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Funding, Publishing, and the Making of Culture: The Case of the *Evergreen* (1895–97)

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Funding, Publishing, and the Making of Culture: The Case of the *Evergreen* (1895–97)

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ABSTRACT

Sourced mostly by documents from Patrick Geddes's archive at Strathclyde University (SUA, Glasgow), including accounts and rough drafts, this article reveals the backstage organization of the *Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal* (Edinburgh and London, 1895–97), as well as the financial and commercial concerns the amateur editors of an aesthetic magazine had to face. The economics of publishing and the various stages through which the production of the *Evergreen* moved are explored. Three aspects, given the original editors' project, inform the final product: the publishing venture (printing and financial aspects); the aesthetic medium (format, layout and artwork, as well as the magazine's circulation); promoting culture (a Celtic Revival through international networks). Cultural activities related to the magazine served as platform for dialogue between literature, art, science, life, tradition, and modernity. A so-called 'little magazine' seen from the business perspective helps us better to understand the networks of periodicals' diffusion and reception and the role they may play in a cultural marketplace. As methodology, this clarifies the compromises made under the hardbound cover of an aesthetically appealing magazine, and shows how the editors adapted their aesthetic and political ideals to material matters.

KEYWORDS

Patrick Geddes, *Evergreen*, economics of publishing, aesthetic periodicals, Celtic Revival

Behind the neatly planned and composed pages of a periodical lies the work of numerous writers, artists, editors, and printers. While many studies on print culture have focused on the final outcome and the finished product, scholarly discussions about sources born of the very process of manufacturing, publishing, and distributing such items can tell us a great deal too, not only about the men and women who made the magazines, but also about the act of publishing periodicals in general. In order to highlight the importance of these backstage dynamics, I examine here the short-lived illustrated aesthetic magazine the *Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal* (Edinburgh and London, 1895–97, four volumes). This short overview of the periodical is based on the letters, manuscripts, and rough drafts from the archive of Patrick Geddes, the magazine's major organizational force. Unpublished primary source material from Strathclyde University Archive (SUA, Glasgow) will help us better understand this editing and publishing venture and the economic, cultural, and political forces that shaped it. The amateur producers, authors, artists, scholars, and craftsmen of this aesthetically appealing periodical had to cope with commercial and economic pressures despite putting a veil over such issues within the pages of the *Evergreen* itself. I will discuss the myth of its supposed position as outside of the marketplace in order to offer a substantially new definition of this so-called 'little' magazine. Not only did it utter and shape principles of art and literature, but it also promoted socio-political ideals while dealing with financial issues. This article explores the various stages through which the production of the *Evergreen* moved and 'the economics of publishing',¹ in the words of the editors themselves: from the original plan, through the organization, the financial and commercial aspects, to circulation, reception, and the making of culture.

From the Original Plan to the Magazine

The idea of this aesthetic periodical published in Edinburgh occurred in an inspiring context of artistic emulation aiming at a Scottish revival. Students and scholars were grouped around Geddes at University Hall, an autonomous self-governing students' residence as an extra-academic experiment at the University of Edinburgh. 'Professor' Geddes, a charismatic figure of astonishingly varied interests, was a scientist, ecologist, urban planner, and independent publisher.² He had founded a community in order to restore and regenerate Ramsay Gardens and the Old Town of Edinburgh and had brought together professors, students, writers, and artists, some of whom were related to the Glasgow School of Art, promoting a distinctive Scottish Art Nouveau. The last-mentioned were keen on Arts and Crafts aesthetics and ideals, but as these manifested themselves within the specificities of the Scottish context: while praising intellectual cooperation, collective effort, and community life, the promotion of nature and the unity of art served Celtic cultural emancipation and renewal.³

In December 1893, Geddes launched the publication of the booklet *The New Evergreen* as a tribute to the Scottish poet Allan Ramsay (1686–1758), author of *The*

- 1 'Economics of Publishing', SUA, T-GED 8/1/2, Glasgow, Strathclyde University. The author is grateful to Dr Anne Cameron, Archives Assistant at Strathclyde University, Glasgow, for her help and support, and to the University Archivist for permission to reproduce the documents in this article.
- 2 He also studied biology in Paris and London, was influenced by Auguste Comte, and became Professor of Botany at Dundee University College. He expounded on his conception of town planning in *Cities in Evolution: An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Civics* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1915). See Marshall Stalley, *Patrick Geddes: Spokesman for Man and the Environment* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1972).
- 3 See Imogen Hart, 'The Arts and Crafts Movement: The Century Guild Hobby Horse, *The Evergreen*, and *The Acorn*', in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, ed. by Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009–13), I (2009), pp. 120–41.

Ever Green collection of poetry (1724), who had himself advocated reviving local and national tradition. Printed in 1894, with the subtitle ‘The Christmas Book of University Hall’, the *New Evergreen* was a student magazine serving as a common platform for Geddes’s pupils. In the autumn of 1894, Geddes met William Sharp, a Scottish poet and writer, also biographer of Dante Gabriel Rossetti. They became close friends, committed to Geddes’s urban and sociological project, and set up a ‘little fortnightly’ publication whose first title according to Sharp would be the *Celtic World*.⁴ In a letter to Geddes dated March 1895, Sharp openly aimed for a Celtic ‘Renaissance’ [*sic*]: ‘help our Publishing firm, & aid in drawing Anglo-Celtic writers to look to Edinburgh’.⁵ He also defined the founders’ concerns with the publishing model of the magazine (format, layout, price, etc.) and its printing costs, additional expenses, contributors’ fees, circulation, and advertising. These were pointing decisively to the making of culture through an aesthetic medium, conceived, to use Sharp’s words, as a review he would personally ‘edit and handle’:

among the highly advisable things to do would be the production of a little Fortnightly like that *Chap Book* I gave you⁶ [...] — which would be at once attractive and a splendid advt. It might be brought out in the same way, and at the same price 2d [here Geddes has written: ‘Why not 3d?’].

It would require careful editing & handling: — & I should be glad to undertake it. [Here Geddes has written: ‘Agreed’] [...]

I would give my best thought, care, & experience to making the venture a success in every way, & ultimately a potent factor in the development of Scotland & of Edr. [Edinburgh] in particular.⁷

What with changes in size, price, and contributors, the fortnightly turned into a quarterly. On 3 March 1895 Sharp sent Geddes a ‘partially drawn out scheme’ for a magazine structured around an Anglo-Celtic axis: ‘Quarterly, 2s/6 Net. Volume I, July to September 1895’.⁸ Ernest Rhys, William Butler Yeats, and George Meredith were named among ‘the earliest contributors’. In fact, these were never to collaborate, while Scottish artists, such as John Duncan, and scientists like J. Arthur Thomson, were to become the hard core of the magazine ‘as well as the younger men’. Between inception of the venture and publication itself completion was swift. Geddes’s and Sharp’s plans had come to coincide if not to compromise.

Indeed the spring issue of the *Evergreen*, its first ever, came out in May 1895. Its contents, thoroughly reorganized with regard to Sharp’s initial draft, were divided into four thematic sections, conceived to suggest an ‘organic unity’: the season in nature, the season in life, the season in the world, and the season in the north.⁹ The general

4 William Sharp had already settled in Scotland and distanced himself from London and the *Pagan Review* (August 1892), his pastiche of decadent periodicals. See his letter to Geddes of 20 January 1895: ‘I am sure you are right about Edinburgh versus London. I have a profound & chronic distaste for London & London life: and a nostalgia for the north’, in *The Letters of William Sharp ‘Fiona Macleod’*, ed. by William F. Halloran (Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin, 2002), section XII, 1895a, p. 14, www.ies.sas.ac.uk [accessed 10 December 2016].

5 Sharp to Geddes, in Halloran, ed., 3 March 1895, p. 26.

6 This refers to *The Chap-Book: A Miscellany and Review of Belles Lettres* (1894–98), published by Stone and Kimball in Chicago. Its aim was to attain 16,500 subscribers. See Giles Bergel, ‘The Chap-Book (1894–98)’, in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, ed. by Brooker and Thacker, II (2012), pp. 154–75.

7 Sharp to Geddes, 20 January 1895, in Halloran, ed., p. 16.

8 Sharp to Geddes, 3 March 1895, in Halloran, ed., p. 26.

9 William Macdonald and J. Arthur Thomson, a biologist friend of Geddes, signed the seven-page ‘Proem’. See Megan Ferguson, ‘Patrick Geddes and the Celtic Renaissance of the 1890s’ (doctoral thesis, University of Dundee, January 2011), p. 108.

plan of the magazine, based on the metaphor of the cycle of nature represented by the four seasons (spring, summer, autumn, winter), also expressed the strong intention of the editors to create a synthesis between various fields of knowledge. They aimed at conveying the extant harmony binding biological, sociological, international, and local issues. Koenraad Claes analyzes the integrated design behind the *Evergreen* as a ‘particularly rigid conceptual system’.¹⁰ For instance, a ‘circular to Contributors’ summarizes the general philosophy of the summer volume. This is ‘intended to embody the Naturalist’s poetry’ of the season, ‘when the enthusiasm of Youth is ripening into deep culture’. It also addresses the ‘various manifestations of the season in different countries and old customs’, and ends with the ‘Northern section’ and ‘Celtic customs and superstitions’.¹¹ Moreover, as Lorraine Janzen Kooistra has pointed out, the design of the magazine was ‘an integral expression of its larger political agenda’.¹²

On the whole, its significance reached beyond the too restrictive definition of the ‘little magazine’, most often understood as an assemblage of contributions on art and literature. Indeed, this 1890s magazine shares characteristics with some modernist magazines and shows interest in the artistic avant-garde.¹³ The *Evergreen* is an interesting example of the way a seasonal book (not exactly a quarterly) corresponds to the topics treated. Indeed, its desire to support the unity of art, science, philosophy, and *belles lettres* enhanced the dialogue between cosmopolitanism and Celtic revivalism. A closer look at its periodicity and materiality further exemplifies the desire to manifest these ideals in the periodical’s very production.

The periodical ran to four issues, two published in 1895 (spring and autumn) and two in 1896–97 (summer and winter) (figs 1a, b, c, d). Tied to the four seasons of the year, these promoted a motif from nature as suggested by the full title the *Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal* and the magazine’s motto: ‘Four seasons fill the measure of the year; / There are four seasons in the mind of man’ (after the first lines of Keats’s poem ‘The Human Seasons’). Indeed, the publishers intended ‘the words and lines which form the book’ to reflect a seasonal melody as stated the ‘Proem’, and the seasonal rhythm works as a counterpoint to the periodicity of other magazines as well as to industrial time itself.¹⁴

In order to respect this significant feature, timing was carefully planned to avert delays in publication. A ‘time arrangement’ draft for the third issue shows that artistic contributions were to be sent two weeks earlier than texts to the printer, who should receive the script two months prior to publication.¹⁵ However, material difficulties compelled the editors to delay the publication: the Book of Spring came out in May instead of April. The Book of Autumn (second issue) was supposed to be commercialized in September, but an advertisement published in the *Scotsman* (14 October 1895) announced that it would be ‘ready next week’, meaning the third week of October 1895.¹⁶ The Book of Summer was supposed to come out in May but was published

10 Koenraad Claes, “‘What to Naturalists is known as a Symbiosis’: Literature, Community and Nature in the *Evergreen*”, *Scottish Literary Review*, 4.1 (2012), 111–30 (p. 116).

11 ‘Circular to Contributors’, SUA, T-GED 8/1/18, no page.

12 See Lorraine Janzen Kooistra, ‘The Politics of Ornament: Remediation and/in *The Evergreen*’, *English Studies in Canada*, 41.1 (March 2015), 105–28 (p. 105).

13 According to Claes, the *Evergreen* ‘fits the epithet “little” more than others’ because its mere four issues ‘never secured its place in literary history’. See Claes, p. 111. However, on this particular point, I would rather stand with Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker’s position in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, vol. 1, as well as Evanghelia Stead’s introduction to this special issue. Three recent research articles on the *Evergreen* contradict the notion that it has not secured a place in literary history.

14 See Kooistra, p. 106.

15 Evergreen Business Committee Scroll Minute Book 1895, SUA, T-GED 8/1/1: ‘Summer number to be published May 1st 96. Copy to be in printers hands March 1st. Art contributors to be asked to hand contributions to M. Cadenhead before Feb 14th.’

16 *The Scotsman*, a liberal weekly newspaper, was launched in 1817 in Edinburgh.

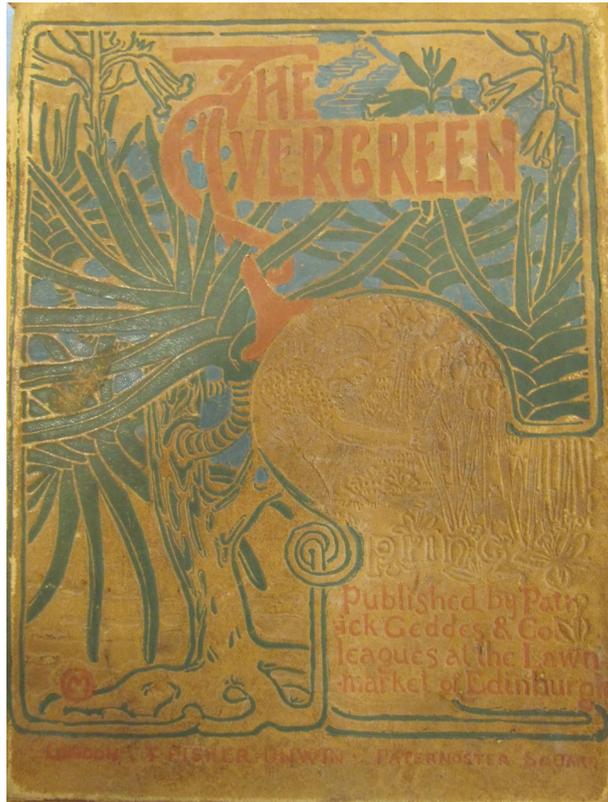


Fig. 1a *Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal* (Spring 1895), front cover, private collection.

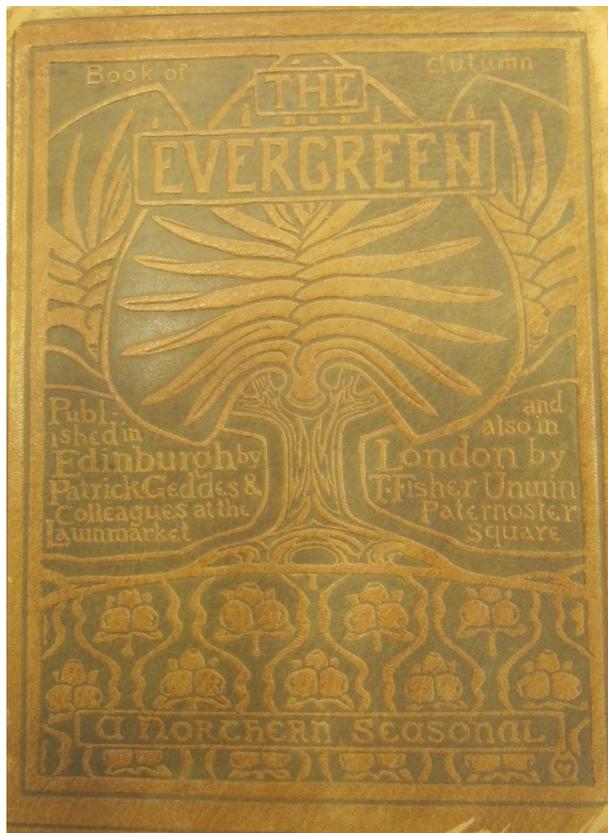


Fig. 1b *Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal* (Autumn 1895), front cover, private collection.

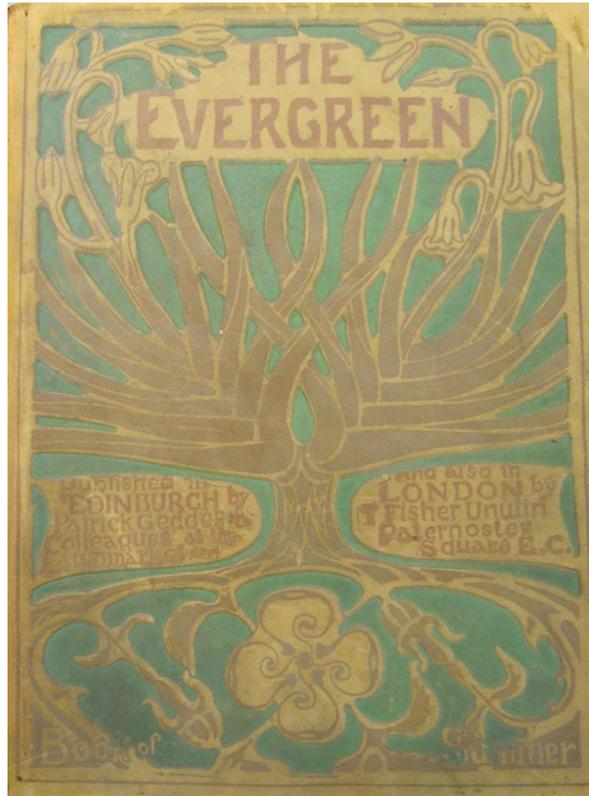


Fig. 1c *Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal* (Summer 1896), front cover, private collection.

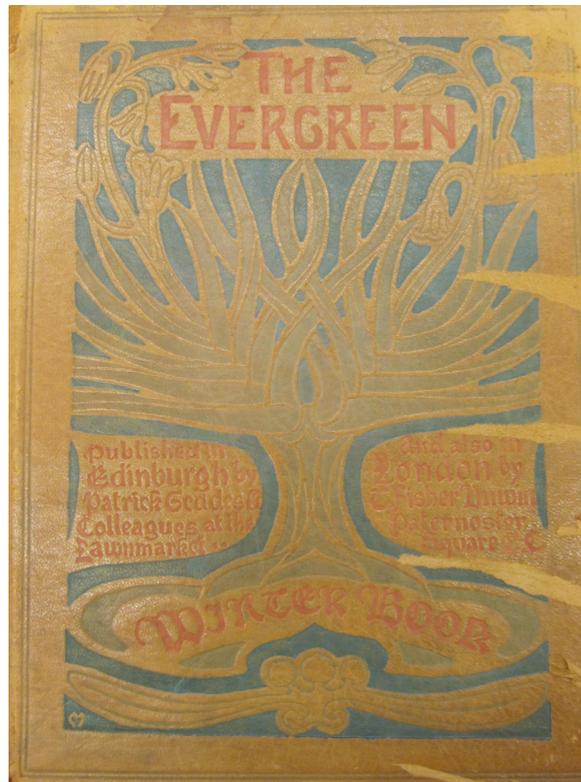


Fig. 1d *Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal* (Winter 1896–97), front cover, private collection.

only in June 1896, and the Book of Winter, conceived as a 'Christmas Book', was sold in December instead of November 1896. The aim of the editors was to complete the first series 'in little over a year and half from the present time [March 1895?]'.¹⁷ They even announced a second series, which never materialized.

The 'Attractive' Magazine as 'Splendid' Advertisement

Although the magazine included no advertising, it was conceived by Sharp to be, of itself, a 'splendid advt' for the publishing firm.¹⁸ Under the guise of a book, the illustrated periodical showcases the attention paid to the quality of the paper and the layout: the text is enhanced in a single column with wide margins; the wood-engraved images are often full page. Sharp considered this a promising start for the firm that went by the name of Patrick Geddes and Colleagues: 'The binding & get-up are very novel & attractive, & the type & setting are in Constable's best style.'¹⁹ The association of art and writing created a harmonious balance between textual and visual material. Indeed, the tables of contents blend literature, art, criticism, and 'life' throughout the periodical, each issue resonant with a particular season.

In this case illustration is to be understood as a rich variation of Celtic typographic ornaments, as well as reproductions of original drawings and paintings (murals by John Duncan for example). For instance, the Spring number opens with Charles Hodge Mackie's design for the cover and an Almanac by Helen Hay, one of Duncan's students. It closes with Pittendrigh Macgillivray's *Arbor Saeculorum*, as if the full-page pictures created a backdrop for the letterpress to conceptually harmonize the magazine. The typographical display of the table of contents clearly stages a dialogue between texts and images in equal proportion (Fig. 2a). However, once the first volume had been published, images and ornaments became autonomous. Indeed, in the Book of Autumn, 'decorations' figured as a separate section in the table of contents, and all 'headpieces and tailpieces (after the manner of Celtic Ornament)' were specifically referenced. The double-paged table of contents from the Book of Winter exemplifies this (Fig. 2b). According to L. Janzen Kooistra's analysis of the 'politics of ornament', their interlacing achieves the 'harmonious incorporation of the old and the new', the 'techne and the art'. The textual ornaments have a 'representational and interpretative function' related to the text, while the full-page pictures 'respond to a common theme' in their own right.²⁰

The attention paid by Duncan to the quality of the drawings can be inferred from the multiple media he based his work on, as shows this letter to Geddes:

Could you send (or consent be sent) to me the watercolour sketch of the Bacchic procession? I am about to do my drawing for the *Evergreen* and I can't get along without having the sketch by me. I am having a photo done from the finished picture but I would not work at my drawing with the same confidence.²¹

This drawing, probably *Bacchus and Silenus*, was published in the printed version of the Book of Autumn (pp. 90–91). Duncan had drawn the subject from the Ramsay

17 'The *Evergreen*' advertisement, 'Evergreen Cuttings Book', SUA T-GED 8/1/8.

18 Sharp to Geddes, 20 January 1895, in Halloran, ed., p. 16. By way of comparison, see Elizabeth Sharp, ed., *Lyra Celtica: An Anthology of Representative Celtic Poetry* (Edinburgh: P. Geddes and Company, 1896), archive.org [accessed 10 December 2016].

19 Sharp to Geddes, 15 May 1895, in Halloran, ed., p. 42.

20 Kooistra, p. 107–08.

21 Duncan to Geddes, 10 July 1894, SUA T-GED 9/137.

THE CONTENTS

Cover	By C. H. Mackie.
Page	
5 Almanac	By Helen Hay.
9 Proem	W. Macdonald and J. Arthur Thomson Initial by Helen Hay.
I. SPRING IN NATURE	
17 Robene and Makyn	By C. H. Mackie.
19 A Procession of Causes	W. Macdonald Initial by John Duncan. Tail-piece by W. Smith.
21 Germinal, Floreal, Prairial	J. Arthur Thomson Head-piece, Tail-piece, and Initial by W. Smith.
27 Natura Naturans	By Robert Burns.
29 Life and its Science	Patrick Geddes.
39 Apollo's Schooldays	By John Duncan.
41 Old English Spring	Hugo Laubach Head-piece by W. Smith.
44 Lengthening Days	W. G. Burn-Murdoch Initial by W. G. Burn- Murdoch.
47 Day and Night	Fiona Macleod Head- and Tail-pieces by J. Cadenhead.
49 Cubs	By W. Walls.
II. SPRING IN LIFE	
51 A Carol of Youth	Hugo Laubach.
53 Out-faring	By John Duncan.
55 Ane Playnt of Luve	Pittendrigh Macgillivray.
56 Four Easter Letters	Initial by Helen Hay.
60 The Crows: A Child Poem	Gabriel Setoun
63 Pipes of Arcady	By John Duncan.
65 My Sweetheart	Riccardo Stephens.
67 When the Girls Come out to Play	By C. H. Mackie.
69 The Return	J. J. Henderson.

6

Fig. 2a *Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal* (Spring 1895), table of contents, private collection.



THE CONTENTS

I. WINTER IN NATURE

8 The Biology of Winter	J. ARTHUR THOMSON.
21 A Winter Song	SIR GEORGE DOUGLAS.
22 Impressions of Winter	DR. EDWARD B. KOSTER.
28 Winter	ROSA MULHOLLAND.

II. WINTER IN LIFE

35 Fantasies	J. H. PEARCE.
1. A Year and a Day.	
2. An Odd Coincidence.	
43 When the Dew is Falling	FIONA MACLEOD.
44 The Mother of Jesus	KATHARINE TYNAN.
51 Symbols	W. J. ROBERTSON.
53 Frost	ELIZABETH A. SHARP.
61 Between the Ages	NIMMO CHRISTIE.
63 Il neige	PAUL DESJARDINS.

III. WINTER IN THE WORLD

67 The Dream	H. C. LAUBACH.
and The Fulfillment	W. M.
69 Saint Efflam and King Arthur	EDITH WINGATE RINDER.
75 All Souls' Day	NORA HOPPER.
79 Pourquoi des Guirlandes Vertes à Noël	ELIE RECLUS.
91 Christmas Alms	DOUGLAS HYDE, LL.D.
99 The Love-Kiss of Dermid and Graine	FIONA MACLEOD.
101 Dermid's Spring	STANDISH O'GRADY.
106 A Devotion of Terror	CATHARINE A. JANVIER.

THE CONTENTS continued

IV. WINTER IN THE NORTH

115 Grierson of Lag	W. CUTHBERTSON.
118 The Snow Sleep of Angus Ogue	FIONA MACLEOD.
127 The Chiefs' Blood in Me	SARAH ROBERTSON MATHE- SON.
128 The Story of Castaille Dubh	MARGARET THOMSON.
132 The Black Month	M. CLOTHILDE RALFOUR.
141 The Best of All	W. MACDONALD.
142 The Megalithic Builders	PATRICK GEDDES.
155 ENVOY	P. G. and W. M.

DECORATIONS

Cover	CHARLES H. MACKIE.
5 Almanac	N. BAXTER.
19 A Cottage in a Wood	JAMES CADENHEAD, R.S.W.
33 A Winter Harvest	A. G. SINCLAIR.
49 Madonna and Child with St. John	ANDREW K. WOMRATH.
65 The Sphinx	JOHN DUNCAN.
77 Winter	W. G. BURN MURDOCH.
97 'By the Bonnie Banks o' Fordie'	CHARLES H. MACKIE.
113 Aslavga's Knight	ROBERT BURNS.
125 St. Simeon Stylites	ANDREW K. WOMRATH.
139 Feeling Trees	CHARLES H. MACKIE.
153 Winter Landscape	JAMES CADENHEAD, R.S.W.
	157 Lapis Philosophorum

HEADPIECES AND TAILPIECES BY

NELLIE BAXTER	6, 21, 22, 27, 43, 44, 51, 60, 67, 69, 79, 99, 106, 115, 131
ANNIE MACKIE	34, 35, 52, 101, 151
EFFIE RAMSAY	8, 61, 91, 95
JOHN DUNCAN	3, 28, 53, 62, 74, 99, 100, 118, 127, 128, 132, 141, 142, 155

Fig. 2b *Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal* (Winter 1896-97), double-paged table of contents, private collection.

Garden murals (a frieze on the history of bagpipes).²² In another letter, the artist praised the ‘great collection of head and tail pieces done, and very well done’ by Miss Baxter, Miss Mason, and Miss Mackie, his pupils. The ‘motives are autumnal, the others being pure ornament’, but the key word, ‘harmony’, was meant to make the book ‘a thing of beauty’.²³ However, some images had suffered in the transcription and reproduction process from the original mural to the final engraving.

Even though most of the critics praised the *Evergreen* for its quality and illustrations, Sharp was somewhat reserved. He alluded to a ‘perilous weakness’, and criticized the ‘muddled, badly composed & ill drawn *Natura Naturans* by Robert Burns’. The most striking example of loss of quality between the original and the printed version is Duncan’s *Anima Celtica* (Fig. 3), ‘a really deplorable plate’ according to Sharp. Indeed, the shadow on the throat of the dreaming female in this allegory has a strange effect: she seems to have developed a goitre! Sharp went on: ‘in a word, I anticipate much adverse artistic criticism on the ground that the *Yellow Book* drawings are at least clever if ultra fin-de-Siècle, while the majority of those of the *Evergreen* are fin-de-Siècle without being clever’.²⁴ Was he a ‘false prophet’, as he hoped to be, or was the *Evergreen* an amateurish publication? I argue that the final product is to be seen as a successful compromise between the publishers’ initial intention and the pressures, material and financial, they had to face.

‘Get Up’ and Finding Contributors

In the fourth and last issue, the ‘Envoy’ promoted an unusual organisation. Geddes and Macdonald highlighted the skills of the ‘semi collegiate group amid which [the magazine] arises [...]’. There has been no central authority’.²⁵ No editor’s name figured on the cover other than ‘Patrick Geddes and Colleagues’, and this corresponded to Geddes’s anarchist ideals. However, a ‘get up’ plan from Geddes’s archive reveals the relation between financial matters and contents by showing that the editor (Sharp) was closely linked to the accountant (Ross). The importance and the role of each member rather than of a hierarchy is also stated (Fig. 4): John Ross is accountant (with an extended definition of his function); Sharp ‘directs’ the contents in ‘consultation with Ross’; Geddes turns out to be arbiter ‘only to advise or vote when invited by either party’; Victor V. Branford acts as art director, whereas James Cadenhead carries this responsibility in actuality according to other documents. Several artists (‘the most likely to be first consulted by W. S.’) are in charge of material and aesthetic concerns: paper, blocks, printing, binding.... Yet disagreements seem to have increased between Sharp and other participants.²⁶ Soon, Ross and Lillian H. Rea, ‘drawing permission from several unsaid things [...] have constituted themselves Editor of the “Evergreen”’ (Fig. 5).²⁷

This same letter also reveals how contributors were contacted not only in Scotland and England but also in France and Belgium. A list specified as ‘addresses of contributors’ shows the importance of personal contacts. For example, the names of Abbé Klein and Élisée Reclus appear with the mention ‘care of P. Geddes’, those of Charles Van Lerberghe and Macleod (Sharp’s *nom de plume*) with the indication ‘c/o W. Sharp’,

22 See Ferguson, p. 260.

23 Duncan to Geddes, 23 July 1895, SUA T-GED 9/138.

24 Sharp to Geddes, 15 May 1895, in Halloran, ed., p. 40.

25 Patrick Geddes and William Macdonald, ‘Envoy’, *Evergreen*, no. 4 (Winter 1896–97), 155–56 (p. 155).

26 For example, J. Arthur Thomson objects to the amount of capital available for publishing purposes and Lillian Rea to ‘the want of co-operation on the part of the office’ (letter in T-GED 8/1/2), no date.

27 Memo for Prof. Geddes from the Editor, ‘The Evergreen’, SUA T-GED 8/1/2.

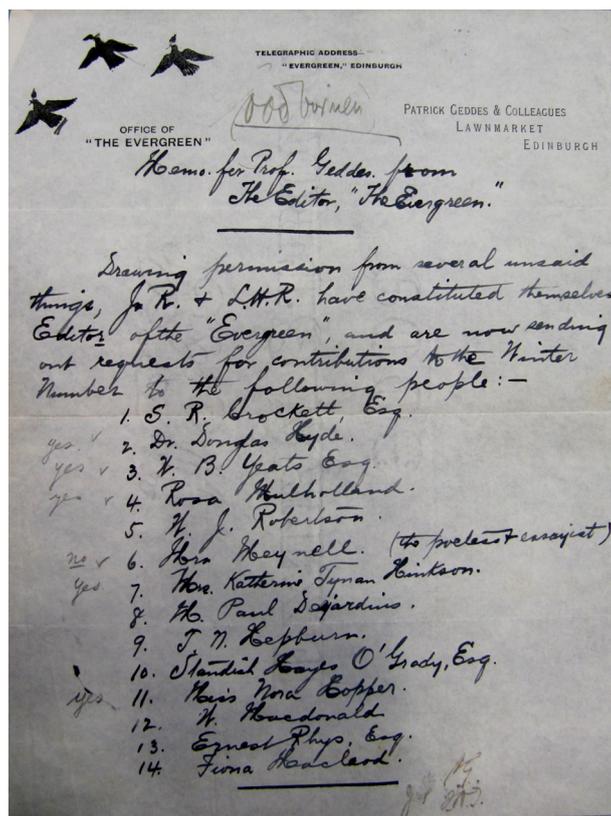


Fig. 5 'Memo for Prof. Geddes from the Editor, "The Evergreen"', SUA T-GED 8/1/2, Glasgow, Strathclyde University.

etc. Their contributions were included in French in the Book of Autumn, while Sharp 'englished' Van Lerberghe's play 'The Night-Comers' ['Les Flaireurs'].²⁸

Contributors and submissions were discussed and chosen according to nationality and their connection with the Celtic Renaissance and Geddes's ideals. In some letters to Geddes, authors asked for their works to be included or suggested a friend's contribution. The editors stated in the 'Envoy' that all contributors who would respect the seasonal theme, the atmosphere, and the harmony of the magazine were welcome. However, drafts show that contributors were carefully selected and the literary and artistic contributions were regulated. The editors could not afford to pay the authors but they still wanted to harmonize the volume, match texts with images, and balance artwork contributions. In order to guarantee an aesthetic and financial equilibrium and the 'protean character' of the magazine,²⁹ the Evergreen Business Committee stated that 'no artist [was] to contribute more than 2 drawings'.³⁰ Commenting on the first volume, Sharp even adopted a distanced posture and a sort of disguised auto-criticism (which may sound ironic to the reader) when he argued that Macleod's poetry (that is, his very own) is not so good: 'that also is a point where the editorial control must be more exigent'.³¹

The editors had originally planned to pay the contributors 10 or 15 per cent royalties, but this turned out to be impossible. Sharp was probably an exception: the fact

28 See 'The Contents', *Evergreen*, no. 2 (Autumn 1895).

29 Evergreen Business Committee Scroll Minute Book 1895, SUA, T-GED 8/1/1, p. 2.

30 Pittendrieh Macgillivray and Charles Hodge Mackie actually contributed three drawings in the Book of Autumn.

31 Sharp to Geddes, 15 May 1895, in Halloran, ed., p. 40.

that Macleod was fictitious did not prevent 'her' from receiving substantial royalties! In the remainder, due to financial problems, the sixty-five contributors to the magazine received little or no financial reward for their submissions. Actually, meeting printing and distribution expenses proved to be the prime concern of the editors.

Financial Concerns and Printing Expenses

Although the editors would not publicly admit to it, organizing an aesthetic magazine and an officially non-commercial distribution business raised important financial issues. Promoting literature and art may not have been motivated by personal interest or profit, yet many drafts dealt with commercial and financial matters. The editorial group was to be doubled by a publishing company that published 'The Celtic Library' and negotiated with London publishers the terms of certain volumes. Sharp alludes to this in his January 1895 letter to Geddes, concerning the creation of the publishing firm 'Patrick Geddes and Colleagues':

These [books] could be printed, bound, & advertised, & distributed on an outlay (carefully administered) varying from £500 to £750: or including the Edinburgh Chap-Book, & extra & unforeseen expense, & extra advertising, etc. at say £1,000. As to payments to authors: that wd. need to be on a royalty system.³²

A balance sheet gives a good idea of the capital, liabilities, and assets of the publishing firm. 'Receipts' are lower than expenses. Furthermore, Patrick Geddes and Colleagues's attention focused on printing and additional fees. The 'Summation of Accounts in Ledger' shows that the balance was not positive concerning the periodical: subscriptions (£64 for the four issues) did not balance the costs of an aesthetic illustrated magazine. The cost of blocks (£32), leather covers (£47), and retribution of art contributors (£10) confirm the idea that they did 'the book in such good style as not to pay [themselves].'³³

Another list, named 'remuneration of persons concerned', detailing the various stages of the editorial process from the 'get-up', through 'distribution' and 'advertisements', mentions the manager, office staff (with an accountant's boy perched in the Outlook Tower), contributors, and even booksellers (Fig. 6). Only once these were remunerated was the plan to pay an 'annual bonus in equal proportion'.³⁴ However, this was to prove far too optimistic as a revenue forecast. An entry in the 'Evergreen Business Council Committee Scroll Minute Book' stresses the financial problems: 'expenses to be cut down in view of heavy financial loss in first n^o', as does this minute targeting 'reduced cost of production and distribution through concentration of organisation'.³⁵ Therefore 'it was impossible to make any pecuniary return to contributors'.³⁶ The numerous additions and subtractions carried out in the drafts could not avoid the deficit. Furthermore, as Megan Ferguson points out, Patrick Geddes and Colleagues facilitated the production of all four issues of the magazine. They received invoices directly from the engravers and paid them, although the cover and the front page of the *Evergreen* mentioned that it was also published by T. Fisher Unwin of London and J. B. Lippincott of Philadelphia,

32 Sharp to Geddes, 20 January 1895, in Halloran, ed., p. 16.

33 Summation of Accounts in Ledger, SUA, T-GED 8/1/2; and 'To contributors', SUA, T-GED 8/1/18.

34 Remuneration of persons concerned, SUA, T-GED 8/1/2. See also Ferguson, p. 129, and Geddes to T. Fisher Unwin, 28 March 1895, National Library of Scotland (NLS) MSS 10588. Geddes suffered substantial losses on the *Evergreen*: 'we find that selling 2000 at 3/6[d] would simply pay for the cost of production and distribution leaving nothing for the artists and contributors, and probably also I fear a deficit for me from the small unforeseen outlays'.

35 'Authors share benefit of all income', SUA, T-GED 8/1/18.

36 Evergreen Business Committee Scroll Minute Book 1895, SUA, T-GED 8/1/1.

Fig. 6 'Remuneration of persons concerned', SUA, T-GED 8/1/2, Glasgow, Strathclyde University.

and printed by T. and A. Constable of Edinburgh (Fig. 7).³⁷ Furthermore, they forsook much from their own capital stakes, as Rea pointed out to Geddes: 'I feel that you, personally, are losing much money by this want of proper organisation and distribution'.³⁸

The detailed layout, numerous artworks, ornaments, woodcuts, and paper quality all show that much attention went into making what was ultimately both an experimental and sumptuous medium. Significant extra expense was due to using embossed coloured leather for the magazine cover and a substantial number of 'copies [being] wasted though the peculiarities of the process'.³⁹ The editors 'agreed that a less expensive engraver be employed to reproduce the drawings'. For the same reason the initial cover design was simplified and, except for colours, the dust jacket used a similar version: 'cover wrapper for summer n^o shd be (if possible) of pale apple green colour with the designs for autumn n^o printed in black'.⁴⁰

In addition, dwindling subscriptions indicating readers' aloofness threatened continuation of the project. Indeed, these amounted to £28 and 11s. for the first issue, to £18 and 2s. for the second, and to a mere £9 for the third (Fig. 8).⁴¹ Moreover, the editors refused to compromise with the 'vulgarity' of advertisement revenues, unlike the *Savoy* or the more commercial London-based *Yellow Book* with its 'publishers' Announcements'.⁴²

37 See Ferguson, p. 106, and Business paperwork for Patrick Geddes and Colleagues, NLS MSS 10649.

38 L. H. Rea letter to Geddes (beginning missing), SUA, T-GED 8/1/2, no date.

39 Evergreen Business Committee Scroll Minute Book 1895, SUA, T-GED 8/1/1, p. 1.

40 Evergreen Business Committee Scroll Minute Book 1895, SUA, T-GED 8/1/1, p. 1.

41 Summation of Accounts in Ledger, SUA, T-GED 8/1/2.

42 See, for example, 'Index to Publishers' Announcements', *Yellow Book* (October 1894).

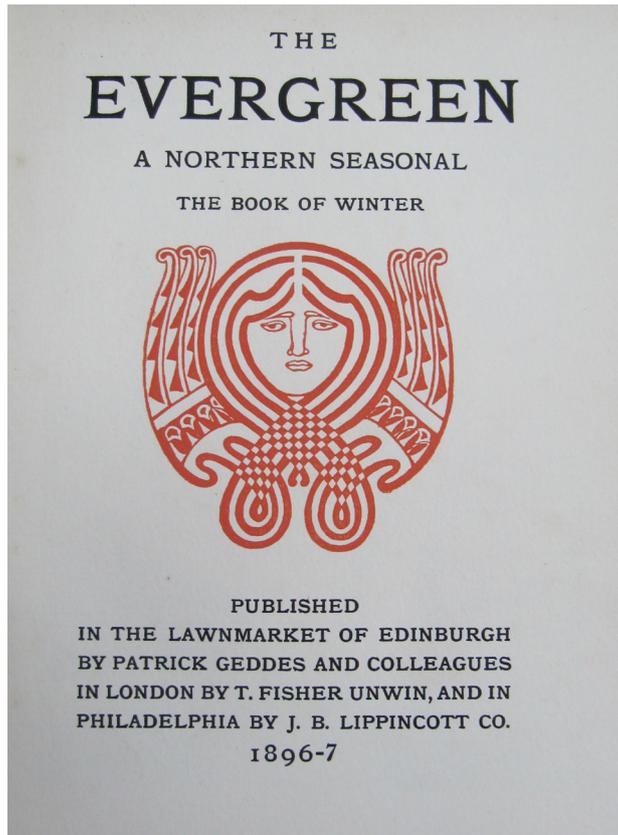


Fig. 7 *Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal* (Winter, 1896-7), title page, private collection.

Summation of Accounts in Ledger

Subscriptions - Spring Number		£28: 11: 6
Subscriptions - Autumn Number		18: 2: 6
Subscriptions - Summer Number		9: - -
Subscriptions - Winter Number		9: - -
Loans	£10: - -	40: - -
Arithmetic Expenses	3: 9: -	
Books	32: 5: 10	
Bank of Scotland - Current Account	165: 2: 3	120: 8: 5
Colly - Cash -	29: 3: 7	
Salaries and Wages	6: 1: 6	
H. D. Young & Sons - Account for Leather	47: 15: 4	
Contributors - Library	2: 2: 6	
Contributors - Art	8: 5: -	
	504: 11: 6	235: 2: 5
	<u>586</u>	<u>664</u>
	255	588
	622	7531

Fig. 8 'Summation of Accounts in Ledger', SUA, T-GED 8/1/2, Glasgow, Strathclyde University.

Advertising and Distribution

Several drafts and letters appealing to readers focus on promotion and distribution. Marketing was secured by leaflets promoting the periodical's contents. 2,500 flyers had been printed in September 1895 to promote a total of 2,000 copies of the (first) Spring number. Part of the marketing strategy consisted in sending out every two months a circular (an announcement including previous and forthcoming publications) to all booksellers in Scotland and England. The aim was to dispense with the services of the publisher, Fisher Unwin, and achieve greater autonomy.

An advertisement template sent to numerous magazines and newspapers used the same typographic display:

THE EVERGREEN will be printed on rough paper by Messrs Constable of Edinburgh, with coloured cover fashioned in leather, by C. H. Mackie. The BOOK OF SPRING, now in the press, will be followed in September by THE BOOK OF AUTUMN. [...] Each part will be published at 5s. net. The complete series of four volumes may be subscribed for at £1, post free.⁴³

By far the most arresting means to draw public attention was illustration, and the editors discussed a poster 'using [Mr Mackie's] cover designs printed in black and white'.⁴⁴ They also published an almanac of drawings from the *Evergreen* to advertise the firm's publications. However, the relatively high price of the magazine, five shillings per issue (one pound for a set), can partially explain its restricted circulation even in elitist circles. For example, the *Student* praised it as 'a triumph of the art of artistic and luxurious bookmaking' but added 'one could wish that its price were not such as to somewhat restrict its circulation'.⁴⁵ The argument is not to be overlooked: the *Yellow Book* also sold for five shillings per issue while the *Savoy* was supposed to be more competitive (2/6s.), but their sales are not commensurate with their prices. Comments from Rea regarding the 'Scientific Series' sales show that finding the 'right' price for the magazine was critical to their marketing strategy and contentious enough to spark several internal debates among the editors:

It seems to us there is a fallacy in your argument as you say that we should keep the price up as we have a limited public. But is it so that our public can afford to pay? [...] Then you say we can't run a cheap series: but why as compared with an expensive one: Also why should we be thought 'cheap' if they are done well? And the question also arises in my mind: Do we not want to avoid the pit into which Morris fell with his books?⁴⁶

Here the connection between the quality of production and the symbolic impact on the audience is emphasized. Nevertheless, the price of the *Evergreen* suggests the editors' primary concern was not to make a profit but rather to propagate their ideals. Sales and marketing strategies were important, but they represent only one facet of the periodical's circulation.

43 'Evergreen Cuttings Book', circular for the *Evergreen*, SUA T-GED 8/1/8.

44 Evergreen Business Committee Scroll Minute Book 1895, SUA, T-GED 8/1/1.

45 'Evergreen Cuttings Book', the *Student*, 14 November 1895, SUA T-GED 8/1/8. This weekly independent newspaper, produced by students at the University of Edinburgh, was founded by Robert Louis Stevenson in 1887.

46 Rea typescript to Geddes (IV), SUA, T-GED 8/1/2, no date.

Although the *Evergreen* has often been considered an elitist magazine, perhaps because of its somewhat restricted distribution, circulation was in fact a major concern as shows one draft: ‘how can circulation be got up?’ The answer would be by building an international network involving booksellers and publishers in Great Britain, America, and France, as well as societies of Scots abroad and universities. For instance, a certain Mr White, probably a travelling bookseller, praised the young publishing firm for handling distribution and for selling more copies of Sharp’s *The Sin Eater* than had the well-known publisher John Lane with Sharp’s *The Mountain Lovers*. Rea underlined the importance of a good ‘traveller’ to deliver the books, and insisted on the ‘personal approach’ of sellers, especially in Paris, an international showcase and outlet.⁴⁷

In addition, many lists of ‘those to whom copies of the *Evergreen* have been sent’ show Geddes’s extended personal network: M^{lle} Blaze de Bury (wife to a French diplomat and contributor to *Revue des deux mondes* in Paris⁴⁸); professors at the Sorbonne or in Lyon; the editorial board of the International Artistic Society. These are corroborated by many telegrams, for example, one for twenty-four sets sent to Montpellier on December 1896. Circulation also relied on many free or exchange copies. A draft recaps the distribution of ‘complimentary’ copies between London and Edinburgh: about 16 per cent of the 2,000 printed copies (Fig. 9). Many copies were sent to other periodicals, according to several lists and following ‘newspapers cuttings’ collected in a scrapbook. This practice of exchange between periodicals clearly appears in the following *Scots Magazine*’s request and allows for a backstage view of the ‘review of reviews’ system:

Evergreen - Spring N°	
N° of copies printed	2000
Disposed of thus	
J. Fisher Union :-	
Paid for	541
Unpaid	250
Free copies	80
On hand	24
	895
	80.-.10
Edinburgh Office	
Paid for @ 10/6 for 11	11
Paid for @ 5/- each	119
Paid for @ 3/6 "	15
Unpaid for @ 5/- "	12
Unpaid for @ 3/6 "	60
Unpaid for @ 5 francs "	3
Free & Complimentary	132
On hand:	33
Office	38
Clarke	486
	524
Whitcomb & Co America	115
Wants	9
Exchanges	9
	1896
	29.15.-
	2.12.6

Fig. 9 Distribution of the copies of the ‘Evergreen – Spring N°’, SUA, T-GED 8/1/2, Glasgow, Strathclyde University.

47 SUA, T-GED 8/1/2, Rea letter to Geddes (beginning missing), no date.

48 On Yetta Blaze de Bury (1842–1902), who contributed to numerous periodicals, see Claude Ghiati, ‘De quelques historiennes fin-de-siècle (1898–1902): Étude à partir du répertoire de Pierre Caron’, in *Histoires d'historiennes*, ed. by Nicole Pellegrin (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2006), pp. 85–100 (p. 91).

[The] Editor of *The Scots Magazine* would feel particularly obliged if Messrs [...] would favour him with a copy of their newly published Work, [...] for a favourable review in this and other Papers. *The Scots Magazine* circulates very extensively in Scotland, England, and the Colonies and is laid on the tables of almost all the Scottish Libraries and Reading-Rooms [...] and reaches a large and very influential class of readers all over the world.⁴⁹

This document directly raises the question of the tangible reception of a magazine such as the *Evergreen* and shows the editors' quest for a wider audience or a larger market.

Reception

The special attention given by the editors to the periodical's reception is palpable in the 'Cuttings Book' or 'Newspaper Cuttings' composed of about a hundred pages of assembled articles and reviews on the *Evergreen*. These texts, published in a wide variety of newspapers and journals, as well as correspondence with selected artists who received copies of the magazine, provide us with a unique insight into the way the periodical was perceived by the reading public. This document from the Geddes archive also reveals that the publishers paid for the services of Durrant's Press Cuttings, who collected 'advertisements and news received for all papers', as well as for the French *Le Courrier de la presse* providing the same service for French language publications for the not insignificant minimum fee of twenty-five francs.

Consideration for (reviews on and responses to) the *Evergreen* is also to be seen in the excerpts and statements quoted by the publishers advertising the magazine in the 'Subscribers' Order Form'. These focused either on ideological matters or on poetic and artistic subjects. Geddes and his colleagues used both positive and negative press opinions to sell their publication. For instance, Richard Le Gallienne in the *Star* referred to the *Evergreen* as 'an elaborate and expensive joke', in other words, rather elitist, as magazines go.⁵⁰ This somewhat scathing indictment was immediately followed by the starkly contrasting opinion of the *Sunday Times* referring to the *Evergreen* as 'the first serious attempt [...] to combat avowedly and persistently the decadent spirit which we have felt to be over aggressive of late'.⁵¹ Since readers familiar with the *Evergreen* press reports are likely to have been aware of the editorial stances of each journal, we can better understand how the *Evergreen* was positioning itself in the cultural landscape.

Inspection of the newspaper clippings collected by Geddes also allows us to observe the editors' processing and selecting texts to use in the advertisements. For example, hand-written annotations figure in the Cuttings Book as in a clipping from the *Realm* (Fig. 10). In this, Geddes and friends placed the most critical sentences of the article in brackets. Indeed, Sharp's comment, comparing the majority of the drawings in the *Evergreen* to those in the *Yellow Book* as 'fin-de-Siècle without being clever', turns out to be quite positive when compared with the comment selected from the *Realm*, which read:

49 'Evergreen Cuttings Book', SUA T-GED 8/1/8, no page.

50 Le Gallienne was the 'Logroller' book critic in the *Star*, a progressive and liberal journal under Henry W. Massingham, and his criticism could well be logrolling in favour of the *Evergreen*. On the topic of negative reviews, see Laurel Brake, 'Marketing Notoriety: Advertising the Savoy', in *Print in Transition, 1850–1910: Studies in Media and Book History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 171–79.

51 'An anti-decadent Yellow-Book', *Sunday Times* (16 June 1895), 'Evergreen Cuttings Book', p. 15. At the time, the *Sunday Times* was run by Rachel Sassoon Beer, already editor of the *Observer*.

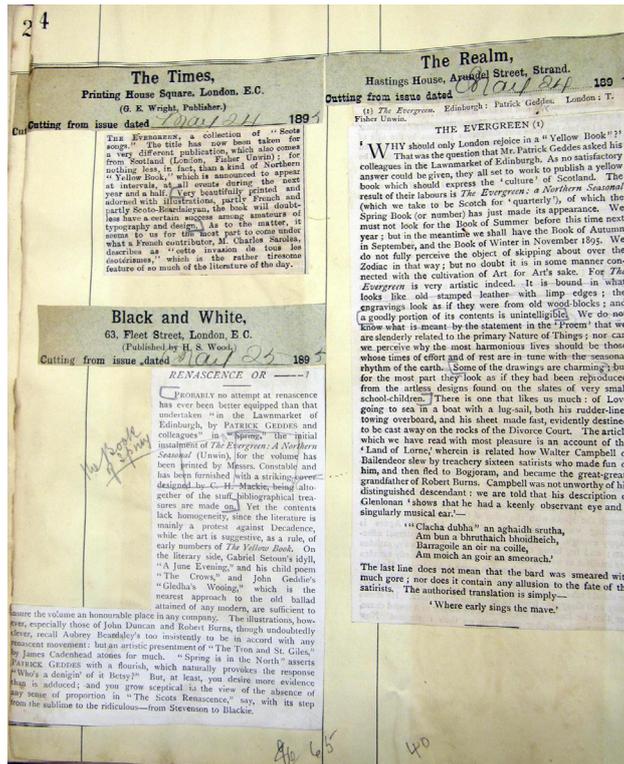


Fig. 10 'Evergreen Cuttings Book', SUA T-GED 8/1/8, p. 4, Glasgow, Strathclyde University.

a goodly portion of its contents is unintelligible. [...] Some of the drawings are charming; but for the most part they look as if they had been reproduced from the artless designs found on the slates of very small school-children.⁵²

Indeed, the editors seem to have deliberately ignored more positive statements such as 'There is one [drawing] that likes us much' [*sic*] or 'The article which we have read with most pleasure is [...]', etc. Such a strategy raises many questions: why did the editors select sarcastic quotes? Was it to display intellectual honesty, or to promote open debate? Such apparently illogical approach to advertising could well be an attempt to distance the *Evergreen* from mainstream periodicals, strengthen its avant-garde content, and attract public attention.

The survey of reviews emphasizes the geographical, ideological, and aesthetic stances extant in most literature and art magazines of the late nineteenth century. For example, the *Evergreen* received positive reviews from the Scottish or Northern press while London reviews tended to adopt a more caustic tone. Notably English or American reviews, such as in the *St James's Gazette* (London, 18 May 1895) or the *New York Herald* (22 May 1895), did not mention P. Geddes and Colleagues as publishers and only quoted the London-based publisher T. Fisher Unwin. Indeed, criticism and approval of the magazine seem at first sight to relate to geography, revealing an ideological rift between London and Edinburgh. The presentation of the Book of Spring in a newspaper such as *London* is emblematic:

52 *Realm* (24 May 1895), 'Evergreen Cuttings Book', p. 4. This short-lived London periodical published by Spottiswoode and Co. ran from 16 November 1894 to 20 December 1895.

London has its *Yellow Book*, Birmingham has its *Quest*, and now comes Edinburgh with its *Evergreen* [...]. The *Evergreen* differs very materially from the other two publications, which it somewhat resembles in style.⁵³

However, precisely because the *Evergreen* was published in both Edinburgh and London (the American publishers were never mentioned), we should not overestimate the geographical schism. Instead, the debate is to be seen as centred on artistic issues, particularly those related to the on-going conflict between 'Renaissance' and 'Decadence', as well as on more generalizable political clashes that this 'band of cultured workers' were negotiating as nineteenth-century 'dreamers of the better life'.⁵⁴

Most critics focused on the illustrations and the novel materiality of the new magazine, which 'presents itself in so agreeable a dress' (*National Observer*). Negative criticism often compared art in the *Evergreen* to Aubrey Beardsley's illustrations or dismissed it as an attempt to create hybrid and decentralized aesthetics, a Scottish Art Nouveau moving away from London periodicals to draw on its traditional Celtic roots.⁵⁵ In fact, *The Times* qualified it as 'very beautifully printed and adorned with illustrations, partly French and partly Scoto-Beardsleyan' [*sic*], while *Black and White* deplored the lack of homogeneity 'since the literature is mainly a protest against Decadence, while the art is suggestive, as a rule, of early numbers of the *Yellow Book*',⁵⁶ thus recalling again Aubrey Beardsley. This attempt to pigeonhole the *Evergreen* reflects the mentality prevalent among London-based reviewers more than it does the project undertaken by Geddes and his fellow Scottish revivalists in Edinburgh, inasmuch as this blending of established styles and transnational or foreign influences will undoubtedly have caused some consternation among the elite of the London papers.

Thus the Cuttings Book not only provides us with an outstanding example of the variety of opinions concerning the *Evergreen*, but also hints at how the magazine editors understood the reception of their beloved project. The *Irish Independent* drew the same parallel with the *Yellow Book* as Sharp, but concluded on the reverse, stating that 'its illustrations are stranger than those of the *Yellow Book*, but they are angular and spiritual rather than of the demoniac kind by which Mr Aubrey Beardsley has become famous or infamous'. On the other hand, *London* reproduced John Duncan's *Anima Celtica* in a slightly reduced format and stated 'the illustrations are superb'.⁵⁷ Thus the *Evergreen* became a site of contention between pre-existing factions of art critics, each already engaged in a protracted debate on Decadence. This allows an examination of not only the evolution of public opinions but also of the ways used by the producers of culture to contextualize the debate surrounding their product. For example, a manuscript note under *Liberal* review of the *Evergreen* on 16 November 1895 directs us to 'compare [it with] *The Liberal* on the Spring book at page 10'.⁵⁸ The first article was favourable. It ran:

The periodical itself is honestly worthy of very high praise. It is really first rate. The difficulty in criticizing it is that, where all the items are so good, it is almost invidious to mention any one [...]. We congratulate the editors on producing one

53 'Evergreen Cuttings Book', *London* (23 May 1895), SUA T-GED 8/1/8, p. 3.

54 'Evergreen Cuttings Book', p. 3.

55 The London engravers are barely publicized on the *Evergreen* through the discreet signature 'Hare sc.'. See Kooistra, p. 117.

56 *The Times* (24 May 1895) and *Black and White* (25 May 1895), 'Evergreen Cuttings Book', p. 24.

57 'Subscribers' Order Form', 'Evergreen Cuttings Book', SUA T-GED 8/1/8, no page.

58 'Evergreen Cuttings Book', SUA T-GED 8/1/8, p. 11.

of the best art periodicals yet seen in Scotland, and we trust the Scottish people will support a publication whose merits are so outstanding.⁵⁹

By contrast, the November one is cutting: ‘The *Evergreen* is most disappointing. The art in it is aestheticism ran mad.’ Rather than to be read as an evolution in reviewers’ sensibilities, such a discrepancy can be explained as resulting from a personal conflict within the periodical’s network. The reviewers blamed J. Arthur Thomson for publishing a paper entitled ‘The Biology of Autumn’ in the first number of the *Liberal* using the same title as in the *Evergreen*. ‘This is the best thing in the number’, they added sarcastically in conclusion as if to underline the quality of their own publication.

However, the critics generally developed a friendlier reception of the *Evergreen* as time passed. This appears in *London* commenting: ‘the new number of *The Evergreen* [...] known as *The Scottish Yellow Book*, contains even more variety of readings and a better selection of pictures than did the first number’.⁶⁰ Even the *Realm* was comparatively more sympathetic:

The essays are only intelligible here and there. [...] For the verse, it is intelligible at least. [...] The headpieces and tailpieces, after the manner of Celtic ornaments, are charmingly designed.⁶¹

Furthermore, a time lag may naturally occur between publication, reception and peer reviews, as in the Belgian *La Société nouvelle*, which only mentions the Book of Autumn in May 1896. On the whole, developing a ‘review of reviews’ methodology highlights the existence of an international network of periodicals playing a key role in the reception of publications such as the *Evergreen*, as French clippings or a manuscript receipt from the American librarian at the Grolier Club (New York, 5 November 1895) show.⁶² Indeed, to quote Murdo Macdonald, ‘Geddes’ commitment to national revival was profoundly international in outlook’.⁶³

The Making of Culture: An International Network

The magazine as an aesthetic medium fulfilled many of its ambitions insofar as the promotion of its ideals was concerned. Its founders aimed at creating the conditions for a Celtic Renaissance and at sponsoring a conception of evolution in ‘harmony with Nature’ based on cooperation between artists, scientists, craftsmen, and businessmen (against urban decadence and industrial modernity).⁶⁴ However, cultural transfers occurred through a broader range of activities and media beyond the publishing firm and its periodical. the *Evergreen* can in fact be read not only as an eclectic illustrated magazine

59 *Liberal* (6 June 1895), ‘Evergreen Cuttings Book’, p. 38.

60 *London* (14 November 1895), ‘Evergreen Cuttings Book’, p. 36.

61 *Realm* (15 November 1895), ‘Evergreen Cuttings Book’, p. 37.

62 For example: *Le Magazine international* or *Le Temps* (10 November 1895), *Mercur de France* (August 1895; August 1896; February 1897), and in Brussels, *L’Art moderne* (9 June 1895) and *La Jeune Belgique* (November–December 1895).

63 Murdo Macdonald, ‘Sir Patrick Geddes and the Scottish Generalist Tradition’, *The Sir Patrick Geddes Commemorative Lecture, at the Royal Society of Edinburgh* (20 May 2009), <http://www.rtpi.org.uk/the-rtpi-near-you/rtpi-scotland/events/sir-patrick-geddes-commemorative-lecture/> www.rtpi.org.uk [accessed 10 December 2016], p. 1.

64 See Cairns Craig, ‘Modernism and National Identity in Scottish Magazines: The *Evergreen* (1895–97); the *Northern Review* (1924); the *Modern Scot* (1930–36); *Scottish Art and Letters* (1944–1950); the *Scottish Chapbook* (1922–23); *Outlook* (1936–37); and the *Voice of Scotland* (1938–39; 1945; 1955)’, in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, ed. by Brooker and Thacker, 1 (2009), p. 761.

supporting the unity of art and *belles lettres* but also as a platform for dialogue between cosmopolitanism, anarchism, and emerging Celtic revivalism. By bringing art, science, and even socialism into the equation, Geddes offered a 'synthesis' of his theories and stepped outside the (too) close confines of magazine publishing. Branford asserts, for instance:

Truth to tell, the new Scottish quarterly is not primarily an organ of art and literature at all. It is primarily the beginning of an effort to give periodic expression in print to a movement that is mainly architectural, educational, scientific. Thus it is a by-product of social life rather than a literary and artistic main-product.⁶⁵

One of these undertakings is the architectural plan of the Ramsay Garden murals, which explored the history of Scottish ideas. Mostly by Duncan, these were reproduced in the *Evergreen* through black and white drawings, sometimes of poor quality (*Anima Celtica* for example, see Fig. 3). In 1892 the Scottish painter Charles Hodge Mackie met the Frenchman Paul Sérusier, who had settled for a time in Edinburgh. Sérusier's contribution, also published in the *Evergreen*, as well as Charles Saroléa's collaboration, illustrated French connections with Edinburgh as a cultural centre. A Belgian academic, Professor of French at Edinburgh University, the latter was to later direct the French series 'Collection Nelson'.⁶⁶

The Outlook Tower,⁶⁷ organized as an original museum and educational space, transcribed Geddes's social geography in a renewed dialogue between the city and the world. The visitor ascended from the first floor dedicated to the world, through the second floor dedicated to Europe, the third to language, to Scotland, etc., up to the sixth on Edinburgh, the *camera obscura* being at the very top: the city images projected in real time would then change the visitor's perception of his daily environment as the *Evergreen* intended with respect to its own readers within the parallel order of its four sections.

Evolutionary theories in art and science spread through the 'Summer Meetings', an interdisciplinary popular university based on wide-ranging subjects such as biology, sociology, art, town-planning, and anarchist ideals. Internationally known intellectuals, such as Élisée Reclus (and his brother Élie), took part in them.⁶⁸ Even Vicomte Melchior de Vogüé, a member of the French Academy,⁶⁹ thanked Geddes for sending him the *Evergreen* and welcomed his activities. A photograph testifies to the number of people who attended the Summer Meeting in 1896, in the renovated courtyard of Ramsay Gardens, mostly elite University or political personalities including many women (Fig. 11).⁷⁰

A third undertaking, but not the last, was the founding in Edinburgh in 1895, and at the Sorbonne in Paris in 1896, of the Franco-Scottish Society, which aimed at fostering contacts between French and Scots to develop their long-established friendship. This mutual interest is reflected in John Duncan's emblematic oil on canvas,

65 'Evergreen Cuttings Book', *Bookman* (December 1895), SUA T-GED 8/1/8.

66 See Frances Fowle, 'The Franco-Scottish Alliance: Artistic Links between Scotland and France in the Late 1880s and 1890s', in *Patrick Geddes: The French Connection*, ed. by Frances Fowle and Belinda Thomson (Oxford: White Cockade Publishing, 2004), pp. 27–46. Also see Siân Reynolds, 'Bringing Parisians to Edinburgh: Patrick Geddes's Networks of Academics, Anarchists and Artists, 1870s to 1890s', in *Paris-Edinburgh: Cultural Connections in the Belle Époque* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2007), p. 80.

67 The Ramsay Gardens and the Outlook Tower was the publishing company's home.

68 Geddes and Élisée Reclus, the anarchist theorist and geographer, also launched a project in 1895 (a Great Globe for the Paris Exhibition in 1900). See Élie and Élisée Reclus, *Le Renouveau d'une cité* (Paris: Édition de la Société Nouvelle, 1896), praising Geddes's urban plans.

69 He also was the President of the 'Association France-Grande-Bretagne', sister organization of the Franco-British Society.

70 Summer meeting 1896, no. 1 SUA T. GED 22/3/27.



Fig. 11 Summer meeting 1896, SUA, T. GED 22/3/27 (no. 1), Glasgow, Strathclyde University.

Jehanne d'Arc et sa Garde Écossaise [*Joan of Arc and her Scots Guard*], commissioned by the Society in 1895. Those attending the Society's inaugural banquet in Paris received a reproduction, and an artist's proof of the same was presented to the President of the French Republic, Félix Faure. Finally, the Summer number (1896) of the *Evergreen* published a line drawing, *The Way to Rheims*, in reference to the Auld Alliance of the Kingdoms of France, Scotland, and Norway against England from the thirteenth century to the end of the Hundred Years' War at least. Scottish soldiers had helped Joan of Arc during the Siege of Orléans in 1429 and become bodyguards to the French monarchy (Fig. 12).

Conclusion

By way of conclusion, it is vital to remember that backstage magazine production is often messy to the point of near incomprehensibility. A plan for 'Economics of Publishing' outlined by Geddes (Fig. 13) reads simply enough: 'Writing, Printing, Binding, Distribution, Selling, Paying'. Yet this would hardly reveal the extent to which the magazine is not only the result of complex human interactions but also just one facet of rich international, cultural, and political activity. Periodical ventures such as this can hardly be seen as purely aesthetic creations or simply commercial businesses. A study of the discussions and debates that occurred behind the scenes reveals that the decisions of the amateur editors of the *Evergreen* were as much shaped by economic pressures as by ideological drives and aesthetic forces. This dynamic interplay is hidden behind the façade of finished work, particularly in the case of the *Evergreen* with its exacting emphasis on quality and expression, and its implausible economics. Looking backstage allows us to see that while this aesthetic magazine seems opposed to the dominance of the consumer coin — i.e. 'buying', 'selling', and 'paying' — the close relationship between the avant-garde and commercial dealings is undeniable. While these issues played a key role in determining the magazine's quality of production and contents,



Fig. 12 John Duncan, 'The Way to Rheims', *Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal* (Summer 1896), private collection.

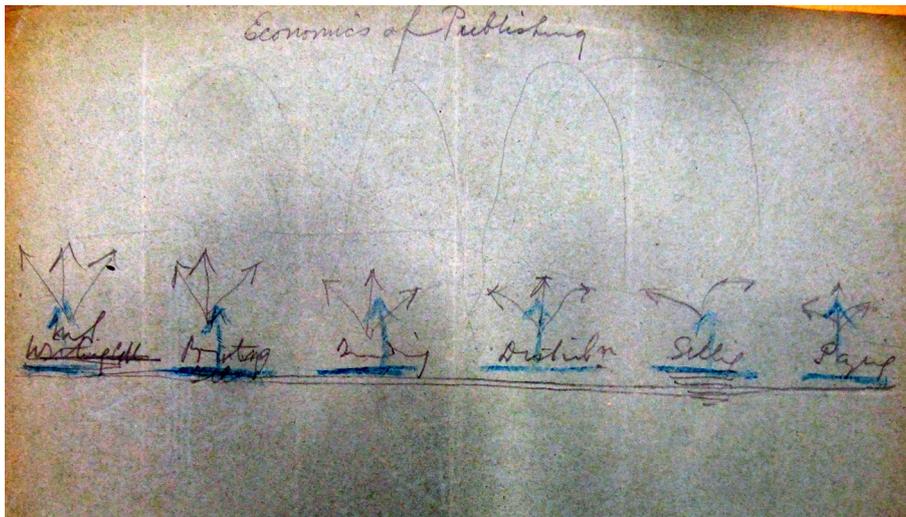


Fig. 13 'Economics of Publishing', SUA, T-GED 8/1/2, Glasgow, Strathclyde University.

they remained unseen as if the editors were hiding the role financial considerations played not only in the magazine's design, but within its cultural marketplace. In point of fact, the renewed attention the *Evergreen* paid to tradition guarantees its modernity: 'frankly experimental at least it has been, from cover to cover'.⁷¹

71 Geddes and Macdonald, p. 155.

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