

<title>Circulating agency

<sub-title>The V&A, Scotland and the multiplication of plaster casts of 'Celtic crosses'

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The creation of bespoke collections of plaster casts of 'Celtic' sculpture for the 1901 Glasgow International Exhibition and museums in Dundee in 1904/11 and Aberdeen in 1905 provides a Scottish lens on a wider phenomenon and its context: South Kensington's role in the provinces, museums and 'imperial localism', burgeoning curatorial professionalism and networking, milestones in early medieval scholarship, objects as 'archaeology' or 'art', the value of replicas, and the Celtic Revival. A 'provinces-up' approach explores practices on the ground to reveal the significance of the work of the V&A's Circulation Department and of people that institutional histories omit, such as R. F. Martin. Exposing how the Dundee and Aberdeen art exhibitions are selectively derivative of Glasgow's antiquarian enterprise, and the vagaries of their subsequent survival, illuminates the importance of understanding what past and present collections omit and why, as well as what they include.

WITH the planned opening by 2016 of the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) at Dundee, it is timely to reflect on the role the played by the V&A in Scotland around 100 years ago. The contextual lens through which this will be explored is the creation and display of substantial collections of plaster casts of Scottish early medieval sculpture — then commonly referred to as 'Celtic crosses' — in Glasgow, Dundee and Aberdeen in 1901, 1904/11 and 1905. The V&A's Circulation Department provides the glue that links this burst of activity, the like of which was new in Scotland: the investment in bespoke exhibitions of plaster casts of sculpture for wide public consumption and, notably, the inclusion of native sculpture.¹ The creation of plaster casts of sculptures had long been practised, particularly for art schools, but the focus had generally been on classical or renaissance subjects.² The exception in Scotland was the National Museum of Antiquities to which nineteenth-century antiquaries had donated a large and miscellaneous collection of 'sculptured and inscribed stone monuments of the period of the early Celtic Church', including many casts.³ While the creation of casts of early medieval material had these earlier roots, the ambitions and intended outcomes, and the scale and the involvement of the V&A, mark the events of 1901 to 1911 as novel and distinct.

Originating in 1873, the celebrated and influential Cast Courts of the V&A (from 1857 to 1899 the South Kensington Museum — SKM), focused on North European, Spanish and Italian post-classical material. With only a marginal interest in material of any date from the Isles of Britain and Ireland this, was, as Baldwin Brown observed, 'not a place where national self-love is flattered'.⁴ Elsewhere in the Isles, museums formed from the mid-nineteenth century one of the key expressions of an emergent nineteenth-century localism and, in all but England, national identity;⁵ substantial collections of casts of local, early medieval sculpture appeared in quick succession in Ireland, Scotland, Wales and the Isle of Man at the turn of the twentieth century. To these 'provincial' (we would now say regional or national) museums the V&A offered loans, grants and advice through its so-called Circulation Department. Grants were preferentially for reproductions (facsimiles).

Developed mostly from scratch, these new collections of plaster casts are therefore important as snapshots in time of what people thought to be important and, given the political context and subject matter, are of particular relevance for what they may tell us about the use of archaeological material culture in relation to evolving expressions of local identity.⁶ In Scotland, they are coeval with the publication in 1903 of *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland (ECMS)*.⁷ This landmark corpus of all the known Pictish, Gaelic, British, Anglian and Viking (pre-Romanesque) sculpture from Scotland was the tangible outcome of several decades of antiquarian endeavour, and was instrumental in bringing the international significance of this resource to wider intellectual and public attention.⁸

Contemporary published scholarship on the Circulation Department generally focuses on how in the twentieth century it led the way in the V&A's appreciation of modern art and design.⁹ This study sheds new light on its nineteenth-century work, both the theory and the practice. The creation of the collections of 'Celtic' casts allows us to explore the respective agencies of the imperial machine of the V&A and provincial institutions at an intimate level. We can explore the networks of people, places and things that produced the casts, examine what influenced these choices, and consider the impact of their display. Cross-cutting professional and social networks had just opened up through the creation in 1890 of the Museums Association. Ultimately, it becomes possible to consider the role and impact of influential individuals too lowly in status to have featured in standard institutional histories or in many official files,¹⁰ 'Officer of the Circulation' R. F. Martin being the case in point.

This is inductive research and a few words about the methodology used are necessary. It arises from an exploration of the evolving, composite biography of early medieval sculptures from the Isles that for the first time takes into account their reproductions: the plaster casts made for antiquarian meetings, international exhibitions and museums, primarily from the 1830s to the First World War. With an initial focus on replicas of Scottish sculptures, the Glasgow, Dundee and Aberdeen 'Celtic' collections stood out as something special requiring explanation, as did the obvious similarities between what each place displayed.¹¹ Closer inspection of museum collections and associated archives (see Acknowledgements, below), contemporary newspapers and other accounts suggested that the V&A's Circulation Department was involved in each. These sources provided only dismembered clues about evolving policies, practices, players and their personalities, their actions and impacts, but at an early stage it became clear from the Scottish sources that Martin played a critical role. Histories of the Circulation Department proved scanty and could be difficult to access. A systematic review of the early journals of the Museums Association provided further detail and revealed the museological context in which the 'Celtic' and other cast collections appeared. Serendipitously this also revealed that the individual actors in this story networked, and how they did so. An encounter in the V&A files with Martin's personalized Eric Gill letterhead whetted a curiosity that could ultimately only be sated by commissioning Morag Cross to undertake a couple of days of genealogical and related research, only a fraction of which is found here.¹² The sources she gathered provide a more detailed knowledge of his career, as well as further support for my existing thesis. A visit to the National Archives in Kew and a repeat visit to the V&A Archives was finally necessary to check the theories and assumptions I had developed and this provided further details and insights.

<H1>Magnificence and munificence: the V&A and provincial museums

To make better sense of what happened in Glasgow, Dundee and Aberdeen we first need a better understanding of how the state-run, metropolitan-based V&A functioned in relation to provincial museums. The early nineteenth century had witnessed a growing official zeal to find ways of improving the taste of manufacturers and of the public who consumed their products.¹³ The V&A and its host government Department of Science and Art, and their predecessor bodies from 1837, had defined centralized functions in supporting the provinces in delivering these objectives: to teach art (to different levels), to apply the principles of technical art to improving manufactures, and to educate everyone about aesthetics through forming accessible museums.¹⁴ This was the role of the Circulation Department.¹⁵

The origins of the Circulation Department lie in the travelling collections that the Central School of Design at Somerset House circulated to art schools, and it functioned in various guises until the late 1970s.¹⁶ Becoming its own Department in 1852, its focus up to 1880 was serving the needs of art students and industrial apprentices through providing objects for the art schools and their associated museums:¹⁷

Its destiny is ... to become the central storehouse or treasury of Science and Art for the use of the whole kingdom. As soon as arrangements are made, it is proposed that any object that can be properly circulated to localities, should be sent upon a demand being made from the local authorities. ... It may be hoped by this principle of circulation to stimulate localities to establish museums and libraries for themselves, or at least to provide proper accommodation to receive specimens lent for exhibition.

It developed a travelling museum that in 1855 went to Birmingham and by 1859 had circulated to twenty-six of the principal towns in England, Scotland and Ireland, travelling in specially designed cases in a van specially adapted for train, road and steam-packet. Only Circulation officers handled the travelling artefacts. In 1860 the travelling collection was enlarged and travelled for a further three years, while from 1864 it began to be tailored to reflect the local industries in the places it was sent. By 1880 the V&A had sent out over 280 collections and the demand was such that the Circulation Department procured replicas for circulation, notably electrotypes and fictile ivories (plaster saturated with wax), as well as objects withdrawn from the cases of the central museum (it was not until 1909 that it officially acquired its own collection). After 1880, responding to political pressure for the SKM to serve a wider public in the provinces, the main customer became the swelling rank of corporation museums. By 1896, '33,960 objects were on loan to Provincial Museums, 22 Temporary Exhibitions, 251 Schools of Art, 8 Art Classes and 59 Science Schools'.¹⁸ It is difficult to reconstruct such early exhibitions and their itineraries, but these certainly included museums in Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow.¹⁹ In 1919 the service extended to secondary schools.

The Circulation Department also acted as the agent of the Department of Science and Art and its successors in the mechanics of delivering and inspecting 'aid to provincial museums', a function it fulfilled in Scotland until 1953. From 1880 municipal museums such as Dundee, Glasgow and Perth were the new customers. The list of museums in the grant ledger in the V&A archives is a testimony to the development of local museums in Britain and Ireland in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, after what was a slow start.²⁰ Initially grants were only available for reproductions (plaster casts and electrotypes):²¹

In the matter of Provincial and Colonial Art Museums, the limited pecuniary resources of such Institutions, and the difficulties in their way in regard to the proper selection and acquisition of original specimens, point

conclusively in the direction of copies and reproductions, and indicate that the staple of these Collections must in future mainly consist of such matter.

By 1884 they would in theory fund original objects but the stated preference until after WWI was for replicas; the grant regulations formally dropped an insistence on this only in the 1930s, despite criticism from the Museums Association from the late 1890s.²² Museums and art schools could order plaster casts from brochures of approved casts, notably from the *formatori* (plaster moulders) Messrs. D. Brucciani & Co., or from other contractors after approval of costs.²³ When the London *formatori* used by the SKM/V&A were involved, the Circulation Department also helped transport the casts to the provinces. Officers built grant work into their annual cycles of inspecting and replacing circulating collections.

The pages of the *Museums Journal* suggest the 'benighted country curator' was in general highly appreciative of the Circulation Department's support, which also included advice that its 'cultured experts' could provide.²⁴ An 1860 minute on 'Circulation of Objects of Art in the Provinces' describes how the officer would, if required:²⁵

. . . assist the local committee in obtaining loans of works of art from local proprietors, and generally give the benefit of his experience to the committee, so as to ensure, as far as may be possible, a successful result. He must be ex-officio a member of the local committee of management.

So, what sort of museum landscape did the SKM and its circulating agents encounter in Scotland? Edinburgh had two state museums: the Royal Scottish Museum (RSM), as it was known from 1904, and the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland (NMAS). In the late nineteenth-century these two institutions had different agendas. This affected the sorts of collections they built up, and their legal status and institutional cultures influenced the use they could make of the services of the Circulation Department, as well as the degree to which their staff mixed with the provincial museums working with the V&A (see below). The RSM was established by Henry Cole's Department of Science and Art in 1854 as the Industrial Museum, renamed the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art — MSA — in 1864. As part of Cole's empire, it shared the South Kensington vision but local circumstances to a degree moulded it and each of its other siblings, which include what we now know as the National Museum of Ireland (NMI).²⁶ The MSA received long-term loans of objects from the SKM via the Circulation Department — but it did not apply to receive circulating exhibitions and it could not apply for grants.²⁷ After 1900, Irish and Scottish government departments acquired responsibility for their national museums. However, separate circulation systems were not set up because it was 'a complicated organization devised to meet the requirements of all the provincial museums and schools throughout the country'.²⁸ Instead, in Scotland the Circulation Department asked the Scotch [*sic*] Education Department for its views before offering grants. Although supported by the government after 1851 (though not with public funds before 1895 and then by an annual parliamentary grant of just £200),²⁹ the NMAS was primarily dedicated to research and formed an integral part of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, a learned body established in 1780.³⁰ These museums merged in 1985 to become the National Museums of Scotland, and since 2006 share a united space in the National Museum of Scotland, which includes the MSA/RSM building.

Beyond Edinburgh, local learned societies and universities had been active in setting up museums from the early years of the nineteenth century, as had private individuals. Few of these lasted long; their quality was generally poor, their collections fragmentary and unsystematic.³¹ The 1845 Museums Act had allowed town councils to levy rates to support

local museums, and by the late 1890s Scotland had three such municipal museums at Dundee, Glasgow and Paisley.³² This case study focuses on:

- the Corporation of Glasgow, which was instrumental in setting up the six-month-long Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901;
- the Free Library and Museum of the Corporation of Dundee, which moved to new facilities in the Ward Road Library in 1911; and
- Aberdeen Art Gallery and Industrial Museum (commenced 1885; expanded 1905).

The following introduces the collections, what was displayed, how the casts were procured and who did the selecting, and thus establishes the respective roles of the V&A and local agencies before leading into a discussion of the wider issues this raises.

<H1>Celtic collections

<H2>Glasgow 1901

The Glasgow International Exhibition opened in February 1901. Its purpose-built centre-piece, the 'Glasgow Art Galleries', now the Kelvingrove Museum, housed the Fine Art, Scottish History and Archaeology Section. A special section in the west wing was devoted to a 'Selection of Reproductions of the Sculptured Stones of Scotland': 'Eastern Stones' (n.18), 'Govan Stones' (n.10) and 'Western Stones' (n. 21):³³

Traces of Roman occupation are found in various memorials, and the introduction of Christianity, as well as the incursion of the Scoti from Ireland, are illustrated by reproductions of Sculptured Stones from various parts of the country. Such stones bring both civil and ecclesiastical history down to comparatively modern times.

Thirteen of the Western Stones were later medieval gravestones from Argyll and Bute, but all the others were early medieval, although one is from eastern Scotland (Jedburgh). At least twenty of these casts survive in good condition, split at the time of writing between the collections of the Kelvingrove, Burrell Collection, Hunterian Museum and the Christian Heritage Museum of the St Benedictine Monastery Largs.

The Glasgow International Exhibition was one of a series of world's fairs that followed the 1851 Great Exhibition in London. Such exhibitions provided a stage for nations to promote themselves and define their distinctive characteristics; cultural patrimony repeatedly played an important symbolic role in this regard.³⁴ In 1899 members of the Glasgow Corporation including James Paton, Superintendent of the Museums and Art Galleries of the City of Glasgow, visited the director and officials connected with the Circulation Department at the SKM with a view to establishing what they could borrow and to discuss grants for the production of casts.³⁵ Although the exhibition was temporary, they wanted material that could be retained in the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum. The Committee for the Fine Art, Historical and Archaeological Section had determined its three sections would be 'A Scottish Section, embracing Scottish Art of all kinds and periods, Archaeology, and objects illustrative of Scottish History, national and local'.³⁶ Building on the success of the Bishop's Castle in the 1888 Glasgow Exhibition, a popular display of objects illustrative of the archaeology and history of Scotland,³⁷ the Sub-Committee for Scottish History and Archaeology named the displays for which they were responsible as prehistoric

(including archaeology and ethnology) and historical. The latter was to include 'Ecclesiastical archaeology'; this would 'embrace Christian art, especially as exhibited in the sculptured stones of Scotland, church architecture, furniture and decoration, church vessels and vestments, service books, music, &c'.³⁸ After the exhibition closed the archaeology collections moved to join the casts of sculpture in the Kelvingrove's west wing; it is not certain when the casts were removed from display.³⁹

<H2>Dundee 1904/1911

Dundee's museum collection was in line with the South Kensington ethos: 'To educate in Art, Architecture, Natural History, and Archaeology the inhabitants of Dundee', which entailed having material 'suitable to illustrate Technical Art Education'.⁴⁰ Advised in an 'unwearied manner' by Gerald Baldwin Brown, Professor of Fine Art in the University of Edinburgh, the Albert Institute (enlarged in 1890) began acquiring plaster casts of sculptures, electrotypes, autotypes and photos of art. In 1894 this included the Anglo-Saxon Ruthwell Cross, and the collection of classical and Renaissance sculpture was initiated in 1895.⁴¹

In 1904 the Dundee Free Library acquired 'a series of casts of the finest Celtic Crosses of Scotland' (n.13) in a conscious effort to fill a 'still larger and more serious blank' in the collection.⁴² In 1907 Dr J. J. Dobbie, Director of the RSM offered Dundee advice on how to expand their cast collections and to display their collections as a whole to better effect in a new building, a task they achieved in 1911:⁴³

In connection with the foundation of a new Reading Room . . . it was found possible in the upper portion of the building to set aside two large galleries. An expert upon the subject of arrangements of such sculpture galleries was called in for advice, and he laid out the casts, arranging for one gallery to consist of Greek and Roman work and the opposite gallery to be filled with reproductions of Italian, French and Scottish crosses and stones. An explanatory catalogue, illustrated, was also prepared by him and is on sale . . . The collection is well labelled, and the casts are amply illustrated by photographs of the different places from which the originals were taken.

The casts came off display after 1939 and probably before 1958; four Pictish examples survived until 1973 when they were probably lost in fire and flood damage at a warehouse store.⁴⁴

<H2>Aberdeen 1905

The opening of the extended Art Gallery and Industrial Museum in Aberdeen (AAGIM) in April 1905 was an occasion of immense civic pride and a piece of stage-managed public relations that any media and communications officer would be proud of today. The new gallery housed on its ground floor a large collection of plaster casts of sculpture ranging from prehistory to the eighteenth century. It cost £2,600 to assemble and included among its glories what was alleged to be the most complete series of Parthenon sculptures after the British Museum. Remarkably, public donations paid for all the casts: 163 out of 170 individuals asked agreed to contribute.⁴⁵ We can build up a full and vivid picture of events and outcomes from a scrapbook of memorabilia – comprehensive press-cuttings compiled by the journalist John M. Bulloch and presented to James Murray MP, the champion of the project.⁴⁶ Murray's team had decided that their opening would be such a 'demonstration as would make the whole of Scotland look up' in contrast to 'a quiet opening such as the

Glasgow people had'.⁴⁷ They invited many people associated with museums and galleries across Britain, as well as members of the press and distinguished guests: a special train brought them up from London the previous day and they took over an entire hotel. Around 2,000 people were in the gallery during its opening, with speeches and music. Murray funded a splendid Corporation dinner for 200 'gentlemen' in the Town and County Hall, with many and elaborate toasts (the press had their own dinner the day before). This event linked to the presentation of honorary degrees at the University of Aberdeen to special guests attending the opening: Thomas Hardy, Commendatore Alberto Galli, Director-General of the Museums and Galleries of the Vatican, and Edward Robinson, Director of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, among others. The Vatican had facilitated the manufacture of casts and this connection is likely to explain why Murray received a medal from the Pope 'in recognition of his services to art and of his labours in connection with the new galleries in Aberdeen'.

The aspiration of the Committee who organized the new Gallery was that:⁴⁸

... this Collection of Casts, illustrating and exhibiting a complete history of the Art of Sculpture, now gathered together in a building most suitable for their proper study and inspection, will be found helpful and interesting, alike to those engaged in the granite industries of this City, to the Art student, and to the general public.

As at Dundee, this exhibition had an industrial design agenda, here specifically to improve contemporary granite working. It was argued this would enhance the wealth of the town, where 'There has been an extraordinary lack of invention; and its cemeteries afford fine examples of laborious hideousness'; 'Why should the urn period and all that it stands for, hold its sway in granite?'⁴⁹ A 'Celtic Court' comprising fifteen casts was created on the ground floor of the gallery (Fig. 1), along with a lettering section, also specifically with granite workers in mind:⁵⁰

... for the special benefit of the local granite carvers, specimens of Celtic crosses and Celtic ornaments have been produced, and they will now be able to study Celtic ornament and its intricacies as nearly as possible from the originals. Judging from what one occasionally sees, they are inclined to take liberties, perhaps with the idea of improving, but more likely from an imperfect acquaintance with the real character and spirit of Celtic art. Granite workers would do well to recognise the limitation of their material, which must to a certain extent govern the style of their work.⁵¹

Overall the press reportage was generally highly favourable, if sometimes a little Anglo-centric:

Although Aberdeen is 520 miles north of London it has equipped itself with a magnificent and almost unique sculpture gallery.⁵²

Outside the British Museum, the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, and, possibly the Ashmolean at Oxford there is no sculpture gallery in Great Britain to compare with this new Aberdeen Collection from the educational point of view.⁵³

The only really noticeable omission is that of English art.⁵⁴

Aberdeen's collection quickly fragmented. It began coming off display at the end of WWI and most had disappeared by the 1960s.⁵⁵ It is uncertain when the Scottish material disappeared. Just over a third of this survives in the stores of Aberdeen Art Gallery, in

addition to what appear to be (near) contemporary casts of early medieval sculpture that did not appear in the 1905 catalogue.⁵⁶

<H1>Accident?

There is a very strong similarity between the Scottish and early medieval content of the 1904 Dundee and 1905 Aberdeen acquisitions, and in turn between these and what had been procured for 1901 Glasgow. This was no accident. Deconstructing the relationships helps us to understand how and why certain sculptures appear (see Appendix). The V&A grant-aided all the casts on display in Dundee: twelve out of thirteen were subjects that also appeared in Glasgow, the exception being Nigg.⁵⁷ The V&A did not fund AAGIM but eleven out of fifteen of the subjects of its Celtic Court had also appeared at Glasgow, again with the exception of Nigg, and also the comparative Anglo-Saxon, Manx and early medieval Irish subjects: Irton, Kirkbraddan and Monasterboice. Dundee and Aberdeen shared eleven subjects, the differences being Ruthwell (Dundee used an existing cast it had acquired in 1894 with a V&A grant),⁵⁸ Skipness later medieval grave-slabs, St Vigean's 1, Irton, Kirkbraddan and Monasterboice.

The Glasgow exhibition of Scottish sculpture, for which the V&A specially funded new casts from over twenty sites, was substantially larger than the later ones. Glasgow used its existing casts: Ruthwell, purchased with a V&A grant in 1894, and later medieval grave-slabs from Argyll, mainly Islay, donated by Robert Chellas Graham in 1896, of whom more below. Further, in September 1899, Sir John Stirling Maxwell MP offered the Glasgow Corporation for the Exhibition and subsequent permanent display his forty-six casts of the sculptured stones at Govan. He had commissioned Robert Foster of Stirling to make these between late 1894 and 1897 because he wanted photographs of the casts (better than using the originals) to illustrate his 1899 *Sculptured Stones in the Kirkyard of Govan* (Fig. 2).⁵⁹ A contemporary source states that these appeared in the Archaeology section of the exhibition,⁶⁰ but the exhibition catalogue mentions only the ten casts that formed part of the 'sculptured stones of Scotland' display. Stirling Maxwell's donation explains one of the differences between the subjects for casts that Glasgow initially asked the V&A to grant-aid and those that it actually made — it no longer needed to acquire casts of the Govan stones.

We can explain the derivative nature of the Dundee and Aberdeen collections if we consider how the V&A's 'Officers of the Circulation' worked in general, with Martin as the prime example. Robert Ferdinand Martin (1862–1941) joined the SKM as a Junior Assistant in 1879.⁶¹ Appointed alongside William Walter Watts who became Head of the Circulation Department 1896–1908, and Arthur Skinner Banks, who became Director of the Art Museum at the V&A 1905–1908, Martin rose only to Assistant Keeper in the Art Branch, in 1895. Until 1908 he worked alongside Watts and with the support of three Technical Assistants. With Watts's transfer to Metalwork, the post of Keeper of the Circulation Department fell into abeyance and an administrator, J. Bailey, took over as Secretary. Martin in effect became the 'active head' and seems likely to have run the Department — unpromoted — from 1920 until he retired in 1922 (the secretaryship had been abolished when Bailey left).⁶² He published on and was an advocate of the reproduction of art objects (not only sculptures and electrotypes), and he was keenly interested in how museums best displayed sculpture and presented it in catalogues, including the thorny question of how and if to convey the sculptures' original contexts.⁶³ At work and in his own time he was also active in the promotion of children's interest in art.⁶⁴

Martin usefully reflected on his twenty-three years of work with Dundee, and the work of the Circulation Department, when he attended a low-key dinner as part of its 1917 Jubilee Exhibition.⁶⁵ The Department advertised his availability to deliver educational 'art lectures' in the *Museums Journal* and in Scotland, at least, he gave advice on the arrangement of annual loan collections.⁶⁶ At Dundee, his 'able and luminous' lantern-slide lectures, delivered before over 500 members of the public, formed 'an arrangement which has been so much appreciated by teachers, pupils, and citizens'.⁶⁷ Here he would also give invited science and art teachers, etc., a private showing of the new exhibitions, to promote their use. He writes of his Aberdeen work.⁶⁸

I travelled to above Museum on Monday March 4th [1901] and previous to arrival of Van arranged as to the location of our cases & collection . . . They [Mr Murray, Mr Brann City Chamberlain, and Mr Esslemont] are very desirous of making the gallery 'go' and asked the best way of doing so. I explained how enthusiastic curators worked their Museums. I suggested copying Dundee, where all the Art Masters, teachers and Board School officials are informed of each change [of material from South Kensington] and every facility given for their students to study. I mentioned also that I was lecturing at Dundee on our new Collection, and I was very strongly pressed to come to Aberdeen and do the same in the autumn.

In terms of grants, he advised museums on what reproductions they should or could purchase, advised how to arrange sculpture galleries and wrote exhibition catalogues for them, as at Dundee and Aberdeen (the opportunity to rearrange and catalogue Dundee arose in 1911). Local staff appreciated the expertise offered: 'Away here, so far North, we have not easily opportunities of seeing examples, or of knowing which is the right place to apply to'. Watts and his predecessor H. M. Cundall had also advised Dundee on purchases⁶⁹ but their subordinate Martin was the more regular visitor and according to his catalogue is the self-styled 'expert' brought in, who 'laid out the casts'.

When it came to the 1905 Sculpture Gallery, Aberdeen gave Martin virtually a free hand and it seems he did much of the work in his own time. Of the results, Frank Rutter, art critic of the *Sunday Times*, proclaimed: 'Mr Martin has accomplished his work so well one wishes he could be given a free hand at South Kensington', while in 1929 the V&A still considered 'The casts of sculpture are better displayed in Aberdeen than in any other local institution which we visit'.⁷⁰ Martin drew up a list 'approved and slightly amplified by Sir George Reid (an Aberdonian artist who became President of the Royal Scottish Academy and one of the three men who championed the art gallery for Aberdeen);⁷¹ he acquired the casts and checked their quality on arrival; and he arranged and catalogued the collection. Behind the scenes, he was active in advising Murray on finer architectural details of the new building, its lighting and on how to screen the casts with green linen on the walls, in line with current continental practice.⁷² A couple of other names also appear in connection with the Celtic Court. At the Aberdeen meeting of the Museums Association in 1903, when Murray spoke about the plans for the art gallery and museum,⁷³ he trailed the research of Professor William M. Ramsay on 'large carved stones which abound near the Moray Firth' and Aberdeen's aspiration to follow Glasgow in casting any 'worthy of a place in our gallery'. In his review of the new gallery, E. Howarth said that both Ramsay and Reid guided Martin in the selection, acquisition and arrangement of the casts, but Ramsay's role is otherwise not obvious, with no visible connection between what Ramsay published and what Aberdeen cast, nor any further supporting evidence for this claim. Ramsay had focused on the Pictish, incised animal symbols; indeed, he was dismissive of the Scottish Christian art that made up the majority of the Celtic Court: 'a few specimens [such as the Aberlemno

Cross] are good, almost might be called beautiful, until you compare them with the true [Irish] Celtic'.⁷⁴ P. J. Anderson, University of Aberdeen Library and Secretary of the New Spalding Club wrote the introduction for this section in the published catalogue but there is no evidence that he was involved in the selection of the casts.

Procuring the casts most commonly involved getting casts made from existing moulds, or sometimes getting sculptures newly moulded and arranging access to these. Some of this Martin did for Aberdeen while on holiday in Italy in 1904.⁷⁵ From his role and informed by his V&A training and contacts, Martin was in a position to advise on what sculptures it was desirable for a gallery to include; from his grant work he also knew what had already been cast, and where existing moulds might exist.

Museums arranged casts of sculptures for their own displays but, if provided with funding, the V&A encouraged them to find out who else might want a cast at the same time;⁷⁶ when the V&A made casts itself it often sent them free to its Irish and Scottish counterparts. Occasionally, museums might also make copies for individuals: Glasgow Corporation planned to make for Gilbert Goudie a copy of the Burra stone.⁷⁷ Glasgow, Dundee and the V&A all acquired casts of Ruthwell in 1894, the result of the Edinburgh MSA's initiative to commission Leopoldo Arrighi of Edinburgh to cast it for their purposes. The only other Scottish sculpture the V&A ever acquired was a cast of Nigg, again in 1894 and another Arrighi product.⁷⁸ J. Romilly Allen had made a representation to the Director of the Edinburgh Museum suggesting he obtained a cast of 'purely Celtic art-sculpture' to counterbalance the Anglian or Northumbrian cast of Ruthwell they possessed, and one was produced for the V&A at the same time.⁷⁹ In practice, the lead museum then retained control of the moulds/casts, while sometimes recognizing that to produce further copies of a piece they had cast would require the permission of the owner of the original.⁸⁰ A well-documented example of this process is Martin's acquisition of panels of interlace ornament on the sides of the Monasterboice Cross for Aberdeen.⁸¹ In May 1904 he wrote from the V&A to Colonel Plunkett, Director of the Dublin Science and Art Museum to enquire whether the Museum or J. S. Goodfellow, the *formatore* employed to make the cast the V&A commissioned from it in 1903, held the moulds. The museum had the moulds and responded that a cast could happily be made, upon payment. In practice, this meant it obtained a quote from J. Deghini and Sons, another Dublin-based *formatore*, for carrying out this work (£6), while their cost to Aberdeen would also include packing and a charge that the museum made for depreciation of moulds (£1). Sketching which bits he wanted produced (Fig. 3), Martin arranged for the casts to be sent direct to Aberdeen, while he later forwarded the invoice to Aberdeen, for direct payment to Dublin.

If the museum or their commissioned *formatore* did not retain the bulky mould, then arrangements could be made for a primary (i.e. good quality) cast. Recognizing when this happened matters because casts are now archaeological objects in their own right and, for stones exposed to the elements, they have intrinsic significance (within certain technical limitations) as a record of the condition of a carved stone over 100 years ago. We might expect some loss of accuracy in a cast made from a cast (or indeed a cast made from a much-used mould). In practice, in the absence of documentary sources or three-dimensional scans of casts in different museums, it may be difficult to make direct comparisons between casts and to recognize their precise parentage. The surviving documentary record for Glasgow and Dundee raises questions about how many of Dundee's casts (and by implication Aberdeen's) were from a mould taken from the original sculpture.

For Glasgow, we know the Corporation rejected a costing from J. W. Small of Stirling and commissioned Messrs D. & J. McKenzie of Glasgow, initially on a trial basis, inviting them to cast some of the stones in the NMA.⁸² Messrs McKenzie also made the Dundee casts of Scottish stones and, we might reasonably suspect, those in Aberdeen too (not being V&A-funded; no paper trail survives). In April Paton had informed Watts 'that moulds had been destroyed and that no duplicate casts had been taken.' We cannot therefore be sure if McKenzies' Dundee casts were made by casting the originals afresh, if the Dundee casts were moulded from the Glasgow casts, whether duplicates had been made before the moulds were destroyed in 1901, or if the moulds had not in fact been destroyed.

We know Brucciani cast the Dundee Nigg, as well as Irton and Kirkbraddan. It is reasonable to assume Brucciani conjured up the first two from existing V&A stock but we must infer he made a mould from the V&A's Nigg cast; the original mould should have been in Edinburgh, with Arrighi. It is odd that Martin did not arrange a cast from its source, in Edinburgh. Possibly Edinburgh's mould was damaged, permission could not be obtained for a mould to be made from the cast, or they were otherwise unavailable. It would certainly have been easy for Martin to work with his familiar London contacts, but he was committed to quality and knew the best product would have come from the original mould, should it survive and be accessible.

It also seems strange that the V&A did not grant-aid all the new casts of Scottish sculptures produced for Glasgow in 1901. By February 1901 these had cost £238 7s. 3d. instead of the £205 budgeted and Glasgow asked Messrs McKenzie to modify their account; this suggests they did make all the new casts but it appears they were not paid for some of them, or if they were that the V&A was not asked to contribute to the difference.⁸³ There is no indication that McKenzie produced the original composite set of casts of the cross-head from Iona, what we now know as St John's Cross. Alexander Ritchie,⁸⁴ custodian of Iona Abbey and of Iona Celtic Art fame, created the squeezes from which the casts were made. We cannot tell whether he also made the plaster casts (hence there would have been no documented cost to Glasgow),⁸⁵ but he certainly lent some of his Iona Celtic Art crafts to the exhibition.

From this understanding of the mechanics of acquiring casts and some of the Scottish specifics we can develop a sense of how Martin's role played out. I have found no evidence in the archives for his direct involvement in the 1901 Glasgow Exhibition, but this does not mean he was not involved (he certainly lectured in Glasgow in 1898). Prior to the rearrangement of the Circulation Department in 1909, Martin's hand is in any case virtually invisible in the V&A files; Watts was clearly responsible for signing off approval for payments.⁸⁶ But there can be no doubt that Martin knew or could find out later what happened here. We cannot prove who chose the casts for Dundee in 1904, but Martin was known to Dundee and this is exactly the same time that Martin's star rose and he was ordering casts for Aberdeen. That he ordered not just the Dundee but also the Aberdeen casts from Messrs McKenzie is the ineluctable conclusion, and my sense is that McKenzie moulded them from the Glasgow casts, which included original casts not made by them (the Iona cross-head). That some of Graham's Islay casts, as displayed at Glasgow, were also selected for Dundee and Aberdeen rules out the likelihood that Martin started from scratch using Allen's 1904 list and/or similar sources, such as *ECMS*. It rather seems he piggy-backed in good V&A fashion from his knowledge of pre-existing casts and who had made them. This begs the question of what and whose vision lies behind the Glasgow selection, the genetic stock, so to speak.

<H1>Vision

The credit for supervising the reproduction and arrangement of the casts clearly rests with R. C. Graham (1848-1908), who was a member of the Sub-Committee for Scottish History and Archaeology.⁸⁷ David Murray, the Glasgow-based lawyer and antiquary, was the Convenor, with James Dalrymple Duncan, a writer and subsequent sponsor of the Glasgow Archaeology Society Dalrymple Lectures, its Sub-Convenor. The members also included Stirling Maxwell.⁸⁸ Graham, laird of Skipness in Kintyre, wrote *The Carved Stones of Islay*. He had already donated a collection of casts of the carved stones of Kintyre and Islay to the Corporation (see above) and extolled the value of such replicas:⁸⁹

The neglect of the Scottish sculptured stones has been inconceivable, and there is still much to be done for their better protection; still they excite far more interest than they did even fifty years ago. Many are safely housed in museums and churches, others are protected by the better enclosing and keeping of the churchyards. The proper preservation of the monuments is still however, surrounded by difficulties, and though casts can never compare in interest with the stones, they are of untold value, and every fresh cast makes us less dependent on the precarious existence of the original.⁹⁰

In May 1899 the Sub-Committee asked Graham to prepare a list of the most important monuments he considered desirable for the Exhibition, and to get an approximate costing for the casts.⁹¹ Graham submitted his list in November, estimating not more than £200. He acknowledged debts to both authors of *ECMS*, then in the final years of its much-extended preparation. Graham mentioned lecture IV in volume II of *Scotland in Early Christian Times*,⁹² where Joseph Anderson set out in his Rhind Lectures for 1879 the ideas about early medieval sculpture that he developed more fully in *ECMS*. Graham and Allen collaborated and liaised in various ways,⁹³ and Graham clearly sought advice from Allen about this project:⁹⁴

It is almost impossible to form a rough estimate of the cost of such a collection of casts as Romilly Allen and I have suggested, because the objects vary so much in size and availability . . . There are 70 specimens on the complete list . . . Allen's list will have to be cut down somewhat. We could hardly manage Sueno's Stone which is I believe 22 feet high. Whether such a collection would be of interest to the general public I cannot say. I should have thought it would interest that part of the public who would be attracted by a Scottish Archaeological Section? If properly carried out and properly lighted this collection is bound to interest the large class who care for beauty of design. It will be a unique exhibit and very likely almost a revelation to many who have never had the time or opportunity of visiting the originals.

Allen's list for Graham is sadly elusive, but in a 1904 publication Allen listed what he regards as the 'best specimens of erect cross-slabs in Scotland' and the 'best examples of free-standing crosses',⁹⁵ and the majority of the early medieval stones that Glasgow cast appear on this list (see Appendix). The list that Graham refers to conceivably related to a wish list that Allen compiled for his proposed Museum of Christian Art in Great Britain.⁹⁶ Either way, we can see how what appeared in Glasgow, and later influenced the displays in Dundee and Aberdeen, derives from very specific advice from Allen. We can reasonably infer that Graham selected the later medieval grave-slabs for himself, since that was his area of expertise.

Graham, Dalrymple Duncan and Paton were all involved in getting permissions for casts to be made, possibly not always with success (Paton visited Hopetoun House, possibly

to get permission for Abercorn casts, which were on the Corporation's original list, but no casts were ever made).

<H1>Associations

While Martin's hand is virtually invisible in the V&A files, Scottish archival and published sources are fulsome in crediting him for his work at Dundee and Aberdeen. Notably, in the Dundee-published catalogue and V&A file, Martin is coy about his role, referring only to an 'expert' who was brought in to help. Likewise, at Aberdeen he does much, if not all, of the work in his own time. This would make sense if the museums in Scotland offered Martin the opportunity to do things that were beyond his normal range of professional duties, but he was keen to get involved; on his retirement, his colleagues 'admired that sense of justice which made him disregard personal consideration in his determination to do the right thing'.⁹⁷ My thesis is that the additional networking opportunities presented by the Museums Association and its annual cycle of meetings facilitated and deepened a very specific set of short-lived relationships in which the production of plaster casts of sculpture, particularly early medieval sculpture, was valued and came to the fore in Scotland.⁹⁸

Paton was the initiator of the Association, which from its formation in 1890 had an active Scottish presence on its Council until 1907: Paton (Glasgow), Maclauchlan (Dundee) and Murray (Aberdeen), all at some point also acting as President or Vice-President. The Association met in Glasgow (1896), Edinburgh (1901) and Aberdeen (1903). The Associates comprised institutions and individuals who might work for institutions that would not or felt they could not join (this presumably applied to the national bodies). Glasgow joined in 1890, Dundee in 1891 and Aberdeen in 1908.⁹⁹ The V&A did not join in this period, but from 1893, 1904 and 1909 Martin, Watts and Bailey respectively joined/attended as individuals in their own right (in Watt's case he was sometimes clearly the 'representative' of the V&A). Martin was the first to join — surely an expression of his personal commitment. Perhaps surprisingly given the possible perceived or actual conflict of interests, he went on Council, as an ordinary member 1897 to 1899 and a Vice-President in 1905. More so than any of his Circulation Department colleagues, through his largely consistent attendance, Martin had the opportunity to develop friendships and professional networks with the staff of the provincial museums (Fig. 4). Reading the *Proceedings of the Museums Association* and its successor the *Museums Journal* provides a vivid sense of the energy of the Association's members, their critical reflection on their professional concerns, as well as its wider benefits. The night before his death in 1907, Maclauchlan talked about 'how greatly he had enjoyed the annual conferences, how much he benefitted by intercourse with his brother curators, and how lasting and sincere were the friendships he had formed among members'.¹⁰⁰

<H1>Choices and their impacts

The casts selected for Glasgow, Dundee and Aberdeen reflect what curators and others thought to be important at the time and the way that Edwardians categorized and ordered the cultural world, at a time when museums were moving from being 'a cemetery of bric-a-brac into a nursery of living thoughts'.¹⁰¹ Intellectually and practically, as the contents of the contemporary *Museums Journal* until after WWI testify, a prime consideration was still the distinction between art and archaeological objects, how and in which types of museums curators should display them, and for what purpose. This debate, with its origins in the highest-level political machinations surrounding the creation and shaping of national

museums in 1850s London, is critical to understanding the emergence of the disciplines of art history and archaeology and for an appreciation of the nature and legacy of the intellectual and practical 'boundaries' that have arisen as a result.¹⁰² Archaeology and art history were still only pubescent disciplines in the early twentieth century, and there is not the space here to develop the direct relationship between the values attributed to plaster casts and the last major throes of this disciplinary debate.¹⁰³ However, we must reflect on the choices that were made of what to display because we need to consider the impact the canons thus generated might have had.

The choice of Scottish monuments to cast and the contemporary language used to describe them in their catalogues is telling. Dundee and Aberdeen are what the V&A expected of South Kensington-inspired displays: they materialized in many respects the approach to art exemplified in Owen Jones's influential 1856 *Grammar of Ornament*, which, like the works of Ruskin, promoted 'correct' principles of design that sought to avoid stylistic confusion and the misuse of ornamentation.¹⁰⁴ The emphasis was on illustrating different types of ornament that manufacturers and craftspeople could apply to contemporary objects, whose beauty and taste would inspire the public. Panels of regular interlace, zoomorphic, spiral and key patterns of 'Celtic' art could readily lend themselves to application to surfaces, not least of memorial monuments, but generated a restricted impression of what Celtic art was. J. O. Westwood's section on 'Celtic ornament' in the *Grammar of Ornament*, with its clear debt to the illustrations in Chambers 1848 *The Ancient Sculptured Monuments of Angus* (Fig. 5), evidences the interest in such monuments as little more than bearers of ornament, which is how Dundee and Aberdeen appear to have used the casts. The focus in these publications and in the selection of casts is very much on the *Christian* and not pagan early medieval art, notably excluding the unworked boulders that bore incised, often elaborate Pictish symbols, the appreciation of which was at this time more archaeological than art historical. To be fair, it had taken time for the value of later medieval and renaissance art to be appreciated, let alone early medieval art (before AD 1000),¹⁰⁵ and an appreciation of pre-Christian art was largely yet to evolve.

By contrast, Glasgow's exhibition did not have the specific agenda of improving the taste of a nation. Instead, it aimed to promote Scottish history and archaeology to an international audience through a general collection illustrative of, among other things, the country and people of Scotland in prehistoric as well as historic times.¹⁰⁶ Glasgow also needed a legacy for the Kelvingrove. Graham's selection, with advice from Allen, was geographically diverse and we can read into it a conscious ('archaeological') attempt to represent a good range of monument forms: high crosses, slabs, recumbent monuments and sarcophagi. However, the choice here too was resolutely Christian, excepting Burghead 5. Glasgow's choice was antiquarian-led, but antiquaries such as Graham appreciated the value of the sculptures in terms of the beauty of design as much as any other person; Allen's research interests also *focused* on grammars of design, for which Graham praised him.¹⁰⁷ Either way, readers of the catalogue entries for Glasgow, Aberdeen and Dundee would have discerned little distinction between archaeological and art historical approaches in the uniformly terse descriptions of the key decorative features.

While this moment-in-time creation of three comparative collections of casts focusing on early medieval sculpture stands out in Scotland for reasons already explained, we also need to consider it in the context of a wider contemporary trend. What are now the National Museums of Ireland and of Wales, as well as the Manx Museum, created large collections of related type at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (the V&A

grant-aided the Welsh examples and many of the Irish ones).¹⁰⁸ In Wales (the Cardiff Museum and Art Gallery, from 1894) and the Isle of Man (by 1905/6), curators initiated systematic programmes to create fully comprehensive collections of all their early medieval sculptures. Inclusion of comparative material from elsewhere in Britain and Ireland was limited – unless, that is, another museum or an individual offered a cast. With its close links to the Isle of Man, it is not surprising that the Liverpool Museum should have acquired casts of fifteen Manx sculptures in 1913.¹⁰⁹ This activity was at the very tail-end of around a century in which museums and galleries strove to create and exhibit large and representative collections of casts of sculptures, but now native sculpture also merited a place. The SKM had lost some of its potency after Cole left, and the South Kensington art-training ethos (which used casts for drawing) – never universally praised – had become increasingly unfashionable.¹¹⁰ The availability of grants partly explains why casting remained popular in the provincial museums after this time. The maturing study of early medieval sculpture and an awakening sense of national identities made ‘Celtic’ sculpture perfect for creating and promoting cultural resources distinctive to the countries. ‘Celtic art’ had influenced contemporary design from the mid-nineteenth century, particularly in Ireland where casts of high crosses had a potent effect in and after the 1853 Dublin Industrial Exhibition.¹¹¹ The Celtic Revival that developed from the 1880s manifest itself in different ways across the Isles where there were also different needs in terms of what it meant to express difference from the English. In Scotland, artists used Celtic art to endorse the prevalent unionist-nationalist identity, rather than separatism.¹¹² The international exhibitions in Edinburgh and Glasgow between 1881 and 1911 were an important way in which Scotland promoted the distinctive nature of her institutions,¹¹³ but also one of the ways in which Glasgow emerged and challenged Edinburgh’s cultural hegemony from the 1880s.¹¹⁴ In this regard, the fact that Edinburgh did not produce a bespoke Scottish plaster cast collection at this time is notable. The NMAS had already accepted a large (if *ad hoc*) collection of material from individual antiquaries, but the main reason is probably Anderson’s preference for authentic archaeological objects. Although the MSA did generate casts of Ruthwell and Nigg, it probably considered that the Society of Antiquaries and its museum ‘owned’ this area of endeavour. The MSA did not have a particularly archaeological or Scottish focus; by contrast the Society of Antiquaries was active in its concerns for the condition of early medieval sculpture in Scotland, hence their long-running support for the production of *ECMS*. Glasgow’s organizers therefore created something that Scotland’s capital had eschewed yet which had a place in the wider curatorial mode of expressing and reinforcing national identity in the provinces of Britain and Ireland. Theirs was,¹¹⁵

. . . a most valuable object-lesson in the history of Scotland, and in the social life, customs, and conditions of the people in bygone days. Many memorials of the deepest import in the history of the country . . . [were] first brought together under one roof, and the powerful national sentiment of all in whose veins Scottish blood flows was stimulated and fostered by the collection.

We must remember that at this time there was (still is) no English national museum, the V&A was not very interested in material from the Isles at all, and the British Museum had been slow in even taking an interest in Anglo-Saxon material.¹¹⁶ In V&A eyes, Nigg and Ruthwell were sufficient, valued as they presumably were for their completeness and their attractive ornament with its classical overtures: ‘I do not think we should require many of the Scotch crosses’.¹¹⁷ Native sculptures, particularly the non-Christian ones, may also not have appealed to contemporary aesthetics; despite statements to the contrary, beauty of

objects was a key consideration in their perceived value for V&A education purposes.¹¹⁸ Significantly, since the V&A did not make its own casts of much of it, it also lacked examples to promote to and exchange with museums in Europe, which was an explicit part of the museum's policy in relation to reproductions.¹¹⁹ The V&A did, however, buy replicas of some early medieval Irish art for its own display purposes.

Past (let alone present) impacts can be very hard to establish, as recognized by curators of the time.¹²⁰ I have already alluded to the political significance of the creation of collections of 'Celtic' sculptures, but to date there is little scholarship on the people who came in very large numbers to visit such displays.¹²¹ It is all very well for the Glasgow organizers to claim that 'A great object lesson in the history of our country has been afforded to serious students',¹²² but what did that really mean, what did the 'students' think and do, and how long-lasting was the impact? We can be confident such 'Celtic' material had an impact on high art,¹²³ although scholars have tended to overlook the impact on carvers and sculptors.¹²⁴ It may not always be obvious if the source was an image in a book rather than the object or a copy of it in a museum, but John Duncan specifically acknowledges the value of the Dundee casts in 1911.¹²⁵ To be fair, the Parthenon Marbles – let alone their many copies – failed to make the impact anticipated in 1816, partly because art students were more familiar with working with Graeco-Roman sculpture.¹²⁶ Aberdeen theoretically offers the greatest opportunities for research to address whether Celtic art did what the organizers intended and altered the craftsmanship of carved granite memorial monuments (Fig. 6). At the time, the Granite Association was polite in its acceptance of its members' limitations, as well as 'limitations of the stubborn material which they have to manipulate', allowing that the gallery's models will be an incentive to the granite worker to better this art.¹²⁷ In the fine graveyards of north-east Scotland it would be possible to chart any relevant changes in gravestone design, but sadly the industry was all but dead by 1909 and despite the anticipated demand for memorials after WWI there was no substantial revival in the 1920s.¹²⁸ In terms of impact on scholarship, this is again difficult to assess. Well after WWII, images of casts regularly have made their way into academic publications often with no apparent acknowledgement or questioning of their similarity with the early medieval original.¹²⁹ The people who put the Celtic collections together developed their own canon of what was important from an artistic or archaeological perspective, and used their professional judgement and the knowledge of other specialists to do so. Their choices were also tempered considerably by the practicalities of what casts they could obtain. Academically, the composite casts of the cross-head of St John's from Iona stand out because this communicated effectively the outcome of Allen's recent work in recovering the fragments and reconstructing this important monument's form.¹³⁰

<H1>Conclusions: identities and agencies

This 'provinces-up' research reveals through a Scottish lens how networks of individuals, particularly the newly burgeoning community of professional museum curators, acted together from their local and national institutions to create and display collections of plaster casts of 'Celtic Crosses' in Glasgow, Dundee and Aberdeen in the first decade of the twentieth century. There was a state-run Circulation Department in the V&A circulating objects, ideologies and with the wherewithal to promulgate hegemonic, imperial beliefs and practices about art and design to the provinces.¹³¹ From here an officer with no presence whatsoever in institutional histories, R. F. Martin, had a considerable impact on what happened on the ground in Scotland by dint of his official duties and personal qualities (Fig.

7).¹³² This is therefore also a cautionary tale, for institutions have generally been poor at documenting the work of their staff, particularly less well-known individuals who were nonetheless active and influential champions of specific work practices on the ground and in context-specific circumstances. In the provinces were curators keen and grateful to be the recipients of this support and advice, but also with their own ideas and contributions. Critically, for all parties, the annual meetings of the Museums Association brought new opportunities for networking and follow-up action, which the Celtic Courts illuminate and (arguably) crystallize. Communities of individuals, such as these, make the difference in events that mark the history of institutions.¹³³

While the government grants for provincial museums that the Circulation Department administered were targeted for the acquisition of reproductions, the demand for the casting of native 'Celtic' sculpture was driven from the ground and from around the Isles of Britain and Ireland: Dublin, Cardiff and local museums wanted to celebrate local distinctiveness. It is no coincidence that significant modern scholarship on early medieval sculptures first appeared around this time too — the nature, character and significance of this material was now widely recognized, and it was a source of inspiration for Celtic Revival artists and craftspeople. In large measure, and certainly in Scotland, the horizon of newly created 'Celtic' collections is a striking example of what Murray Pittock calls 'imperial localism', the idea that 'local colour accentuated the glory of the Empire through stressing how many cultures it contained, and was welcome'.¹³⁴ There is no hint of resistance or a lack of free choice in the shared 'Celtic' enterprises of the V&A, Glasgow, Dundee and Aberdeen although, in contrast to Wales and Ireland, the silence of the Edinburgh institutions in this regard does require further exploration.¹³⁵ This was, after all, the time when, bowing to political pressure, the government had begun to separate certain government functions from Whitehall, for example creating Irish and Scotch Education Departments and devolving responsibilities for their national museums. There had also been an opposition from Joseph Anderson and/or the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland to the institution of Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Britain and Ireland.¹³⁶ Attitudes to the ideologies and practices of the metropolitan V&A in the Scottish capital need future review in this context.

The tightly defined *floruit* of the production of collections of plaster casts of 'Celtic' subjects coincides with the beginning of the end for the V&A Circulation Department's dogged advocacy of reproductions. Across the world, art curators in particular were engaging in furious discussions about the value of casts. Indeed, Robinson's presence at Aberdeen's opening (see above) adds some emphasis as well as poignancy to just how traditionally South Kensington the Aberdeen exhibition was. Robinson was a classical archaeologist, representing the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and Harvard University. He was a prominent proponent of the continuing use of plaster casts in museums. However, his own colleagues were powerfully challenging his stance on this as well as other museological matters. In the so-called Boston 'battle of the casts', his subordinates successfully undermined him while he was away in Aberdeen. As a result, he resigned from Boston in late 1905, moving to the Metropolitan Museum, where he later became Director.¹³⁷ In his 'Toast to the Visitors' at the official dinner, Robinson noted how Aberdeen was the first European town to recognize formally the work he and others were trying to do in art in the museums of America. The aims and values he espoused were very recognizably those shared with the V&A, and by now of some considerable pedigree.¹³⁸

Conscious of how material chosen for display, both generically and at the object level, 'determined criteria of significance and moulded the historical imagination',¹³⁹ this study has drilled down to the level of individual sculptures and unpicked the detail and process of cast selection. To summarize and simplify, this shows that the 1904 Dundee and 1905 Aberdeen 'Celtic' displays were highly derivative of the phenomenal 1901 Glasgow enterprise. R. C. Graham (a Scottish antiquary), advised by J. Romilly Allen (an expert on the Scottish sculptures), made Glasgow's choice; practicalities tempered what could be cast anew while private donations augmented the final list. While it is tempting to exaggerate the difference between archaeological and art-historical perspectives at this time,¹⁴⁰ on balance more archaeological senses and sensibilities informed their reasoning for creating the casts and what they wanted cast. Overall, their objective was to foster an appreciation of things Scottish. By contrast, a metropolitan 'Officer of the Circulation' determined what Dundee and Aberdeen chose to display. Being practical, Martin piggy-backed on Glasgow's selection in determining the much smaller number of casts for display at these exhibitions. The filter for this selection was South Kensington's mantra of a universal taste and high art, one with practical applications for contemporary manufacturing design: the interest in the monuments was now firmly as bearers of a more limited range of Celtic ornamentation. Its inclusion at Aberdeen in an art gallery broke new ground.

Some modern curators have ambivalent or outright dismissive attitudes towards replicas in general, although they can still form a significant part of exhibitions, such as the Stockholm Historical Museum's travelling *Vikings: The Untold Story*, which reached Edinburgh in 2013. The sorts of replicas we have looked at here, where they survive (see Appendix) are now archaeological objects in their own right, some of more intrinsic, contextual and associative significance than others. They can merit and create excellent exhibitions, such as the 2010 Irish High Crosses exhibition at the NMI.¹⁴¹ All contribute individually to the biographical trajectories of their parent sculptures and, contextually, to our understanding of changing attitudes to cultural values as well as to our understanding of the historic resource itself.

To appreciate the art and design qualities of pagan (including early medieval) sculptures and other objects from the Isles we still need to go to 'archaeology' rather than 'art' museums, such as the V&A. Only a sub-set of the original 'Celtic' plaster casts survives. If and how museums such as V&A at Dundee in future opt to use these plaster casts to represent Scottish design heritage or other themes deserves highlighting in the circumstances of their history and context of earlier display — of circulating agencies: institutions, people and things — and an awareness of what they did not and do *not* represent.

Appendix: Summary of sculptures and casts in relation to Glasgow, Dundee and Aberdeen exhibitions

Sculptured stone	Allen 1904 list ¹⁴²	Displayed (published catalogue number) (bold if V&A provided grant-aid)			Location today ¹⁴³
		Glasgow 1901 √ = considered, not cast	Dundee 1904/11	Aberdeen 1905	
Abercorn 1		√			-
Abercorn 2		√			-
Aboyne (Formaston)	√				-
Ardchattan	√				-
Barochan	√				-
Brodie (Rodney Stone)	√	√			-
Aberlemno 2	√	233	130	204	
Aberlemno 3	√	232			
Burghead 5		228			B
Dunfallandy	√	231			K
Dupplin	√				-
Dyce 2 ¹⁴⁴	√				-
Eilean Mor cross-shaft		251			K
Farnell	√				-
Farr	√				-
Glamis 2	√	225			
Glenluce		266			
Golspie	√				-
Govan 1 (Stirling Maxwell 1895 no 1)		238			
Govan 2 (Stirling Maxwell 1895 no 2)		239			
Govan 3 (Stirling Maxwell 1895 no 4)		241 or 242?			
Govan 4 (Stirling Maxwell 1895 no 8)		244			
Govan 9 (Stirling Maxwell 1895 no 11)		246			
Govan 10 (Stirling Maxwell 1895 no 6)		241 or 242?			
Govan 11 (Stirling Maxwell 1895 no 5)		241 or 242?			
Govan 12 (Stirling Maxwell 1895 no 3)		240			
Govan 13 (Stirling Maxwell 1895 no 12)		247			
Govan 14 (Stirling Maxwell 1895 no 16)		√			-
Govan 15 (Stirling Maxwell 1895 no 19)		√			-
Govan 29 (Stirling Maxwell 1895 no 10)		245			
Govan 34 (Stirling Maxwell 1895 no 15)		√			-
Hilton of Cadboll	√	226			
Inchbrayock 1	√	269			H
Invergowrie	√				-
Iona: St John's (both sides, head only)	√	250	139	210	K A ¹⁴⁵
Irton, Cumbria				214	A
Jedburgh 2		265			K

Jordanhill (Stirling Maxwell 1895 no 7)		243			K
Keills cross		249			
Killarow, Islay (3 slabs) (later med)		255-257			K
Kilchoman, Islay (later med)		254			K
Kildalton	√	248	128	207	K A
Kildalton (2 slabs) (later med)		259-260			K
Kilfinan (slab) (later med)		261			K
Kirkbraddan, Isle of Man (Odd's Cross)				215	
Kirkcolm, Wigtown		√			-
Kilmory (later med)		264	135	209	
Maiden Stone ¹⁴⁶	√				-
Meigle 2 (front of)	√	220 ¹⁴⁷	136	203	
Meigle 4	√	221	132	202	
Meigle 5	√	222			H
Meigle 25	√	224			
Meigle 26	√	223			
Meigle ?		√			-
Nereabolls, Islay (slab) (later med)		260			K
Migvie	√				-
Monasterboice, Ireland	√			216	
Monifieth 4	√	235	137	205	H A
Murthly		227			K
Nigg	√		131	213	A
Papil Burra	√	234			
Rosemarkie	√				-
Rossie Priory	√	237	133	206	A
Ruthwell Cross		268 [in 1894]	129 [in 1894]		Largs Nunnery
Saddell (2 slabs, later med)		252-253	138, single slab	208, single slab	
St Andrews Sarcophagus		√			-
St Madoes	√				-
St Orland's, Cossans	√				-
St Vigeans 1 (Drosten Stone)	√	230		212 ¹⁴⁸	H
St Vigeans 7	√	229	134	211	A
Shandwick	√				-
Skipness (2 slabs) (later med)		262-263	135, one slab ¹⁴⁹		K x1
Sueno's Stone, Forres	√				-
Ulbster	√				-
Whithorn (NMS IB 35)		267			H
Woodwray (then at Abbotsford)	√				-

Captions

Fig. 1. Aberdeen's Celtic Court in 1905. © Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museums Collections.

Fig. 2. The interior of Robert Foster's plaster workshop at Linden Avenue in Stirling, c. 1908. From *Industries of Stirling and District. Profusely Illustrated* (Stirling, 1909). Reproduced with permission of Stirling Council Libraries and Archives.

Fig. 3. Robert Martin explains in a letter to the NMI which parts of the Monasterboice Cross he wishes them to cast for Aberdeen. © National Museum of Ireland.

Fig. 4. Detail of a 1903 photograph of the Museums Association delegates at Norwich Castle. Paton top row, second from right; Maclauchlan and wife front row, fourth from left; by process of elimination, Martin and his wife sit at the extreme left. Source *Museums Journal* 4 (1903), reproduced by permission of the National Library of Scotland and Museums Association (www.museumsassociation.org).

Fig. 5. Owen Jones's illustration of Celtic 'lapidary ornamentation' (note that the Aberlemno stone is here reversed). From O. Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament* (London, 1856). Reproduced by permission of the National Library of Scotland.

Fig. 6. Edwardian postcard of the James Taggart granite works, Aberdeen. Image provided courtesy of Aberdeen City Libraries.

Fig. 7. Eric Gill's 1922 letterhead for R. F. Martin. In common with bookplates he produced that year, Gill's punning image is of a saint who features in the subject's name — St Martin shares his cloak with a beggar. How fanciful is it to see this image of division and distribution as also a playful metaphor for Martin's career with the Circulation Department, where 'his one endeavour had been to extend and develop its usefulness'? © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

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Acknowledgements

I am exceptionally grateful to Neil Curtis, Katinka Dalgligh, Christina Donald, Jennifer Melville, Rod McCullagh and Jo Weddell for feedback on an earlier draft of this paper. Morag Cross fed my enthusiasm with regular streams of information, as well as undertaking research on Martin. Those who kindly provided advice and access to resources include: David Clarke; Mairi MacArthur; Jennifer Melville, Griffin Co, Vikki Duncan (Aberdeen Art Gallery); David Main (Aberdeen City Council); Ellen Perry (College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, MA); Derek Craig (Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture); Elaine MacGillivray, Nerys Tunnicliffe (Glasgow Life Archives, Mitchell Library); Katinka Dalgligh, Jane Flint (Glasgow Museums Resource Centre); Ragnall Ó Floinn, Pádraig Clancy, Isabella Mulhall (NMI); Roana Mourad (Stirling Council); Christina Donald (The McManus, Dundee); Tom Bartlett, Jane Geddes, John Morrison; Jane Stevenson (University of Aberdeen); Matthew Jarron (University of Dundee); Katherine Elliott, Linda Sandino, Marjorie Trusted, Jo Weddell, Ghislaine Wood (V&A); James Sutton (V&A Archives); Anna Shepherd (V&A Images). The University of Aberdeen Principal's

Excellence Fund and School of Geosciences, and the Henry Moore Foundation supported this research and its publication.

Notes and references

¹ The term Celtic is used at this time in a rather variable sense: 'Celtic art' describes interlace, zoomorphic, spiral and key patterns, associated with 'Europeans of mixed race, who spoke Celtic dialects'. Certain elements of Celtic art are sometimes described as surviving after the Norman Conquest (see P. J. Anderson's introduction to 'Celtic Sculpture' in Aberdeen Art Gallery, *Aberdeen Sculpture Gallery 8th April 1905* (Aberdeen, 1905).

² See e.g., G. Davies, 'The Albacini cast collection', *Journal of the History of Collections* 2 (1991), pp. 145–65; A. Smailes, 'A history of the statue gallery at the Trustees' Academy in Edinburgh and the acquisition of the Albacini casts in 1838', *Journal of the History of Collections* 2 (1991), pp. 125–43.

³ As described in the *Museums Directory*, pp. [319–320] at the back of *Museums Journal* 5 (1906).

⁴ G. Baldwin Brown, 'Industrial museums in their relation to art', *Museums Journal* 1 (1902), p. 97. P. MacGregor Chalmers failed in 1911 to persuade the V&A that, to be more national, it should add casts of one or two examples of later medieval Scottish sculpture: V&A Archives, MA/35/87, Glasgow Exhibitions 1888–1911.

⁵ See e.g. A. MacGregor, 'Antiquity inventoried: museums and "national antiquities" in the mid nineteenth century', in V. Brand (ed.), *The Study of the Past in the Victorian Age* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 125–37.

⁶ Cf. T. Barringer, 'Representing the imperial archive: South Kensington and its museums', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 2 (1998), p. 357.

⁷ J. R. Allen and J. Anderson, *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1903; repr. Balgavies, 1993).

⁸ I. Henderson, 'Introduction. the making of *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*', in Allen and Anderson, op. cit. (note 7), pp. 13–40.

⁹ J. Weddell, 'Room 38A and beyond: post-war British design and the Circulation Department', *V&A Online Journal* Summer (2012) acknowledges its later twentieth-century role. P. Floud, 'The Circulation Department of the Victoria & Albert Museum', *Museum International* 4 (1950), pp. 296–303 is a useful overview of the history of the Circulation Department, but the detail largely describes activities from 1909. Latterly the work of the Department could be derided, witness Sir Mortimer Wheeler's aside in the BBC's *Animal, Vegetable and Mineral* for 1 October 1958. Describing a ninth-century Chinese bronze he said, 'a nasty thing . . . so bad it must be in the Circulating Department'.

¹⁰ V&A Archives, MA.1.M1036, Martin, Robert, F, 1916–1930. Nominal File is essentially a file about objects that Martin donated or sold to the V&A collections, up to 1930.

¹¹ S. M. Foster, 'Embodied energies, embedded stories: releasing the potential of casts of early medieval sculptures', in J. Hawkes (ed.), *Making Histories. Proceedings of the Sixth International Insular Arts Conference, York 2011* (Donington, in press): pp. 339–55.

¹² The key sources consulted were censuses, electoral registers, marriages and banns, www.ancestry.co.uk, Post Office directories and online newspapers.

¹³ This was, for instance, one of the stated reasons for acquiring the Elgin Marbles in 1816: J. Minihan, *The Nationalization of Culture. The Development of State Subsidies to the Arts in Great Britain* (London, 1977), pp. 16–18.

¹⁴ L. Purbrick, 'The South Kensington Museum: the building of the house of Henry Cole', in M. Pointon (ed.), *Art Apart. Art Institutions and Ideology across England and North America* (Manchester, 1994), pp. 77–8.

¹⁵ The Circulation Department receives passing mentions in histories of the V&A, such as Purbrick, op. cit. (note 14), pp. 69–86; E. James (ed.), *The Victoria and Albert Museum: A Bibliography and Exhibition Chronology, 1852–1996* (London, 1998); A. Burton, *Vision & Accident. The Story of the Victoria & Albert Museum* (London, 1999); M. Trusted (ed.), *The Making of Sculpture. The Materials and Techniques of European Sculpture*

(London, 2007). See also note 9. P. Floud, *V&A Museum Circulation Department, its History and Scope* (London, 1950?) is broad in scope but lacking in detail. J. S. Harris, *Government Patronage of the Arts in Great Britain* (Chicago and London, 1970) provides later twentieth-century examples of how the grant scheme worked. Unpublished memos by J. Bailey (1909) and P. Floud (1958) provide useful historical perspective: National Archives, NA ED 23/624, Organisation of Circulation Department, 1900–1921 and NA 218/287, Grants-in-aid to Victoria and Albert Museum and Royal Scottish Museum for Local Museum Purchases. Useful contemporary published reports and accounts include: F. R. Sandford, *Report on the System of Circulation of Art Objects on Loan from the South Kensington Museum for Exhibition as Carried on by the Department from Its First Establishment to the Present Time* (London 1881, pp. 291–4), reprinted in J Siegel (ed.), *The Emergence of the Modern Museum. An Anthology of Nineteenth-Century Sources* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 263–76; E. Howarth, 'The circulation system at South Kensington', *Proceedings of the Museums Association* 8 (1897), pp. 85–91; J. Maclauchlan, 'Government and the country museums', *Museums Journal* 4 (1905), pp. 297–308; J. Minto, 'The relation of provincial museums to national museums', *Museums Journal* 5 (1906), pp. 219–24; Anon, 'Board of Education. Circulation Department', *Museums Journal* 8 (1909), pp. 107–9; Anon, 'The Circulation Department of the Victoria and Albert Museum', *Museums Journal* 23 (1924), pp. 117–18.

¹⁶ Floud elsewhere attributes 1848 as the start of Circulation, quoting V&A Archive MA/15/14 when a Mr Gruner was sent to Italy to buy a collection (J. Weddell in litt).

¹⁷ H. Cole, 'Extracts from an introductory address on the functions of the Science and Art Department' (1857), reprinted in Siegel, op. cit. (note 15), pp. 245–46.

¹⁸ *Parliamentary Papers* (Commons), 'Second Report from the Select Committee on Museums of the Science and Art Department', 1898, II:xv, quoted in Minihan, op. cit. (note 13), p. 121 n. 1.

¹⁹ For example, Aberdeen Art Gallery and Industrial Museum Minute Book for January 1905 refers to annual loans most years between 1892 and 1903, the display of which South Kensington required to be 'supplemented' by local loans.

²⁰ V&A Archives, AO319 1/3. Aid to Provincial Museums vol 1; Harris, op. cit. (note 15), p. 115.

²¹ J. C. Robinson, Memorandum respecting the origination and supply of reproduction of works of art by the Science and Art Department (unpublished 1880 MS in V&A Archive ED84/166).

²² P. Floud, 'Memorandum on Grants-in-Aid' in National Archives, T218/287. See criticism in e.g. Howarth, op. cit. (note 15), p. 89.

²³ V&A Archives, ED84/166. Policy File 1865–1935.

²⁴ Maclauchlan, op. cit. (note 15), p. 306.

²⁵ See Siegel, op. cit. (note 15), pp. 268–9.

²⁶ Burton, op. cit. (note 15), ch. 7.

²⁷ V&A Archives, MA/1/E201. NF Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum. Part 1. 1869–1902 and Part 2. 1904–1915 detail arrangements between the MSA/RSM and the SKM/V&A, including the hiccups with the transfer of authority of the Scottish Museum to a different government department from the V&A.

²⁸ V&A Archives, MA/1/E201, op. cit. (note 27), 1900 recommendations by Lord Burleigh of Balfour, para 5.

²⁹ Museums Directory in back of *Museums Journal* 5 (1906), pp. [319–20].

³⁰ S. Piggott, 'The national museum of antiquities and archaeological research', in A. Connor and D. V. Clarke (eds), *From the Stone Age to the 'Forty-Five. Studies Presented to R.B.K. Stevenson, Former Keeper National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1983), p. 5. For a history of the NMAS, see R. B. K. Stevenson, 'The museum, its beginnings and its development. Part I: to 1858: the Society's own museum', in A. S. Bell (ed.), *The Scottish Antiquarian Tradition. Essays to Mark the Bicentenary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and its Museum, 1780–1980* (Edinburgh, 1981), pp. 31–85; R. B. K. Stevenson, 'The museum, its beginnings and its development. Part II: the National Museum to 1954', in *ibid.*, pp. 142–211; D. V. Clarke, 'Scottish archaeology in the second half of the nineteenth century', in *ibid.*, pp. 114–41.

³¹ J. Anderson and G. F. Black, 'Reports on local museums in Scotland, obtained through Dr R. H. Gunning's Jubilee Gift to the Society', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 22 (1888), pp. 331–422; Clarke, op. cit. (note 30), pp. 114–41; Anon, 'Provincial museums', *Chambers Journal of Popular Literature, Science, and Arts* 3 (1866), pp. 218–22, reprinted in Siegel, op. cit. (note 15), pp. 259–62.

³² D. Murray, *Museums. Their History and their Use. With a Bibliography and List of Museums in the United Kingdom* (Glasgow, 1904), vol. I, pp. 291–312 usefully lists museums in the United Kingdom in the late 1890s and their foundations.

³³ Glasgow International Exhibition, *The Book of Scottish History and Archaeology* (Glasgow, 1901), preface; Anon, *Glasgow International Exhibition 1901. Official Catalogue* (Glasgow, 1901), pp. 30–35, cat nos 220–73.

³⁴ See e.g. B. Benedict, *The Anthropology of World's Fairs. San Francisco's Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915* (London, 1983); P. Kinchin and J. Kinchin, *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions: 1888, 1901, 1911, 1938, 1988* (Bicester, 1988); M. Bligaard, 'The image of Denmark. Museums as sanctuaries of identity', in J. M. Fladmark (ed.), *Heritage & Museums. Shaping National Identity* (Shaftesbury, 2000), pp. 287–97.

³⁵ Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow 1898–1899.

³⁶ Glasgow City Archives, D-TC11/4, Box 1. *Minutes of the Glasgow International Exhibition Association, 1901*.

³⁷ However, it was only the following 1911 exhibition that had an explicit focus on a Scottish historical theme: N. G. W. Curtis, 'A Museum of Scotland: the Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art and Industry, Glasgow 1911' (forthcoming).

³⁸ Glasgow City Archives, D-TC11/4, op. cit. (note 36), 9 December 1898, 11–12; J. Paton, 'Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, Kelvingrove', *Museums Journal* 1 (1902), p. 323.

³⁹ Corporation of Glasgow (Parks Department), *Museums and Galleries. Report for the Year 1902*. (Glasgow, 1902), pp. 6–7. K. Dalgligh advises (in litt.) that T. C. F. Brochie rearranged the archaeology display in 1928 creating the new Prehistoric Room, which contained much of Ludovic Mann's loan collection, but if all or some of the casts remained is uncertain. They were dismantled at a time when it was still considered worth keeping them.

⁴⁰ V&A Archives, MA/1/D1881. Dundee: Albert Institute and Dundee Museums and Art Galleries. Part 1 of 2 1893–1943. NF.

⁴¹ J. Maclauchlan, 'Sculpture in museums', *Proceedings of the Museums Association* 9 (1898), pp. 79–88, details Dundee's experiences to illustrate how small museums could acquire fairly large collections of casts for relatively little cost. Baldwin Brown's attitude to reproductions and the selection of art for industrial museums is relevant here: Brown, op. cit. (note 4), pp. 93–106.

⁴² V&A Archives, MA/1/D1881, op. cit. (note 40); Dundee Free Libraries, *Reports by the Free Library Committee to the Town Council of Dundee, for the Year 1904* (Dundee, 1905), p. 7.

⁴³ V&A Archives, MA/1/D1881, op. cit. (note 40), minute from R.F. Martin, 30 September 1913.

⁴⁴ C. Donald pers comm.

⁴⁵ From Aberdeen Art Gallery and Industrial Museum Minute Book for 14 January and 24 February 1904 it is clear that Aberdeen planned to seek a 50 per cent grant from South Kensington. James Murray was apparently so successful in raising local funds that this proved unnecessary.

⁴⁶ Aberdeen Art Gallery, Bound volume of contemporary references relating to opening of AAG in 1905.

⁴⁷ 'Aberdeen Art Gallery. The Press View. Description of the Sculpture', *Aberdeen Free Press*, 8 April 1905.

⁴⁸ Aberdeen Art Gallery, op. cit. (note 1), Preface.

⁴⁹ *People's Journal*, 15 April 1905; *Daily Chronicle*, 21 April 1905; *Evening Express*, 27 April 1905.

⁵⁰ Aberdeen Art Gallery, op. cit. (note 1); *Aberdeen Free Press*, op. cit. (note 47).

⁵¹ *Nairn Free Press*, 10 April 1905.

⁵² *The Sphere. An Illustrated Newspaper for the Home*, 8 April 1905.

⁵³ 'A city's hope. Aberdeen as a home of sculpture. Unique art gallery', *Daily Chronicle*, 10 April 1905.

⁵⁴ 'Art in Aberdeen. The Sculpture Gallery', *Daily Telegraph*, 10 April 1905.

⁵⁵ 'Canny now . . . let's think awhile', *Evening Express*, 30 October 1964. Plaster casts still lined the Centre Court into the mid-1960s (J. Melville pers comm.).

⁵⁶ The three pieces in question are Dyce 2, Inchbrayock 1 and Lancaster St Mary 1. The numbering of sculptures follows that generally used in published corpora and national monument records.

⁵⁷ In 1912 there is mention in Anon, *The Dundee Year Book: Facts and Figures for 1911* (Dundee, 1912), p. 89 of a cast of a portion of the 'well-known Camus stone'. The 1911 museum catalogue does not list this, nor have I come across any other mention of it in The McManus Museum's surviving records. I do suspect Glasgow had an interest in getting a cast of this in 1900 for Paton visited Panmure House when researching and seeking permissions for Glasgow's casts Glasgow International Exhibition Association, Glasgow International Exhibition Association, 1894–1901. 2 boxes. Minute book 1897–1898.

⁵⁸ Dundee Free Library, *Reports by the Free Library Committee to the Town Council of Dundee, for the Years 1894 and 1895* (Dundee, 1896).

⁵⁹ Letters of 18 September 1899 from Stirling Maxwell to Paton; and 22 September 1899 from J. Campbell Murray (Stirling Maxwell's factor) to J Paton; both in Glasgow Museums Resource Centre (GMRC); also D-TC11/4, Box 1, op. cit. (note 36), 21 February 1900, p. 238. The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland were to be offered them if Glasgow declined. R. Foster states that he made them in Anon, *Industries of Stirling and District. Profusely Illustrated. With Introduction, Burgh and County Information, List of Members of Public*

Boards, Officials, Statistics, &c (Stirling, 1909), p. 175. A pencilled note in Maxwell's own copy of J. S. Maxwell, *Sculptured Stones in the Kirkyard of Govan* (Govan, 1899), confirms the casts were made by Foster rather than J. W. Small of Stirling (D. Henry, 'Govan between the covers', *Pictish Arts Society Newsletter* 45 (2007), 10, fn, 1.

⁶⁰ Corporation of Glasgow (Parks Department), *Museums and Galleries. Report for the Year 1901*. (Glasgow, 1901), pp. 7, 15.

⁶¹ Martin was one of seven children born to Henry and Agnes Martin in Brighton, where his father was a saddler, Alderman and Justice of the Peace. In 1894 he married Elizabeth Sarah Janes; they had two sons, and lived in various addresses across north London.

⁶² Anon, 'Board of Education' and Anon 'The Circulation Department', op. cit. (note 15).

⁶³ R. F. Martin, 'The reproduction of art objects', *Proceedings of the Museums Association* 11 (1900), quote at p. 119; 'Some notes on the relationship existing between statue and pedestal in classical and Renaissance times', *Museums Journal* 4 (1905), pp. 333–44; *Catalogue of the Dundee Sculpture Galleries* (Dundee, 1911), Preface.

⁶⁴ For example, his V&A guidance notes for children mentioned in the General Notes section of *Museums Journal* 2 (1903), p. 315.

⁶⁵ A. H. Millar, *Jubilee of the Albert Institute 1867–1917. A Record of the Work of Fifty Years* (Dundee, 1917), pp. 84–5.

⁶⁶ Anon, 'Art lectures', *Museums Journal* 1 (1902), p. 240.

⁶⁷ V&A Archives, MA/58/2/10. Dundee. Dudhope Part Museum. Albert Institute Museum. Grant in Aid; Dundee Free Library, *Reports by the Free Library Committee to the Town Council of Dundee, for the Year 1902* (Dundee, 1903). The Circulation purchased Martin's lecturing slides in 1920: MA.1.M1036, op. cit. (note 10).

⁶⁸ V&A Archives, MA/A/A49. Aberdeen Art Gallery and Industrial Museum, Part 1 1885–1951. Nominal file, 16 March 1901, letter from Martin to Watts. Martin's first lecture in Aberdeen was on 'Art and the Great Industries', Aberdeen Art Gallery and Industrial Museum Minute Book, 18 September 1901.

⁶⁹ V&A Archives, MA/58/2/10, op. cit. (note 67), letter of 17 March 1902 from Maclauchlan, Chief Librarian (1874–1907) to Secretary, Board of Education; and letter of 28 September 1901, ditto in context of grant aid for various Italian and classical reproductions.

⁷⁰ 'Round the Galleries', *Sunday Special*, 16 April 1905; MA/A/A49, op. cit. (note 68).

⁷¹ Whether or not Reid employed any of his earlier experience of working with early medieval carved stones from Scotland (see J. Melville, *Aberdeen Art Gallery. A History* (Aberdeen, 2010), p. 29) we cannot tell.

⁷² Aberdeen Art Gallery and Industrial Museum Minute Book, April 1904 onwards repeatedly refers. For colour of exhibitions, see Martin's reported comments on H. Dedekam, 'On colours in museums', *Museums Journal* 4 (1905), pp. 196–7.

⁷³ J. Murray, 'Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museum', *Museums Journal* (1904), pp. 45–59.

⁷⁴ Published as W. M. Ramsay, 'Early monuments and the archaic art of the north-east of Scotland', *Museums Journal* 3 (1904), pp. 149–58.

⁷⁵ 'Opening of Aberdeen Sculpture Gallery', *Huntly Express*, 14 April 1905; *Aberdeen Journal* 22 March 1904. See also *Nairn Free Press*, 10 April 1911.

⁷⁶ E.g. Minutes of the Corporation of Glasgow 1898–1899, 17 March 1899, p. 411. As shown by E. L. McCormick, 'Crosses in Circulation: Processes and Patterns of Acquisition and Display of Early Medieval Sculpture in the National Museums of Britain and Ireland, circa 1850 to 1950' (unpublished Ph.D., University of York, 2010), the exchange of casts between museums was also a significant activity in the later nineteenth century.

⁷⁷ V&A Archives, MA/35/87, op. cit. (note 4); Glasgow City Archives, D-TC 11/4, Box 1, op. cit. (note 36), 9 July 1900. If manufactured, it is unclear who paid for it.

⁷⁸ V&A Archives, MA/35/87, op. cit. (note 4).

⁷⁹ J. R. Allen, 'Report on the photography of the sculptured stones earlier than AD 1100, in the district of the Scotland south of the River Dee; obtained under the Jubilee Gift of his Excellency Dr R. H. Gunning, LL.D., F.S.A. Scot', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 31 (1897), pp. 147, 149. The Museum's Director (1885–1900), Sir Robert Murdoch Smith, was a Persian art scholar who formerly worked for the SKM, which in part may explain his sympathy with the cast production. He also knew Allen from Persia.

⁸⁰ Museums recognized that copyright issues with reproductions was an issue: E. E. Lowe, 'Copyright of works of art in the museums of Britain', *Museums Journal* 3 (1904), pp. 147–9.

- ⁸¹ NMI files, IA 371/04. Cast of panels on sides of Monasterboice Cross, as applied for by Mr R. F. Martin for Aberdeen Museum and Art Gallery.
- ⁸² D. & J. McKenzie were a firm of plasterer and modellers; Donald died 1912; John took over the business in 1913 (M. Cross in litt.). See also entry in *Mapping the Practice and Profession of Sculpture in Britain and Ireland 1851–1951*, <<http://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/>> [accessed April/3 2012].
- ⁸³ This is just over half what the Glasgow museum paid for reproductions of Irish antiquities the following year.
- ⁸⁴ See M. MacArthur, *Iona Celtic Art. The Work of Alexander and Euphemia Ritchie* (Strathpeffer, 2003).
- ⁸⁵ When examining the casts I did not know at the time to look for any aspects of cast construction that might inform this question.
- ⁸⁶ V&A Archives, MA/1/G792. Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries. NF 1881–1920 Part 1 of 4.
- ⁸⁷ D-TC11/4, Box 1, op. cit. (note 36), 25 September 1901, 563.
- ⁸⁸ Glasgow International Exhibition, *Prospectus of Scottish History & Archaeology Department. Fine Art Scottish History and Archaeology Section* (Glasgow, 1901). Scottish antiquaries were well represented on other organising committees. J. Anderson, Stirling Maxwell and Graham were on the General Committee, while Hon. Members included Sir Arthur Mitchell and also Murdoch Smith.
- ⁸⁹ Corporation of Glasgow (Parks Department), *Museums and Galleries. Report for the Year 1896*. (Glasgow, 1896), p. 12.
- ⁹⁰ R. C. Graham, 'Sculptured stones of Scotland', in J. Paton (ed.), *Scottish History and Life* (Glasgow, 1902), p. 46.
- ⁹¹ Glasgow City Archives, D-TC11/4, Box 1, op. cit. (note 36), 12 April 1900, p. 266. The preparation of models and imitations of 'primitive Scottish dwellings' was also being considered at the same time, including reconstructing a broch.
- ⁹² Graham, op. cit. (note 90), pp. 34–46.
- ⁹³ R. C. Graham, *The Carved Stones of Islay* (Glasgow, 1895), pp. vi–viii.
- ⁹⁴ Letter from Graham to Dalrymple Duncan, 25 December 1899, GMRC archives.
- ⁹⁵ J. R. Allen, *Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times* (London, 1904), pp. 184, 192–3.
- ⁹⁶ J. R. Allen, 'A museum for Christian archaeology for Great Britain', *Archaeological Review* 1 (1888), pp. 191–6; 'On the pressing need of a museum to contain a collection of casts, models, and photographs, illustrative of early art and architecture in Great Britain', *Archaeologia Oxiensis* I–VI, II (1895), pp. 75–89.
- ⁹⁷ Anon, 'Presentation to Mr. R. F. Martin', *Museums Journal* 22 (1923), p. 87.
- ⁹⁸ Cf. C. Gosden and F. Larson, *Knowing Things: Exploring the Collections at the Pitt Rivers Museum 1884–1945* (Oxford, 2007).
- ⁹⁹ The RSM and NMAS only joined in 1929, although some RSM staff did join as individuals for the 1901 Edinburgh meeting. Despite Association efforts to encourage Edinburgh involvement, this is telling of the NMAS, not least of Anderson (Keeper to 1913).
- ¹⁰⁰ Anon, 'John Maclauchlan' [Obituary], *Museums Journal* 7 (1908), p. 121.
- ¹⁰¹ Goode 1901 quoted in R. W. Rydell, 'World fairs and museums', in S. Macdonald (ed.), *A Companion to Museum Studies* (Chichester, 2011), p. 138.
- ¹⁰² C. Whitehead, *Museums and the Construction of Disciplines. Art and Archaeology in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London, 2009).
- ¹⁰³ See Foster, op. cit. (note 11).
- ¹⁰⁴ O. Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament* (London, 1856); J. Auerbach, 'Art and Empire', in A. Porter (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire. Volume III. The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1999), p. 572.
- ¹⁰⁵ See for example Whitehead, op. cit. (note 102), pp. 60–61, 112.
- ¹⁰⁶ Glasgow International Exhibition, op. cit. (note 88).
- ¹⁰⁷ Henderson, op. cit. (note 8), p. 30.
- ¹⁰⁸ Foster, op. cit. (note 11); R. Ó Floinn, 'Reproducing the past: making replicas of Irish antiquities', in P. Harbison and V. Hall (eds.), *A Carnival of Learning. Essays to Honour George Cunningham and his 50 Conferences on Medieval Ireland in the Cistercian Abbey of Mount St. Joseph, Roscrea, 1987–2012*, (Roscrea, 2012), pp. 146–57; P. M. C. Kermodé, *Manx Crosses* (Balgavies, 1994 repr. of 1907 edn.); M. Redknap and J. M. Lewis, *A Corpus of Early Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales. Volume I. Breconshire, Glamorgan, Monmouthshire, Radnorshire, and Geographically Contiguous Areas of Herefordshire and Shropshire* (Cardiff, 2007), pp. 28–35.
- ¹⁰⁹ City of Liverpool Public Museums, *Handbook and Guide to the Replicas and Casts of Manx Crosses on Exhibition in the Public Museums, Liverpool*, 3rd edn (Liverpool, 1930).
- ¹¹⁰ Burton, op. cit. (note 15), p. 114.

- ¹¹¹ T. J. Edelstein (ed.), *Imagining an Irish Past. The Celtic Revival 1840–1940* (Chicago, 1992); Ó Floinn, op. cit. (note 108).
- ¹¹² J. Morrison, *Painting the Nation. Identity and Nationalism in Scottish Painting, 1800–1920* (Edinburgh, 2003), ch. 7; idem, 'John Duncan, Patrick Geddes and the Celtic Revival', *Journal of Scottish Thought* (in press).
- ¹¹³ J. M. MacKenzie, 'Empire and metropolitan cultures', in Porter, op. cit. (note 104), pp. 290–91.
- ¹¹⁴ Cf. Morrison, op. cit. [*Painting the Nation*] (note 112), p. 192.
- ¹¹⁵ Glasgow International Exhibition, op. cit. (note 88), preface.
- ¹¹⁶ Burton, op. cit. (note 15), p. 128 only mentions England in this respect. See also S. Lucy and C. Herring, 'Viewing the "Dark Ages": the portrayal of early Anglo-Saxon life and material culture in museums', in N. Merriman (ed.), *Making Early Histories in Museums* (London and New York, 1999), pp. 74–94.
- ¹¹⁷ V&A Archives, MA/35/87, op. cit. (note 4), 24 April 1900, letter from C. V. Clarke of V&A to Paton. It is questionable if the runes on Ruthwell were of any particular interest to the V&A given their lack of interest in the Franks Casket: Whitehead, op. cit. (note 102), pp. 60–61.
- ¹¹⁸ See for example the views of J. C. Robinson expressed in A. Burton, 'The uses of the South Kensington art collections', *Journal of the History of Collections* 1 (2002), pp. 79–95 and Burton, op. cit. (note 15), pp. 37, 100. The V&A collections do, however, contain some good late nineteenth-century photographs of Scottish early medieval stones *in situ* by G. Bingley and B. Diveri, mainly in Perthshire, Angus and Aberdeenshire.
- ¹¹⁹ Note the 1864 International Exchange of Copies of Works of Art, instigated by Coles: Burton, op. cit. (note 15), p. 89.
- ¹²⁰ Maclauchlan, op. cit. (note 41), pp. 84–5, 87.
- ¹²¹ Rydell, op. cit. (note 101), pp. 144–6.
- ¹²² Glasgow City Archives, D-TC11/4, Box 1. op. cit. (note 36), 25 Sep 1901, p. 563.
- ¹²³ Although curiously Morrison, op. cit. [*Painting the Nation*] (note 112), p. 219 omits sculptures and casts from his list of object types that helped in promoting Scottish identity as Celtic.
- ¹²⁴ P. Pulham, 'The arts', in C. Williams (ed.), *A Companion to Nineteenth Century Britain* (Malden, 2004), p. 453.
- ¹²⁵ At the opening of the Dundee Art Society's exhibition: M. Jarron in litt.
- ¹²⁶ Whitehead, op. cit. (note 102), p. 86.
- ¹²⁷ The source of the cutting, in the AAG, is not stated.
- ¹²⁸ R. Perren, 'Survival and decline: the economy 1918–1970', in W. H. Fraser and C. H. Lee (eds.), *Aberdeen 1800–2000. A New History* (East Linton, 2000), pp. 108–9.
- ¹²⁹ See, for example, S. M. Foster, A. Blackwell and M. Goldberg, 'So different, so perfect? Lessons in duplication from 1830s Scotland' (in prep).
- ¹³⁰ J. R. Allen, 'The Early Christian monuments of Iona; with some suggestions for their better preservation', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 35 (1901), p. 93.
- ¹³¹ Cf. Barringer, op. cit. (note 6), p. 361 on South Kensington and provincial art schools.
- ¹³² I am grateful to J. Geddes and J. Stevenson for recognizing the relevance of Gill's image. Compare for example C. Skelton, *The Engravings of Eric Gill* (Wellingborough, 1983), pp. 82–3, 85: P204–207, P211.
- ¹³³ Pace M. Díaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology. Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Past* (Oxford, 2007), p. 398.
- ¹³⁴ M. G. H. Pittock, *The Celtic Identity and the British Image* (Manchester and New York, 1999), pp. 106–7.
- ¹³⁵ Foster, op. cit. (note 11).
- ¹³⁶ S. M. Foster, *Place, Space and Odyssey. Exploring the Future of Early Medieval Sculpture* (Rosemarkie, 2001).
- ¹³⁷ W. M. Whitehill, *Museum of Fine Arts Boston. A Centennial History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1970), pp. 198–207; T. Perry, 'Edward Robinson's plaster casts and the battle for the Museum of Fine Arts' (in prep). His role with Aberdeen is not clear, although by implication he is one of the 'most skilled minds of the new world as well as of the old' that Aberdeen (likely Reid) called on for advice in compiling their gallery: 'Aberdeen University Graduation. A Distinguished Gathering', *Aberdeen Free Press*, 8 April 1905.
- ¹³⁸ 'Aberdeen Art Gallery. Opening Ceremony', *Aberdeen Free Press*, 10 April 1905.
- ¹³⁹ Díaz-Andreu, op. cit. (note 132), p. 400.
- ¹⁴⁰ See J. Hawkes, 'Studying Early Christian sculpture in England and Ireland: the object of art history and archaeology', in J. Graham-Campbell and M. Ryan (eds), *Anglo-Saxon/Irish Relations Before the Vikings* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 397–408.
- ¹⁴¹ National Museum of Ireland, *Irish High Crosses Exhibition* (Dublin, 2010).
- ¹⁴² Allen, op. cit. (note 95).

¹⁴³ A Aberdeen; B Burrell; D Dundee; H Hunterian Museum; K Kelvingrove Museum.

¹⁴⁴ Dyce 2 is in Aberdeen collections but the 1905 catalogue does not list it.

¹⁴⁵ Aberdeen has both faces while Glasgow has only one.

¹⁴⁶ Aberdeen has a curious scaled-down model, probably concrete, identical to one in the British Museum.

¹⁴⁷ In relation to Meigle, the Glasgow list refers to numbers 1, 3, 9, 13, 21 and 22 in Archdeacon Agleh's catalogue. This source is unknown to the writer and none of the casts made survive. *ECMS* numbers therefore derive from the casts' catalogue descriptions.

¹⁴⁸ From the description, probably the cross-face only.

¹⁴⁹ The V&A paperwork refers to two Skipness stones grant-aided at Dundee; one is likely to be Saddell, see above.