

# Taking Scotland Overseas:

## A study of Scottish exhibits and Scottish connections at the international exhibitions beyond British shores, with special reference to the Vienna International Exhibition/*Weltausstellung*, 1873.

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### **Abstract**

The International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art held in Edinburgh in 1886 and the International Exhibition of Science, Art and Industry held in Glasgow in 1888, gave Scotland an opportunity to demonstrate its scope, diversity and success within its own borders. During the preceding decades, Scottish arts and industries had already been regularly exhibited at international exhibitions overseas. This study will focus on the Scottish submission to the Vienna World Exhibition/*Weltausstellung* Wien, 1873. The extent of the Scottish submission will be examined alongside the participation of Scottish individuals, whose achievements were celebrated at home and abroad. The expression of Scottish culture at the Vienna Exhibition will be compared and contrasted with the preceding international exhibitions, including the *Exposition Universelle des produits de l'Agriculture, de l'Industrie et des Beaux-Arts de Paris*, 1855 and *Exposition Universelle*, Paris, 1867, with focus being given to the Fine Art Halls. It is hoped that a picture can be presented of Scottish exhibits and Scottish connections at Vienna in 1873 and the role of Scottish exhibitors in international exhibitions preceding the 1880s. The source material draws on contemporary literature published in and around 1873 housed in the collections of the Austrian National Library, *die Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, Vienna, and the reports from the newspaper the *Glasgow Herald*.

### **Introduction**

During the decade following the 1873 Vienna International Exhibition<sup>1</sup> /*Weltausstellung* two international exhibitions were hosted in Scotland. Edinburgh held the International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art in 1886, the pavilions being located in The Meadows, and in 1888 Glasgow hosted the International Exhibition of Science, Art and Industry at Kelvingrove Park.<sup>2</sup> The objectives of both, broadly speaking, were to place Edinburgh and Glasgow's industries and arts on an international stage and highlight their achievements. Contemporary publications

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<sup>1</sup> The terminology used for International Exhibitions is varied, Universal Exhibitions and World Exhibitions being familiar terms. In this essay the term International has been used throughout.

<sup>2</sup> Limond 2009:185

encapsulate people's attitudes and thoughts on the two exhibitions. *Pen-and-ink notes at the Glasgow Exhibition*, written by Robert Walker (c.1841-1900), the Secretary to the Fine Arts Section in the Glasgow exhibition and Acting Secretary of the Glasgow Institute of Fine Arts (1880-1900), provides some interesting observations about the Scottish international exhibition in Glasgow.<sup>3</sup> Walker notes that the exhibition was poorly attended by contributors from overseas, bemoaning the fact that '...foreign lands have not poured their treasures liberally into its courts...'<sup>4</sup> and gives thought to the various reasons for this, attributing factors such as the lack of awards being given to participants as being partially responsible. He also reasons that the limitations placed on the sale of items were equally discouraging to exhibitors, writing '...the powers that be have set their faces rigorously against the bazaar system...'<sup>5</sup> Walker reinforces the strengths of Scottish industry at the time noting 'Scottish shipbuilding, engineering, chemical works, the manufacture of furniture, calico and printing...'<sup>6</sup> as exemplary. Whilst international contributors were apparently reluctant to come to Scotland, it is relevant that during the decades preceding the international exhibitions in Glasgow and Edinburgh, substantial Scottish contributions were to be found in the major international exhibitions beyond Scottish shores. The Scottish submissions were subsumed within the category of 'British' displays and their full extent is therefore not immediately apparent from reading the catalogues.

Today our interpretation and understanding of the international, universal or world exhibitions is largely drawn from the literature produced preceding, during and directly after the exhibitions; these include personal accounts in response to the displays, guides to the exhibitions and catalogues, as well as numerous newspaper reports. This, frequently subjective, body of material is supported by a vast spectrum of more objective studies frequently written with the benefit of hindsight. In attempting to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the Scottish contributions to these international exhibitions, this study examines some of these contemporary sources in order to place the Scottish international exhibitions of 1886 and 1888 within the larger context of the similar displays which preceded them in Europe. Such a study allows us to contextualise the exhibitions hosted in Scotland during 1886 and 1888, and to understand the experiences the Scottish exhibitors were building upon in hosting and participating in international exhibitions. A study of the literature produced in and around the Vienna International Exhibition of 1873, and chiefly concerning the Scottish submissions to the exhibition, makes an interesting theme for discussion and we can trace interpretations and comments surrounding the Scottish displays submitted, founded on the experiences and first-hand observations of the authors. Due to the sheer quantity of literature involved and its accessibility, this study has been confined chiefly to English language sources published at the time of the exhibitions under consideration. The source material for this essay exclusively draws on contemporary sources in the collections of the Austrian National Library, *die*

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<sup>3</sup> Walker 1888

<sup>4</sup> Walker 1888:13

<sup>5</sup> Walker 1888:13

<sup>6</sup> Walker 1888:14

*Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, Vienna, examining some of the catalogues and related publications from 1873 and comparative catalogues from the years 1855 and 1867 connected to the Paris international exhibitions. These sources provide valuable quantitative information concerning the Scottish submission which can be compared with similar publications associated with earlier international exhibitions. Another source used in this essay are the articles written by the Special Correspondent published in the *Glasgow Herald*. By drawing on this series of contemporary reports something can be understood of how aspects of the Vienna *Weltausstellung* of 1873 were reported to the public and assess something of not only the quantities involved in the Scottish submission, but also its strengths and weaknesses. An investigation of the Scottish submissions to the Industrial Halls, with particular reference to the textile submissions from Glasgow, makes an interesting case study. References can be found reflecting the role and importance of Scottish individuals, whose achievements were celebrated at home and abroad. For the purposes of this essay the achievements of John Scott Russell (1808-1882) and John Forbes Watson (1827-1892) will be discussed. The expression of Scottish culture will be examined through records pertaining to the Fine Art Halls. From these reports comparisons can be made between the exhibition in Vienna 1873 and the preceding international exhibitions in Paris; the Exposition Universelle, 1855 and *Exposition Universelle*, 1867, both of which presented commercial opportunities to British exhibitors.<sup>7</sup>

The legislature of the previous century shaped the character of the British submissions to international exhibitions during the latter half of the nineteenth century. In 1706 the passage of the Treaty of Union had united the kingdoms of Scotland and England into one union, Great Britain. Due to this, the Scottish contributors were entered into the European international exhibitions during the second half of the nineteenth century within the ‘British’ category. In some instances the terms ‘British’ and ‘English’ are used interchangeably and in others the Scottish submission entries are subsumed under the term ‘English’ entries. We therefore have to make allowance for the differences of nomenclature in the period in which the various sample texts were written. In seeking to isolate the nature of the submissions from Scottish contributors this study seeks to examine something that was never intended to be viewed in isolation.<sup>8</sup>

**‘These vast collections of artistic and industrial objects are becoming rather a bore...’**

The Vienna Universal Exhibition or *Weltausstellung*, 1873 was the fifth in a series of major international exhibitions which followed the 1851 Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, also known as The Crystal Palace Exhibition, in London. The 1851 exhibition was followed by the *Exposition Universelle*, Paris, of 1855, the Great London Exposition, in 1862 and the *Exposition Universelle*, Paris, which welcomed its first visitors in April 1867.

The Vienna *Weltausstellung* was opened by Emperor Franz Josef on the 1st May 1873, the year which marked the 25th anniversary of his coronation. Many newspapers carried descriptions of the opening ceremony:

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<sup>7</sup> Kaiser 2005:563–590

<sup>8</sup> The British submission to Vienna in 1873 is discussed in Baird 2016

‘To-day at noon, with no maimed rites, but with the disadvantages attendant on bad weather and consequent on everything not being quite in its right place, the greatest Palace of Industry yet known to the world was declared open by Francis Joseph, the first Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary, in the presence of a brilliant company.’<sup>9</sup> The site selected for the exhibition was in a city park, the Prater. The complex of buildings and gardens set up to house the exhibition can be seen in a contemporary illustration, **Figure 1**. This was an extensive exhibition and the large temporary structures which housed the displays were removed at the end of the exhibition, with only a few exceptions. The idea of the exhibition had been broached during a period in which Vienna was enjoying prosperity and great expansion. In hosting the Vienna Exhibition the objectives were to assert Austria-Hungary’s position and potential in world trade and human achievement.<sup>10</sup> Vienna’s architecture, as is still seen today, bears testimony to the period of growth and construction work that preceded the exhibition<sup>11</sup> in order to project Vienna as an important European city and flourishing centre for trade: ‘... the older capitals, London and Paris, were to be made to see what a formidable rival they had in the metamorphosed residence of the Hapsburgs’.<sup>12</sup> Initially the Vienna Exhibition did not attract the amount of visitors predicted. A financial crisis, a cholera out-break as well as high prices were said to be keeping the foreign visitors away.



**Figure 1.** View of the Vienna *Weltausstellung*, 1873

The Vienna Exhibition<sup>13</sup> differed from the previous international exhibitions in both its scale and the categorisation of objects. The exhibition used a classification system of twenty-six categories which was held to be a superior system.<sup>14</sup> The themes were historic as well as contemporary, encompassing the the history of trades, the history of invention and the history of industrial economy. Some considered the exhibition to be an over-ambitious project.<sup>15</sup> The first announcements about the forthcoming exhibition reported in the British papers gave a somewhat unenthusiastic response to the prospect of another international exhibition. One report saying: ‘Let us begin by frankly telling our Viennese friends that, in Western Europe, at

<sup>9</sup> *The Morning Post*, 5 May 1873:6

<sup>10</sup> Krasny 2004: 55-56

<sup>11</sup> Kos 2014

<sup>12</sup> Gindriez 1878:28

<sup>13</sup> *Weltausstellung* 1873

<sup>14</sup> *The Art Journal* 10 1873:265

<sup>15</sup> *The Art Journal* 10 1873:265

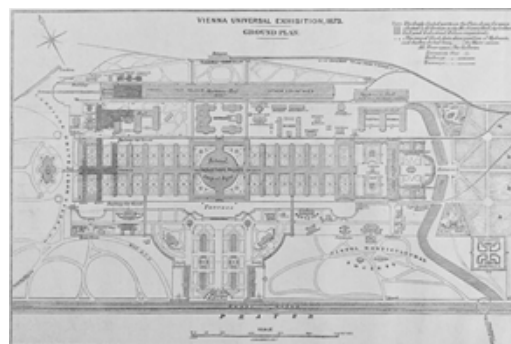
any rate, Exhibitions are getting to be regarded rather as a nuisance.’<sup>16</sup> After the Vienna Exhibition opened the same journal reported:

The Universal Exhibition now being held there [Vienna] will not perhaps exercise a very powerful attraction upon Englishmen, to whom these vast collections of artistic and industrial objects are becoming rather a bore, but Vienna itself is worthy of a visit as one of the most interesting of European capitals....<sup>17</sup>

This study will focus on the Industrial Hall and the Art Halls of the Vienna Exhibition for, although contributions from Scotland could be found in many other sections of the exhibition, the greatest contributions were to these buildings. Scotland contributed little to the Agricultural sections and although they had a representation in Machinery, they were ‘all but nowhere’ in Agricultural Machinery.<sup>18</sup> Great Britain was allocated 6,369.5 square metres of display space.<sup>19</sup> British ‘fine arts’ were represented in the *Kunsthalle* (‘Fine Art Hall’).<sup>20</sup> The *Maschinenhalle* (‘Machine Hall’), *Westliche Agriculturhalle* (‘Western Agricultural Hall’) and *Oestliche Agriculturhalle* (‘Eastern Agricultural Hall’) were the other major buildings on the site, each of which had representation from Britain. A summary of all the countries participating in the Vienna exhibition and the quantities involved can be found in the **Appendix**.

**Figure 2** shows a ground plan of the Vienna exhibition showing the arrangement of the British exhibition spaces. Unfortunately, records of the British sections, which would have shed some light on the impressions gained by a visitor in viewing the galleries, are not numerous.

We know from contemporary accounts, something of the arrangement of the British displays in the Industrial Hall. When approaching the British galleries from the eastern entrance, the visitor first encountered the American displays before passing into the



**Figure 2.** Ground Plan of Vienna *Weltausstellung*, 1873.  
British Section in shaded areas

<sup>16</sup> *The Graphic* 151, 19.10.1872: 2

<sup>17</sup> *The Graphic* 188, 5.07.1873:1

<sup>18</sup> *The Glasgow Herald* 6 May 1873:4

<sup>19</sup> The British Commission was headed by the Prince of Wales and included Sir Andrew Buchanan, the Duke of Teck, the Marquess of Ripon and Baron Rothschild, among others. The Secretary was Philip Cunliffe Owen (1828–94), who became Assistant Director of the South Kensington Museum in 1860 and had earlier been involved in the Exhibitions of 1855, 1862 and 1867.

<sup>20</sup> The following countries were represented by paintings and sculpture in the *Kunsthalle*: Austria, Germany, Hungary, Sweden, Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark, Russia, Norway, Italy, England, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Greece, France, China, America and Greece.

British Section. Jewellery and silversmiths' work were displayed in the main transept, as shown in **Figure 3**.

Following this, porcelains and glass commanded the intersection to the smaller side-galleries. Turning left into the side-gallery, the visitor would pass through metalwork and chemical products before reaching pottery and earthenware. In addition to these internal displays, there were uncovered and covered courtyard exhibitions. Another section featured military and naval weapons. Passing across the main transept the opposite side gallery accommodated silks and lace, cottons, woollens, leatherwork and books. The visitor would have had to return to the main transept and pass through furniture to find the Indian displays and the side-gallery to the left with displays from the colonies.



**Figure 3.** View of the British Section, Vienna *Weltausstellung*, 1873.

The following areas were represented within this section: India, Victoria, New Zealand, Ceylon, West African Settlements [Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Gambia and Lagos], Jamaica, Bahamas, and Trinidad.<sup>21</sup> The Scottish connections to the submissions from the colonies are too broad a subject to be included in this essay. The Indian displays were among the largest contributions to the British displays. The contents of this section were listed in a separate and comprehensive catalogue. The Indian section was held by many to be one of the most striking aspects of the British exhibition but by no means by all.

By 1873 the British displays had been shaped and formed by the lessons learned from several previous exhibitions; their strengths had been developed and their contents modified. The observations of the American W.P. Blake give a good example of isolating the process of modification and improvement that some exhibits underwent, the exhibitors learning from earlier attempts and subsequently refining their submissions. This can be illustrated from an examination of the developments between the British ceramics exhibited in London in 1851 and Vienna in 1873. Blake, reporting on the Vienna Exhibition for the Centennial Commission wrote: 'The Exhibition in 1851 revealed to Great Britain its manifest inferiority in artistic manufactures'.<sup>22</sup> Blake attributed this to poor art education - a failure which had been, in his opinion, rectified by 1873. He notes that by the time of the Vienna Exhibition over twenty years later, 'Great Britain ... has risen to a commanding position in the potter's art.'<sup>23</sup> Blake also gives an account of the ceramic industry in the Vienna exhibition in which he details what he believed to be the strengths of the exhibition. Of the United Kingdom he wrote:

The ceramic productions were the most salient features of the exhibition from the United Kingdom. They occupied the most favored place in the grand transept, next to the superb metal work of the Messrs. Elkington ...<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Great Britain Royal Commission for the Vienna International Exhibition 1873:168–82

<sup>22</sup> Blake 1875: 10

<sup>23</sup> Blake 1875: 10

<sup>24</sup> Blake 1875: 25

**‘Scotland has been asleep about this exhibition...’**

Such were the words reported in the *Glasgow Herald* on the sixth of May 1873, shortly after the opening of the Vienna International Exhibition. According to the Special Correspondent, who wrote regular reports from Vienna for the *Glasgow Herald*, the Scottish submission was scanty. Several sections had representation from England and nothing, or next to nothing, from Scotland: ‘she [Scotland] has certainly lost a magnificent opportunity...’ the Special Correspondent goes on to write; ‘Should you like a list of the Scottish exhibitors? They are not, I regret to say, very numerous, and Glasgow hardly shows up to her usual mark; Greenock has nothing, Paisley is fairly represented in her great thread manufacture, but it would certainly have been worth the while of many firms who send nothing to send here...’

Scotland’s apparently poor representation in Vienna was not without its reasons however; the Special Correspondent for the *Glasgow Herald* goes on to suggest that the exhibitors ‘may have been frightened by the distance and the language, and difficulty in understanding the Austrian tariff on their goods...’ although he explains that the Austrian tariffs have since been translated into English, along with ‘all the most important official documents affecting the patent laws.’<sup>25</sup> On 16 December 1865 a treaty of commerce between Austria and the United Kingdom had been concluded and was to remain in place until 1877. It was of advantage to British importers:

The reductions accorded to France by continental States have been generally extended to the United Kingdom, either under treaties containing the ‘most favoured nation’ clause, or by direct tariff negotiations, as in the case of Austria.<sup>26</sup>

In the publication *Austrian Tariff of Import Duties upon the principle articles of British produce and manufactures* itemized for 1873,<sup>27</sup> it can be seen that the import duty did not exceed 20 per cent after 1 January 1870. Whatever the reasons for Britain’s somewhat apathetic participation in the Vienna Exhibition, the opening of the exhibition found their displays unfinished. The Special Correspondent for the *Glasgow Herald* commented that many of the exhibits were far from ready when the exhibition opened. He writes: ‘Not more than one quarter of the Exhibition is ready: (but there is a great deal to see that is most interesting). Great Britain makes an interesting show.’<sup>28</sup>

**‘England is admirably represented. We [Scotland] are nowhere...’**

An analysis of the submission statistics relating to the Scottish companies exhibiting throughout the exhibition buildings at Vienna, 1873 gives us a broad idea of where the Scottish arts and industries were best represented. The bar chart in **Figure 4** shows the distribution of Scottish contributing companies through the displays with one omission, that of the Art Hall, discussed below, where the collections were not quantifiable in the same way as the other sections of the Exhibition, and for this reason sections 22 to 26 are not represented in the graph. The total

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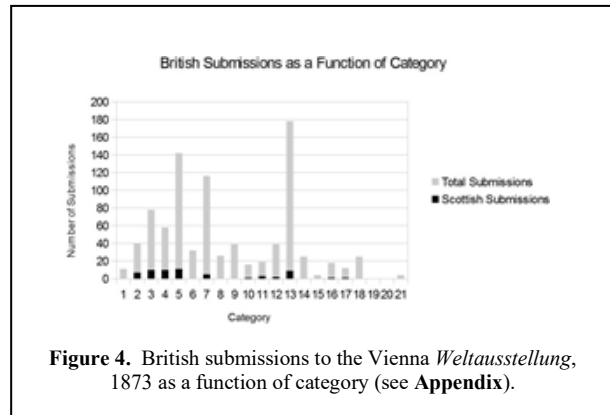
<sup>25</sup> *The Glasgow Herald* 6 May 1873: 4

<sup>26</sup> Her Majesty’s Commissioners 1873 :vii

<sup>27</sup> Her Majesty’s Commissioners 1873: 46-7

<sup>28</sup> *The Glasgow Herald* 2 May 1873: 5

British submissions for each section are illustrated in the graph so that the number of Scottish companies can be compared. This chart, however, has no bearing on the quantities of objects submitted but instead, represents the number of contributing companies. The bar chart also excludes the Additional Exhibitions. From **Figure 4** we can see that the largest number of contributing companies from Scotland fell into categories 3 to 5, Chemical Industry, Substances of Food as Products of Industry and Textile Industry and Clothing, whilst the greatest number of contributors from Britain, as a whole, were in Section 13, General and Agricultural Machinery. Once again, the Special Correspondent for the *Glasgow Herald* sheds a little light on these categories, saying of Textile Industry and Clothing, ‘...we [Scotland] are still weaker compared with England...’ and of Agricultural Machinery, ‘...England is admirably represented. We are nowhere...’



**Figure 4.** British submissions to the Vienna *Weltausstellung*, 1873 as a function of category (see **Appendix**).

During the 1870s, Glasgow’s shipbuilding and heavy engineering industry was burgeoning. As Walker states; ‘Glasgow and the Clyde are inseparable terms. The city has made the river, and, in turn, the river had helped to make the city.’<sup>29</sup> He tells us that at no previous exhibition had Glasgow been so well represented as it was at the 1888 exhibition. The production of screw-driven iron-hulled ships on the Clyde was increasing in the 1870s.<sup>30</sup> An examination of the contributors at Vienna 1873 in ‘General Machinery’, Section VIII, reveals the following companies from Glasgow: Crown Ironworks, Thomson & Company (Crown Ironworks), Marquis Brothers, Bergius, W.C. And Baines, W.N.,<sup>31</sup> although many of the firms Walker mentions as being representative of this industry were not present at Vienna.

One relevant observation that was made frequently about the Vienna Exhibition was that there were fewer British exhibitors as compared with previous exhibitions. This reduction in the number of exhibitors was noted across the entire British submission and not in specific departments. According to W.C. Aitkin’s report<sup>32</sup>: ‘The total number of British exhibitors in the Vienna exhibition was 770 as opposed to 3,609 who exhibited at the Paris exhibition of 1867’. Although the exact total reported varies, a Viennese reporter stated in the *Wiener Weltausstellungs-Zeitung* that there were 742 British exhibitors.<sup>33</sup> If we turn to the quantities of participating Scottish companies at Vienna we find that the same short-fall is evident. The Paris Universal Exhibition in 1855 appears to have contained an exemplary contribution from

<sup>29</sup> Walker 1888: 45

<sup>30</sup> Peebles, *The Scottish Historical Review* 69.187,1990: 26

<sup>31</sup> Great Britain. Royal Commission for the Vienna International Exhibition 1873

<sup>32</sup> Aitken 1873:17–18

<sup>33</sup> *Wiener Weltausstellungs-Zeitung* 142, 3.05.1873:3



Glasgow and yet, less than twenty years later, Glasgow's contribution to the Vienna Exhibition was 'not up to her usual mark'. We can question as to whether the author was comparing the Scottish contributions to the Vienna Exhibition with the earlier Scottish submissions made, for example, to the Paris international exhibitions in 1855 and 1867. A detailed analysis of each exhibition is not possible within the context of this paper, but if we take the representative Scottish submissions from Paisley, Greenock, Leith, Glasgow and Edinburgh from the Paris Exhibition, 1855, and Vienna 1873 and express them in two bar charts, shown in **Figure 5**, we are able to fully appreciate the Special Correspondent's concerns. The Glasgow submission had involved seventy-nine contributing companies in 1855, as compared with nineteen in Vienna 1873. Interestingly, the contributions from Paisley, Greenock, Leith and Edinburgh were little changed in the quantity contributed to each exhibition and the reduction from a total of 112 submissions in 1855 to 58 in 1873 was largely due to Glasgow's reticence, reluctance or failure to contribute more to the Vienna Exhibition 1873. It should be noted, once again, that these statistics express the quantity of contributing exhibitors and not the quantities of items. From these graphs we are able, at a glance, to assess the decline in the number of Scottish exhibitors, specifically in this context contributors from Glasgow, compared with those contributed to a previous international exhibition, albeit one in which the Glasgow contribution was particularly prominent. However, accounting for this change is less straightforward and different authors of the day, publishing at the time of the exhibition, had different opinions on the main contributing factors.

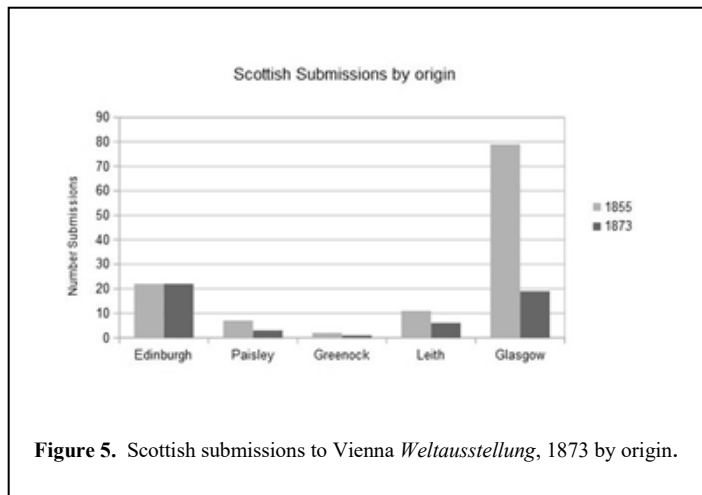


Figure 5. Scottish submissions to Vienna *Weltausstellung*, 1873 by origin.

Contemporary sources give us an insight into Glasgow's submission exhibited in the Paris Exhibition, 1855. A report gives the following description of the Glasgow display:

From what we have learned, especially from a townsman just returned from Paris, the Glasgow portion of the exhibition will not only be ample, but extremely striking and interesting. Almost all the leading soft goods staples of this city will be magnificently represented in it, including printed goods, woven goods, shawls, muslins, harness curtains, embroideries, lace goods, Turkey reds (silk and cotton), threads, &c...<sup>34</sup>

The Glasgow textile department at the 1855 Paris Exhibition comprised forty-four cases containing examples of muslins, tartan shawls, 'turkey reds', gingham, fancy dresses, damasks, and, according to the *Paisley Herald and Renfrewshire Advertiser*, could be 'pronounced one of the most perfect in the whole Exhibition'. Outstanding among the Glasgow textile exhibits were those of Messrs Brown & Donald and Wallace & Turnbull, whose cheap embroidered muslins were mentioned as being the 'greatest point of attraction'. The tartan

<sup>34</sup> *The Glasgow Herald* 6 April 1855: 4

shawls of Mr Cross also proved very popular and the French ladies were observed unceasingly clustering around Mr Cross's displays with 'envy and admiration'.<sup>35</sup> However, it appears that there was less enthusiastic clustering at the Glasgow textile displays in Vienna. Less than twenty years later than the 1855 Paris Exhibition and within five years of the Paris 1867 Exhibition, representation from Glasgow at the Vienna Exhibition was reduced to only three contributing companies in the Textile Section, V: Thomas Tapling, James Templeton and J. Lyle. There was a wide range of factors which possibly accounted for this reduction, one of which was apathy. As was mentioned above, when the Vienna Exhibition was first announced a number of the British newspapers had reported the British response was less than enthusiastic. It was perhaps not surprising that the distances involved alone should be a cause for consideration. However, Glasgow textile producers made submissions to the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876 where the distances involved were much greater and where John Clark & Co., Moir & Muir, Templeton J & JS, Templeton James & Co. made the central contributions to the Glasgow textile displays.<sup>36</sup>

If we accept worries concerning logistics, language and tariffs, as mentioned by the Special Correspondent of the *Glasgow Herald*, quoted earlier, we might go some way towards explaining the smaller number of participating companies at the Vienna Exhibition. We might also consider the economic factors involved. A report in the catalogue of the British Section at Paris 1867 includes a retrospective examination of previous exhibitions and goes some way to pinpointing some economic factors which may have contributed to this demonstrable decline:

On the outbreak of the American war, the Manchester Chamber of Commerce took active measures to stimulate the cultivation of cotton in various parts of the globe, and many countries, notably British India, Egypt, Brazil, and other South American States, and even China and Japan, largely increased their cultivation of cotton, and contributed to supply the English markets during the years 1861 to 1865.

Availability of materials may have been a consideration in the reduction in some of the textile submissions. The American Civil War, 1861-1865, had led to problems in the cotton trade from America which may have had negative consequences on the fortunes of individual companies: '...if there had been no war, we should have looked to America for a supply from the crop of 1862 of 4,500,000 or 5,000,000 bales...we remember that every manufacturing country in the world, as well as England, is bare of raw material, and will have to replace its exhausted stocks.'<sup>37</sup> However, it would appear too simplistic to consider this in isolation. Other sources indicate that by the year 1873 much of the industry had recovered, however it is possible that the effects were still apparent in the industry and as the markets were known to be volatile and unpredictable, companies were cautious. There had been changes and advances in production such as increased mechanisation. During the 1870s Britain's textiles tended to be exported to 'less developed economies'<sup>38</sup> with greater demand for coarser cloth, such as India. This was due in part to the changes in industrial processes in countries Britain exported to and resulted

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<sup>35</sup> *Paisley Herald and Renfrewshire Advertiser* 14.07.1855: 2

<sup>36</sup> United States Centennial Commission. *International Exhibition 1876*: 148 – 150

<sup>37</sup> *Glasgow Herald* 3 November 1862: 6

<sup>38</sup> Schwarzkopf 2018: page unknown

in a polarisation of production, with high quality products being exported to European markets.<sup>39</sup>

In the *Reports on the Vienna Universal Exhibition of 1873* the following extract from Dr Alexander Peez's report on the subject of Printed Cottons is of interest:

Of England's incalculable produce, scarcely a specimen was sent to the Universal Exhibition, because thanks to the good development of Austrian manufacture, it finds scarcely any market in this country...Glasgow has quite recently attempted to produce the super-fine Mulhausen stuffs, and the most expensive designers of Paris are employed for the Scotch manufacture. The English and Scotch printing factories are worked altogether by machinery, and threaten not Switzerland only, but also Mulhausen itself..<sup>40</sup>

Probably one of the most reliable reports of the state of Glasgow's industries is their representation at the International Exhibition of Science, Art and Industry, Glasgow, 1888 and it is interesting to see which firms were operating at the time. By this time the cotton spinning and weaving industries were reported as not 'as flourishing as they once were' in part due to the fact that the production of Turkey red dyeing had completely altered due to the discoveries of the chemist Roubriquet<sup>41</sup> and was flourishing in the second-half of the nineteenth century.<sup>42</sup> Individual factors and changing fortunes affecting companies are also relevant to this in the case of the companies James Templeton & Co.<sup>43</sup> and its sister company J & J S Templeton & Co. The company is recorded as having a period of reduced profits in 1870 due to the problems and changes in production of chenille carpets.

Another contributory factor, and one not brought forward explicitly by any of the quoted contemporary sources, was the arrival of new competitors such as Japan. In 1873 the German curator Jacob Falke noted a marked increase in the quality of the Japanese and Chinese submissions.<sup>44</sup> The Japanese textiles were one of the outstanding features of the Vienna Exhibition and were noted in a great deal of the contemporary literature. In another source it was reported that by the end of the exhibition the Japanese had sold almost everything they had for sale on display.<sup>45</sup> The Japanese gallery astounded and amazed the visitors. The Japanese exhibition can be glimpsed behind a curtain in some of the gallery photographs of the exhibition and its entrance, presided over by a huge mythical animal, the *shachihoko*, which caught the attention of even the most jaded visitor. The Japanese gallery is well recorded in a series of photographs. The individual objects were also photographed, out of the context of the displays,

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<sup>39</sup> Schwarzkopf 2018: page unknown

<sup>40</sup> Blake 1873: 602

<sup>41</sup> Walker 1888:41

<sup>42</sup> Wertz in *Mitteilungen: Gesellschaft Deutscher Chemiker* 25, 2017: 308

<sup>43</sup> Archives Hub, *Records of James Templeton & Co Ltd, carpet manufacturers, Glasgow, Scotland* <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/9776d156-1921-3deb-a831-5c7c3d06caab> (accessed 15 May 2019)

<sup>44</sup> Von Falke 1873:115

<sup>45</sup> Gindriez 1878:30

by the Austrian photographer Michael Moser. Visitor accounts are highly informative as they record, with admiration, their impressions of walking into the Japanese section:

The most perfect of the far eastern displays is that of Japan ... With the Japanese it is scarcely too much to say that all is original, beautiful or quaint ... Conspicuous in metal work, as you enter, is the monster Dolphin in brass, with his tail swaying in the air, in the very act of plunging down among the waves. Behind him is a lacquered cabinet wrought in ebony and ivory, inlaid with exquisitely minute plaques of gold and silver ...<sup>46</sup>

Such a quote is perhaps indicative of the receptiveness of the public to what was ‘beautiful’ and ‘original’, very powerful words in such a forum for trade and commercial expansion. Detailed floor plans of the Japanese gallery show us how the material on display was distributed:

We may loiter among the many-hued [Japanese] silks and the delicate embroidered stuffs, with their endless variety of patterns, all so marked in their local individualities ...<sup>47</sup>

However, Japan was not alone as a source of admiration. The textiles from India were also much admired, and these are discussed in the forthcoming pages.

**’There had been many prophets of woe...** ‘If we look beyond the numbers involved and turn to consider the numerous Scottish individuals who exhibited at the Vienna Exhibition in 1873, the most visually documented contribution was an architectural one. The sheer proportions of John Scott Russell’s<sup>48</sup> magnificent centre-piece to the Exhibition, which can be seen in **Figure 6**, ensured that Russell’s achievements in Vienna did not escape detailed scrutiny. Several Austrian newspapers carried articles on him, illustrated with portraits. The scale of Russell’s Rotunda was impressive: in circumference it measured 1,080’, its diameter 360’ and including the exterior colonnade, 440’. Assessments of its height are variable but generally speaking it was said to be 284’ high and was noted as being the largest unsupported “dome” (actually a truncated cone or frustum) in the world in its

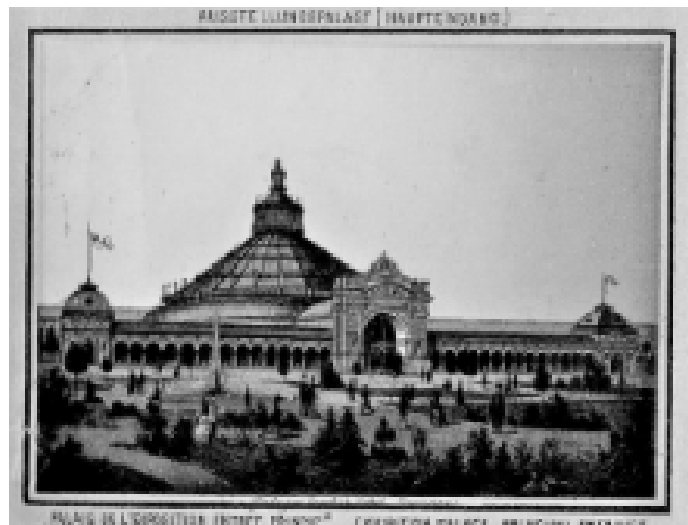


Figure 6. The Rotunda, Vienna *Weltausstellung*, 1873

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<sup>46</sup> Special Correspondent for *The Graphic* 1873:168

<sup>47</sup> Special Correspondent for *The Graphic* 1873:170

<sup>48</sup> John Scott Russell (1808 - 1882)

day. The British catalogue included a diagram comparing it in scale to domes such as that of the London International Exhibition of 1862 with a span of just under 160', St Peter's Rome with a span of 157' and, smaller still, St Paul's Cathedral, London with a span of 112', all theoretically fitting easily within Russell's Rotunda. Russell's obituary recorded by the Institute of Civil Engineers, tells us that the idea which later came to fruition as the Rotunda in Vienna, was originally conceived by him as early as the 1851 Great Exhibition.<sup>49</sup>

Russell's Rotunda had both its critics and its admirers. Some critics were uncertain whether the singular and striking building would stand:

This fine dome is the latest triumph of Mr Scott Russell's constructive skill. There had been many prophets of woe. Engineers had proved mathematically that the great balloon of the roof must collapse; that the piers of the arches must bulge outward under the weight; that the foundations were subsiding and must subside further; that a choice of catastrophes must necessarily occur, any one of which would involve ruin to Mr Scott Russell's great conception. Heavy bets were made that the crisis, if it did not occur before, must take place on the opening day, when the roof would vibrate to the cheering and the music ...<sup>50</sup>

However, such sceptics were proved wrong, the building stood for the next fifty years and was only finally demolished after it suffered severe fire damage in 1937. Archive footage,<sup>51</sup> recording the final demolition, gives an impression of the scale and proportions of the building. The huge arena formed within the interior space of the Rotunda provided an exhibition and performance space within the exhibition as well a central hub, **Figure 7**.

At the centre of the Rotunda stood a fountain by Durenne which can now be seen in a city park in Graz. The Industrial Hall, designed by Karl von Hasenauer (1833-1894), extended from the Rotunda in an East/West orientation. Arguably, according to some of the contemporary commentaries, the interior s

was not used to full advantage during the six months of the exhibition, its impact on the visitor being lost by a clutter of exhibition stands which detracted from the impression of scale.<sup>52</sup> The American William Blake wrote of Russell's Rotunda that it was the most striking element of the Vienna exhibition and described the building in great detail.<sup>53</sup> Interestingly, Blake records that



**Figure 7.** Interior of the Rotunda

<sup>49</sup> Russell's involvement in the 1851 Great Exhibition is discussed in Bonython 1995: 46

<sup>50</sup> *London Daily News* 5 May 1873:3

<sup>51</sup> [www.britishpathe.com/video/final-demolition-of-viennas-rotunda](http://www.britishpathe.com/video/final-demolition-of-viennas-rotunda) (accessed 15 May 2019)

<sup>52</sup> *The Standard* 23 June 1873:4

<sup>53</sup> Blake 1873:42

J. Scott Russell's method of construction was not used by the contractor responsible for building the Rotunda.

By 1873 Russell was based in London. As was the case with several of the Scottish individuals representing British interests and industries at the 1873 exhibition, such as Thomas Faed (1826 - 1900)<sup>54</sup> the furniture designer Bruce James Talbert (1838 - 1881) and John Forbes Watson (1827-1892), who is discussed below. This might have made it difficult for someone outside the United Kingdom to understand that these British exhibitors were Scottish rather than English.<sup>55</sup> Indeed, it is debatable whether they would have understood any difference between 'British' and 'English'. It is interesting that neither Forbes Watson nor Russell emerged in the contemporary literature as representatives of Scottish achievement. Forbes Watson's association with Scotland is never, to this author's knowledge, given mention in the literature concerning the Vienna Exhibition and Russell's origins are referenced only in passing.

**'One of the most attractive Courts in the Vienna Exhibition is that of India...'**

John Forbes Watson<sup>56</sup> the curator and writer on India played a prominent role promoting India's culture and economy at the Vienna exhibition and is relevant to this study as being a Scottish individual operating within the context of the British submission. Forbes Watson, who was born and educated in Aberdeenshire, trained as a doctor and spent time in India before becoming director of the India Office, India Museum. In his catalogue for the Indian collections at Vienna,<sup>57</sup> Forbes Watson stated that although the space allocated for the display of some Indian contributions was inadequate, on the whole the facilities provided were better than at previous exhibitions. He believed the Indian Section was comparable to those shown in previous world shows<sup>58</sup> although some branches of manufacture and groups of raw produce were ineffectively represented. Forbes Watson was no stranger to such exhibitions; his participation is recorded in several earlier exhibitions. The Descriptive Catalogue of the Dublin International Exhibition, 1865 reported on 'the beautiful Indian collection, contributed by the India Board, and arranged by Dr. J. Forbes Watson, which occupies a large space, and is most attractive, embracing most of the choicest articles of the India Museum, London, many rare and valuable articles lent by the Queen, by Lord Gough and other exhibitors.'<sup>59</sup>

The Indian section of the Vienna exhibition 1873 was much admired. Its delayed opening was compensated for by its arresting appearance:

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<sup>54</sup> Morrison 2017:42

<sup>55</sup> Some relevant issues are discussed in Anderson, *The Scottish Historical Review* 91(231) 2012:1-41, passim.

<sup>56</sup> Forbes Watson, by profession a physician and surgeon, had been director of the Indian Museum in London from 1858 until 1879. He had been director for the Indian Department at the following exhibitions: London in 1862, Paris in 1867, South Kensington in 1870 -1872 and Vienna in 1873.

<sup>57</sup> Watson 1873

<sup>58</sup> Watson 1873: Preface

<sup>59</sup> Parkinson, Simmonds (eds.) 1866: xxii

The Indian pavilion is a cunning structure on columns, covered over wit[h] carpets and rugs of bright colours. Inside the apartment are all the appliances of Indian luxury, couches and carved furniture of Madras. One of the most interesting exhibitions of the Indian Court is the drawing-room of a nabob. The owner himself, a figure in gorgeous attire, is seated cross-legged in one corner, smoking his hubble-bubble. There are also some beautifully embroidered stuffs, coarse pottery, of Hindoo design, landscapes and sketches of Indian scenes, together with some curious peasant jewellery from Ceylon.<sup>60</sup>

The Indian Section was held by some to be one of the most visually striking displays of the Vienna exhibition. The Special Correspondent for the *Glasgow Herald* devoted column space to describe and admire the Indian displays, writing: ‘One of the most attractive Courts in the Vienna Exhibition is that of India’. The space allocated, he goes on to explain, was sixty feet square in the nave with an additional 120 feet allocated in the transept. In the centre the author describes a ‘very large tent-shaped glazed case carpeted with velvet and describing the central glass tent-shaped case in the main transept within which a figure of a Mahomedan nobleman is seated smoking a hookah and set about him are elaborately fashioned pieces of furniture including a rosewood carved sofa from Bombay. Surrounding this are six more glass cases in the nave filled with costly embroideries, cashmere shawls, Delhi silver work ... etc.’ And all of these are in turn surrounded by ‘a grand pavilion canopy of carpets’. Of note are the ‘well-executed’ sketches by Kipling and the trophies of Colonel Michael, including ‘elephant tusks, bison and deer heads.’<sup>61</sup>

It is relevant to examine the role John Forbes Watson had played in promoting knowledge of Indian products and designs in Scotland. During his life Forbes Watson contributed a great deal to the dissemination of knowledge of Indian Textiles.<sup>62</sup> In 1866 he produced an eighteen-volume work entitled *The Collections of the Textile Manufactures of India* which contained samples of Indian textile manufacture. In the *Glasgow Herald*, May 1870, we find an article relating to John Forbes Watson’s request to submit eight to ten volumes showing ‘fabrics, designs and workmanship...’ from India with 260 framed specimens, which he proposed should be distributed throughout the various ‘manufacturing towns of the country’, if they were willing to pay the required sum of money.<sup>63</sup> As Nenadic discusses, many of these designs were reproduced by Turkey Red manufacturers and traded back to India,<sup>64</sup> which opens room for discussions about the long-term effects on Indian markets and both detrimental and positive consequences. The foundations of the drive and enthusiasm that led to the international exhibitions in Glasgow and Edinburgh were certainly being laid decades before, through the work of men like Forbes Watson, individual collectors, and retailers. The activities of John Forbes Watson represent one example of the influences that were being drawn into Scotland, its industry, and arts.

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<sup>60</sup> *The Graphic Guide to Vienna* 1873: 162–5

<sup>61</sup> *Glasgow Herald* 3 June 1873:3

<sup>62</sup> Driver, *Victorian Studies* 52 (3) 2010:353–385

<sup>63</sup> *Glasgow Herald* 6 May 1870:4

<sup>64</sup> Nenadic 2014, 34(1):83

The evolution of Scottish trade aspirations was reflected within Scotland in museums and exhibitions of the day. Forbes Watson's achievements give us some insights into the expansion and success of Scottish industries at the time and their receptiveness of international workmanship, and indeed the degree to which eclecticism was encouraged and propagated. However, shops and sales also accounted for an exposure to international goods. An example of this was the sale in Edinburgh of many goods purchased from the Vienna International Exhibition 1873. Nenadic<sup>65</sup> discusses these, saying that in 1875, the Polytechnic Warehouse in Edinburgh accommodated 'a great sale of Indian, Chinese and Japanese exhibition goods....the greater part purchased from the Commissioners of the London and Vienna international exhibitions.'<sup>66</sup>

**'Scottish jewelry in gold and silver,  
Highland ornaments, and precious stones found in Scotland...'**

References to Scottish themes and emblems<sup>67</sup> can be found in the Art Hall/*Kunsthalle* at Vienna, 1873. The Art Hall was found at the far west of the exhibition site and consisted of a large, long gallery space with smaller satellite galleries housed in independent buildings to the side and can be seen at the far right of the Industrial Hall in **Figure 2**. These satellite galleries are among the few still extant buildings from the exhibition and to see them today gives the visitor some idea as to the scale and visual impact of the exhibition buildings.<sup>68</sup> These two buildings, which stood facing one another at either side of an ornamental garden, are still in a good state of preservation and are used today as artists' studio spaces. One of the buildings is better preserved than the other, indeed, standing inside it allows the visitor to appreciate the quantities of art works which were involved.<sup>69</sup> In the art galleries the emphasis was less commercial than in the other displays, as many of the paintings were loaned from private collections and were therefore not for sale.

The artists listed as members of the Royal Scottish Academy<sup>70</sup> represented in the Vienna exhibition numbered only three, George Harvey (1806-1876),<sup>71</sup> Keeley Halswelle (1831-1891) and James Archer (1822-1904), with only one work from each being submitted. Although other artists were members of both Royal and Royal Scottish Academies, it appears that membership of the Royal Academy was given priority in the literature. Halswelle, although not born in Scotland, spent a great deal of his formative years working in Edinburgh and in 1866 he was

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<sup>65</sup> Nenadic 2014, 34(1):67-89

<sup>66</sup> *Glasgow Herald* 5 March 1875; Nenadic 2014:24

<sup>67</sup> There is confusion in the terminology used in the contemporary source material between 'English' and 'British'. The terms were used interchangeably, and Scottish contributors were frequently subsumed under both headings. Additionally, the Scottish submissions in the exhibitions under discussion were not categorised separately but included in the larger British submission. In this study companies and individuals listed in the catalogues as being from Scotland have been considered.

<sup>68</sup> *Wiener Kunst-Halle* 30 July 1873 (28): 223

<sup>69</sup> The author is grateful to the staff of BIG- Bundesimmobiliengesellschaft, for allowing her access to these buildings.

<sup>70</sup> Potter 2017: 16

<sup>71</sup> Holme 1907: vi.



elected an associate of the Royal Scottish Academy.<sup>72</sup> His painting, 'Roba di Roma', was the first of a series of canvasses which established Halswelle's reputation<sup>73</sup> being exhibited in Burlington House in 1869, where it gained 'warm approval', and later that year it received an award as the best work exhibited in the Royal Institution in Manchester. Among the artists in the Vienna exhibition who were Scottish by birth were Erskine Nicol (RSA 1859) born in Scotland and elected to the Royal Academy in 1866, and Thomas Faed (RSA 1862) who was born in Scotland in 1826.

The British submission to the Art Halls had its critics, some feeling that it focussed on pieces for a home market and was restricted in its range by the limitations of patronage and social constraints.<sup>74</sup> Pictorially, Scottish themes, both Scottish landscapes and Scottish history, were well represented. The significance of a painting such as the much acclaimed 'The last Sleep of Argyll', painted by the English born Edward Matthew Ward (1816-1879), may have had much stronger associations and significance to British audiences, particularly Scottish ones, than it had on the Continent. This painting had appeared in two of the exhibitions under discussion, Paris in 1855 and Vienna 1873, and was much admired and reported on in both. The entry for the painting in the Paris 1855 catalogue of the British Section had beneath it the caption quoted from Baron Thomas Babington Macauley's *History of England*:

...So effectually had religious faith and hope, co-operating with natural courage and equanimity, composed his spirits, that, on the very day on which he was to die, he dined with appetite, conversed with gaiety at table, and, after his last meal, lay down, as he was wont, to take a short slumber...

The painting was equally well received at the Vienna Exhibition. The *Glasgow Herald* reporting that: 'Ward's 'Last Sleep of Argyll' is one of the finest pictures of the Exhibition.'<sup>75</sup>

It is relevant to turn to the earlier international exhibitions and to compare which artists were selected to represent Scotland or from Scotland. It should be borne in mind that the Paris exhibitions of 1855 and 1867 differed in many ways, including their size. Eugene Rimmel<sup>76</sup> recorded the overall British submission sizes in 1855 as having 28,954 exhibitors, compared with that of 1867 having 42,237 exhibitors. At the Paris Exhibition held in 1855, there were only three Scottish Academicians with paintings displayed: portrait painter Daniel Macnee (1806-1882) known for his allegorical, religious and historical subjects; the popular Scottish painter Joseph Noel Paton (1821-1901) who was invited to join the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood but declined the offer; and J. Watson Gordon (1788-1864). Works by Macnee and Paton were also displayed at the Paris Universal Exhibition in 1867 alongside other representatives of Scotland: James Archer (1822- 1904), John Ballantyne (1815-1897), John Maclaren Barclay (1811-1886), Horatio McCulloch (1805-1867), Graham Gilbert (1794-1866), Kenneth MacLeay (1802-1878) and Joseph Noel Paton's son, Waller H. Paton (1828-1895).

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<sup>72</sup> Dafforne *The Art Journal* 5 1879: 101-104

<sup>73</sup> Meynell 1886: 96-103

<sup>74</sup> Lehmann 1873

<sup>75</sup> *The Glasgow Herald* 22 May 1873:4

<sup>76</sup> Rimmel 1868:6

From contemporary discussions of the British fine art submissions at both the 1855 and 1867 Paris exhibitions, it appears that the French response to both submissions was, at the best, lukewarm. According to the reports in the *Art-Journal* published in 1855, the British submission was not very well received by some of the French commentators; for example the *Revue des Beaux Arts* being quoted as saying: ‘At times one would be led to believe that the English painted with both hands - the one artistic, the other uncouth...’<sup>77</sup> However, some artists were praised: ‘Mr D. Macnee, R.S.A. was ‘...a conspicuous exhibitor, and his ‘Portrait of Mr. John Pollock’, No.12, a full length of ‘a shrewd, sagacious Scotsman, may be classed among the best works of its class both for colour and characteristic expression’.<sup>78</sup> His ‘Portrait of Dr Wardlaw’ was similarly praised in the French publication *Presse* of July 4<sup>th</sup> for sustaining ‘...honourably the old and well-earned reputation of English artists...’<sup>79</sup> Not all the critics were French however; the English journalist George Augustus Sala (1828-1895),<sup>80</sup> who had trained as a graphic artist, was fairly damning about the entire British submission, writing at the end of his chapter on the fine art section of the Paris Exhibition: ‘...They [the English paintings] are so vilely drawn. They sin so crassly against the very first rules of mathematical truth...’<sup>81</sup>

The fine art displays in Vienna did not seem to provoke the same criticisms. The *Glasgow Herald* reported that:

The Art Exhibition is admirable. The British have some 400, the best of which are well-known pictures ... we [the British] are weak in water-colours, but strong in pictures ... Many well-known English pictures are there. Turner’s ‘Thames at Walton Bridge’, Peter Graham’s ‘Spate in the Highlands’, Caldron’s ‘Sighing his soul into his lady’s face’, Faed’s ‘Last of the Clan’, and the ‘God’s Acre’. Linnell and Cope and Cooke and Horsley are well represented. Val Princep has a singular and well-known Ariadne. Vicas Cole has a beautiful sunset piece. Elsmere is well represented ... But altogether we lack a little in brilliancy of colour, though we are brighter than the Dutch.<sup>82</sup>

However, it was not only in the fine art exhibits that Scottish themes emerged; the industrial halls also held a number of relevant displays. *The Glasgow Herald* reported that ‘Representative firms in Edinburgh and Glasgow, and indeed all over Scotland, have entered the competitive lists with specimens of Scottish manufactures and ingenious contrivances.’ Among them Mr Aitchison’s jewellery was selected for discussion.<sup>83</sup> ‘The Lion Rampant, the Scottish Thistle, the St Andrew Cross, oak and ivy leaves, and other emblems of a thoroughly Scottish character, have been introduced into the different designs...’; the case, the reporter continues, ‘may be taken as a worthy representation of the high state of perfection of the jeweller’s art in Scotland.’

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<sup>77</sup> *The Art-Journal* 1855:297

<sup>78</sup> *The Art-Journal* 1855:155

<sup>79</sup> *The Art-Journal* 1855:299

<sup>80</sup> Blake, *Victorian Literature and Culture* 40 (2) 2012:577–597

<sup>81</sup> Sala 1868: 92

<sup>82</sup> *The Glasgow Herald* 22 May 1873:4

<sup>83</sup> *The Glasgow Herald* 22 May 1873:4

A few years later, America's International Centennial Exhibition in 1876, held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, recorded a substantial amount of Scottish contributing companies which were listed in the catalogue of the exhibition. Philadelphia represents an important location for the study of the Scottish diaspora, having, in the 1870s, a substantial number of Scottish and Irish immigrants with a strong sense of identity. It is interesting to question whether this had affected market demands and therefore influenced contributions to the exhibition.

Farther north is the collection of jewelry. This is handsome in many respects, but is not such a display as was hoped for from Great Britain. One or two cases are especially noticeable. James Aitchison, of Edinburgh, has a pretty exhibit of Scottish jewelry in gold and silver, Highland ornaments, and precious stones found in Scotland...<sup>84</sup>

In America during this period a sense of Scottish identity was firmly established. The Scottish clearances had dispossessed large communities, beginning in the Scottish borders and later affecting the Highlands.<sup>85</sup> Scottish Clubs and Societies proliferated in Scottish settler communities keeping traditions alive.<sup>86</sup> The Americans were enthusiastic to gather information in order to apply the lessons learned to their own international exhibitions. At the same time, trade and the potential of its furtherance was a central concern. Palladino and Miller write, quoting from the *Art Journal*, Volume 1, 1888, that '...it was in 'the American trade' that Glasgow 'laid the sure foundations of her prosperity, and by degrees entered into commercial relations with nearly every part of the globe...'

**'...the cream of Continental productions.'**

It was noted earlier in this essay that, certainly in the Glasgow exhibition of 1888, the international submissions were somewhat limited. The author of *Pen-and-ink notes at the Glasgow Exhibition*, Robert Walker posited several theories as to why international contributors had 'not poured their treasures liberally into its courts...'<sup>87</sup> Similarly, the exhibition in Edinburgh, two years earlier, did not have as many international contributors as had first been hoped for:

The character of the Exhibition afterwards came to be considered, and it was resolved that it should be open to the products and industries of all nations, and that a prominent feature should be the illustration of the material resources, manufactures and art treasures of Scotland. Communications were then opened with probable exhibitors. Foreign Governments were approached, but it was soon seen that they could give little assistance in the short time allowed them for preparation.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> McCabe 1876:369

<sup>85</sup> Devine 2018

<sup>86</sup> Forsyth 2016

<sup>87</sup> *The Glasgow Herald* 17 March 1873:13

<sup>88</sup> *Glasgow Herald* 6 May 1886:4

A study of the paintings submitted by the Dutch to the Edinburgh exhibition is of interest as it proved to be influential in the development of Scottish art during the subsequent years. The Dutch submitted paintings to the fine art section of The International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art held in Edinburgh in 1886.<sup>89</sup> This contribution of paintings is of interest in that it encapsulates a foreign country projecting itself within Scottish shores. The comments made by the special correspondent for the *Glasgow Herald* were noted earlier where it was said that ‘she [Scotland] has certainly lost a magnificent opportunity...’ in not submitting more to the Vienna International Exhibition of 1873. The Dutch submission to the Edinburgh exhibition gives us a good case study of what these opportunities were within the context of international shows, whereby the exhibitor and hosting country might profit from them in different ways. In a general sense, it can be said that the Dutch submission, representing chiefly the Hague School of painting, had an influence on Scottish art, but in the context of this study this cannot be focussed on as the subject of influence is far too complex an issue. However, the fact that the Dutch invested in this opportunity and were received well is indicative of their success in exhibiting in Edinburgh. The newspaper reports of the time praised the Dutch contribution to the exhibition. In the Netherlands, although the art submission was not reported in detail in the newspapers, reports of the exhibition were given column space. We know from the *Glasgow Herald* that the French and Dutch collections of paintings were considered ‘the cream of Continental productions’.<sup>90</sup> During the same decade as the Scottish International Exhibitions, Amsterdam hosted a colonial exhibition, the *Internationale Koloniale en Uitvoerhandel Tentoonstelling* (‘The International Colonial and Export Exhibition’) in 1883. Indeed, during the 1870s and 1880s there was a marked increase in the number of international exhibitions and certainly in the case of Britain, the emergence of themed exhibitions, which were notable successes. The choice for exhibiting material was therefore far more open than it had been in earlier decades and this, no doubt, led to more selectivity by individual companies. In the light of Walker’s remarks, introduced at the beginning of this essay, it is perhaps relevant to place the Scottish exhibitions of 1886 and 1888 within the larger context of contemporary shows. International exhibitions had evolved and changed by the 1880s and each exhibition is a reflection of the trade, demographic and political dynamics of its day. Scotland’s arts and industries had made an imposing presence at the earlier international exhibitions within the context of the British Sections. This fact is certainly borne out by a study of the Vienna Exhibition of 1873. There can be no doubt that the Scottish submission, to the Vienna 1873 exhibition was significant and, in the case of John Scott Russell’s centrepiece to the exhibition, both enduring and imposing.

**‘The great majority of those who visit an Exhibition go there to be amused rather than instructed...’**

Walker made this observation towards the end of his *Pen-and-ink notes at the Glasgow Exhibition*. This statement can be applied to the literature about the exhibitions as much as the physical displays. The readers experienced, vicariously, a journey around the stands and exhibitions and sampled the diverse products of art and industry in the very same manner as they would have done if they had visited in person, the exhibition functioning an entertainment

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<sup>89</sup> Henley 1888

<sup>90</sup> *The Glasgow Herald* 6 May 1886:4

as much as a didactic experience.<sup>91</sup> Some written sources aimed to record the exhibition, others to inform and in some cases to celebrate achievements, whilst others' objectives were to assess and draw informative lessons from the displays.

A strong Scottish presence at international exhibitions beyond British shores can be identified between 1855 and 1873. The records relating to the Vienna Exhibition provide an interesting opportunity to interpret how the diverse strengths of Scottish art and industry were projected and received overseas at the time. In evaluating the strengths and weaknesses of the Scottish submission through contemporary sources produced in and around the time of the Vienna exhibition of 1873, the nature of the Scottish submission emerges as one that was almost entirely subsumed within the larger category of the British submission. It appears that the artists and exhibitors stood as individuals and were not seeking to represent Scotland primarily but instead as contributors to the wider sphere of British/English submissions which were sometimes mistakenly referred to as being purely 'English'; an unfortunate mistake which cannot be said to have completely vanished within Europe even today. The Scottish diaspora was very great, and nomenclature used to address it is varied. We can categorise the representatives from Scotland as to the place of an individuals' birth, or where they were domiciled, and in the case of artists, their places of training can also be relevant. The individual successes of each contribution are difficult to trace, as the details of sales are infrequently recorded. In undertaking a submission, or display, in a venue such as the Vienna Exhibition, a great deal of time and money had to be invested in participation, it was therefore no light undertaking. Scotland's representation across the different categories and buildings in the exhibition shows its commitment and aspirations at the time to world trade and industrial markets.

In forming a statistical analysis of the 1873 exhibition, sources from the archives of the Austrian National Library, *die Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, were used. A comparative study of Glasgow's 1873 textile submission and the submission to the 1855 Paris Exhibition showed that by the time Vienna hosted its exhibition, there was a marked down-turn in the quantity of Scottish exhibitors. This decline is probably accountable to various economic and political reasons, some of which are discussed above. In the other sectors there had been little change. During the period in question, it is clear that Scotland maintained a position on the world stage, actively sought new markets and produced a generation of individuals whose influence upon arts and industry is undeniable. If we can assume that Scottish presence at overseas international exhibitions reflects trade aspirations, success and entrepreneurship in Scottish participating companies, we can gain some awareness as to how the countries in which they were exhibiting would have perceived Scottish commercial strengths. We can also gain some understanding of how the exhibition hosts and visitors to the exhibitions might have viewed Scotland.

The experiences of Scottish exhibitors at international exhibitions abroad will have had an impact on the two international exhibitions hosted in Glasgow and Edinburgh during the 1880s. It is relevant to view the Scottish 1886 and 1888 exhibitions not only for their individual merits and strengths, but also within the wider context of the Scottish participation in international exhibitions overseas and thereby view them as a continuation of exchange in both

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<sup>91</sup> Spooner 23.3, 2019: 326-344

ideas and commerce within the larger European framework. At the same time, the exhibitions displayed two kinds of Scottishness, the specific history and characteristic scenery of the country on the one hand, and the modern manufactures which were made or designed in Scotland, or by Scotsmen, but which were part of the broader enterprise of British engineering on the other. These two forms of Scottishness were both saleable in world markets, as their presence in Vienna showed.

The primary objective of this essay has been to view the scope and diversity of the Scottish submission to the Vienna International exhibition of 1873 and to identify it within the broader category of the British submission, to find the areas where Scottish identity was expressed and its strengths as a commercial exporter asserted. The Scottish presence at Vienna pervaded the exhibition without ostentation and yet individuals with Scottish connections, Scottish themes and products within the arts and industry turn up throughout the accounts of the exhibition. This reflects the dynamic, growing trade of Scotland at the time and although a quantitative analysis reflects a marked ebb and flow in some areas, such as Scottish textiles, over all, their presence was marked.

### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

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# TAKING SCOTLAND OVERSEAS

## APPENDIX

A Table showing the quantity of exhibitors from each country submitting to Vienna  
*Weltausstellung, 1873.*

|               | 1   | 2    | 3   | 4    | 5    | 6   | 7    | 8   | 9   | 10  | 11  | 12  | 13  | 14  | 15  | 16 | 17  | 18  | 19 | 20 | 21  | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26  | Total | CollEx | Final |
|---------------|-----|------|-----|------|------|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|-----|-----|----|----|-----|----|----|----|----|-----|-------|--------|-------|
| America.      | 36  | 40   | 40  | 67   | 32   | 27  | 58   | 8   | 19  | 10  | 17  | 32  | 150 | 31  | 7   | 16 | 8   | 14  | 0  | 1  | 4   | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 23  | 640   | 260    | 900   |
| Austria       | 300 | 1110 | 493 | 1339 | 2512 | 270 | 1025 | 478 | 412 | 576 | 214 | 512 | 473 | 243 | 186 | 9  | 25  | 309 | 15 | 17 | 52  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 828 | 11398 | 1      | 11399 |
| Bahamas       | 0   | 1    | 0   | 0    | 0    | 0   | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0  | 0   | 0   | 0  | 0  | 0   | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0   | 1     | 1      | 2     |
| Belgium       | 20  | 12   | 35  | 31   | 117  | 27  | 37   | 23  | 36  | 2   | 8   | 23  | 53  | 15  | 2   | 20 | 1   | 20  | 0  | 0  | 2   | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 74  | 550   | 0      | 550   |
| Brazil        | 11  | 32   | 27  | 93   | 19   | 8   | 4    | 7   | 2   | 1   | 0   | 5   | 0   | 4   | 0   | 1  | 1   | 0   | 0  | 0  | 4   | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 1   | 220   | 0      | 220   |
| British India | 15  | 92   | 30  | 63   | 81   | 6   | 65   | 21  | 22  | 28  | 2   | 18  | 13  | 1   | 9   | 0  | 3   | 11  | 0  | 0  | 0   | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0   | 480   | 0      | 480   |
| Cape          | 5   | 5    | 0   | 11   | 2    | 0   | 0    | 0   | 0   | 1   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0  | 4   | 4   | 0  | 0  | 0   | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 1   | 33    | 0      | 33    |
| Caucasia      | 3   | 147  | 51  | 1    | 30   | 0   | 22   | 4   | 11  | 1   | 0   | 3   | 0   | 0   | 4   | 0  | 0   | 4   | 0  | 0  | 9   | 0  | 0  | 0  | 1  | 0   | 291   | 0      | 291   |
| Ceylon        | 0   | 0    | 0   | 0    | 0    | 0   | 1    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0  | 0   | 0   | 0  | 0  | 0   | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0   | 1     | 1      | 2     |
| Chili         | 0   | 1    | 1   | 1    | 1    | 0   | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0  | 0   | 0   | 0  | 0  | 0   | 0  | 0  | 0  | 1  | 0   | 5     | 0      | 5     |
| China         | 5   | 26   | 10  | 14   | 24   | 3   | 9    | 9   | 12  | 14  | 12  | 2   | 5   | 2   | 2   | 1  | 2   | 1   | 2  | 1  | 0   | 0  | 1  | 33 | 0  | 4   | 164   | 0      | 164   |
| Denmark       | 4   | 16   | 22  | 45   | 67   | 14  | 21   | 22  | 19  | 11  | 8   | 37  | 27  | 20  | 6   | 2  | 8   | 1   | 0  | 0  | 114 | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 12  | 476   | 0      | 476   |
| Egypt         | 3   | 12   | 8   | 9    | 10   | 3   | 5    | 7   | 4   | 2   | 4   | 5   | 0   | 1   | 1   | 1  | 1   | 1   | 1  | 0  | 4   | 0  | 0  | 0  | 2  | 0   | 84    | 1      | 85    |
| England       | 9   | 46   | 67  | 49   | 132  | 32  | 14   | 26  | 39  | 15  | 16  | 39  | 200 | 28  | 4   | 23 | 11  | 24  | 1  | 0  | 5   | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 15  | 795   | 56     | 851   |
| France        | 101 | 693  | 234 | 497  | 659  | 62  | 178  | 27  | 106 | 59  | 62  | 201 | 259 | 134 | 35  | 12 | 19  | 130 | 59 | 1  | 8   | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 564 | 4100  | 0      | 4100  |
| Germany       | 383 | 659  | 431 | 732  | 1137 | 259 | 747  | 275 | 283 | 398 | 190 | 298 | 615 | 282 | 171 | 39 | 62  | 162 | 13 | 2  | 3   | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 226 | 7367  | 0      | 7367  |
| Greece        | 18  | 87   | 10  | 45   | 69   | 7   | 5    | 5   | 6   | 1   | 3   | 10  | 2   | 1   | 3   | 2  | 4   | 12  | 0  | 0  | 2   | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 4   | 286   | 0      | 286   |
| Guatemala     | 0   | 1    | 0   | 1    | 1    | 0   | 0    | 1   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0  | 0   | 0   | 0  | 0  | 0   | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0   | 4     | 0      | 4     |
| Hawaii        | 1   | 1    | 0   | 1    | 1    | 0   | 0    | 1   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 1   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0  | 1   | 0   | 0  | 0  | 0   | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0   | 7     | 0      | 7     |
| Holland       | 0   | 65   | 32  | 65   | 46   | 9   | 22   | 10  | 13  | 3   | 7   | 28  | 8   | 16  | 1   | 7  | 7   | 9   | 8  | 0  | 1   | 0  | 1  | 0  | 0  | 11  | 369   | 0      | 369   |
| Hungary       | 127 | 662  | 116 | 660  | 339  | 77  | 71   | 125 | 46  | 31  | 24  | 78  | 114 | 54  | 21  | 13 | 41  | 132 | 0  | 25 | 464 | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 316 | 3536  | 0      | 3536  |
| Italy         | 121 | 384  | 266 | 835  | 485  | 95  | 175  | 178 | 160 | 27  | 69  | 123 | 136 | 121 | 64  | 38 | 111 | 117 | 12 | 0  | 220 | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0   | 3737  | 0      | 3737  |
| Jamaica       | 0   | 0    | 0   | 1    | 0    | 0   | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0  | 0   | 0   | 0  | 0  | 0   | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0   | 1     | 0      | 1     |
| Japan         | 1   | 1    | 1   | 1    | 1    | 1   | 1    | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 1   | 0  | 1   | 1   | 1  | 1  | 1   | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0   | 20    | 0      | 20    |
| Mauritius     | 0   | 2    | 0   | 6    | 1    | 0   | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 2   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0  | 0   | 0   | 0  | 0  | 0   | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 2   | 13    | 0      | 13    |
| Monaco        | 0   | 5    | 3   | 1    | 0    | 0   | 1    | 1   | 1   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0  | 0   | 0   | 0  | 0  | 0   | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0   | 12    | 0      | 12    |
| Morocco       | 0   | 0    | 0   | 0    | 0    | 0   | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0  | 0   | 0   | 0  | 0  | 0   | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0   | 0     | 5      | 5     |
| New Zealand   | 2   | 0    | 0   | 0    | 0    | 0   | 0    | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0  | 0   | 0   | 0  | 0  | 0   | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 1   | 3     | 208    | 211   |
| Norway        | 21  | 24   | 8   | 19   | 12   | 5   | 5    | 5   | 2   | 6   | 5   | 5   | 5   | 2   | 2   | 1  | 15  | 1   | 2  | 2  | 5   | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 7   | 159   | 0      | 159   |
| Persia        | 2   | 4    | 0   | 2    | 4    | 2   | 3    | 3   | 0   | 3   | 0   | 4   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 1  | 0   | 0   | 0  | 0  | 0   | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0   | 28    | 0      | 28    |

1. Mining 2. Agric. 3 Chem. Ind. 4. Food 5. Textiles 6. Leather 7. Metal 8. Wood 9. Glass 10. Fancy wares 11. Paper 12. Graphic 13. Machinery 14. Instruments 15. Music 16. Art of War 17. Navy 18. Costume 19. Dwellings 20. Farm-houses 21. Dom. Ind. 22. Museums 23. Religious Art 24. Ancient Art 25. Modern Art 26. Educational

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