black’s and Murray’s guidebooks offered their audiences visual representations of Scotland within a growing visual and multi-media culture, and each constructed localities, regionalism, and the nation implicitly. The growth of the map-publishing industry was reflected in the guidebooks’ textual structure. Indeed, each style of map offered to the tourist had a specific function. The publishers’ decisions to include certain illustrations over others, and to place them at specific points within the guidebook, reflected their unique nature. This also presents another dimension to investigate how the publishers attempted to interact with their audience.
Conclusion

Maps, charts and plans, in their many forms, offer historians of tourism a means of analysing how guidebook publishers structured their texts as tools and travel aids in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. The visual representations of Scotland in guidebooks followed the specific marketing and communicative strategies of Adam and Charles Black and John Murray. W. & A. K. Johnston, J. Bartholomew, and Stanford’s Geographic Establishment, continued to develop maps for Black’s and Murray’s for individual styles of travel, targeting different portions of their middle- and upper-middle class audience with complex geographic and textual tools.

This chapter has studied how Black’s and Murray’s prepared their nineteenth -and early-twentieth-century guidebooks incorporating a variety of maps of Scotland. The evidence presented and analysed here demonstrates that guidebooks continually indexed space in new ways to meet the requirements of their audiences, as well as to remain competitive within a steadily diversifying guidebook market. By examining the linkages between publishing, mapmaking, Victorian geography, and the ever-evolving tourist market, it is clear that guidebooks were not insular products of the tourism industry, but rather were immersed in, and reflective of, the much wider social, cultural, and economic context of Victorian and Edwardian Britain. The guidebooks examined within this chapter clearly reflected three things; first, the democratisation of geographic and cartographic knowledge in the 1870s, as the complexity of maps included increased; second, the development of industrial mapmaking, with the transition from hachured to contour layer coloured maps; and finally, the diversification of tourist practices, as guidebook-editors continually included more maps to meet the needs of individual tourist groups.
Chapter 3
Excursions: Guidebook Structures of Local Adventures

Guidebooks to Scotland, as discussed in the previous chapters, were intimately connected to the wider tourism, printing and mapmaking industries, as well as being permeated by the larger social, cultural, and economic forces of Victorian and Edwardian Britain. This chapter analyses how Black’s Picturesque Tourist of Scotland and Murray’s Handbook for Travellers in Scotland mapped excursions, focusing on Rosslyn Chapel as a case study. Moreover, it is concerned with how the intertextual and multi-media guidebooks combined their various components in an attempt to facilitate travel, and it investigates the structural organisation and functionality of guidebooks within the context of the proposed excursion to Rosslyn Chapel. Rosslyn Chapel is a valuable case for detailed examination. First, it was historically a popular tourist destination; second, it had an association with the monarchy, due to frequent visits by Queen Victoria; third, the works of Sir Walter Scott popularised the site; and lastly, the descriptions surrounding the suggested excursions to the picturesque chapel are abound with different forms of media, thus exhibiting the intertextuality of both guidebooks.

To explore the guidebooks’ attempts to facilitate travel with proposed excursions, this chapter is divided into two main sections. First, the chapter discusses the aesthetic theories of the picturesque and the sublime within the Scottish context. Second, it addresses the lacuna of the guidebook’s role in framing excursions by examining the intertextual and multi-media nature of the guidebook: considering the printed text, transportation information, literary references, and pictorial illustrations as a textual whole. The multi-media presentation and organisation of
Black’s and Murray’s guidebooks illuminates their communicative strategies and involvement in the wider social, cultural and economic context from 1850 to 1914.

**Searching for the Picturesque**

The search for the picturesque in Scotland is rooted within eighteenth-century aesthetic theory. Reverend William Gilpin saw the picturesque as a quality in an object that allowed it to be captured within a picture. According to him, it was “precise, interesting, comprehensible and worth looking for.”¹ In 1776, Gilpin famously applied this theory to Scotland: he deemed the landscape (the hills, lochs, and cascades), as desirable, having great picturesque qualities.² The sublime, popularized by Edmund Burke in 1756, on the other hand, focused on emotional reactions to the landscape; it was associated with feelings of anxiety, danger, and terror when viewing awe-inspiring scenes.³ This theory, as an aesthetic corollary of the picturesque, was strongly linked to the rugged mountains and barren landscapes of the Highlands. Malcolm Andrews argues that the essence of picturesque tourism was based on a set of paradoxes, where tourists wanted to witness nature untouched by humans, yet once they had found the picturesque, they felt compelled to improve the land.⁴ James Macpherson’s fabled Ossian Poems, in conjunction with the popularity of eighteenth-century aesthetic theory, drew further attention to Scotland’s mountainous and misty landscape.⁵

¹ Christopher Smout, “Tourism in the Scottish Highlands from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Centuries,” *Northern Scotland* 5, no. 2 (1983): 103.
³ Smout, “Tours in the Scottish Highlands,” 103.

For a further discussion on the improvement movement in Scotland see:


⁵ Grenier, *Tourism and Identity*, 22.
taste for the picturesque, an appetite for the sublime, and inspired by the romanticism of the cult of Ossian, began to filter into the “foreign” Scottish Highlands.  

Nineteenth-century romanticism of the Highlands propagated tourism throughout the north-west of the country. The once perceived deviant and subversive Highlanders no longer posed a threat to the Union, as they had transformed into stalwart proponents of the British Monarchy and Imperialism in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Romantics attached the idea of the “Noble Savage” to the reformed Highlanders who were reputed for their courage, valour, loyalty, and masculine virility, lacking in modernising Britain. Moreover, the Highlands were a land that was believed to be untouched by modernity and presented tourists a glimpse into the pre-modern Highland-Scottish culture, providing an exotic but also ordinary experience.  

Early-nineteenth century tourists were further motivated to seek out Scotland’s wonders through the romantic literary works of Sir Walter Scott, who died in the same year as the first expansion of the railway, completed in 1832. The continuous improvement of transportation networks and the production of comprehensive guidebooks enabled travellers’ quests for romance, the picturesque, and the sublime.

Katherine Grenier argues that as the tourism industry continued to expand, guidebooks were weighted towards Scottish romance rather than commerce and industry. Although cities such as Glasgow and Dundee were celebrated for their commercial and industrial pre-eminence, the vast majority of the landscape away from the industrialised central belt was rural and

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7. Grenier, Tourism and Identity, 2.
Robert Clyde, From Rebel to Hero: The Image of the Highlander 1745-1830 (East Lothian, Tuckwell Press, 1998) for a further discussion on the real and perceived transformation of the Highlander.
9. Grenier, Tourism and Identity, 68.
therefore often seen through the romantic lens. This association, based on the romantic ideals of rural Scotland, was nourished by famous literary works of Robert Burns, James Hogg, William and Dorothy Wordsworth, and Scott. These works, excerpted in handbooks, embellished other textual materials to recast scenery or legends, and to imprint them within the tourist imagination – one that had already been influenced by prefiguring texts such as Scott’s immensely popular canon. Alastair Durie, Grenier, and Mairi MacArthur all delineate the perpetuation of these romantic images of Scotland. For instance, MacArthur denotes three main themes of travel literature: “the wild grandeur of the landscape, its remoteness and peace and the whole spiced with a dash of romantic history.” The guidebook industry was well aware of the value of romantic language, and its popularity among tourists. This was especially apparent with the suggested excursion to Rosslyn Chapel.

Picturesque tourism in the mid-nineteenth century had undoubtedly grown away from its eighteenth century roots. Christopher Smout argues that picturesque tourism remained a staple of the industry until the beginning of the Great War; however, it continually evolved in tandem with new forms of mobility, and together these developments changed how the landscape was observed. Moreover, tourists became increasingly uncritical observers of the landscape while travelling in relative comfort, compared to their forefathers, the proponents of eighteenth-century aesthetic theory. This may be accounted for by the larger numbers of middle-class tourists venturing to Scotland in the nineteenth century, in contrast to the few of aesthetically-trained elites who visited in the late eighteenth-century.

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10 *BPTS*, 20th ed. (1873), 319, 395 for discussions on Dundee and Glasgow as commercial centres in Scotland.
11 *BPTS*, 10th ed. (1852) preface.
12 Mairi MacArthur, “‘Blasted heaths and hills of mist’: the Highlands and Islands through Travellers’ Eyes,” *Scottish Affairs* no. 3 (Spring 1993): 24.
The Guidebook at Work: Rosslyn Chapel an Edinburgh Excursion

Excursions were an increasingly popular tourist practice from the 1830s onward, and were a common way for travellers to experience the Scottish cityscapes and countryside.\textsuperscript{14} Durie explains that the development of excursionism was linked to the expansion and creation of railway and steamboat services, and that it emerged alongside corporate promotions of affordable and organised travel. For example, The Glasgow & Garnkirk Railway was an early pioneer of organised excursions.\textsuperscript{15} The remainder of this chapter does not focus on large excursionist groups but how excursions were framed within Black’s and Murray’s guidebooks.

Resting atop a hillside, overlooking the Esk river-valley, sits the ornately decorated, picturesque Rosslyn Chapel: a popular destination for tourists out on excursions from Edinburgh.\textsuperscript{16} William St. Clair, 3\textsuperscript{rd} Earl of Orkney and Grand Master of the Masons in Scotland, founded this site in 1446.\textsuperscript{17} Upon his death, his son, William St. Clair, Earl of Caithness, continued the construction of the chapel. The cruciform layout of the chapel however never came to fruition, and it stands as an incomplete ecclesiastical work.\textsuperscript{18} Keeping with its traditional function the chapel was close Sundays for divine Episcopal service in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, despite its popularity as a tourist attraction.\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{15} Durie, \textit{Scotland for the Holidays}, 61, 74-76.

Note: This study acknowledges that excursions and day-tripping in nineteenth-century Scotland had some troubling consequences and a number of critics for a variety of reasons, from drunkenness to abuses of the Sabbath. However, this chapter does not focus on these tourist groups. Instead it focuses on Black’s and Murray’s targeted middle class audience, not the lower class weekend day-trippers.

\textsuperscript{16} Note: There is a distinction between the spellings of Rosslyn and Roslin. Rosslyn is associated with the Earls of that name and with the chapel. Roslin is associated with the small community near the chapel.

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{HTS}, 1\textsuperscript{st} ed. (1867), 123.

\textsuperscript{18} \textit{HTS}, 5\textsuperscript{th} ed. (1884), 136.

\textsuperscript{19} \textit{BTPS}, 20\textsuperscript{th} ed. (1873), 83. Note that during the 1840s there were many calls for restoration of the chapel as admirers feared its further decay. See: An Old Herioter, “Antiquities around Edinburgh,” in \textit{The Scotsman}, (1817-1858) November 8, 1843. Proquest Historical Newspapers. (Accessed December 3, 2012).
Rosslyn Chapel attracted a number of different socio-economic groups, from the middle classes using Black’s and Murray’s guidebooks, to the political elite, and even royalty. Queen Victoria visited in the fall of 1856 as part of a larger tour, and it was written that “Her Majesty and party were alighted, and walked through the romantic glen to Rosslyn Chapel, one of the most beautiful architectural remains in Scotland.”

English newspapers, such as the *Liverpool Mercury* and *The Morning Post*, were among many papers that charted the Queen’s travels in 1856. Newspapers also gushed at how former Prime Minister W.E. Gladstone patronised the chapel in 1890, while he was touring his Midlothian constituency. He arrived at the chapel to receive divine service, and then expressed his delight after inspecting its interior.

The recording of the details of these visits in local newspapers conveyed the chapel’s royal and distinguished associations, and promoted the site to the general public, potentially enticing future tourists to make the journey.

**Coaches and Trains, Travelling to Rosslyn Chapel**

Nineteenth-century guidebooks’ inclusion of transportation information to sites such as Rosslyn Chapel was vital to their success as instruments of travel. The formative years of the guidebook, from 1852 to 1868, witnessed the coming of the steam locomotives to the environs of Edinburgh. In Black’s tenth edition, published in 1852, the chapel formed an independent section on the environs of Edinburgh. Black’s stated that the most common way to reach the chapel in the summer was by coach, departing from 10 Princes Street at 11 o’clock AM and

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returning at 3 o’clock PM. Black’s suggested that if the coach was full, tourists could take the alternative Lasswade coach to Loanhead. This route left the traveller to walk the remaining mile and a half distance to the chapel. Black’s then offered a description of the landscape around the chapel: “[t]he vale of Roslin is one of those sequestered dells, abounding with all the romantic varieties of cliff, copsewood, and waterfall.” Black’s clearly was tapping into the contemporary aesthetic qualities of the picturesque in the 1850s – a strategy for which it became famous (and indeed, which its “picturesque” title proclaimed).

When Murray’s began their Scottish series in 1867, a railway station had been erected at Hawthornden, a short distance from Roslin. Murray’s instructed the reader to reach the chapel by taking the train to Hawthornden, and then following the footpath for two miles through the glen along the North bank of the Esk, returning the same way. This information was only discussed on “Route 16 Edinburgh to Dalkeith, Peebles and Inverleithen, by Rail.” In this first edition, a list of excursions from Edinburgh was presented, for example “1. Roslin, Hawthornden, Penicuik. 2. Craigmillar, Dalkeith, Lasswade. 3. Portobello, Musselburgh. …” Murray’s listing of places reduced the duplication of information; however, it forced the reader to interact with the index to determine where the desired destination was within the text, identify what route the site was on, and establish how to get there. This format was subsequently abandoned, and later editions of Murray’s communicated travel details within the discussion of excursions from Edinburgh, rather than just listing them (see below).
Excursions from Edinburgh

Excursions from Edinburgh:

1. Roslin, Hawthornden, Penicuik.
2. Craigmillar, Dalkeith, Loanhead.
3. Portobello, Musselburgh.
5. Canongate, Dalmuir, Queensferry.

Black’s and Murray’s handbooks, in the mid-1880s, illustrated the development of the intricate railway networks around Edinburgh, while presenting the multiple transportation options for tourists venturing to Roslin. For example, Murray’s fifth edition stated the following about travel to Hawthornden and Roslyn Chapel:

(a) To Roslin Stat. via Loanhead (about 10 min. walk to the Chapel).
(b) To Rosslyn Castle Stat. on the Penicuik Rly. (about 1 mile walk to Chapel).
(c) To Hawthornden on the Peebles and Galashiels Rly.

By Coach from Princes-street every morning, returning in the afternoon.

Route 16.—Edinburgh to Inverleith.

To Rosslyn Stat. via Loanhead (about 10 min. walk to the Chapel).
To Rosslyn Castle Stat. on the Penicuik Rly. (about 1 mile walk to Chapel).
To Hawthornden on the Peebles and Galashiels Rly.

Source: Left, HTS, 1st ed. (1867), 120. Right, HTS, 8th ed. (1903), 70.

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(c) To Hawthornden on the Peebles and Galashiels Rly.

By Coach from Princes-street every morning, returning in the afternoon.

Route 16.

EDINBURGH TO DALKEITH, PEEBLES, AND INVERLEITH, BY RAIL.

Branch of the North British Rly. Quitting Edinburgh by the Waverley Stat., the train passes through the picturesque sections of Balsharry, Craigie, Arthur’s Seat, and Portobello, as detailed in Bbe., 1st., and thence branches off from the main line to Niddry Stat. On the r., may be seen, embezzled by trees, the ruins of Craigmillar Castle, consisting of a square tower in the centre, with another in front, and two circular turrets behind — the whole surrounded by a high and strong wall with sound turrets at the corners.

It is a fortified house of the 14th cent., with alterations and additions of the 17th cent. The central tower is massive and old-fashioned, but is of the same date as the wall that surrounds it. The roof (from which there is a good view of the surrounding country) is covered with large stones of noble masonry. The chapel in the courtyard has been thrashed out and turned into a barn. The principal room in the interior is the hall, which is lofty, and by the appearance of coral half way up the sides, probably contained a second story. Upon the walls and roof, the remains of some attempt at painting are still visible. "Within the keep a room of peculiar odd dimensions is shown as Queen Mary’s apartment, and whoever enters it is tempted to make the remark that the tall Darnley could have enjoyed but little of her society in such a tower. In another room, still in a habitable state, are shown some pieces of armour, stowed to have belonged to Darnley and other historical charmers, an assurance, which the visitor may believe or not as he thinks fit." On one side of Queen Mary’s room, which is kept locked, there is the painting of a crown, with the initials M. R., and on another hangs a portrait of the unfortunate queen, Craigmillar was used as a prison for the Earl of Mar, brother to James III., in 1478, and he is said to have been tried to death. According to Drummond of Hawthornden, however, he was saved with a severe fever, and either philomelontised too freely, or in a fit of delirium tore two of the hangings. The castle was occupied by James V., during his minority, and Mary lived here for several months after the death of Darnley. Indeed, the small village on the Dalkeith road close by, is still called "Little France," from having been the quarters of her French guards. At a secret meeting held here between her and Murray,

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ROUTE 4.—Edinburgh—Excursions. Sept. I.

Granton. [By rail from Waverley Stat., about 20 mins a train—10 to 20 min.] The Rock, Black, is on the Pier. Granton is the point at which the Earl of Northesk disembarked his troops when he invaded Scotland in 1544. The magnificent Pier was built entirely at the expense of the Duke of Buccleuch. It was begun in Nov. 1825, and cost £105,000. It is 1700 ft. in length and from 60 to 260 ft. in breadth, and has the great advantage of being accessible at any state of the tide, and sheltered on three sides by a Breakwater. The Victoria jetty, whence the Queen landed and re-embarked in Sept. 1842, is on the W. side, and extends 90 ft. From this pier is the steam ferry to Burntisland, in Fife, leading to St. Andrews and, by Breanford Ferry, to Dundee (Riv. 40), a passage of about half-hour. From this as well as from Leith the London steamers depart. The trains run down to the steamer lying alongside of the pier. There is a pleasant walk from Granton Rly. Stat., along the S. shore of the Firth to Corstorphine, and thence back to Edinburgh, or across the N. Almond into Dalmeny grounds.

Excursions from Edinburgh.

Independent of the many interesting objects, and the attractive scenery in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, the strongest charm of all in the varied and exquisite views of the city, and the grand and picturesque heights which surround it, is probably the compose a new natural picture at every turn.

§ 1. Hawthornden, Roslyn Chapel and Castle, may be reached by Rly. from Waverley Stat., in about 40 min., by three different routes.
(a) To Roslin Stat. ed Loanhead (about 10 min. walk to the Chapel).
(b) To Roslyn Castle Stat. on the Penicuik Rly. (about 1 mile walk to Chapel).
The excursion may be conveniently made by taking RLY. (b or c), walking up the Glen, and returning by Rly. (a)... (These places are described Route 13).  

Murray’s alpha-numeric format, using an alphabetic listing system, adhered to the standardised itinerary style of the series, which followed the prescriptive route structure. Furthermore, the organisation of this information in list format signalled the linearity of the printed text (as was characteristic of the series). Not only did Murray’s handbooks use an itinerary system, but they also structured their text linearly, underscoring Ulrike Spring’s claim that there was an increasing linearity to guidebooks in the nineteenth century.  

Murray’s also suggested that travellers who were not limited in time or funds should use a coach, as it was the most comfortable option. The editor instructed the reader to rent a carriage from Princes Street, at a rate of 7s. to 8s., and drive to Hawthornden or Roslin, then send it around to the other side of the glen for a designated rendezvous. This signalled Murray’s traditional views on travel: that the best and most comfortable experiences would happen at a slower pace.  

Black’s offered similar transportation details; however, it did not impose a linear structure. Black’s stated “ROSSLYN AND HAWTHORNDEN. (7 ½ miles south of Edinburgh by road, and 12 by rail.)... During the summer, a coach leaves Princes Street for Rosslyn in the morning, returning in the afternoon; and either place may be reached by railway

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28 HTS, 5th ed. (1884), 70.  
Note: There is a progression of linearity between Murray’s fourth and fifth editions. Murray’s experimental organisation of the text was observed in the quote above from the fifth edition. Each transportation option was offered on its own line, whereas in the fourth edition the text flows and is not broken up option by option.  
30 HTS, 5th ed. (1884), 70.  
31 HTS, 5th ed. (1884). 70.  
32 This idea remained constant until the last editions of Murray’s where they provided shortened “Skeleton Tours” of Scotland.  
33 BPTS, 28th ed. (1889), 62 offers one day excursions from Edinburgh based on the railway service such as to Glasgow, the Isle of Arran and Clyde, Loch Long and Loch Lomond via Helensburgh. These are different from the excursions from Edinburgh given in Murray’s which were closer in proximity Craigmillar Castle, Linlithgow Palace and the Pentland Hills. HTS, 5th ed. (1884), 70-1.
from Waverley Station.”

Black’s is noticeably less prescriptive and presents the material in a more traditional prose form, insomuch as it did not use alternative textual formats such as alphanumerical lists. However, Black’s did not provide specific travel details, and left the tourist to gather information independently of the text. In addition, Black’s did not list many excursions from Edinburgh. Instead, it discussed the environs in a North-South, East-West orientation.

In terms of the dissemination of transportation details, the two guidebook series were markedly different.

The last editions published by Black’s in 1903 and 1907 communicated more specific travel information to tourists, and encouraged them to arrive within a short walking distance from the chapel. The twentieth century gave way to a complex railway network in the environs of Edinburgh. This complexity limited the editor’s ability to succinctly explain it through printed text. The editor, G.E. Mitton, directed the reader to abandon the text for a moment because “there are so many branch lines in about the neighbourhood that no amount of verbal explanation could make them clear, and the reader must look at the map.”

Scott Moncrieff Penny, the editor of Murray’s eighth edition, addressed a similar issue, referring the reader to a map of the environs of Edinburgh within the discussion of walks and drives.

The approaches of the two guidebooks, however, were distinct. Black’s was explicit that maps were a necessity, whereas Moncrieff Penney simply stated “Environs, Drives and Walks.

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34 BPTS, 28th ed. (1889), 63.
35 BPTS, 28th ed. (1889), 57-83.
36 Black’s Guide to Scotland (1907), 516-17. Here it is referring to a larger regional map of the environs of Edinburgh offered prior to the discussion of Hawthornden and Roslin.
37 Black’s Guide to Scotland, 33rd ed. (1903), 64. This edition contains a very similar message, “[f]or the relative positions of these [railway stations] we must refer our readers to a map, the several circuitous railway routes forming a labyrinth to which it is difficult to give any clue.”
38 HTS, 8th ed. (1903), 66, 78-79. Note that Murray’s only concerned itself in the printed text to explain to the tourist to use a coach or the North British Railway to travel to Roslin.
Mitton’s requests to abandon the printed word in favour of a map supports David Gilbert’s claim that travel literature in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries significantly developed popular geographic knowledge of places. Also, educational reforms of the 1870s placed geography on the curriculum in Britain, creating a culture with a greater geographic and cartographic understanding. Furthermore, this connection between the complexity of transportation networks and the need to refer to visual representation followed an emerging trend within guidebooks and their involvement with the wider publishing and mapmaking industry. Maps, charts, and plans were continually added to nineteenth-century guidebooks, as the familiarity and everyday use of them increased. The descriptive utility of the guidebook was slowly augmented by the inclusion of powerful and complex works of mapmakers in conjunction with the printed text. Editors used the map, as an informative text that indexed space, to succinctly indicate a region without having to explain it in lengthy prose. In effect, they were abjuring the printed word.

**Textual Representations and Literary Associations**

Both Black’s and Murray’s discussed significant historic and architectural details of Rosslyn Chapel: both explored the chapel’s complex blend of Gothic and Tudor form, hailing it as an unfinished ecclesiastical wonder. However, the type and style of the information imparted differed between the two series, especially when they explained the architectural legacy of the chapel. Murray’s in 1875 quoted architect William Robert Billings, and explained, “[Rosslyn Chapel] has little pretension to symmetry, and its squat, stumpy outline is a great contrast to the

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38 *HTS*, 8th ed. (1903), 66.
slender grace of Melrose. All the beauties of Roslin are superinduced on the design in the shape of mouldings and incrustations." Murray’s then described, in minute detail, the architectural features of the chapel, including the shape of the flying buttresses, the dimensions of the incomplete cruciform church (both interior and exterior), and included the number of aisles and bays. Its discussion of such intricacies, and the inclusion of works of professional architects Billings and Thomas Rickman, signalled the guidebook’s intertextuality. By contrast, Black’s discussed the more recent history of the chapel. The editor explained how the chapel was mutilated by an Edinburgh Mob during the 1688 Revolution, and detailed the ongoing repairs initiated by the Lords of Roslin. Black’s also added descriptive prose on the ornamental and eccentric attributes of the chapel.

Lore and mystery ignite the imagination, and they no doubt played a role in enticing curious visitors to the site. Both Black’s and Murray’s tapped into, and shaped, the popular imagination offering tales of intrigue about Rosslyn Chapel. Both series highlighted the chapel famous literary associations. The inclusion of Sir Walter Scott’s ballad *Rosabelle* was an integral part of the discussions of Rosslyn Chapel, but was stressed more by Black’s. The legend, popularised by Scott, says that the on night preceding the death of any Lord of Rosslyn, the chapel appears ablaze, and at the burial the Lords were laid to rest in full armour up until the reign of James VII. Black’s quoted the entire ballad of *Rosabelle* up until the 1860s, and

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41 *HTS* 4th ed. (1875), 128.  
*HTS*, 8th ed. (1903), 80 Cites vol. iv. of Billings’ ”Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities,” of which the letterpress is by J. Hill Burton, T.L.D.  
42 *HTS*, 4th ed. (1875), 127-8.  
43 *BPTS* 20th ed. (1875), 86-88. In some edition Black’s also quoted Billings however, it used different material and retains its descriptive prose. *BPTS*, 29th ed., (1889), 63. Cites Billings’ *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*. Then Black’s notes that the chapel had been unfortunately deformed by a modern addition.  
44 Note: From the beginning of the examination Murray’s always added abridged versions of literary poems.  
45 *BPTS*, 20th ed. (1873), 88.
shortened it to two stanzas in the 1880s. Murray’s however only ever included an abridged single stanza of the ballad. The famous stanza appears as follows:

Blazed battlement and pinnet high,
Blazed every rose-cared buttress fair—
So still they blaze when fate is nigh
The lordly line of high St Clair.

Scott’s literary works were staple texts within guidebooks to Scotland. The proliferation and popularity of his works throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries further solidified his influence on the conceptualisation of Scotland for the tourist audience.

The legend of the “‘Prentice Pillar” was also central to the discussion of the chapel in the guidebooks. This legend arose out of a conflict between a jealous master builder and a skilled apprentice during the construction of the chapel. As the story goes, the master builder wanted to sculpt a masterpiece pillar but did not have the required skill, so he took a pilgrimage to Europe to learn new techniques. The apprentice, in the absence of his master, took on the project and completed a magnificently sculpted pillar inside Rosslyn Chapel. When the master returned, he was struck with envy at the sight of the beautiful work of his apprentice, and with a single blow of his hammer he killed his pupil. Both guidebooks described this tale and encouraged the readers to examine the “‘Prentice Pillar” for themselves. Black’s illustrated the printed word with an image to focus the tourist’s gaze on the picturesque yet tragic scene from the legend. The black and white engraving captured the interior of the chapel, presenting two fluted pillars, including the “‘Prentice Pillar” which was adorned with a magnificent upward spiralling floral

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46 BPTS, 10th ed. (1852), 88 provides the full ballad.
BPTS, 15th ed. (1862), 84-85 provides the full ballad.
BPTS, 20th ed. (1873), 88 provides six stanzas.
BPTS, 28th ed. (1889), 67 provides two stanzas.
47 HTS 1st ed. (1867), 124.
HTS, 8th ed. (1903), 80.
48 HTS, 8th ed. (1903), 80. “Scott’s Ballad of Rosabelle.”
49 BPTS, 10th ed. (1852), 86-88.
HTS, 1st ed. (1867), 123-124.
wreath. Grenier and Mairi MacArthur both argue that guidebooks functioned as a textual production that perpetuated desirable notions of Scotland. Black’s and Murray’s intertextuality provides further evidence to their claims, as the inclusion of Scott’s popular literary works throughout each series reinforced the nineteenth-century romantic vision of Scotland.

**Visual Representations**

The prominence of visual culture was unequivocally the greatest feature differentiating Black’s and Murray’s guidebooks. Black’s inclusion of illustrations tapped into the growing visual culture in Victorian Britain, and also harkened back to the picturesque guidebooks of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, whereas Murray’s did not. In Black’s guidebook series when a famous location was encountered, a chart or plan was immediately presented to the reader. Then, throughout the printed text, illustrations (normally black and white engravings) were added to enhance the important features, creating a multi-media description. The printed text and the illustrations flowed together on the page, with the illustrations considered part of the printed text and thus inserted mid-sentence. Guidebook publishers frequently employed wood engravers to print these relief illustrations embedded within the text, especially from the 1830s onwards, as the cost of producing and printing reliefs fell with the use of industrial steam-driven presses. The editor, by incorporating such visual representations, appealed to tourists seeking to experience the picturesque in Scotland. Black’s strategy to supplement its text with visual

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51 See below for an example.

representations was a common practice throughout the series’ history. Rosslyn Chapel as a proposed excursion exemplifies this.

Black’s discussion of Rosslyn Chapel and Hawthornden, offered a plan of the area, prepared by J. Bartholomew, complete with transportation information and walking trails (see below).\textsuperscript{53} Murray’s was markedly different. It included virtually no illustrations throughout its volume other than a few sketches, such as the sketch outline of Glen Clova.\textsuperscript{54}

\begin{center}
\textbf{Roslin and Hawthornden}
\end{center}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.9\textwidth]{Roslin_map}
\caption{Map of Roslin and Hawthornden.}
\end{figure}


\textsuperscript{53}Note: That the placement of this map throughout the different editions changed, as does the ordering of the discussions of Roslin and Hawthornden. At times the plan is prior to the discussion other times it is embedded.

\textsuperscript{54}\textit{HTS}, 5\textsuperscript{th} ed. (1884), 346.
Black’s then augmented its print discussion of the chapel by capturing the picturesque nature of its exterior. This was meant to direct the reader’s gaze to a particular view of its architectural form, and to present an image that print-based description could not – a striking visual representation of the chapel’s physical characteristics. In 1873, Black’s advertised that excellent photographs could be purchased at the chapel, allowing tourists to have their own picturesque image of its form.55

**Exterior View of Rosslyn Chapel and the ‘Prentice Pillar**

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55*BPTS*, 20th ed. (1873), 86.
Amid the discussion of the chapel, Black’s offered the reader an illustration of the “‘Prentice Pillar,” to demonstrate the exquisite work of the ill-fated young apprentice after whom it was named and to highlight this extraordinary tale. It is clear that Black’s wove together different types of media within its pages, including maps, engravings, legends, and literary works.

The editor’s intention to include picturesque engravings was to direct the tourist’s gaze. In Chapter One, Black’s, in contrast to Murray’s prescriptive itinerary system, supported Rudy Koshar’s theory of the guidebook reinforcing the individuating function of tourism.\textsuperscript{56} This investigation of the visual media however does not support Koshar’s theoretical stance. Instead finds more grounding in John Urry’s “Tourist Gaze.” However, Black’s and Murray’s did not so much construct the tourist gaze but directed it.\textsuperscript{57} Black’s addition of visual representations alongside printed descriptions was part of its textual strategy as a guidebook – one that had been honed over many years and iterations. The editor, since the formative years of the guidebooks series, had sought to produce plain and intelligible accounts of localities, and to include substantial amounts of “[t]raditionary, historical, and literary illustrations, by which a recollection of the scenery will be more permanently fixed in the memory of the tourist.”\textsuperscript{58} Rosslyn Chapel, as a case study, is a striking example of Black’s multi-media strategy, which firmly adhered to the main objectives of the series while promoting the picturesque. Moreover, Black’s continual inclusion of picturesque images supports Grenier and MacArthur’s claim that guidebooks promoted, perpetuated, and gave meaning to the desirable notions of Scotland for the tourist.

\textsuperscript{56} Rudy Koshar, \textit{German Travel Cultures} (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2000), x, 6.
\textsuperscript{58} \textit{BPTS}, 10\textsuperscript{th} ed. (1852), v.
Conclusion

The discussion of excursions to Rosslyn Chapel illustrated how Black’s and Murray’s guidebooks were formatted, and how texts of various kinds were incorporated within the volumes and followed each series’ complex and often divergent communicative strategies. These strategies, both implicitly or explicitly, attempted to direct tourist practice, focus the tourist gaze, and signalled how guidebooks intended for tourists to navigate through Scotland. The intertextual and multi-media descriptions of Rosslyn Chapel signified the publishers’ involvement in the promotion and perpetuation of desirable notion of Scotland; moreover, propagating popular romantic Scottish culture. It also highlighted the distinctive histories, and architectural and topographic features, of sites. Furthermore, this demonstrated how different texts, within the same genre, targeted to specific travel cultures as their main audience. Black’s offered a volume that directed readers to the picturesque through descriptive prose and illustrations, whereas Murray’s was more of an instructional text focusing on the organization transportation information and conveying the schematic details of sites.

The examination of the suggested excursions illuminated the guidebooks connections to the wider publishing industries of mapmaking, engraving, and the competitive guidebook publishing market. Moreover, this chapter evinces the development of geographic and cartographic knowledge among the readership, as demonstrated by the editors abjuring the printed word in favour of maps. It is evident that the organisation and textual structures of suggested excursions in guidebooks is a window into the inner workings of not only the texts, their publishers, and position within a competitive market, but also into the wider British publishing industry that facilitated travel to Scotland from 1850 to 1914.
Conclusion

The guidebook, often seen as ephemeral, deserves to be reconsidered as an historical text, and pulled from its lowly station to become a more extensively-used source. Guidebooks to Scotland provide historians with an avenue to explore the intimate connections between the publishing market in Britain and the robust tourism industry. To understand the guidebook as a text, it is necessary to analyse their structure and function, regardless of how they were read or used by tourists. The intended purpose of the guidebook, as prescribed by the editor, is crucial to understand, as it was how, and why, the volumes were created. This longitudinal study of Adam and Charles Black’s *Black’s Picturesque Tourist of Scotland* and John Murray’s *Handbook for Travellers in Scotland*, the premier handbooks for Scotland, revealed their negotiations with the wider publishing and tourism market, as well as their connections to the wider social, cultural and economic currents of the mid-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

Recent studies of Scottish tourism in the Victorian-era have largely neglected to scrutinise the guidebook and its development. To date, scholars have focused either on the publishing firms, or they have utilized the guidebooks as an evidentiary source base for discussing tourist practices based on assumed ways of reading the texts. This study addresses the lacunae existing scholarship by examining how guidebooks were *intended to be used*, by their producers and separates itself from discussions on the assumed consumption of the text. This study accomplished this task by investigating how the multiple components of the guidebook were interwoven to yield a unified text.

This study revealed the complexity of the multi-media and intertextual nature of the guidebook to Scotland. The editors of Black’s and Murray’s guidebooks addressed the reader at the beginning of every edition. The preface, was the first printed text encountered within a
guidebook (apart from the frontispiece), and described the textual organisation of the guidebook and framed the entire text. Within the preface, the editor communicated to their audience how the guidebook was to be used, promoted the edition’s superiority and novelty, and articulated important developments of travel infrastructure and tourist practices.

Maps, charts, and plans offered in guidebooks indexed space in a variety of ways. The institutionalisation of geography both in the academy, and in the education system, propelled popular geographic and cartographic knowledge forward; expanding the opportunity for guidebook editors to included complex indices of space, provided by the pre-eminent mapmakers of Britain. As tourist activities diversified, guidebook editors increasingly supplemented their volumes with cartographic texts (such as coloured contour maps displaying elevations) to meet the requirements of physically active and sporting tourists. The Industrial Revolution had a profound impact on the printing and mapmaking industries from the 1830s forward. The introduction of steam-driven presses and technological advancements in lithography were reflected in the products that were prepared for guidebooks.

The examination of suggested excursions in Black’s and Murray’s guidebooks was imperative to the understanding of how these texts functioned because it was here where many different components of the texts merged in an attempt to direct tourist practices, and focus the tourists’ gaze. The intersection between the printed text, transportation information, literary associations, maps, and illustrations offers a plethora of information. This merger demonstrated how guidebooks were structured, what the editors deemed significant, and how editors and publishers attempted to provide a specific tourist experience, based their overarching communicative strategies.
Throughout this study, the often divergent communicative strategies of Black’s and Murray’s guidebooks became apparent. These strategies were immersed within, and interacted with, the larger publishing, mapmaking, and tourism industries and relied on a growing visual culture, and wider popular geographic knowledge, to meet the requirements and desires of their audience. Murray’s offered the reader a linear text that was explicitly prescriptive. It firmly adhered to an itinerary, route system, directing travel throughout Scotland. As travel infrastructure developed, Murray’s essentialised Scotland into a series of connected and traversable lines, directing tourists from one destination to another. It almost exclusively refrained from pictorial illustrations, and instead relied on the printed text and maps to direct the reader. This examination has shown that Ulrike Spring’s theory of guidebook linearity is pertinent to a larger study area, from urban guidebooks to Vienna to national guidebooks to Scotland, and alludes to a larger European trend. A further investigation into the application of this theory is still required, and it could be accomplished by an examination of popular guidebooks to other European countries. As well, the temporal framework could indeed be stretched to incorporate the twentieth century, in search of an encompassing theory of guidebook linearity.

Black’s guidebooks implicitly directed tourists to picturesque destinations throughout Scotland. It did not structure Scotland into a series of routes, but subtly directed travellers from one place to another in the most logical way possible. The most significant difference between the two guidebooks series was Black’s inclusion of pictorial illustrations. Black and white wooden engravings appeared throughout the guidebook, embellished the printed text, and provided striking images that the written word could not. Black’s present a dichotomy when investigating guidebooks through a theoretical lens. In part, Black’s communicative strategy
endorsed tourists to independently select destinations, as they were no pre-ordained routes. This followed Koshar’s assertion of the guidebook reinforcing an individuate function of tourism. Conversely, Black’s explicitly directed the tourist gaze by incorporating literary works and including striking illustrations, offering the tourist less independence when viewing a site and using the guidebook. This illuminates the difficulties of applying overarching theoretical frameworks to such complex texts.

Further research is required to capture the nuances of the Scottish tourism industry, and to fully understand how guidebooks affected tourist practices. The guidebook offers historians an avenue to investigate the collaboration between the multiple sectors involved in the wider tourism industry; further research might explore the guidebook as a product of this collaboration. Such an exploration could benefit from the approaches of economic, book, and tourism historians. This, in turn, could increase the visibility of the guidebook while establishing it as a more viable subject, worthy of further inquiry. Additionally, further research is required to illuminate how tourists read guidebooks, and how this intersected with the culture of reading in Victorian and Edwardian Britain. Although it is possible to hypothesise how guidebooks were consumed in the past, the goal of this study was to analyse and explain how guidebooks were intended to be used by their creators, and how publishers’ strategies reflected the evolving trends in the publishing and tourism industries and how the guidebooks were intertwined in the socio-economic and cultural context of Britain. *Murray’s* and *Black’s* were much more than “little red and black books” – they were windows into the complex negotiations taking place between actors within a burgeoning tourism sector in Britain and Scotland in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.
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