The Cosmopolitan Evergreen and the Global Digital

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THE COSMOPOLITAN EVERGREEN
AND THE GLOBAL DIGITAL

Lorraine Janzen Kooistra

“Till I went to Edinburgh,” Israel Zangwill wrote in 1896, “I did not know what the ‘Evergreen’ was”: London reviewers had misled him into thinking of this little magazine as a “Scottish ‘Yellow Book’ calling itself a ‘Northern Seasonal.’” On his return from Scotland, Zangwill corrected this misapprehension in the Pall Mall Magazine, where he aptly represented The Evergreen as the aesthetic expression of a socio-political vision rooted in Old Town Edinburgh and extending outward to the Pan-Celtic world and beyond.

Published by Patrick Geddes and Colleagues in four seasonal volumes between spring 1895 and winter 1896, The Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal was produced by an interdisciplinary group of scholars, writers, and artists in the environs of the Lawnmarket, working collaboratively with contributors from across the British Isles and Europe. Imagining Edinburgh as a model modern city participating in a wider effort toward civic, social, and environmental renewal, the magazine infused the contemporary Scottish Renascence with a continental perspective. Zangwill praised The Evergreen for representing “the truest cosmopolitanism” in its combination of local-colour particularity and international diversity. Taking its cue from Zangwill’s contemporary

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1 Israel Zangwill, “Without Prejudice,” Pall Mall Magazine, (February 1896): 327; from Yellow Nineties 2.0, directed by Lorraine Janzen Kooistra (Toronto: Toronto Metropolitan University Centre for Digital Humanities, 2016-2021): https://1890s.ca/egv1-2_review_the_pall_mall_magazine_feb_1896/. References below from this source (https://1890s.ca) are cited as Y90s with URL. I should like to thank some of the numerous individuals who have contributed to this collaborative project, including Reg Beatty (Project Manager and Designer), Koenraad Claes (Biographies Acquisitions Editor), Alison Hedley (Y90s Personography Editor), MJ Suhonos (Digital Librarian), and the team of research assistants who encoded the site’s contents.

2 Ibid., 328.
assessment of the cosmopolitan *Evergreen*, this essay examines how the magazine used the affordances of print culture to engage the regional and transnational in its pages, and highlights how its remediation online via the site *Yellow Nineties 2.0* makes this engagement visible and accessible to global audiences on the world-wide web.

**The Cosmopolitan *Evergreen* in Fin-de-Siècle Print Culture**

Patrick Geddes and *The Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal* are central to any study of Scottish cosmopolitanism at the fin de siècle, but they are also key to understanding the period’s little magazine movement in a way that decentralizes London and *The Yellow Book*. In contrast to *The Yellow Book* and its imitators, which promoted the aesthetic value of art for art’s sake, *The Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal* was deeply ideological in conception and expression. Its community of makers generated art for life’s sake, and the decorative arts in particular were critically important to this project. Geddes, who established the arts-and-crafts movement in Scotland with the founding of the Edinburgh Social Union in 1885, understood decorative art’s political and social power in building a better future. As Duncan Macmillan observes, “the wish to see art somehow integrated with society, not simply as a commodity, but in the service of a moral ideal,” was a common theme in the arts-and-crafts movement.

In his magazine, as in his various building projects in Old Town Edinburgh, Geddes seized on decorative art as a visualisation tool for imagining and modeling an alternative modernity. The *Evergreen* was printed by T. And A. Constable, where proprietor Walter B. Blaikie (1848-1928), Edinburgh’s leading art-and-crafts printer, used the Old-Style Antique font cut by the local Miller and Richard Foundry. The beauty of Blaikie’s typesetting was enhanced by purpose-made textual decorations designed “after the manner of Celtic ornament” and printed on the page in the same rich black ink (Fig. 1). The *Evergreen*’s first Prospectus announced that the “revival of Celtic ornament and design” was a “special feature” of the magazine.

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4 Ibid., 71.
The time and resources devoted to the making of the *Evergreen’s* ornaments underscores their importance to the magazine’s wider vision. In 1892, three years before the magazine’s first issue came out, Geddes and John Duncan co-founded the Old Edinburgh School of Art at Ramsay Garden just off Castlehill. One of their first objectives was to train a group of women artists in the design of Celtic-style ornaments. Duncan identified Nellie Baxter, Helen Hay, Anne Mackie, and Marion Mason as “four ladies able and willing to work sympathetically” on local Celtic renewal projects.\(^8\) While the knotwork patterns they created to frame the Ramsay Garden murals have long since been effaced, their textual ornaments for *The Evergreen* continue to stand out on the printed page in bold interlacing designs. The headpiece for the Contents page of the Autumn number, for example, shows the inventive playfulness with which these women wove together the styles of ancient Celt and international art nouveau, delighting in the positive and negative interactions and visual ambiguities of pattern work (Fig. 1). In keeping with Geddes’s vision for a cosmopolitan Scottish Renascence, their designs infuse the present with a touch of the past, but they also look forward rather than backward. The *Evergreen’s* renewal of Celtic ornament was, like the related project of renovating Old Town Edinburgh, a means of forging a modern future congruent with, but not replicative of, ancient cultural practices and identities. The aesthetic vision was local and global, national and international. This is why there was neither sentiment nor pastiche in the women’s designs created “after the manner of Celtic ornament.”

*The Evergreen* was one of the first of the fin-de-siècle little magazines to make its aims explicit in a manifesto—a genre which, as Julian Hanna observes, later “became indispensable to the early twentieth century avant-garde, and to nationalist movements across Europe.”\(^9\) The manifesto form allowed the *Evergreen’s* coterie of makers to express the magazine’s purpose, unite its readership, and inspire action. In a “Prefatory Note,” collaborators Victor Branford and Geddes (both botanists) announced the magazine’s linked regional and international aims: to “renew local colour and local feeling” and to “express the larger view of Edinburgh as not only a National and Imperial, but a European city.”\(^10\) These aims were embed-

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\(^10\) Victor V. Branford and Patrick Geddes, “Prefatory Note,” *The Evergreen*, 2 (Autumn 1895): 8; *Y90s*: [https://1890s.ca/egv2_branford_prefatory/](https://1890s.ca/egv2_branford_prefatory/).
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27 The Sociology of Autumn . . . . [PATRICK GEDDES.
39 The Hammerer . . . . [SIR NOËL PATON.
43 Cobweb Hall . . . . [SIR GEORGE DOUGLAS.
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59 November Sunshine . . . . [HUGO LAUBACH.
61 The Night-Comers . . . . [CHARLES VAN LERBERGHE.
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III. AUTUMN IN THE WORLD

75 The Song of Life’s Fine Flower . . . . [S. R. CROCKETT.
83 Le Dilettantisme . . . . [ABBÉ FÉLIX KLEIN.
93 Amel and Penhco . . . . [EDITH WINGATE RINDER.
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99 Faith’s Avatar . . . . [RONALD CAMPBELL MACFIE.

Fig. 1: The first of two facing pages showing the Table of Contents with decorative headpiece, in The Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal, 2 (Autumn 1895), 6-7. This headpiece is not individually credited.
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DECORATIONS

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| 19    | CHARLES H. MACKIE.           |
| 23    | ROBERT BURNS.                |
| 41    | PITTENDRIGH MACGILLIVRAY.    |
| 57    | A. G. SINCLAIR.              |
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Headpieces and Tailpieces (after the manner of Celtic Ornament) by NELLIE BAXTER, MARION A. MASON, and ANNIE MACKIE.

Fig. 1 (cont.). The second of two facing pages completing the Table of Contents, with artist credits for the “Celtic Ornament,” in The Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal, 2 (Autumn 1895), 6-7. Both pages from Yellow Nineties 2.0.
ded in the architecture of each seasonal volume, with contents divided thematically into four quadrants exploring the season in “Life,” “Nature,” “The World,” and “The North” in both visual and verbal media (see Fig. 1). This organizational structure manifested the magazine’s cosmopolitan orientation by bringing together the particularities of human experience in specific times and places with the universality of the seasonal cycle and its effects, interpreted through interdisciplinary lenses. Aiming to impact an international as well as a local audience, Geddes and Colleagues sent out some 2500 prospectuses, placed advertisements in international papers, and promoted the magazine to a network of publishers, booksellers, and universities across Scotland, England, Ireland, Europe, and North America. They also enlisted the mainstream press to disseminate The Evergreen’s manifesto more broadly. In a self-promotional review, Branford explained to readers of The Bookman that “the new Scottish quarterly is not primarily an organ of art and literature at all. It is primarily the beginning of an effort to give periodic expression in print to a movement that is mainly architectural, educational, scientific.” The movement Branford describes was a cosmopolitan one, engaging the local and the international in a series of Edinburgh-based Summer Meetings that helped shape The Evergreen’s four volumes.

The Evergreen addressed the architectural, educational, and scientific in its interdisciplinary contents, which included essays, poetry, drama, and fiction, as well as visual art. Folkloric texts and local-colour writing included bits of Gaelic verse and dialogue, while French-language pieces supported the renewal of the “Auld Alliance” between France and Scotland and imagined Edinburgh in light of Élisée Reclus’s “La Cité du Bon Accord.” The Evergreen editors published Reclus’s essay in the Autumn Number, after the French anarchist geographer had participated in one of Geddes’s Summer Meetings. Initiated in 1887, the Summer Meetings were international, interdisciplinary, and experiential, open to men and women from any class or nation who wished to participate in an immersive learning experience. The Evergreen circle was intensely involved in the Summer Meetings: John Duncan, Charles Mackie, and W. G. Burn-

12 Victor Branford, “Old Edinburgh and The Evergreen,” The Bookman, 9.51 (December 1895): 89; Y90s: https://1890s.ca/eg2_review_bookman_1895/.
Murdoch gave art classes, while Geddes, Andrew Herbertson, William Sharp, and others gave lectures on literature and science. The annual influx of international writers, thinkers, and artists into Old Town Edinburgh had significant impact on The Evergreen’s cosmopolitanism. Each volume included at least one item published in French, with contributors including Paul Desjardins, Abbé Felix Klein, Elie Reclus, and Charles Sarolea. Translations widened the range of European content: Evergreen co-editor William Sharp “Englished” Belgian author Charles Van Lerberghe’s play “The Night-Comers” for the Autumn Number, and Dr. Edward B. Koster translated “Impressions of Winter” from his original Dutch for the Winter issue.

The Evergreen’s full-page black-and-white illustrations were likewise influenced by the innovative ideas and practices generated in the cosmopolitan communities associated with the Summer Meetings and the Old Edinburgh School of Art. Called “Decorations” on the Contents Page (see Fig. 1), these illustrations were conceived, like the textual ornaments, as integral to the architecture of the magazine and the building projects it represented. Both forms of the Evergreen’s decorative art attest to what Murdo Macdonald identifies as Geddes’s “commitment to the visual as a cognitive tool” and “advocacy of cultural renewal through art.”

Geddes commissioned murals featuring historic, legendary, and seasonal scenes on the walls of his private flat and the common room of the university residence at Ramsay Garden. The revival of mural painting in France by Puvis de Chavannes and Paul Serusier provided international inspiration for this regional effort, especially for the principal painters, Duncan and Mackie.

The artists subsequently remediated these wall paintings as black-and-white line drawings for reproduction in The Evergreen. Citing Paul Serusier’s “Pastorale Bretonne” in the Spring Number of The Evergreen as her evidence, Clare Willsdon suggests that the French Nabi painter may also have contributed a mural for the Ramsay Garden project (Fig. 2). Critics generally panned The Evergreen’s images for their flat, unmodeled compositions, but today many of them seem boldly modern in their respect for the two-dimensionality of the medium, whether page or wall. The magazine’s remediation of colourful murals into linear art, and its circulation of these pen-and-ink drawings as line-block engravings, effective-

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15 Ibid., 90.
17 Ibid., 72.
Fig. 2. Paul Serusier, “Pastorale Bretonne,” *The Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal* 1 (Spring 1895): 77. *Yellow Nineties* 2.0.
ly opened Edinburgh’s doors to the world, bringing its interior decorations into international circulation along with the future vision they embodied. As Branford commented in his review, these “decorations are the visible link that connects the Evergreen with the builder’s craft.”

The Remediated Evergreen and the Global Digital

While the four-volume print run of The Evergreen is held in the National Library of Scotland and numerous international institutions, including my own university library’s Special Collections in Toronto, access to material copies is always constrained by the limits of time and space. Digital editions of The Evergreen and other fin-de-siècle little magazines on the open-access Yellow Nineties 2.0 make these print objects readily available to users on the world-wide web. Along with cultural preservation, the site provides historical and scholarly contexts and a variety of functionalities that enhance the study of remediated print through the affordances of new media. A digital edition can never replace the materiality of the fin-de-siècle print version, but it can provide new ways of visualising its contents and connections for a twenty-first century audience. For these online users, the cosmopolitan Evergreen becomes less physically connected with the built environment of fin-de-siècle Edinburgh and more enmeshed within the ever-expanding media ecology of the global digital.

Eric Bulson’s neologism “digittle magazine” helpfully distinguishes the remediated version accessible on the world-wide web from the little magazine available in Special Collections.20 Most users today experience the digittle magazine prior to working with the fin-de-siècle print object; some may never have the opportunity to open The Evergreen’s embossed leather covers or turn its decorated pages. The increasing dependence on online resources does have some compensating benefits, however. The Evergreen Digital Edition invites users to read and browse content, study page layouts, explore and compare visual materials, conduct keyword searches, visualise networks, and situate the title’s production and reception within both an historic archive of fin-de-siècle reviews and an editorial apparatus of born-digital scholarship. Building the Evergreen Digital Edition pushed me to understand fin-de-siècle little magazines as media objects connecting local communities and international networks. This understanding became instantiated in the redesign of Yellow Nineties 2.0 (prototyped in 2018, launched in 2021), the creation of new digital affordances, and the expansion of the site’s paratextual materials.

When work on the original *Yellow Nineties* site began in 2005, the project ambitiously aimed to build a marked-up, searchable edition of all thirteen volumes of *The Yellow Book*, the little magazine that spilled its titular colour over the decade and dominated critical discourse. It took ten years to complete this project. Over the course of this sustained editorial process, I came to understand the little magazine as a new international media form, rather than a London-based literary phenomenon deriving from aestheticism and decadence. A wider view of the form’s emergence in the 1890s connects the little magazines of the United Kingdom with the chap-books of America and the “petites revues” of France. From the beginning of the little magazine movement, communities of makers and readers connected across transnational networks. Although produced by local coteries, little magazines included art, literature, and ideas from abroad; the mainstream press circulated their dissident content within a robust system of reviewing and press clipping. Today’s mass digitization of the global periodical press enables users to situate fin-de-siècle little magazines in rich local, national, and international contexts and to visualise their interlacing networks of affiliation.

In the digital humanities, design is understood as the instantiation of an interpretive argument that an edition makes about its remediated object. The *Yellow Nineties 2.0* interface presents users with a magazine rack of eight titles: *The Dial* (1889-1897), *The Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal* (1895-96), *The Green Sheaf* (1903-4), *The Pagan Review* (1892), *The Pageant* (1896-97), *The Savoy* (1896), *The Venture* (1903 and 1905), and *The Yellow Book* (1894-1897). The double row of magazine covers on the screen makes the visual argument that *The Yellow Book* is only one of a number of important fin-de-siècle little magazines, and not necessarily the central one (Fig. 3). In making this argument, the digital display dematerializes the magazines and homogenizes their various sizes and formats, which vary considerably. At the same time, however, the array asserts the significance of titles published outside the metropolis. *The Pagan Review*, for instance, came out of West Sussex, while *The Evergreen* emerged in Edinburgh; both were edited by Celtic revivalist William Sharp (aka Fiona Macleod). Meanwhile, *The Green Sheaf*’s promotion of the Irish revival complements the *Evergreen*’s embodiment.

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of Celtic renewals in fin-de-siècle print culture. Unlike the coterie that created *The Evergreen*, Pamela Colman Smith, *The Green Sheaf’s* editor-publisher, claimed neither regional nor national Celtic connection. Her transnationalism, however, was very much based on lived experience: born in London to American parents, Smith lived in England, Jamaica, and New York City, before relocating to London at the start of her career. The *Y90s* magazine rack puts the regional into dialogue with the metropolitan and the transnational, the so-called marginal with the central.

Editing the *Evergreen* challenged me to rethink the relative importance of margins and centres in other ways as well. Unlike *The Yellow Book*, which segregated image and text as an expression of its own modernity, *The Evergreen* made the decorated page central to its architecture, communicating its vision for an historically grounded future in its marginal ornaments. The *Evergreen Digital Edition* ensures users see the magazine’s decorated pages in a variety of formats: the virtual facsimile of the flipbook tool; the remediated page scan and scrollable volume; and the searchable image files and metadata in the *Y90s Database of Ornament*.\(^{23}\)

The top of the remediated “Envoy” page in the digital edition of the Winter Number, for example, displays a small icon of the print object’s page.

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\(^{23}\) *Y90s Database of Ornament*, ed. Lorraine Janzen Kooistra: [https://ornament.library.ryerson.ca/](https://ornament.library.ryerson.ca/).
**ENVOY**

![Image of a page from the Evergreen Digital Edition](https://1890s.ca/egv4_geddes_envoy-3/)

THERE are certain elemental forms of life, whose way it is after some solitary wandering silently to flow together, uniting their microscopic forces into a vague semi-fluid mass. This at first shows only that apparent quiescence which in life is needed for internal rearrangement, or at most some of those external symptoms which express an internal clearing up, though they may superficially suggest the opposite. By and by these associating lives awaken to the world without; they arouse to new activities, they rise into new forms, protean yet individual. These die in their turn—that is, float into new young life; much, it may be, to perish, but enough at least to germinate anew elsewhere.

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*The Evergreen* & *The Global Digital*

*Pageant*, simply used publisher’s stock for their decorative initials, others, like *The Dial* and *The Green Sheaf*, created purpose-made decorations to beautify the page, visually comment on its letterpress, and embody the larger vision of its makers. Supporting the comparative analysis of these overlooked marginal devices, the *Y90s Database of Ornament* opens a new window into the visual knowledge production systems of fin-de-siècle little magazines.

Building the *Evergreen Digital Edition* had a significant influence on the redesign of *Yellow Nineties 2.0* because we had to accommodate the editorial challenges presented by the magazine’s insistent, complex, visuality. It was during the process of developing the schema for encoding and editing *The Evergreen* that I first began to see textual ornaments as crucially important forms of graphic knowledge. Twentieth-century art history has devalued and debased ornament. Moreover, our understanding of print tends to be so text-centric, we rarely recognize ornamental headpieces and tailpieces, decorative initial letters, and marginal borders as meaningful marks on the page. *The Evergreen* insists on the importance of ornaments in the modern world, and it also insists on recognising the craftspeople who designed them. We know the names of Nellie Baxter, Helen Hay, Annie Mackie, and Marion Mason because their decorative designs are credited on the magazine’s Tables of Contents. Through markup, tags, hyperlinks, and metadata, the *Evergreen Digital Edition* puts these women artists into wider circulation on the world-wide web.

In addition to remediating their work in the *Evergreen Digital Edition* and the *Database of Ornament*, the *Yellow Nineties* site hopes to generate increased knowledge about these women artists through the use of VIAFs—Virtual International Authority Files—in its biographical database, the *Y90s Personography*.25 Linking national authority files around the world into a single authoritative international record, VIAFS have the potential to aggregate data about lesser known individuals. Data visualisation can create new forms of graphical knowledge by enabling us to see the *Evergreen’s* local communities, national affiliations, and international networks in new and sometimes unexpected ways. As a structured way of representing biographical data, the *Y90s Personography* enables users to query the relationships, connections, and social networks of magazine contributors of all kinds—authors, artists, engravers, editors, publishers, and so on—and to visualise their personal and professional affiliations. Because its dataset is structured in linked open data, the *Y90s Personography* leverages the power of the semantic web to discover and infer high-level patterns of association between local and international communities, enmeshing the cosmopolitan *Evergreen* in the global digital.

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25 *Y90s Personography*, ed. Alison Hedley (2019): [https://personography.1890s.ca/](https://personography.1890s.ca/).
Other forms of born-digital scholarship available on the open-access, peer-reviewed site include biographical essays on over seventy contributors and editorial introductions for each title. In addition to well-known figures like Geddes, the Y90s team aims to publish biographies of contributors less well-known to students of little magazines, including Scottish artists like John Duncan and kailyard writers like S.R. Crockett. Hyperlinked within both magazine contents and paratextual materials, these biographies can bring new patterns of affiliation and influence into view. Canadian “Confederation” poet Bliss Carman, for instance, studied at the University of Edinburgh in the 1880s before relocating to the United States. Here he became the first editor of the American little magazine The Chap-Book in 1894, while also publishing work in the London-based Savoy magazine, edited by Arthur Symons and Aubrey Beardsley. Such cross-title and cross-continent connections involving a former colony might provoke a new investigation of The Evergreen’s promotion of Edinburgh as a “National and Imperial” city (Branford and Geddes, “Prefatory Note,” 8). While fin-de-siècle Canada’s large population of Scottish immigrants and their descendants likely responded positively to the magazine’s “appeal . . . to Magna Scotia beyond Tweed and over sea,” Great Britain’s imperial power was and is more problematic for the country’s Indigenous, French, and multi-ethnic citizens. Studying fin-de-siècle little magazines through the lens of an uncentred transnationalism might unsettle The Evergreen’s Eurocentric cosmopolitanism, while at the same time opening up analysis into its desire “to share in that wider culture-movement which knows neither nationality or race” (ibid.).

As Evanghélia Stead observes, so-called “little” magazines were always “big” because they were interlinked with the mainstream press, whose review columns disseminated their new forms, ideas, and aesthetics to international audiences. The fin-de-siècle Evergreen was clearly designed to be a little magazine with big world effect in an international media environment. In addition to Patrick Geddes and Colleagues in Edinburgh, the magazine was brought out by Fisher Unwin in London and J.B. Lippincott in New York. Geddes promoted The Evergreen to a transatlantic network of publishers and booksellers and paid for the services of Durrant’s Press Cuttings and those of Le Courier de la Presse so that he could receive notices from all the English and French papers. Digitization allows users to create their own “cuttings” for The Evergreen. The historical archive of reviews on Yellow Nineties 2.0 enables users to

situate the magazine within the period’s international system of professional reviewing, providing a rich context for its cosmopolitan aspirations. The aptly titled *Cosmopolis Literary Advertiser*, for instance, praised *The Evergreen’s* “international note” while also recognizing its Scottish origins.29

Made for transmission in the modern world, the fin-de-siècle little magazine has always been, as Bulson says, a “world form”: it “never belonged to single country or continent and was never contained by geopolitical borders, no matter how they were configured.”30 In today’s interlinked digital world, the global reach of fin-de-siècle little magazines has extended even further. Usage statistics for the *Yellow Nineties* show that the *Evergreen Digital Edition* was accessed by more than 3000 users in the past year, from countries in Australasia, Europe, North and South America. Some of these international visitors are students, who access *Yellow Nineties* digital editions of fin-de-siècle little magazines in their classrooms as Open Educational Resources. Thus the educational, international, and interdisciplinary project initiated in Patrick Geddes’s *The Evergreen: A Northern Seasonal* is renewed each time a visitor opens the *Evergreen Digital Edition*. In remediating the cosmopolitan *Evergreen* for the global digital, my hope is that readers who encounter it will discover an “ever green” world form, one whose aesthetic embodiment of “harmonious diversity” continues to resonate meaningfully today.31

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29 Review of *The Evergreen*, in *Cosmopolis Advertiser* (March 1896): 2; *Y90s* https://1890s.ca/eg1-2_review_cosmopolis_literary_advertiser_march_1896/.