

PICTURESQUE TOURS IN SCOTLAND:
FORMING AN IDEA OF THE BRITISH NATION

KAZUMI KANATSU

DPHIL

THE UNIVERSITY OF YORK

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH AND RELATED LITERATURE

SEPTEMBER 2000

**PAGE
NUMBERING
AS
ORIGINAL**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
List of Illustrations	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Abstract	v
Abbreviations	vi
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1 The Picturesque, Scotland's Jacobite past and an Idea of the British nation	15
Introduction	16
Section 1. Early Tours in Scotland: Thomas Pennant and Samuel Johnson	27
Section 2. William Gilpin's picturesque tours in Scotland	43
CHAPTER 2 The Picturesque Image of Nature and Economic Improvement of Scotland	59
Introduction	60
Section 1. The Picturesque and Improvement in the 1770s and the 1780s	71
Section 2. The Picturesque and Commerce in the 1790s	90
CHAPTER 3 Women's Picturesque Tours in Scotland and Their Sense of Citizenship	106
Introduction	107
Section 1. Sentimentalism and Picturesque Tours	124
Section 2. The Picturesque and the sense of citizenship: Dorothy Wordsworth's <i>Recollections</i> .	140
CHAPTER 4 Walter Scott's Historical Picturesque	161

CONCLUSION	198
BIBLIOGRAPHY	203

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

		Page
Plate 1	Paul Sandby, 'View in Strathtay'(1747). Reproduced from Peter Womack, <i>Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands</i> (London: Macmillan, 1989).	6
Plate 2	'View in Strathtay' (engraving after Sandby, 1781). Reproduced from Peter Womack, <i>Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands</i> (London: Macmillan, 1989).	6
Plate 3	Cairngorm scene: crag, loch, pinewood, capercaillie and roe deer (1969). Reproduced from John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold, <i>Imagining Scotland: Tradition, Representation and Promotion in Scottish Tourism since 1750</i> (Hants and Vermont: Scolar Press, 1995).	7
Plate 4	'The Caledonian Voyage to Money-Land'(1762). Reproduced from <i>English Cartoons and Satirical Prints 1320-1832 in the British Museum</i> (Cambridge: Chadwich-Healey, 1978), BMC. 3856.	20
Plate 5	'The Three Roads to John Bull's Farm'(1762). Reproduced from <i>English Cartoons and Satirical Prints 1320-1832 in the British Museum</i> (Cambridge: Chadwich-Healey, 1978), BMC. 3926.	20
Plate 6	'Sawney in the Bog-House' (1762). Reproduced from <i>English Cartoons and Satirical Prints 1320-1832 in the British Museum</i> (Cambridge: Chadwich-Healey, 1978), BMC. 3988.	21
Plate 7	'A Satire on "Scotch" and "English"' (1763?). Reproduced from <i>English Cartoons and Satirical Prints 1320-1832 in the British Museum</i> (Cambridge: Chadwich-Healey, 1978), BMC. 4095.	21
Plate 8	'Edinburgh from Calton Hill' (George Cooke's engraving after J. M. W. Turner, c1820). Reproduced from Walter Scott, <i>Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland, with descriptive illustrations</i> (London and Edinburgh: John and Arthur Arch, Cornhill, and William Blackwood).	194

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to thank my main supervisor, John Barrell, who read drafts of my work and offered comments and unfailing guidance throughout my writing up process. I am also very grateful to my sub-supervisor, Jane Moody, who gave me great help and suggestions in making my argument clear and coherent. The original idea of this thesis developed from discussions with my former supervisor, Stephen Copley. His sudden death about two years ago is still a cause of deep sorrow in my mind because he was the one who inspired my enthusiasm for the study of eighteenth-century culture. I would like to express my condolences concerning his death and my sincerest appreciation for all he taught me. Thanks also go to my friends who offered proof reading of my English: Shash and Richard Trevett, Richard Hudson, Marlene Hanna, Andrew Finch and John Nixon.

I am more grateful than I can say to Barbara Parry, whom I personally respect as my British mother. Her encouragement and kind concern made my years in York comfortable and precious. Without her emotional and spiritual support, this thesis could not have been completed. Heartfelt thanks and love are also due to my best friend and partner, Hideki Hiraga, who has supported me during these years with great understanding and patience in listening to my unexamined and often inconsistent ideas about this thesis. Last but not the least, I would like to take this opportunity to show my deepest affection and gratitude to my parents in Japan, whose profound love and concern has been my greatest incentive to complete this thesis.

Kazumi Kanatsu

ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to elucidate the relationship between the picturesque and the emergence of British national identity. It explores Scottish travel writings from the 1770s to the early nineteenth century, in order to examine the ways in which tourists employ the discourse of the picturesque to imagine the British nation.

The introduction sets out the questions this thesis attempts to address and defines the scope of discussion. It also outlines the general arguments surrounding the picturesque and specifies the way in which picturesque descriptions of Scotland during the period will be approached.

Chapter One examines the writings of early tourists to Scotland such as Thomas Pennant, Samuel Johnson and William Gilpin. Scotland's association with Jacobitism prevents Pennant and Johnson from perceiving the region as an integral part of the British nation and also prevents them from appreciating the natural beauty of Scotland. This chapter shows how Gilpin assimilates Scotland's historical distinctiveness to his idea of picturesque beauty.

Chapter Two surveys the description of landscape by tourists who are particularly interested in the economic improvement of Scotland. The 1770s and 1780s in Scotland are marked by various endeavours to assimilate the region to the system of capitalist economy. The main interest of this chapter lies in the correspondence between picturesque discourse and contemporary economic discourse, and its attempt to elucidate the ways in which the picturesque helps the development of commercial society to appear as a natural process.

Chapter Three investigates the relationship between women's taste for the picturesque and their sense of citizenship. In particular, it focusses on Dorothy Wordsworth's *Recollections of a Tour Made in Scotland*. The *Recollections* demonstrates how Dorothy appropriates the picturesque to define her identity, and suggests that the equivocal quality of women's picturesque language in some ways corresponds to their ambivalent status in modern commercial society.

Chapter Four concludes this inquiry into the picturesque's nation-projecting function by an examination of Walter Scott's idea of the picturesque. His first novel, *Waverley*, shows how he employs the picturesque to articulate his historical sense of Britishness. This chapter illustrates how Scott uses his literary fictions to propagate a picturesque image of the British nation among the general public.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>BM</i>	<i>Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine</i>
<i>ER</i>	<i>Edinburgh Review</i>
<i>GM</i>	<i>Gentleman's Magazine</i>
<i>QR</i>	<i>Quarterly Review</i>

INTRODUCTION

The eighteenth century in Britain saw various and complex processes which culminated in the emergence of the nation as a physical and geographical entity. At the same time, the period was marked by the formation of the nation as an idea. When the Act of Union joined Scotland to England and Wales in 1707, a new nation was in effect created, an united kingdom named Great Britain. However, the establishment of a correspondingly new national *identity* required an intricate and lengthy process. Early eighteenth-century Britain remained characterized by a wide diversity of national ideas. The British isles were separated into three entities distinguished by history, tradition, ethnicity and language: England, Wales and Scotland. The inhabitants of these three countries had not been accustomed to identify themselves as the British, and there had been little collective sense of nationality among the three peoples. In Scotland, the English-speaking Lowlanders and the Gaelic-speaking Highlanders regarded each other as alien. The central range of mountains divided Wales into the north and south and made trade and communication between them difficult. England was as heterogeneous as Scotland and Wales. Northumberland had closer attachments to the Scottish Lowlands than to Southern England. Shropshire and Herefordshire also maintained strong social ties with Wales. In her comprehensive study of national identity, Linda Colley suggests that the true picture of Britain in the early eighteenth century was 'a patch-work in which uncertain areas of Welshness, Scottishness and Englishness were cut across by strong regional attachments and scored over again by loyalties to village, town, family and landscape'¹. She argues that after 1707 the British became a single people 'not because of any political or cultural consensus at home, but rather in reaction to the other beyond their shore'(Colley, 6). In order to be perceived as one united

¹ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707 - 1837* (London: Pimlico, 1994), p. 17.

country despite its inherent heterogeneity, the nation had to imagine the existence of its antithesis. In particular, Colley identifies 'the other' as a Catholic European power, namely France. She emphasises the importance of the successive wars with France from 1707 to the Battle of Waterloo in 1815 for the emergence of British national identity. Despite the difference in their sense of national identity, she argues, people living in the British Isles could unite to protect their interests from invasion by French imperialism. The rivalry with this Catholic and mercantile European power therefore became an incentive to define themselves as British and to define their country as a nation which had 'one Protestant ruler, one legislature and one system of free trade'(Colley, 11).

Scotland was one of the most problematic regions in eighteenth-century British history. The notion of Britishness had become controversial since the Union in 1707. Indeed, especially in the first half of the century, 'British' was often synonymous with 'Scottish': the 'North Britons' was the common name by which the English called the Scots. Though united as an integral part of Great Britain, Scotland was distinguished from the other British societies by its political, economic and cultural uniqueness. Throughout the century, there were various public and private attempts to assimilate this uniqueness to the idea of one united nation. While representing the foreign otherness of the British nation, Scotland provided an ideological milieu where the British sense of identity was being formed. In many ways, the idea of Britishness emerged through narratives about Scotland.

Eighteenth-century Britain witnessed a significant growth in domestic tourism. Several factors contributed to this growth. The condition of inland transportation improved markedly throughout the century. In Scotland, between 1726 and 1737 General George Wade superintended the construction of over 250 miles of military

roads deep into the western and central Highlands. The disasters of the Jacobite rebellion in 1745 also led the Government to launch a major road construction and improvement project between Scotland and England. These roads which were originally made for military purposes served tourists as a main route to the Highlands until after 1803 when Thomas Telford was appointed for a project to supplement the military roads with 875 miles of new roads and 1,000 new bridges.² Moreover, because of the wars in European countries, it became impossible for tourists to cross over to the continent. The leisured classes therefore turned their attention to their home country in search of a suitable place for leisure. As a result, the Lake District, rural Wales and Scotland became the destinations of popular tourists. The popularity of the domestic tours provided tourists with a significant opportunity to familiarise themselves with the social, economic and cultural milieu of a distant region. In so doing, they could cultivate their acquaintance with local people who had previously seemed foreign.

The promotion of Scotland as a popular tourist destination in the eighteenth century inspired new images of the region. A major interest of this thesis is the change in Scotland's representation as an integral part of the British nation. One example of this imaginary transformation of Scotland can be found in the comparison of two landscapes of the same place: Paul Sandby's 'View in Strathray' in 1747 and an engraving after Sandby in 1780 [Plates 1 and 2]. In his original landscape drawn when Sandby was employed as draughtsman to the survey of new military roads, the artist is concerned with showing exactly how the place looks: the drawing is intended to be a useful, not an aesthetic image; it is aimed at engineers and infantry officers, not at lovers of landscape.

2 Edwin A. Pratt, *A History of Inland Transport and Communication* (Newton Abbot Devon: David and Charles Ltd, 1970), p. 75. Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (Pimlico, 1992), p. 332. William Ferguson, *Scotland: 1689 to the Present* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1968), p. 193.

The image does not include anything which evokes association with Scotland. By contrast, in the engraving of the same landscape in 1780, the geographical and military outlook of the place is transformed in accordance with the contemporary taste for the picturesque. The winding of the river has become sharper. The hills have become loftier and more trees have been planted. Moreover, sheep and a man in a kilt are added. From these picturesque features, we can easily locate this view somewhere in Scotland, though not in Strathhtay.

Interestingly, this picturesque image of Scotland is still prevalent today. As John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold point out, Scottish images which are printed in travel agents' brochures and also in the labels of food exports - shortbread, soup, mineral water and so on, feature the same picturesque representations of its scenery: 'a fantasy world of misty mountains and sunlit glen filled with smiling, tartan-wearing country folk going about their simple but wholesome lives'³. For instance, there is a striking resemblance in motif between the above-mentioned engraving after Sandby in 1780 and a drawing which the Golds take from a booklet produced by the Forestry Commission in the early 1960s [Plate 3]. The scene in Glen More Forest Park in Cairngorm shows a picturesque composition of a view with lofty mountains, a winding river and the plantation of trees. The landscape also contains a capercaillie and two roe deer in the foreground and two hikers dressed in tartan-clothing. By examining the development of Scottish tourism from 1750 to the present, the Golds illustrate how this common image of Scotland has been 'constructed and mediated within the framework of ideology' (Gold and Gold, 31). They argue that the scene in Glen More Forest Park suggests a place which visitors are free to use and enjoy as they please and that, at the same time, it

³ John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold, *Imagining Scotland: Tradition, Representation and Promotion in Scottish Tourism since 1750* (Hants and Vermont: Scolar Press, 1995), p. 4.

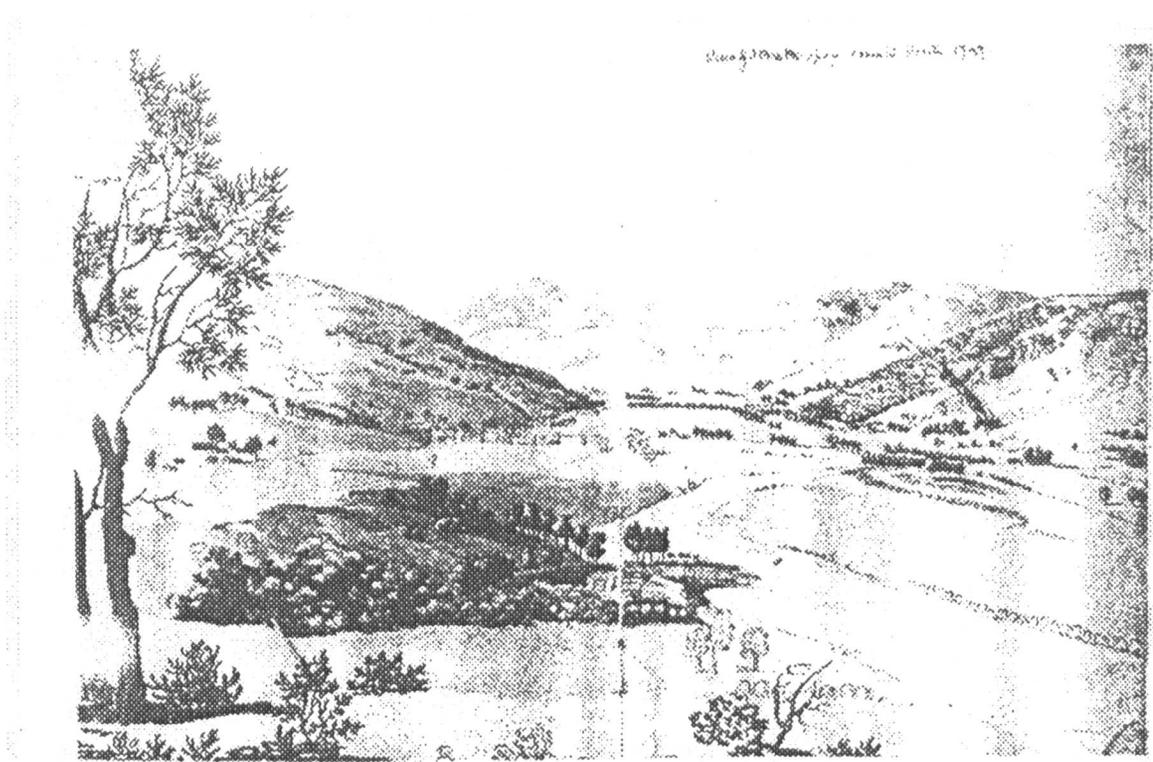


Plate 1



Plate 2



Plate 3

shapes the way in which they perceive its landscape beauty and significance as a place of leisure. The picturesque description of the park offers the pleasures of wild nature to the public, but this image is created by intentionally suppressing a part of the park's history: the private landowners' right to enjoy undisturbed hunting and shooting. Also concealed is the fact that public access is strictly limited and that the policy of the landlords is to drive the inhabitants off the land in order to introduce game. According to the Golds, these picturesque images of Scotland come into being in order to legitimate the private interest of a dominant group or to maintain the status quo. The arguments in this thesis will similarly explore the ideological interest at stake in picturesque images of Scotland.

Indeed, the picturesque represents a crucial site for understanding the relationship between the changing image of Scotland and the process of forming an idea of the British nation. The rise of the picturesque is rooted in the eighteenth-century taste for classical landscape paintings, notably the works of Claude Lorrain and Nicholas Poussin. Ruling-class gentlemen became familiar with these paintings through the Grand Tour: travel to European countries provided the finishing touches to their education. The tour gave many British gentlemen a passion for collecting Italian and French landscape paintings and proved the refinement of their taste. The fashion for the picturesque developed when such gentlemen attempted to transpose scenes from European landscape paintings into their own gardens in England. At the heart of the picturesque lay a contradiction between the taste for the artificial beauty of classical landscape paintings and an admiration for the ragged wildness of nature. William Gilpin, one of the earliest theorists of the picturesque, explains the conflict in terms of a distinction between moral and natural beauty in his early work, *A Dialogue upon the Garden at Stowe*. Responding to Polyphthon's wonder at a view of a lake with an old

ruin, Callophilus explains why 'Prospects of this ruinous Kind, are more fascinating than Views of Plenty and Prosperity in their greatest Perfection':

Yes, but cannot you make a distinction between natural and moral Beauties? Our social Affections undoubtedly find their Enjoyment the most compleat when they contemplate, a Country smiling in the midst of Plenty, where Houses are well-built, Plantations regular, and every thing the most commodious and useful. But such Regularity and Exactness excites no manner of Pleasure in the Imagination, unless they are made use of to contrast with something of an opposite kind.⁴

Here, moral beauty is closely related to the pleasure of social prosperity and welfare.

On the other hand, natural beauty has nothing to do with utility or production. What is problematic about the idea of the picturesque is its ambivalent relation to aesthetic traditions. Fundamentally, the picturesque adopts the conventional aesthetic values often characteristic of classical landscape paintings. At the same time, however, the picturesque is imagined as a scene of visual delight which may include aspects of decay and dereliction, previously thought to lack utility or morality.

The picturesque is an aesthetic idea which is notoriously difficult to define. Critics of the early and middle twentieth century examine the idea in terms of the historical progress of the aesthetic from classic to romantic art through 'the picturesque interregnum'⁵: this is the view exemplified in Christopher Hussey's *The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View*. However, recently many critics have taken issue with Hussey's view of the picturesque. They have drawn attention to the diversity of aesthetic theories manifest in different cultural practices: paintings, garden design, tourism and poetry. Accordingly, they claim that it is inappropriate to regard the picturesque as a coherent aesthetic category. For example, Kim Ian Michasiw suggests

4 William Gilpin, *A Dialogue upon the Gardens of the Right Honorable the Lord Viscount Cobham at Stow in Buckinghamshire*, in *The Picturesque*, ed. by Malcolm Andrews (East Sussex: Helm Information Ltd, 1994), Vol. I, p. 72.

5 Christopher Hussey, *The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View* (London and New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1927), p. 4.

that there were 'two distinct and *opposed* phases'⁶ in the development of the picturesque: William Gilpin's demonstration of the picturesque experience and Uvedale Price's and Richard Payne Knight's reconstruction of the picturesque as a more philosophically sophisticated concept. The two phases of the picturesque differ in the perception and representation of landscape because of the difference in the projects in which these theorists are involved: picturesque tourism and landscape management. Michasiw argues that as a picturesque tourist, Gilpin attempts to re-enchant the public with the natural beauty of their country; while Price and Knight, as the improving landowners, are concerned with controlling and domesticating the landscape.

Recent studies have clarified the way in which the picturesque becomes a focus for aesthetic debate and political polemic. For example, Alan Liu illuminates the correspondence between the picturesque and political and economic discourse by examining the historical context of William Wordsworth's description of the Lake District. The Lakes became a popular destination for picturesque tourists because they still retained a natural beauty which had rapidly disappeared from the surrounding industrial towns such as Manchester and Liverpool. At the same time Liu argues that the area, little affected by Enclosure Acts, was a great white canvas upon which 'tourists were free to paint their imagination of "property"'⁷. Tourists enjoyed picturesque tours

6 Kim Ian Michasiw, 'Nine Revisionist Theses on the Picturesque', *Representations*, 38 (1992), p. 80. See also Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain 1760-1800* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989). *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, Landscape and Aesthetics since 1770*, ed. by Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

7 Alan Liu, *Wordsworth: The Sense of History* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1989), p. 92. See also Anne Janowitz, *England's Ruins: Poetic Purpose and National Landscape* (Oxford and Cambridge MA: Basil Blackwell, 1990); Janowitz argues that the picturesque taste for ruins which prevailed among eighteenth-century gentlemen represented a response to the period's anxiety about national identity.

as a leisure activity which enabled them to escape from daily commercial concerns. Nonetheless, their way of appreciating natural beauty was inseparable from their speculation about the commercial accumulation of wealth. One example of this was the popular travelling item known as a Claude-glass: a small mirror framed like a picture. Tourists used the mirror to frame natural scenery into a landscape image similar in a composition to classical landscape paintings. By translating their aesthetic experience into the aesthetic asset or by the 'visual enclosure' (Liu, 94), they estimated the value of natural beauty. Liu suggests that the picturesque appropriation of landscape beauty was in some ways related to the system of the squirearchical control of the land. Through examining the social and economic transformation of rural areas at this formative period, Liu elucidates how the picturesque functioned as the imaginary ground on which 'the rights of old property could be adjusted to the demands of new money', on which 'an originally feudal, agrarian machinery of rural administration could be policed by a developing urban bureaucracy' and on which 'a "free" Britain established corresponding to the France of the very early Revolution' (Liu, 91-103).

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the function of the picturesque to present 'an imagined political community'⁸, as Benedict Anderson defines the modern sense of a nation. To this end, I will examine travel writings about Scotland published between the 1770s and the 1820s. I will also draw on Liu's ideological reading of the picturesque for my examination of the representation of Scotland; this thesis will also extend his arguments about the process by which ideas of Britishness emerge through cultural artifacts. Whereas Liu focusses on picturesque images in landscape poems, my chosen genre is travel writing. Travel writing represents a compound of different

⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1983), p. 6.

interests: the discussion of politics and economics, chronicle of historical incidents, ethnographical observation, topographical depiction, description of landscape, expression of tourists' personal sentiment and so on. My analysis of these problematic texts will highlight the close relationship between the creation of the picturesque image and its social context; in other words, the relationship between the picturesque imagining of natural beauty and that of social institution. The first three chapters of this thesis will explore three thematic problems in the nation-making process: the idea of history, nature and the individual subject. The fourth chapter will reexamine how these three ideas are related to the nation-imagining function of the picturesque.

The first chapter will show the picturesque's denial of a particular history: Scotland's Jacobite past. In particular, I will focus on William Gilpin's *Observations in the Highlands* to clarify the development of the fashion for picturesque tours in Scotland. Gilpin's tour in Scotland will be seen to illustrate his attempt to transform the historical distinctiveness of Scotland into an aesthetic value which accords with his idea of picturesque beauty. Even after Scotland was transformed in order to accord with the political and economic system of England, many English persistently regarded the region as an alien other of the British nation. The region's strangeness derived from its historical distinctiveness which was associated with the Jacobite revolts of 1715 and 1745. In their description of Scotland, tourists like Thomas Pennant and Samuel Johnson tended to emphasise its association with the Jacobite past. Correspondingly, their particular sense of history prevented them from appreciating the natural beauty of the Scottish landscape. It was not until picturesque tours came into fashion in the region that the pleasures of landscape beauty became the main interest of tourists in Scotland.

The second chapter will illustrate how the picturesque image of nature represents the value of emerging commercial society. From the 1780s onwards intensive experiments

took place to incorporate the rural economy of the Scottish Highlands into the trend of inter-regional trade in Britain. As a result, the Highlands in this period experienced decisive social change. I will examine the travel writings of tourists who were interested in promoting the industrial development of the Highlands. My interest lies in the correspondence between their endeavour to improve economic conditions in the highlands and their concern with making their natural scenery look more beautiful. Throughout their tour, tourists of the period employed the picturesque to imagine the nature of the Highlands as productive, not only of commercial value but also of aesthetic value. At the same time, they modified the idea of the picturesque. The picturesque came to present a natural image of society which endorsed the rise of commerce. An examination of economic improvers' description of Scotland in the 1780s and 1790s will show how the picturesque helped to represent the development of commercial society as a natural process.

In the third chapter, I explore the writings of female picturesque tourists in Scotland. The commercial expansion of British society was brought about not only by the transformation of production, but also by changing modes of consumption. Consumption was important because it was the only domain in which contemporary middle-class women could play dominant roles in commercial society. Through a discussion of texts such as Dorothy Wordsworth's *Recollection of a Tour Made in Scotland*, I will illustrate the way in which the position of women in eighteenth-century commercial society shaped their view of picturesque landscape. The rise in social status of middle-class women allowed them to enjoy the practice of the aesthetic in popular leisure activities such as tourism, painting, poetry and so on. Women's relationship with the picturesque was ambivalent because the picturesque developed fundamentally as a male-dominated aesthetic intimately connected with men's concern with the

management of land and property. My examination of Dorothy Wordsworth's picturesque tour in Scotland will show how she appropriated the masculine language of the picturesque to express her sensibility and how she exercised the picturesque to define her identity as a female citizen in a male-dominated commercial society.

The fourth and concluding chapter of this thesis examines Walter Scott's idea of the picturesque. I will show how Scott employed picturesque taste to create a historical narrative about Britishness. I will conclude that Scott's idea of Britishness was, in a way, a picturesque invention. His first historical novel, *Waverley*, will be a focal point of my argument. In *Waverley*, the picturesque represented history not as a reconstruction of the past but as a narrative to suggest the emergence of the British nation as a natural process. Scott set out to merchandise his literary works in order to meet the growing demand of a mass readership. In so doing, he succeeded in propagating his natural image of the British nation amongst the general public. In conclusion, an examination of Scott's picturesque taste will encapsulate the way in which the picturesque helped the British nation to come into being as a conceptual entity which the people would presume to be a community.

CHAPTER ONE

THE PICTURESQUE, SCOTLAND'S JACOBITE PAST AND AN IDEA OF THE BRITISH NATION.

INTRODUCTION

Despite the Act of Union in 1707, eighteenth-century Scotland was marked off from England by its political, economic and cultural distinctiveness. This regional distinctiveness ultimately derived from Scotland's particular history. Anti-unionists furiously protested against the Act of Settlement and praised the Stuart dynasty as the basis for their Scottish national identity. Indeed, the first half-century after the Union saw two insurrections on behalf of the Stuart claimants to the throne.

The distinctive character of eighteenth-century Scotland arose in part from its complex social composition. On the one hand, the Lowlands of Scotland were quick to adapt English commercial and capitalist practices and played an active role for the success of the Union. On the other hand, the Highlands maintained a feudalistic clan society which was completely different from the society of their southern neighbours and would often be a strategic base for Jacobite insurrections. Unionists, therefore, identified the Highlands as the region which should be incorporated into the British nation. At the same time, they attempted to marginalise the region as the foreign antithesis of Britishness. After the Union and especially after the Battle of Culloden in 1746, the British government endeavoured to undermine the cultural, political and economic distinctiveness of the Scottish Highlands and devised legislation to accommodate them to the united British nation. For instance, a ban on the wearing of the tartan and the Heritable Jurisdictions Act of 1747 weakened the power of clan chieftains as the backbone of their feudalistic society. Subsidies for basic industries and the establishment of formal schooling also aimed to promote the Highlands' assimilation to the British capitalist economy.

By 1763, the year when William Pitt the Elder decided to recruit the Highlanders as a military force for British imperial wars, the Highlands had become both nominally and

virtually a political and economic part of the united nation. Nevertheless, the public image of the Highlanders remained that of the treacherous and vicious outsiders. Even after the Highlands were no longer a political and economic enemy of England, the region continued to be perceived as alien. The success of the Union required cultural transformation to absorb the Highlands which political and economic policy could not produce. Peter Womack has traced the process by which the Highlands were transformed into a place of romantic beauty as part of a cultural process intended to define the Highlands as a part of the united British nation. According to Womack, 'Improvement' was 'the dominant theme in British discourse concerning the Highlands'¹ for almost half a century after the Battle of Culloden. The meaning of the term was fundamentally an economic one: to cultivate the region in order to profit from it. However, the Unionists' interest in improving the region had a dual purpose: the incorporation of the Highlands into capitalist economy and its cultural embellishment to increase people's awareness of landscape beauty. If the Highlands were an attractive place for the urban industrialists to invest their capital, it followed that the region in general, aesthetically and morally, also had to be attractive. The economic improvement of the Highlands corresponded to the creation of the region's romantic image. Though, officially, 'Romance and Improvement are opposites: native and imported, past and present, tradition and innovation' (Womack, 3), they were twins in reality. As Womack argues, imagining the Highlands as a romantic place was equivalent to colonizing them into a discourse which represented a metropolitan sense of value. The opposition between the romantic Highlands and the non-Highlands (the Scottish Lowlands, or the metropolis, or anglophone Britain generally) was closely related to the material one: 'in the system of late eighteenth-century British capitalism, the Highlands are on the *periphery* and the non-

¹ Peter Womack, *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands* (London: Macmillan, 1989), p. 2.

Highlands are the *core*' (Womack, 166). The romantic image of the Highlands was the core's interpretation of the periphery in order to legitimate the core's economic practice. As the Highlands were pushed to the political and cultural periphery, the region became epistemologically marginalised and, therefore, came to represent 'the privileged home of subjectivity' (Womack, 169). In this way, the Highlands provided a space for imagination to heal the pains of fragmentation in a capitalist society. The Highlands became romantic because they were the locus of naturalness which compensated for the discrepancy between the nation you actually live in and the nation you die for.

What I am going to do in this chapter is to extend Womack's argument and to investigate the cultural union between Scotland and England as part of the nation-making endeavour. I will focus on the significance of picturesque tourism in this cultural process by examining contemporary accounts of landscape and tourism in Scotland. In order to do this, there are several things I need to explain. In particular, I want to argue how the problem of Jacobitism was closely related to the process of imagining the British nation.

The association between Scotland and Jacobitism persisted for a few decades after the defeat of the last Jacobite insurrection in 1746. Because of this association, Englishmen were suspicious of the loyalty of the Scots as partners in the British nation. As Linda Colley points out, the territorial expansion of Great Britain in the aftermath of the Seven Years War challenged the idea that Britain was 'the land of liberty' which was 'founded on Protestantism and commerce' (Colley, 103). The pre-war empire was predominantly Protestant and Anglophone. However, after the Seven Years War, Quebec whose inhabitants included a great number of French Catholics became a part of the British empire. The post-war empire also included large stretches of Asia which were neither Christian nor white. At home, anxiety about national identity was directed at the increasing numbers of Scots flowing into England, a social phenomenon regarded as a menace to the

hegemony of Englishness. Contemporary satirical prints explain the theme of Scotophobia which was extremely ebullient in London at this period.² An enormous number of anti-Scottish prints appeared after the inauguration of the Earl of Bute, a Scot, as the Prime Minister in 1762. The image of Scots in the prints is fairly consistent. As *The Caledonian Voyage to Money-land* [plate 4] exemplifies, they are often pictured in Highland dress, (though most of the immigrants were in fact Lowlanders). The Scots appear beggarly and uncivilized. The Scot who scratches himself is a common figure in contemporary anti-Scottish prints : a reference to the Scotch itch which was caused by the lice and dirtiness of the coarse clothing. Their success in London was often associated with Jacobite invasion. *The Three Roads to John Bull's Farm* [Plate 5] criticizes the grant of public money made by the government of Lord Bute to improve the roads between England and Scotland. Running parallel with 'The Road in 1715' and 'The Road in 1745', 'The Road in 1762' leads to the king, George III, sitting in a chair with his mother, the Princess of Wales, behind him. The print suggests that, though the two insurrections for the Stuart dynasty were subdued, Lord Bute finally succeeded in controlling the Hanoverian court and attained the goal of Jacobites. The design of the print shows Lord Bute in Highland dress carrying in one hand a banner, on which is the Pretender's motto, "Tandem Triumphans". These satires on the Scots as a treacherous Jacobite and an uncivilized Highlander continued long after the most heated anti-Scottish feeling subsided after the resignation of Lord Bute. One interesting example of this is the obscene attack on Scots in a print of 1762, *Sawney in the Bog-house* [Plate 6], originally printed as anti-Scottish propaganda during the '45. The popular image was repeated again in 1779. The print of 1779 even

2 See Herbert M. Atherton, *Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth: A Study of the Ideographic Representation of Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974). Michael Duffy, *The English Satirical Print 1600-1832: The English and The Foreigner* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986).

SAWNEY IN THE BOG-HOUSE.



Plate 6



Wilkes fecit.

Plate 7

shows the symbols of a crown and a Scotch thistle to signify the enduring association between Jacobitism and Scotland. The repetition of the same images over three decades indicates that, no matter how much the Scots' political and economic status was improved, there was little change in their generally perceived image as the outsider of the British nation.

What a kind of relationship do the popular images of the Scots have to the idea of the British nation? In order to answer this question, we need to recognize the importance of Jacobitism in the controversy over national identity in eighteenth-century Britain. Colley argues that the insurrection of Charles Edward Stuart in 1745 gave the British a special incentive to define their nationhood as a Protestant and commercial nation (Colley, 71-85). 'God Save the King', the words of which became the national anthem, was first sung publicly in London under the threat of the Young Pretender's invasion. The public at large showed support for the Protestantism of their sovereign against the Catholicism of the Stuart dynasty. The rebellion in 1745 was defeated mainly because the Jacobite cause did not meet the British majority's economic interest. France, the Stuarts' most devoted ally, was Britain's foremost competitor in overseas trade and colonialism. The general public apprehended that the restored Stuart dynasty would tamper with the present prosperous structure of the British economy to the advantage of France. However, Paul Kleber Monod's research on Jacobitism in England from 1688 to 1788 emphasises the complexity of the problem. Consistent Jacobite sentiment was not confined to ethnic and religious minorities and to a small band of Tory loyalists. Monod argues that even after the decisive defeat of the Jacobite revolt in 1746, Jacobitism in England continued and intermittently came to light in the form of plebeian protest. In 1779, the Nottingham framework-knitters raised a riot when their petition for a wage increase was rejected by the House of Commons. The rioters commemorated a great Jacobite holiday, the 10th of June, which was

the birthday of James III. By commemorating the Jacobite holiday, however, they were not articulating an intention to overthrow the Hanoverian regime. Rather they employed Jacobite rhetoric or symbolism as a popular means to promote their case to the government.³ The Jacobite political culture also had a significant influence over almost every aspect of English life. Indeed, Jacobitism provided a framework for the emergence of British nationhood. For example, as Monod points out, in Jacobite iconography, Charles Edward Stuart was represented by 'two different, but complementary figures: the Roman and the Highlander'⁴. This fusion of the Roman and the barbaric Charles created the image of a 'Patriot Prince' which challenged the patriotism represented by Frederick, the Hanoverian Prince of Wales, and his son, George III.

Ironically, Charles Edward's 'patriotic' persona also prefigured the image of John Wilkes, the arch-critic of George III. The Wilkites' activity in 1762 broke out in opposition to the Tory government. The Earl of Bute, the Prime Minister, controlled the court as a tutor of the young king and as a 'favourite' of his mother, the Princess of Wales. Wilkes's journal, the *North Briton*, was a medium which gave the fiercest denunciation to the Tory government's hegemony. The journal often described the Earl of Bute as an incarnation of Charles Edward Stuart and condemned George III as a Jacobite. But the Wilkites' campaign resorted to a strategy which was markedly similar to that of Jacobites two decades earlier. The number 45 became a symbolic number for the supporters of Wilkes. This number was associated with the Jacobite rebellion in 1745, but also with the *North Briton* No.45, the most controversial issue of the series. The Wilkites skilfully adopted

3 See E. P. Thompson, *Customs in Common* (London: The Merlin Press, 1991), John Stevenson, *Popular Disturbances in England 1700-1780* (London and New York: Longman, 1979), Mark Harrison, *The Crowds and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

4 Paul Kleber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People 1688-1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 81.

Jacobite cultural implications to their radical action to protect their British liberty from the rule of the Hanoverian regime. The complex relationship between Jacobite sentiment and the British identity seems to be manifested in a satirical print in 1763, *A Satire on Scotch and English* [Plate 7]. The popular design, which was repeated in 1792, depicts an Englishman quarrelling with a Scot whose Highland dress together with the thistle on the bonnet points to his Jacobite background. The number 45 on the Englishman's chest symbolises not only his antagonism to the Jacobite Scot, but also his patriotic support for English liberty.

The process of the cultural union between Scotland and England required the dissolution of Scotland's association with its Jacobite past. The fashion for picturesque tourism in Scotland can be seen as playing an important role in this process. Cultural union had to be a reciprocal endeavour of the two countries. While the Unionists in Scotland aimed to civilize and improve the political, economic and cultural system of the Highlands, the English wanted to become familiar with the foreign region and to come to terms with its distinctiveness. Picturesque tourism in Scotland functions as a favourable stage to interpret Scotland's Jacobite past and to transform regional distinctiveness into a positive cultural value.

Picturesque tours in Scotland first became fashionable in the late eighteenth century. No sooner had the rebellion in Scotland in 1745 been overcome than the Government, convinced that defective communications between Scotland and England had given a certain advantage to the rebel forces over the Royalist troops, embarked on road construction and improvement. The turnpiking of the route from Durham to the North began after 1745; by 1776, the Great North Road had been turnpiked along its whole

course.⁵ In his survey of inland transport and communication in eighteenth-century Britain, Edwin A. Pratt asserts that one coach a month sufficed to carry all passengers between London and Edinburgh in 1760.⁶ At that time, the journey took 14-16 days. But, in 1774, it was announced that Glasgow was brought within ten days of London. An advertisement in the *Edinburgh Courant* of 1779 states that a 10-day coach to London also left Edinburgh once a week.

By the early 1770s, travelogues on Scotland were becoming popular. Two of the earliest works were Thomas Pennant's *A Tour in Scotland, 1769* (1771) and *A Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides, 1772* (1774). Samuel Johnson's *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland, performed in the Year 1773* was published in 1775; in 1775 and 1776, extracts were being printed together with a plate in issues of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. These works drew tourists' attention to Scotland and a series of travelogues followed during the next few decades. By 1785, tours in Scotland had become a popular amusement. A contributor suggested a favourable itinerary in the June issue of the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1788 with the following remarks:

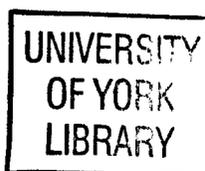
As the extensive circulation of your Magazine reaches northward beyond the Tweed, the following sketches of what is usually called '*the Short Tour of Scotland*', with the distances, and a few remarks, may not be unacceptable to your readers, especially at a season of the year when there are many whose curiosity leads them into those parts.⁷

The aim of this chapter will be to elucidate the function of picturesque tours in Scotland as part of the cultural union between Scotland and England. However, as a preliminary, it is useful to clarify some specific features of the early travelogues which anticipated the

5 William Albert, *The Turnpike Road System in England 1663-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 14.

6 Edwin A. Pratt, pp. 51-52.

7 *GM* (June, 1788), Vol.LVIII, p. 505.



fashion for picturesque tourism. Though some travelogues on Scotland had already been published before the 1770s, the region had hardly attracted the interest of ordinary English tourists. Scotland, especially the Highlands, had been too remote and too dangerous for them to visit. A well-known book on Scotland published before the Union was *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (1698) by Martin Martin, a native of the Isle of Skye. The book is said to have inspired young Johnson's interest in Scotland and to have been carried by him on his journey to the Hebrides. Martin describes the Western Islands as a totally different world which has nothing to do with the civilization of the other parts of Britain. He demonstrates the backwardness of the region by describing a man from St. Kilda who accompanied his friends' business trip to Glasgow. The man 'was like one that had dropped from the clouds into a new world' and was so uncivilized and so ignorant that he could not tell the High Church from a natural cave.⁸ In 1724, Daniel Defoe wrote the Scottish part of the *Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain* whilst in Edinburgh as an official emissary of the English Secretary of State. Describing his tour into the Highlands, Defoe states his intention to give a precise picture of 'the true and real Caledonia': 'As I shall give an account of it as it is, and not as it was; so I shall describe it as I view'd it, not as other people have view'd it'⁹. However, the view he presents is that of the uncivilized and uncultivated country which has nothing worthwhile describing:

When you are over this bridge you enter that which we truly call the north of Scotland, and others the north Highlands; in which are several distinct shires, but cannot call for a distinct description, because it is all one undistinguish'd range of mountains and woods, overspread with vast, and almost uninhabited rocks and steeps

8 Martin Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland Circa 1695 by Martin Martin, Gent.: Including A Voyage to St. Kilda By the Same Author and A Description of Western Isles of Scotland By Sir Donald Monro*, ed. by Donald J. Macleod (Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd, 1994), pp. 317-18.

9 Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (London: Everyman's Library, 1962), p. 362.

fill'd with deer innumerable, and of a great many kinds; among which are some of those the antients call'd harts and roebucks, with vast overgrown stags and hinds of the red deer kind, and with fallow-deer also.(Defoe, 408)

The purpose of Defoe's tour is to collect information useful for the direction of English policy for the Union and to offer observations on the present economic situation of Scotland. His travelogue is written for an official report, not for a leisured audience. Therefore, he is not disposed to appreciate the natural beauty of the Scottish landscape, as his description of Loch Lomond shows:

I am now to return to our progress. Leaving the country of Brechin, and the low lands of Strathearn, we went away west; but were presently interrupted by a vast inland sea, rather than a lake called Loch Lomond. It is indeed a sea, and look'd like it from the hills from whence we first descry'd it; and its being a tempestuous day, I assure you it appear'd all in a breach, rough and raging, like the sea in a storm. There are several islands in it, which from the hills we could plainly perceive were islands, but that they are a-drift, and float about the lake, that I take as I find it, for a story, namely, a story call'd a F--- as I do also that of the water of this loch, turning wood into stone. (Defoe, 428)

Even in the most popular destination for picturesque tourists in later years, Defoe's interest is attracted by the vastness and wildness of the lake, not its natural beauty.

As we shall see, tourists in the early 1770s differentiated themselves from later picturesque tourists by their determination to provide an objective survey of the region rather than to appreciate its scenic beauty. Nevertheless, what is notable about their accounts is their ambivalence towards Scotland's natural beauty. Their observations seem to confirm the region's distinctiveness which is sometimes incompatible with the idea of the one united nation. In the case of Pennant and Johnson, ambivalence to the Scottish landscape is intimately related to a conflict between patriotism and Jacobitism.

1. EARLY TOURS IN SCOTLAND: THOMAS PENNANT AND SAMUEL JOHNSON

Thomas Pennant's *A Tour in Scotland* in 1771 and *Voyage to the Hebrides* in 1774 were the earliest travelogues which stimulated the fashion for tours in Scotland. These works were frequently referred to by later travel writers as authoritative accounts of the region. However, what is notable about Pennant's description is its close relationship to concerns about his native country, Wales. Eighteenth-century Wales experienced more or less the same social and economic changes as the other parts of Britain. The ruling landed classes spent most of their time in London as absentees and were indifferent to the plight of Welsh culture. But, the increasingly affluent middling sorts were determined to protect the Welsh language from obsolescence and to preserve the cultural inheritance. As G. H. Jenkins asserts in his study of eighteenth-century Wales, they helped not only to recover Welsh culture, but also to produce new cultural achievements which would represent their Welsh identity.¹⁰ Pennant was one of the literati who concentrated his intellect and energy in bolstering Welsh culture. One of his best-known books, *British Zoology*, was published by the Cymmrodorian Society. The Society was founded in 1757 under the patronage of the Prince of Wales with a pledge 'to succour Welsh poets and authors, collect valuable ancient manuscripts, promote research into the study of Welsh history, stimulate scientific research, encourage economic developments, and publish learned material' (G. H. Jenkins, 390). He was also a central figure of the Morris Circle, an exclusive circle of men of considerable distinction and talent which was founded by Lewis Morris to promote literary ventures in mid-eighteenth-century Wales.

The purpose of Pennant's tour in Scotland in 1769 and 1772 was to perfect his knowledge of British Zoology. Scientific objectivity is a remarkable feature of his

10 Geraint H. Jenkins, *The Foundations of Modern Wales, Wales 1642-1780* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 386.

travelogue style. Even in his observations on manners and life in Scotland, Pennant maintains the objective and scientific stance which is applicable to the zoological survey.

One good example of this is the way he observes the change in the countenances of the people on the way to Scotland. He regards it as a symptom of his 'approaching towards North Briton'¹¹. Throughout the tour, Pennant is concerned with classifying his observations about people and manners he encounters with complete objectivity.

In particular, Pennant's attitude of scientific objectivity is most obvious in his antiquarian approach to history. In seventeenth-century England, the antiquarian movement developed out of the convergence of Renaissance historical scholarship with Reformation concerns about national identity and religious ancestry. One of its principal intentions had been to describe Britain as a province of the Roman Empire.¹² This association with the Roman Empire thus helped to legitimate Britain as a civilized nation. The antiquarian interpretation of British past was related to Pennant's Welsh identity in a complex way. For example, in his *Tours in Wales* of 1773, Pennant denies the assertion that Chester has been 'of *British* foundation'¹³ and celebrates its Roman origin. He gives a detailed account of *Caer Lleon*, a wing of the Roman troops settled on the Deva just before the arrival of Agricola, a Roman hero who fixed part of his legion there to venture on the distant expedition to Scotland. Like the Roman hero, Pennant starts his tour to Scotland from

11 Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides* (London, 1776), Part I, p. 41.

12 See Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). D. R. Woolf, *The Idea of History in Early Stuart England: Erudition, Ideology, and 'The Light of Truth' from the accession of James I to the Civil War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

13 Thomas Pennant, *Tours in Wales* (Caernarvon: 1883), p. 139.

Chester. However, he is also proud of the Welsh spirit of independence and liberty which was sustained even after Wales had fallen into the power of the Roman Empire:

The spirit which the people shewed at the beginning, did not desert them to the last. Notwithstanding they were obliged to submit to the resistless power of the *Romans*, they never fell a prey to the enervating charms of luxury, as the other nations of this island did; they never, with womanish invocations, requested the aid of the deserting conquerors, or sunk beneath the pressure of the new invaders; they preserved an undaunted courage amidst their native rocks, and received among them the gallant fugitives, happy in congenial souls. (Pennant, *Tours in Wales*: 4)

In the same way, the archeology of Roman Britain became a focal point for pro-unionists in early eighteenth-century Scotland. In order to find a solution to their national identity crisis, they attempted to describe Scotland's past in the context of Roman British history. For example, they interpreted Hadrian's Wall in a way that did honour to the ancient Caledonians. They celebrated the wall as the symbol of their greatness and nobility in protecting British liberty against Roman rule.¹⁴ In antiquarian discourse, there are various ways to define the idea of British liberty. Nevertheless, Pennant disregards the Caledonian version of British liberty, because of his belief in the superior civilization of Wales which derived from the Roman rule. He suggests in a general view of the history of the Hebrides that the Romans did not consider it worthwhile to conquer Scotland:

.... it is probable that the *Romans*, either from contempt of such barren spots, from the dangers of seas, the violence of the tides, and horrors of the narrow sounds in the inexperienced ages of navigation, never attempted their conquest, or saw more of them, than what they had in sight, during the few circumnavigations of *Great Britain*, which were expeditions, more of ostentation than of utility. (Pennant: *Voyage to the Hebrides*: I, 232-33)

Pennant's antiquarianism identifies the Hebrides as a region of savages outside the civilization of Wales and England. Tracing the history of the feudal system which was

14 See Iain Gordon Brown, 'Modern Rome and Ancient Caledonia: The Union and the Politics of Scottish Culture', in *The History of Scottish Literature*, ed. by Andrew Hook (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987), Vol. II, pp. 35-39.

established under the barbaric rule of Norway, he ascribes Scotland's distinctiveness to its historical origins. This Roman history is the basis of Pennant's approach in describing Scotland's past. His view of Scotland tends to emphasise its antithetical nature to the southern civilization. For example, Pennant presents the manners of a Highland clan as an illustration of the region's detestable barbarism:

Near this gloomy tract, beneath *Craig Roston*, was the principal seat of the M'Gregors, a murderous clan, infamous for excesses of all kinds...their very name suppressed by act of council; so that the remnant, now dispersed like *Jews*, dare not even sign it to any deed. Their posterity are still said to be distinguished among the clans in which they have incorporated themselves, not only by the redness of their hair, but by their still retaining the mischievous disposition of their ancestors.¹⁵

The narrowness of Pennant's antiquarianism shocked Walter Scott, who regarded Pennant's account as 'the anathema' pronounced against the 'unhappy tribe at Loch Lomond'¹⁶.

However, Pennant's prejudiced approach to history causes his ambivalence to the idea of the one united British nation. His observations inform him of the superiority of Wales' and England' civilization over the feudal system in the Highlands. But, he is ideologically obliged to regard the region as an equal neighbour of the united nation. He refers to a poem which he finds on a window in Scotland and regards the country as a sister of England who is 'Unconscious, that she'll quickly have her day, / And be the toast when *Albion's* charms decay' (Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland*: 246). The conflicting feeling about the Highlands corresponds to his attitude to Jacobitism.

Long before the ultimate defeat of the rebellion at Culloden in 1746, Welsh Jacobitism had ceased to be an effective political force and survived only as 'a waning romantic ideology embraced by economically powerful but politically impotent landowners' (G. H.

15 Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland, 1769* (London, 1774), p. 223.

16 *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. by H. J. C. Grierson (London: Constable and Co Ltd., 1932-37), Vol. XII, p. 24.

Jenkins, 151). Even at the beginning of the eighteenth century, as Philip Jenkins remarks in his survey of Glamorgan, Whiggery was a leading force among the gentry in contrast with 'the traditional image of Wales as solidly tory, if not jacobite'¹⁷. However, Jenkins also shows that Jacobitism subsisted as a popular undercurrent against the new order introduced by the gentry. What is more, the gentry and Jacobites were sometimes at one in their interests.¹⁸ In mid-eighteenth century Wales, Jacobitism was intricately related to the economic prosperity of the country.

As a member of new ruling elite, Pennant's attitude toward Jacobitism was antagonistic. In his view, Jacobitism would imperil the foundation of the new Hanoverian order. He was, therefore, strongly supportive of the Government's decision to dissolve Jacobite clans in the Scottish Highlands. Pennant concludes his history of the Hebrides with the following remark; 'Two recent rebellions gave legislature a late experience of the folly of permitting the feudal system to exist in any part of its dominions' (Pennant, *Voyage to the Hebrides*: I, 242). However, in order to imagine the Highlands as a partner in the united nation, Pennant needed to imagine their historical distinctiveness as a positive value of Britishness. Therefore, he resorts to the Celtic roots which Wales shares with the region. In contrast with the Roman era which left its heritage all over the country, the Celtic past is a distant age which can be rediscovered only through imagination. Recollecting his voyage in the Hebrides, Pennant imagines himself sailing among the islands again and encountering the vision of an ancient warrior:

I retired to my chamber, filled with reflections on the various events of my voyage; and every scene by turns presented itself before my imagination. As soon as my eyes were closed, I discovered, that *the slumber of the body was but the waking*

17 Philip Jenkins, *The Making of a Ruling Class: The Glamorgan Gentry 1640-1790* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 136.

18 See Philip Jenkins, p. 66.

soul. All I had seen appeared to have been dull and clouded to my apprehension, serving to evince, *that our waking conceptions do not match the fancies of our sleep*. I imagined myself again gently wafted down the sound of MULL; bounded on each side by the former dominions, of mighty chieftains; or of heroes immortalized in the verse of OSSIAN....A figure, dressed in the garb of an ancient warrior, floated in the air before me: his target and his *clymore* seemed of no common size, and spoke the former strength of the hero. A graceful vigor was apparent in his countenance, notwithstanding time had robbed him of part of his locks, and given to the remainder a venerable hoariness. (Pennant, *Voyage to the Hebrides*: I, 420-21)

This vision of the Ossianic hero speaks to Pennant and deplores the ruin of his clan-society at the present age: 'STRANGER, Thy purpose is not unknown to me; I have attended thee (invisible) in all thy voyage; have sympathised with thee in the rising tear at the misery of my once-loved country....'(Pennant, *Voyage to the Hebrides*: I, 420-21). The figure ascribes the present desolation to the oppression and neglect of the English and requests them to promote cultivation in the distant land. The imaginative figure is an embodiment of the Highlands' original past. By this imaginative medium, Pennant introduces the parallel between the Highlands' past and the Roman past of Wales. Consequently, he believes the idea that the Highlands were an integral part of the united nation. His antiquarianism presents the British Isles as a complicated entity in which pro-Roman Englishness coincides with anti-Roman Celticism. In order to celebrate the historical origin of the British Isles and to present them as a united island, Pennant invents the imaginary vision of the British past.

Pennant's ambivalence about the idea of the one united nation can be traced in his attitude toward the Scottish landscape. He appreciates the natural beauty of the region and its capacity to inspire literature. This can be clearly seen when he describes the landscape of Glen Coe, the birth place of Ossian. Pennant admires Glen Coe as 'the most picturesque of any in the Highlands', because of its close association with the Ossian poems: 'no place could be more happily calculated than this for forming the taste and inspiring the genius of such a poet'(Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland*: 210). Nevertheless, despite this compliment,

Pennant actually had only a distant view of it and was indebted to a 'Mr. John Stuart of Killin' for its description. In the occasional remarks on scenery, his interest mainly lies in its historical background rather than in its beauty, as he describes the view of the castle of Brae-mar from Invercauld:

Invercauld is seated in the centre of the *Grampian* hills, in a fertile vale, washed by the *Dee*, a large and rapid river: nothing can be more beautiful than the different views from the several parts of it. On the Northern entrance, immense ragged and broken crags bound one side of the prospect; over whose grey sides and summits is scattered the melancholy green of the picturesque pine, which grows out to the naked rock, where one would think nature would have denied vegetation.

A little lower down is the castle above-mentioned; formerly a necessary curb on the little kings of the country; but at present serves scarce any purpose, but to adorn the landscape. (Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland*: 113).

While praising the picturesque beauty of the landscape as a beneficial sign of cultivation, he is regretful about the castle. The castle loses its historical function and is reduced to an appendage of the landscape. Pennant appreciates the natural beauty of the Highlands. At the same time, the same scene excites his antiquarian interest and reminds him of the region's historical distinctiveness as the evidence of its inferiority to the civilization of Wales and England. Pennant's travelogues illustrate the conflict experienced by early tourists in writing about Scotland.

A similar conflict about Scotland is also noticeable in Samuel Johnson's tour in 1773. Johnson's *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* shows more obviously that what is at stake in writing about Scotland is English patriotism. According to Colley, Johnson was 'a Tory who sometimes leaned toward emotional Jacobitism'(Colley, 76). He experienced a discrepancy between his personal political views and the British nation. During Johnson's lifetime, the growing population of Scots in London was identified as a phenomenon which might endanger England's social integrity. Johnson's literary interest in safeguarding his English identity was often perceived by the general public as an

indication of his Scotophobia. Johnson's complex personal image demonstrates that the idea of Englishness was becoming more and more difficult to define at this period. In the same way, it is easy to imagine that Johnson's Scottish travelogue provoked a controversy over British national identity. For Johnson's tour attracted public interest on both sides of the Tweed, not only as an occasion for the English to test their English identity, but also as an occasion for Scots to test their improvement of the region as an equal partner of England. Before he set out for the journey and while the tour was in progress, various extracts, from faithful reports to utter fabrications, appeared in the press. One of the most provocative works in this controversy was James Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson*, which was published in 1785, after Johnson's death. Boswell's aim in the travelogue is to present Johnson's tour as an interfusion of English and Scottish values. Boswell describes how Johnson's English interest was challenged by the Scottish interest of his young travelling companion. In this way, Boswell attempts to present the tour as a significant event in the process of the cultural union between Scotland and England. In the rest of this section, I will compare Johnson's view of Scotland in *A Journey* with Boswell's description of Johnson in Scotland in the *Journal*, in order to elucidate Johnson's complex idea of the British nation.

In contrast with Johnson who was a true born Englishman, Boswell is a staunch ideologist of the Edinburgh Enlightenment. Proud of his cosmopolitanism and his modern education, he expresses his determination to counteract insular prejudice: 'when I humour any of them in an outrageous contempt of Scotland, I fairly own I treat them as children. And thus I have, at some moments, found myself obliged to treat even Dr. Johnson'¹⁹. As Womack argues, the Edinburgh Enlightenment represents the earliest attempt to subsume

19 James Boswell, *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1963), p. 10.

the Jacobite past of Scotland within the language of Highland romance. Womack refers to William Robertson's attempt to define the state of the Highlands as 'that of an early stage of society' and correlates his historical narrative with Adam Smith's concept of 'the four universally determinate stages of social development' (Womack, 22). This interpretation enables Robertson to represent the Scottish past in universal terms. The image of the Highlands thus ceases to be something different from ourselves and is familiarized as the image of what we once were.

Boswell's intention in the tour is very explicit, that is, to challenge Johnson's Scotophobia by mythologising in the discourse of the Edinburgh Enlightenment. Boswell follows the technique which he had learned from Adam Smith in his rhetorical lectures at Glasgow, when he gives a minute description of Johnson's appearance on his departure from London. He particularly emphasises the significance of 'a large English oak stick' (Boswell, 8) as the symbol of Johnson's Englishness. Boswell also gives an account of Johnson's chagrin when he lost the stick in the heart of Scotland. Deeply depressed by its loss, Johnson has a strong suspicion of its being stolen and replies to Boswell's intercession, alluding to the treelessness of Scotland: "'No, no, my friend", said he, "it is not to be expected that any man in Mull who has got it will part with it. Consider, sir, the value of such a *piece of timber* here"' (Boswell, 309). Moreover, throughout the Highland tour, Boswell imagines Johnson as a 'Prince Charles'. In *Johnson and Boswell: The Transit of Caledonia*, Pat Rogers points out the contradiction in Boswell's discussion of Scottish identity. On the one hand, he attaches himself to the Whiggish, Hanoverian and Presbyterian values of Edinburgh. On the other hand, he expresses his reaction against them in his Jacobite sympathies. In his romantic identification of Johnson with Charles Edward Stuart, Boswell can indulge his emotional attachment to the Jacobite cause without damaging his professed allegiance to the Hanoverian regime. Rogers illustrates

Boswell's attempt to recreate Charles Edward's flight after Culloden: 'There are many signs that at some level Boswell was undertaking the journey as a fantasy recreation of Charles Edward's experiences in the Highlands. In order to sustain this fantasy, he made use of Johnson as a kind of fetishistic aid, by which his friend stood in for the missing prince'²⁰. Interestingly, Johnson's route was planned so as to follow as far as possible with the Prince's own path through the Highlands. Boswell goes into raptures over the realization of 'the long-projected scheme' (Boswell, 127) to have Johnson conducted by sea in the Hebrides by Malcolm MacLeod, a typical Highland gentleman, who helped the Prince to escape in 1745. He also describes Johnson being involved in 'close whispering conference with Mrs Mackinnon about the particulars that she knew of the Prince's escape':

Upon that subject there was a warm union between the soul of Mr. Samuel Johnson and that of an Isle of Skye farmer's wife. It is curious to see people, though ever so much removed from each other in the general system of their lives, come close together on a particular point which is common to each. (Boswell, 229)

Boswell regards the intimacy between the two strangers who share their Jacobite sympathy as the scene representing the happy union between England and Scotland.

What is Johnson's attitude to the discourse of the Edinburgh Enlightenment which Boswell employs to describe their tour in Scotland? Rogers suggests that Johnson was sympathetic to 'Boswell's nostalgia for a lost Scotland, however mythical a place that might have been' (Rogers, 168). Nevertheless, Johnson seems apparently concerned about protecting his English identity against the romanticizing influence of the Edinburgh Enlightenment. No sooner had Johnson made up his mind to set out for Scotland than Boswell informed William Robertson and James Beattie of Johnson's visit and requested

20 Pat Rogers, *Johnson and Boswell: The Transit of Caledonia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 139.

their assistance to arrange his meeting with the literati of Scotland. Interestingly, their meeting is not mentioned in *A Journey*. Johnson's denial of the meeting is interesting because this is one of his attempts to keep away Boswell's narrative strategy within *A Journey*. In dismissing Robertson's historical work as 'romance'²¹, Johnson slights the Edinburgh Enlightenment. He regards the intellectual movement as the endeavour to convert historical facts into mere conjecture which pampers Scottish national pride. Johnson adheres to his own critical viewpoint in order to avoid being absorbed in Boswell's vision of Britishness. In his keeping himself aloof from local patriotism, Johnson has something in common with Pennant. Therefore, Johnson defends Pennant's account against the criticism of the Scottish literati as follows:

"Sir, there is no end of negative criticism. He tells what he observes, and as much as he chooses. If he tells what is not true, you may find fault with him. But though he tells that the land is not well cultivated, he is not obliged to tell how it may be well cultivated.... Pennant tells a fact. He needs go no farther except he pleases..." (Boswell, 183)

Johnson's *Journey* is his ethnographical attempt to give a precise picture of Highland life. He is so circumspect in his observations that he is avoiding any language which presents the Highlanders as rebels, as a reviewer of the *Gentleman's Magazine* points out:

.... through the whole journey, our traveller has avoided not only every modern field of battle, but also the invidious word *rebellion*, and, in its stead, has always substituted 'the last revolution', 'the late insurrection', or 'final conquest of the Highlands'.²²

Johnson's criticism is directed not at the feudal system of the Highlands, but to the monetary economy which brought about social disorder. He applauds the feudal and militaristic society in the Highlands. In so doing, he casts doubt on the commercialism of

21 James Boswell, *Life of Johnson* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 128.

22 *GM* (February, 1775), Vol. XLV, p. 85.

the modern British nation: 'It may likewise deserve to be inquired, whether a great nation ought to be totally commercial?'²³. On the one hand, Johnson approves of the monetary economy because it distributes property to the lower classes and, therefore, promotes the progress and advancement of society. On the other hand, he ascribes the dissolution of clans to modern commercialism, for in their pursuit of profit, modern chieftains tend to neglect the welfare of their clan. What is more, the loss of the chieftains' protection had led some to emigrate to the New World for a living. Johnson deplores the decay of national integrity in the Highlands which has come about as the result of the introduction of commerce:

It may be thought that they are happier by the change; but they are not happy as a nation, for they are a nation no longer. As they contribute not to the prosperity of any community, they must want that security, that dignity, that happiness, whatever it be, which a prosperous community throws back upon individuals. (Johnson, *A Journey*: 109)

Johnson's remarks exposes tensions within a commercial society. In his account, Johnson attempts not only to transcend his own position as a Scotophobic Englishman, but also to shed light on the character of Scottish patriotism. For example, the Scots give the exaggerated praise for the achievement of a Highland regiment in the American war. What Johnson emphasises is the disastrous fact of the war that 'Of the old Highland regiment, consisting of twelve hundred, only seventy-six survived to see their country again' (Johnson, *A Journey*: 81). Johnson also fiercely criticises against the authenticity of the Ossian poems:

The Scots have something to plead for their easy reception of an improbable fiction: they are seduced by their fondness for their supposed ancestors. A Scotchman must be a very sturdy moralist, who does not love *Scotland* better than truth: he will always

23 Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), p. 75.

love it better than inquiry; and if falsehood flatters his vanity, will not be very diligent to detect it. Neither ought the *English* to be much influenced by *Scotch* authority; for of the past and present state of the whole *Earse* nation, the Lowlanders are at least as ignorant as ourselves. To be ignorant is painful; but it is dangerous to quiet our uneasiness by the delusive opiate of hasty persuasion. (Johnson, *A Journey*: 99)

What Johnson attacks is the Lowlanders' vanity, not their ignorance of the ancient and present Gaelic culture. He directs his indignation against the Scottish literati who do not inquire into the distortion of fact about the Ossian poems in order to protect their national pride.

Johnson's determination to expose any false views and assumptions can also be discerned in his appreciation of landscape. The pleasure he seeks in natural scenery is the satisfaction of his scientific curiosity rather than any fascination with the beauty of the landscape. To be sure, Johnson is attracted by the sublime beauty of the Buller of Buchan, which he 'could scarcely survey without some recoil of the mind' (Johnson, *A Journey*: 14). But, having acknowledged the power of its scenic beauty, Johnson sets to work examining the precise structure and practical usage of the place: 'But terrour without danger is only one of the sports of fancy, a voluntary agitation of the mind that is permitted no longer than it please. We were soon at leisure to examine the place with minute inspection....' (Johnson, *A Journey*: 15). Similarly, Johnson's resistance to the enchantments of sublime beauty can be discerned in the description of the stormy view from Slanes Castle:

From the windows the eye wanders over the sea that separates Scotland from Norway, and when the winds beat with violence must enjoy all the terrifick grandeur of the tempestuous ocean. I would not for my amusement wish for a storm, but as storms, whether wished or not, will sometimes happen, I may say, without violation of humanity, that I should willingly look out upon them from Slanes Castle. (Johnson, *A Journey*: 13)

According to Johnson, experiencing pleasure amidst this violent and threatening scenery would be perverse to human nature. There is a conflict between his desire to lose himself in the experience of the sublime beauty and his recognition that the experience entails

'violation of humanity'. Therefore, he cannot express the admiration of the sublime without justifying the feeling. This sense of self-consciousness prevents Johnson from being intoxicated with the natural beauty of the scene.

Johnson's ambivalent attitude towards the landscape corresponds to his rejection of the romanticization of the Edinburgh Enlightenment. The difference in Johnson's and Boswell's attitude toward landscape can be defined in terms of their ideas of the British nation. One example of this difference can be found in Boswell's self-absorption at the Isle of Iona, the island venerated as the burial place of the ancient Scottish kings and as the cradle of Christianity in Scotland. Here, he describes how he knelt on the beach to give a prayer for the saint of the island:

Indeed, the seeing of Mr. Samuel Johnson at Icolmkill was what I had often imagined as a very venerable scene. A landscape or view of any kind is defective, in my opinion, without some human figures to give it animation. What an addition was it to Icolmkill to have the Rambler upon the spot! After we landed, I shook hands with him cordially. (Boswell, 331)

Boswell particularly rejoices in the realization of his imagination, when he sees Johnson at Iona. His delight derives from incorporating Johnson in the landscape which represents Scotland's original past. The landscape of the island is no longer natural scenery, but rather a vision created by his imagination as a symbol of the unity between English and Scottish values. In contrast with Boswell's enthusiasm, Johnson persistently maintains an air of detachment in his appreciation of the landscape. His ambivalence to its scenery coincides with his reluctance to accept Boswell's vision of the Union. Though he acknowledges the effect of the ruins of Iona, he is reluctant to be quite as affected by the landscape as Boswell is: 'We now left those illustrious ruins, by which Mr. *Boswell* was much affected, nor would I willingly be thought to have looked upon them without some emotion' (Johnson, A

Journey: 127). In his appreciation of the scenic beauty, Johnson attempts to keep another at a distance.

Though favourably received in general, Johnson's *Journey* incurred the antipathy of Scots. With regret and astonishment, Boswell remarks that the admirable work of Johnson 'has been misapprehended, even to rancour' (Boswell, 10), by many of his countrymen. A review in the *Gentleman's Magazine* states that the Scots are likely to be displeased: 'by the nation in general, and by the Highlanders in particular, we cannot think that it will be perused with satisfaction'²⁴. Complaints ranged over the whole matter of *A Journey* from objections to Johnson's comments on the treelessness of the landscape to defences of the authenticity of the Ossian poems. Reviewers accused Johnson of prejudice, discourtesy and ingratitude. In 1779, for instance, Donald McNicol, a Scot, published *Remarks on Dr. Samuel Johnson's Journey to the Hebrides*. In this work, he denounced Johnson for his prejudice and antagonism against Scotland. McNicol's indignation against *A Journey* was particularly aroused by Johnson's criticism of Ossian's poems. McNicol minutely defends the authenticity of the poems and claims that the main purpose of Johnson's tour was to mock the poems which exalted the respect of the country he despised: 'From the first appearance of Ossian's poems in public, we may date the origin of Dr. Johnson's intended tour to Scotland; whatever he may pretend to tell us, in the beginning of his narration'²⁵. McNicol's indignant comments on every single page of *A Journey* attempt to reveal it as an unjust and bigoted publication. As he declares in his closing remarks:

I shall now take my final leave of Dr. Johnson. That he set out with a intention to traduce the Scots nation, is evident; and the account he gives of his Journey shows,

24 *GM* (February, 1775), Vol. XLV, p. 85.

25 Donald McNicol, *Remarks on Dr. Samuel Johnson's Journey to the Hebrides: with Observations on the Antiquities, Language, Genius, and Manners, of the Highlands of Scotland* (Glasgow: The Stanhope Press, 1817), p. 267.

with what a stubborn malignity he preserved in that purpose. Every line is marked with prejudice; and every sentence teems with the most illiberal invectives. If he has met with some correction, in the course of this examination, it is no more than he ought to have expected; unless he feels in his own mind, what his pride perhaps will not allow him to acknowledge, that misrepresentation and abuse merit no passion superior to contempt. (McNicol, 504)

After the publication of Boswell's *Journal*, however, Johnson's *A Journey* began to be regarded as a contribution to changing perception of Scotland as a part of the one united British nation. Boswell's description opens up the aspect of Johnson's tour as his genuine effort to understand the society of his northern neighbour. A reviewer of Boswell's *Journal* suggests that Johnson's accounts might be beneficial to Scots, because his censure would stimulate a spirit of cultivation in Scotland:

I both hope and am convinced that Scotland will derive advantages, of the most substantial nature, from the strictures and encaustics of a Johnson's tongue and pen; and, whether he ever designed it or not, Caledonia and her sons will, hereafter, be fully sensible of the benefit.²⁶

In his account, Johnson set out to counteract what he regards as a deceptive view of the Edinburgh Enlightenment and to give an account of Scotland's history as an autonomous country. However, his close observations tend to emphasize the region's distinctiveness which undermines the cultural process of the Union. By contrast, Boswell's romantic account presents Johnson's *Journey* as a narrative about the one united British nation which succeeds in reconciling English value with Scottish value.

The conflict experienced by early tourists in Scotland like Pennant and Johnson arises from the perceived discrepancy between how the region should look ideologically and how it actually appears to their eyes. As my examination suggested, their survey seems to reveal the historical and cultural strangeness of Scotland.

26 *GM* (April, 1786), Vol. LVI, p. 296.

2. WILLIAM GILPIN'S PICTURESQUE TOUR IN SCOTLAND

The Lake District was one of the most important places for early tourists of the picturesque. Connoisseurs of garden design and landscape paintings developed an enthusiasm for the picturesque and started to seek the object of their aesthetic pleasure in the natural landscape of the countryside. The primary concern of the picturesque tourists was to apply artistic principles derived from the fine arts to the unimproved compositions of nature. A series of guide books was published to inform tourists where they could find a view which would satisfy picturesque taste. Thomas Gray, one of the pioneers of picturesque tourism, set off for the Lakes in 1769. A journal which he had written for his travelling companion was published under the title of *Journal in the Lakes* in 1775. Thomas West's *Guide to the Lakes* went through ten more editions over the next forty years after its publication in 1780 and established the Lakes as the most popular attraction for picturesque tourists. The most extensive accounts of the picturesque were provided by William Gilpin. In 1782, he printed a work about his tour in the River Wye to try the taste of the public: *Observations on the River Wye, and Several Parts of South Wales, etc, relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty: made in the Summer of the Year 1770*. The book was well received, and so Gilpin ventured to publish his larger work, *Observations on Several parts of England, Particularly the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1772* (1786). His intention here was to examine the individual features of a landscape: rivers, mountains, lakes and so on, in the light of his idea of picturesque beauty. Gilpin defined the picturesque as a principle in which tourists might discover natural beauty in the formal unity of landscape composition: the foreground, the middle-ground and the background.

Through this observations of the Lakes, Gilpin defines picturesque beauty as typically English and celebrated the area for its variety:

From whatever cause it proceeds, certain, I believe, it is, that this country exceeds most countries in the *variety* of its picturesque beauties. I should not wish to speak merely as an Englishman: the suffrages of many travellers, and foreigners, of taste, I doubt not, might be adduced.

In some or other of the *particular species* of landscape, it may probably be excelled. Switzerland may perhaps exceed it in the beauty of its vallies, tho I believe they are there more cultivated; Germany, in its river-views; and Italy, in its lake-scenes. But if it yield to some of these counties in *particular* beauties; I should suppose, that on the *whole*, it exceed them all. It exhibits perhaps more variety of hill, and dale, and level ground, than is any where to be seen in so small a compass. Its rivers assume every character, diffusive, winding, and rapid. Its estuaries, and coast-views are varied, of course, from the form, and rockiness of its shores. Its mountains, and lakes, tho they cannot perhaps rival, as I have just observed, some of the choice lakes of Italy - about Tivoli especially, where the most perfect models of this kind of landscape are said to be presented; are yet in *variety*, I presume, equal to the lake-scenery of any country.²⁷

Gilpin was the first picturesque tourist to publish a travelogue on Scotland. In contrast with the early tourists who had come to Scotland to satisfy intellectual curiosity, Gilpin's tour was an attempt to discuss the region's picturesque beauty. By examining his description of Scotland, we shall see how he applies the English idea of natural beauty to a foreign region and, moreover, how he imagines the British nation as picturesque. In order to do this, I will begin by clarifying Gilpin's idea of picturesque beauty. In particular, we need to note how the picturesque entails 'a process of cultural unification of the upper ranks of English society'²⁸.

The foundation of the Royal Academy in 1768 marks the beginning of the formative period in British art. As the advisory body on national art, the Academy was charged with

27 William Gilpin, *Observations, on Several Parts of England, Particularly the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1772* (London, 1808), Vol. I, pp. 5-6.

28 Iain Pears, *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England 1680-1768* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 3.

the preservation and promotion of British art. Under the Academy's authority, history paintings began to be acknowledged as the pre-eminent artistic genre. This is because history paintings displayed a heroic concept of British citizenship.²⁹ Gilpin constructed and theorized the idea of the picturesque according to Joshua Reynolds' concept of history paintings. In the *Discourses* which he delivered at the Royal Academy during his presidency from 1769 to 1790, Reynolds identifies genius or taste with an intellectual ability to abstract the general idea of beauty from particular objects.³⁰ In *Observations on Cumberland and Westmoreland*, regarding painting as the art of deceiving, Gilpin also mentions 'genius, and an accurate knowledge of nature...as requisite in surveying a picture, as in painting one' (Gilpin, *Observations on Cumberland and Westmoreland*: II, 11-12). In contrast to the 'cold, untutored eye' which is no more than an organ of perception, he defines the picturesque eye as a reservoir of knowledge which inspires the creation of the finest representation from the real scene:

Whereas the learned eye, versed equally in nature, and art, easily compares the picture with its archetype; and when it finds the characteristic touches of nature, the imagination immediately takes fire; and glows with a thousand beautiful ideas, *suggested* only by the canvas. When the canvas therefore is so artificially wrought, as to suggest these ideas in the strongest manner, the picture is then most perfect....As to the *minutiae* of nature, the picturesque eye will generally suggest them better itself; and yet give the artist, as he deserves, the credit of the whole. (Gilpin, *Observations on Cumberland and Westmoreland*: II, 12-14)

Gilpin's idea of picturesque beauty is almost identical to Reynolds's 'idea of the perfect state of nature' (Reynolds, 44-45) whose beauty is the artificial idealization of the phenomenal natural world. However, while Reynolds recognizes the idea of perfect beauty

29 See Pears, pp.120-21: On the significance of history paintings in eighteenth-century British art.

30 Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, ed. by Robert R. Wark (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 44-45: Reynolds defines genius as an eye used to the contemplation and comparison of the general forms of things.

as 'the great leading principle' (Reynolds, 45) to regulate the painter's aesthetic judgement, Gilpin simplifies the principle of genius as the rules of composition - the rules designed to reconstitute nature in proportion to the harmony of foreground, middle ground and background. He expresses the necessity of rules in picturesque paintings as follows:

Nature is always great in design; but unequal in composition. She is an admirable colourist; and can harmonize her tints with infinite variety, and inimitable beauty: but is seldom so correct in composition, as to produce an harmonious whole. Either the foreground, or the background, is disproportioned: or some awkward line runs across the piece: or a tree is ill-placed: or a bank is formal: or something, or other is not exactly what it should be. The case is, the immensity of nature is beyond human comprehension. She works on a *vast scale*; and, no doubt, harmoniously, if her schemes could be comprehended. The artist, in the mean time, is confined to a *span*. He lays down his little rules therefore, which he calls the *principles of picturesque beauty*, merely to adapt such diminutive parts of nature's surfaces to his own eye, as come within its scope.³¹

The principles of picturesque beauty are nothing but an artifice with which to perceive nature, a reality which, according to Gilpin, lies beyond human comprehension. What interests the picturesque tourist is how to imagine, through the image, natural scenery. Imagination may be employed to reform the ill-shaped mountain, to add more trees, to correct the line of the water and so on, thus producing an artificial view of nature which presents natural beauty according to picturesque rule. Gilpin's concept of the picturesque is based on the complex relationship between nature and art. He confirms the artificiality of picturesque beauty in the following remark:

The ground indeed, which the author hath taken, that of examining landscape by the *rules of picturesque beauty*, seems rather a deviation from *nature* to *art*. Yet, in fact, it is not so: for the *rules of picturesque beauty*, we know, are drawn from *nature*: so that to examine the face of nature by these rules, is no more that to examine nature by her own most beautiful exertions. (Gilpin, *Observations on Cumberland and Westmoreland*: I, xxi).

31 William Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye, and Several Parts of South Wales, &c. Related Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty: Made in the Summer of the Year 1770* (London, 1782), p. 18.

Three Essays in 1792 was Gilpin's first attempt to theorize about the picturesque. So highly did he value Reynolds's opinion that he asked the artist to comment on his manuscript before its publication. In his reply, Reynolds defined the idea of picturesque beauty as one applied to 'excellences of an inferior order'³² of art. Reynolds regarded the aesthetic concept as incompatible with the grand style which history painting would represent. Following Reynolds's definition, Gilpin endeavoured to define picturesque painting as an independent artistic genre. In particular, Gilpin presented picturesque landscape as the essence of natural beauty. Gilpin also followed Reynolds in his argument about the similarity between painting and poetry.³³ In *Two Essays* which was published in 1804, Gilpin refers to Aristotle in order to clarify the similarity between landscape painting and poetry: 'Du Bos speaks after Aristotle, whose principle it is, that the poet is not required to relate what has *really happened*, but what *probably might happen*; All this as exactly regulates the art of managing *fiction* in landscape, as it does in poetry'³⁴.

Gilpin's examination of the principles behind picturesque landscape in *Two Essays* seems to reflect Aristotle's notion of the principles of tragedy in *Poetics*. Just as Aristotle defines tragedy as 'the representation of an action which is complete and whole and of a certain amplitude'³⁵, so Gilpin values the picturesque for its capacity to produce 'the simplicity of a *whole*' or 'some idea of *unity*' which is accomplished by 'the *probability* of

32 William Gilpin, *Three Essays: on Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape: to which is added a Poem, on Landscape Painting* (Westmead: Gregg International, 1972), p. 35.

33 See Reynolds, p. 234: Reynolds compares the art of painting and poetry.

34 William Gilpin, *Two Essays: on the Principles on which the Author made his Drawings; and the Mode of Executing them*, in *The Picturesque*, ed. by Malcolm Andrews, Vol. II, p. 288.

35 Aristotle, *On the Art of Poetry* in *Classical Literary Criticism*, trans. by T. S. Dorsch (New York: Penguin Books, 1965), p. 41.

every part' (Gilpin, *Two Essays*: 290), that is, foreground, middle ground and background in composition. The production of a whole is an aim common to painting and poetry. According to Reynolds, an artificial mode of poetry purifies human sentiments and presents them as an image of transcendental beauty which deviates from common nature. The production of the 'one uniform whole' (Reynolds, 235) is thus identical with the production of a vision which represents the general idea of beauty. Reynolds regards the creation of such an imaginary vision as the goal of the arts³⁶. In *Two Essays*, Gilpin adopts Reynolds's concept of art to the idea of the picturesque. He also expands Reynolds's analogy between a picturesque landscape and a poetical text:

If, like Horace's translator, you give word for word, your work will necessarily be insipid. But if you catch the meaning of your author, and give it freely, in the idiom of the language into which you translate, your translation may have both the *spirit*, and *truth* of the original. *Translate nature* in the same way. Nature has its idiom, as well as language; and so has painting. (Gilpin, *Two Essays*: 287)

As Horace's translator elicits the essential meaning of the text and puts it into his/her own language, so the preoccupation of the picturesque painter is to interpret an idiom or language of nature and to transcribe its aesthetic meaning into the language of painting. His dictum, 'Translate nature', entails the creation of a vision which artificially perfects natural beauty. For that reason, Gilpin calls picturesque landscape a 'fictitious view':

.... when these *prominent features* are naturally expressed, and judiciously combined in a *fictitious* view, that view may not only be a *natural* one, but a *more beautiful exhibition of nature*, than can easily be found in real landscape. It may even be called *more natural*, than nature itself: in as much as it seizes, and makes use, not only of nature's *own* materials, but of the best of each kind. (Gilpin, *Two Essays*: 287)

Picturesque landscape is the artificial view of nature which is not the same as real landscape. However, paradoxically, it is this selective fictitiousness of the landscape which guarantees its naturalness.

36 See Reynolds, 244.

In order to understand the cultural unification which Gilpin imagined in his picturesque tours throughout Britain, we need to explore the relationship between his idea of the nation and his concept of the picturesque. The picturesque which creates an imaginary vision of natural beauty resembles the imagination which summons up the perfect order of a constitutional state. It is possible to regard Gilpin's idea of the picturesque as the imagination concerning about correction. Gilpin states that, in all the cases when mountains and lakes are not correctly picturesque, the imagination 'is apt to whisper' and wishes to correct the irregularities and deformities: 'By the force of this creative power an intervening hill may be turned aside; and a distance introduced. - This ill-shaped mountain may be pared, and formed into a better line.... The line of the water too, which perhaps is straight, the imagination will easily correct'(Gilpin, *Observations on Cumberland and Westmoreland*: I, 127-28). Gilpin's books of his picturesque tours contains many directions to instruct readers how to correct landscape. For example, in order to produce the picturesque effect of a rock on the banks of the river Wye, Gilpin gives the following guidance: 'Tint it with mosses, lichens of various hues, and you give it a degree of beauty. Adorn it with shrubs, and hanging herbage, and you still make it more picturesque. Connect it with wood, and water, and broken ground; and you make it in the highest degree interesting' (Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye*: 13). What is notable is the similarity between Gilpin's interest in correcting landscape and his interest in correcting the social order. In the memoir of his life, Gilpin gives an account of how he governs the school at Cheam in Surrey:

In the management of his school Mr. G. tried a new scheme, which some might think whimsical; but he himself thought it a very useful one. Instead of presiding over it in a magisterial manner, as is generally practised in schools, he formed a code of laws with punishments annexed to each transgression. These laws were publicly read at stated times, before the whole school, so that no one could plead ignorance. He observed them strictly himself; and if at any time it happened (as sometimes, tho'

rarely, it did happen) that punishment was carried rather farther than the law prescribed, some little patriot would stand up, and boldly mention it. Mr. G. in these cases generally inquired, who else had made the observation? and if a sufficient number of good witnesses appeared, he always submitted; and made ample compensation to the party aggrieved. - This gave respect to the law; and credit to the master's candour. - In all doubtful cases where the law was not obvious, or the offence not sufficiently proved, a jury of twelve boys was impanelled, bound only their honour; and Mr. G. used often to say, he never once knew an improper verdict given.

This mode of government might operate, (as he believed it did) in impressing young minds with an early love of order, law and liberty. But to himself the advantage was indisputable. It intirely took from him the odium of punishment; and transferred severity to the law.³⁷

There is an interesting resemblance between Gilpin's educational values and picturesque values. In this new scheme, school rules are observed with the students' free consent. Gilpin acts as a benevolent dictator who commands a willing obedience to the laws. He exercises his authority not to dominate school affairs, but to keep its state free and natural. Likewise, the use of power to create a free and natural order is a main theme in Gilpin's aesthetics. Picturesque beauty is an aesthetic order which is produced under the control of the picturesque eye. The picturesque eye operates as the supreme inspector to supervise the free execution of the aesthetic rules. Gilpin's aesthetic regulation of natural scenery, to some degree, correlates to his regulation of social order. It seems plausible, therefore, to see his concern for the nation's social and political order in his picturesque tours throughout Britain. Indeed, the money raised by the writing on his tours was invested to build a school at Boldre where he received a living after retiring from Cheam. As we shall see, Gilpin's tour in Scotland is one of his endeavours to govern the nature of the countryside under the

37 William Gilpin, *Memoirs of Dr. Richard Gilpin, of Scaleby Castle in Cumberland; and of His Posterity in the Two Succeeding Generation; Written, in the Year 1791, By the rev. William Gilpin, Vicar of Bolda: Together with an Account of the Author, by Himself: And A Pedigree of the Gilpin Family*, ed. by William Jackson (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1879), pp. 123-24.

supervision of the picturesque rules and to accommodate it to an imaginative view of British natural beauty.

Gilpin made a tour in the Scottish Highlands in 1776 and published one of his series of *Observations* in 1789: *Observations, relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1776, On several parts of Great Britain; particularly the Highlands of Scotland*. In *Observations on the Highlands*, he attempts to apply the idea of picturesque beauty to the Highlands and to expand its availability as the standard of British natural beauty. The wildness of the Highlands presented a challenge to picturesque tourists. The other popular destinations of picturesque tourism, notably the Lake District, were located on the outskirts of growing commercial centres like Manchester and Liverpool and attracted the newly-rich industrialists as a favourable place to build their holiday villas. But the Highlands were still on the periphery of Britain; the economy of the region remained stagnant because the principles of capitalist economy were often incompatible with the feudal social system. In many ways, the imagination of the picturesque provided a means by which to adapt an agrarian landscape into the industrial economy of the British nation. However, the cultural, economic and political distinctiveness of the region still represented a powerful challenge to these travellers.

The history of the Union between Scotland and England was one of Gilpin's family experiences. His father, John Bernard Gilpin, had chosen a career in the Army. The 12th Regiment to which he belonged was often stationed in Scotland. John Gilpin's military life was devoted to the attempt to integrate Scotland into the British nation, as Gilpin described in the memoir:

His character, by this time, in the Regiment, and wherever he was known, was very high. In his military capacity he was much esteemed. In peaceful times indeed an officer has little opportunity of distinguishing himself: yet a man who acts always on principle, will make himself distinguished. Every man has some duties to perform;

& he who can on every occasion, say *This is my duty, therefore I will do it*; is in fact a great character in whatever situation he is placed. The troops at this time in Scotland were chiefly employed in making roads - in guarding the coast from smugglers - and in preventing & quelling riots, to which the country was then not a little addicted. In all these things Lieutenant Gilpin was active; tho' the service was often severe. The incampment of the troops had in some degree a hostile appearance: for the highlanders were often ill-disposed; & ready to attack the king's soldiers, when they had a favourable opportunity. Once in passing to the isle of Sky in an open boat, a storm arose, & the Lieutenant and his men were saved almost by a miracle. (Gilpin, *Memoirs*: 54)

During the Jacobite rebellion in 1745, when Gilpin was a university student at Oxford, his hometown, Carlisle, was attacked by the rebels. They marched into England, taking advantage of the favourable situation after the defeat of the king's forces at Preston-pans. Gilpin's father, who was the commanding officer at Carlisle, fought hard to protect the town from the invasion. However, when the town surrendered, his family finally managed to take refuge in Whitehaven. William Gilpin was proud of his father's military career and his patriotism as a British citizen. When he describes the Jacobite siege of Carlisle, Gilpin attempts to sweep away the town's alleged Jacobitism and to defend its honour:

The short siege which Carlisle sustained in the rebellion of the year 1745, together with some awkward circumstances that attended it, threw a general odium upon the town; and many believed, among whom was the late duke of Cumberland, that it was very ill-affected to the government. No suspicion was ever more unjust. I dare take upon me to say, there were scarce half a dozen people in the whole place, who wished well to the rebellion. (Gilpin, *Observations on Cumberland and Westmoreland*: II, 96)

The picturesque tour in the Highlands provided an opportunity for Gilpin to resume his father's hopes of the Union between England and Scotland, at a cultural level. However, in his interpretation of landscape, what Gilpin struggled to come to terms with is the region's historical distinctiveness. History is a major reference point in *Observations on the Highlands*. As soon as Gilpin crosses the border, the text is loaded with accounts of wars between England and Scotland. Indeed, Gilpin is more impressed by Scotland's historical distinctiveness than by its picturesque beauty. In his description of the Grampian

hills, Gilpin gives a long account of Roman legions which defeated Britons under the command of Agricola and comments: 'But this country is still more remarkable as a scene of history, than of picturesque beauty'³⁸. The main concern of *Observations on the Highlands* is to familiarize the landscape of the Highlands as British natural beauty. In order to do this, Gilpin is obliged to assimilate the landscape's historicity to his concept of the picturesque.

The problem of the Highlands' historicity in relation to picturesque beauty becomes apparent when Gilpin describes the landscapes of Stirling Castle and Loch-leven Castle. The castle of Stirling embodies the historical distinctiveness of Scotland because of its long history as the residence of successive Scottish kings. Most of the section about Stirling Castle is devoted to the description of military events and especially to details about the English conquest under Edward I. However, in the next section, Gilpin discusses the castle on Loch-leven as a picturesque subject due to its historical associations. He admires the view of Loch-leven Castle all the more because of its connection with the misfortune of Mary, Queen of Scots. In the course of this argument, Gilpin illustrates two ways of treating picturesque subjects - the historical representation and the allegorical one. He defines the former as the suitable mode for historic events and the latter for less important matters:

.... tho, where the subject is grand, and noble, I should in general prefer a history piece well-painted, to the same subject treated equally well in allegory; yet such subjects, as a marriage for instance, which afford few circumstances of importance, and little room for expression, are best treated in the allegorical style. The imagination of the painter must enrich the poverty of the subject. (Gilpin, *Observations on the Highlands*: I, 95)

38 William Gilpin, *Observations, relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1776, On Several Parts of Great Britain: particularly the High-Lands of Scotland* (Richmond: Richmond Publishing Co., 1973) Vol. I, p. 101.

The escape of the queen from confinement in the castle is regarded as a 'little story' whose subject is love (Gilpin, *Observations on the Highlands*: I, 95). In spite of the event's historical significance, the queen's escape is reduced to a love story supposed to be represented as allegory. When he describes the castle as a picturesque landscape, Gilpin transforms the queen into a symbol of Love. Every object in the landscape is consigned to the allegory of Love; Love restores her liberty under the protection of Loyalty and Friendship:

But neither the walls of Loch-leven castle, nor the lake which surrounded it, were barriers against love. Mary had those bewitching charms, which always raised her friends. She wore a cestus; and might be said to number among her constant attendants, the God of Love himself. His ready wit restored her liberty. Time, and place were obedient to his will. His contrivance laid the plan. His address secured the keys: and his activity provided the bark; to which he led her; with his own hand carrying the torch, to guide her footsteps through the darkness of the night. - Confusion ran through the castle.... The laughing God, the mean while, riding at the poop, with one hand, held the helm; and with the other waved his torch in triumph round his head. The boat soon made the shore, and landed the lovely queen in a port of security; where Loyalty, and Friendship waited to receive her. (Gilpin, *Observations on the Highlands*: I, 96)

Gilpin's account removes all the political content from the story: the Scottish queen is resisting the authority of the English throne. He represents the queen entirely as a lover, the one with whom everybody feels a kindred warmth. In so doing, Gilpin cancels the politics of Mary, Queen of Scots, which seems to raise a question about the Union between Scotland and England, and replaces it by the ideology of love, sympathy and fellowship. In *A Tour in Scotland*, Pennant also relates the siege of Loch-leven Castle by Anglicized Scots in 1335. By contrast, Gilpin avoids associating the castle with the history of strife between England and Scotland. He excludes Stirling Castle from the category of picturesque subjects, because subsequent history forwards conflict between the two countries. In order to present the view of Loch-leven Castle in terms of the picturesque, Gilpin converts its history into an allegory which celebrates the British virtues of love,

loyalty and friendship. In this example, the picturesque functions to mythologize the particular history of Stirling and to incorporate their historicity into an imaginary vision of the British nation. The same process is at work when Gilpin transforms a Highlander into an appendage of picturesque landscape:

Among the picturesque appendages of this wild country, we may consider the flocks, and herds, which frequent them. Here we have stronger ideas, than any other part of the island presents, of that primeval state, when man and beast were joint tenants of the plain. The highlander, and his cattle seem entirely to have this social connection. (Gilpin, *Observations on the Highlands*: II, 135)

In Gilpin's account, the personal history and humanity of the Highlander is suppressed as if he were the equal of his cattle. At the same time, the Highlander is associated with the 'primeval state' of the country. Gilpin reduces the Highlander to a sign which signifies history.

In *Observations on the Highlands*, Gilpin attempts to universalize picturesque landscape as a vision of the one united British nation. His description follows the course of his journey northward from the southeast of England to Scotland and back to the centre of England, through the Lake District. In this way, the peculiarity of the Highlands seems to be assimilated to the imaginary system of picturesque beauty and to be absorbed into the centre of Britishness.

Picturesque landscape presents a space of signs which signify the ideological concept of the one united British nation. Therefore, despite his copious remarks about the history of the Highlands, Gilpin hardly refers to the Jacobite insurrections after the Union. Instead, he expresses his full approval for government policy after the battle of Culloden and celebrates the social benevolence and order which the Union has brought to the region. He also quotes a poem by Robert Burns to illustrate the domestic virtues of present day Highlanders, in contrast to the ancient bloody scene between the Macdonalds and the

Macleans. Gilpin applauds the way in which the barbarity of the Highland clans has been adapted for the benefit of the British capitalist economy. The main concern in the first half of *Observations on the Highlands* is to assimilate the historical distinctiveness of the Highlands to his idea of picturesque beauty. In the last half of the work, the focus of Gilpin's observations shifts from the region's historical background to its commercial situation. He notes the vein of lead discovered at the hills near the Clyde, the beneficent management of farms at the Queensberry estate in Drumlanrig and so on. Furthermore, the picturesque landscape of Loch Lomond impresses him as a vision which reflects the benevolence of improvement, but gets rid of vices produced by commerce and wealth. Commerce produces both positive and negative change in a society. The picturesque beauty of the landscape invites Gilpin to contemplate the vanity and the corruption which would be brought about by commercial prosperity as follows:

If commerce and wealth are the great means of improving the human mind, by communicating knowledge - freeing it from prejudice - giving it a more liberal turn - encouraging letters - and introducing arts; they as certainly at a riper period, introduce corruption, and become the handmaids of vice. How happy then would it be to drop them at this critical period; to arrest the precise time, when they have done their utmost to enlighten mankind, and then discard them. But it would be as easy to arrest the course of the river. Human affairs, like the plants of the field, flourish only to decay: they are longer lived indeed; but the hope of preserving them in a state of perfection, would be the futile hope of immortalizing mortality. (Gilpin, *Observations on the Highlands*: II, 33)

Observations on the Highlands concludes with a comparison between the Scottish and English landscapes. This comparison is no longer dominated by the logic of historical antagonism between the two countries, but by the logic of difference between wealth and poverty. Scotland is inferior to England, not only in respect of its political economy, but also in respect of its natural beauty. In contrast with the landscape in England which is rich in objects, Scottish landscape rarely exhibits any diversity of objects and, therefore, is poor in the picturesque: 'A Poverty of landscape from a want of objects, particularly of wood,

is another striking characteristic in the views of Scotland' (Gilpin, *Observations on the Highlands*: II, 117). The lack of picturesque beauty in Scotland is associated with its stagnant economy. However, Gilpin regards the simplicity of the Scottish landscape as an aesthetic asset which is one of 'the acknowledged foundations of all picturesque effect' besides 'variety' (Gilpin, *Observations on the Highlands*: II, 121). Scotland is now regarded as a developing country which could be as prosperous as England in picturesque beauty. Thus, Gilpin suggests that an aesthetic investment is necessary to promote the development of Scotland as a beautiful country:

Add trees upon the foreground, tufted woods creeping up the sides of the hills, a castle upon some knoll, and skiffs upon the lake (if there be one) and tho the landscape will still be *sublime*, yet with these additions (if they are happily introduced) the *beautiful* will predominate. - This is exactly the case of the Scotch views. (Gilpin, *Observations on the Highlands*: II, 122)

As my examination of the early tours in Scotland shows, what is at stake in completing the Union between Scotland and England is Scotland's particular history, notably its association with the Jacobite past. Gilpin elaborates his idea of picturesque beauty to transform Scotland's historical distinctiveness into positive aesthetic value. The *Observations on the Highlands* is his endeavour to represent the Highlands as the region which appears to be equal with the other parts of Britain. The process of cultural union between Scotland and England requires the imaginative medium which assimilates Scotland's historical distinctiveness to an English standard of beauty. Gilpin's description of picturesque landscape is the imaginary view of Scotland as an integral part of the British nation. His idea of picturesque beauty operates as a cultural device for accommodating internal diversity to the ideology of the one united nation. Moreover, the examination of Gilpin's picturesque tours in this chapter raised a question about the complex relationship between the discourse of the picturesque and the discourse of political economy. In the

next chapter, I will explore the correspondence between the picturesque image of nature and the changing face of nature under the process of the Industrial Revolution.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PICTURESQUE IMAGE OF NATURE AND ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT OF SCOTLAND

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I shall argue that what is problematic about the picturesque is its ambivalent relation to commerce. Picturesque tours in the late eighteenth century were a popular leisure activity among the rising middle-class who became newly rich because of their commercial success. But, among such tourists, an anxiety emerged about the picturesque, one which arose from the awareness that they were implicated in social and landscape changes which rural cultivation brought about. It is important to note that there are different ideas of the picturesque which articulate different attitudes to rural cultivation. One aim of Arthur Young, in *A Six Months Tour Through the North of England* of 1771, is to give an agricultural report of the country. Nonetheless, his work is also concerned with the description of picturesque landscapes. Young introduces many descriptions of houses, paintings, ornamented parks, lakes and so on, because, despite their irrelevance to agriculture, they are 'a proof, and a very important one, of the riches and the happiness of this kingdom'¹. Young's appreciation of picturesque landscape is closely related to his pleasure in the signs of cultivation, as the description of Derwentwater in the Lake District shows:

At the other end of the lake, the rising hills, part of cultivated, waving inclosures, and part of hanging woods, all scattered with white houses, and the whole crowned with the lofty mountains, are beautifully picturesque, and contrast with the view of the south end of the lake, around which the rocks and mountains are tremendously bold, pendent, and threatening. (Young, *A Six Months Tour*: III, 116n)

Young's interest in landscape beauty, in some ways, corresponds to his interest in agricultural reformation. Therefore, he does not estimate the sublimity of wild nature so

¹ Arthur Young, *A Six Months Tour Through the North of England* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley Publishers, 1967), Vol. I, p. x.

highly as the pleasing scene of cultivation. For Young the view of uncultivated land is a prospect 'which is melancholy to reflect on' or 'that makes one melancholy to behold' because its natural capacity is neglected (Young, *A Six Months Tour*: III, 108 and 131). Nevertheless, Gilpin's idea of picturesque beauty is more appreciative of the melancholic view of uncultivated nature. What his presentation actually despises is the regularity of a cultivated scene. He regards the lines of enclosure as offensive to the picturesque eye and tends to conceal them in the background of landscape: 'The divisions of property into squares, rhomboids, and other mathematical forms, are unpleasant. A view of the kind therefore does not assume its beauty, till you descend a little into the vale....' (Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye*: 82). Excluding carefully any sign of industry from landscape, Gilpin establishes picturesque beauty as an anti-utilitarian aesthetic:

Moral, and picturesque ideas do not always coincide. In a moral light, cultivation, in all its parts, is pleasing; the hedge, and the furrow; the waving corn field, and rows of ripened sheaves. But all these, the picturesque eye, in quest of scenes of grandeur, and beauty, looks at with disgust. It ranges after nature, untamed by art, bursting wildy into all its irregular forms....

It is thus also in the introduction of figures. In a moral view, the industrious mechanic is a more pleasing object, than the loitering peasant. But in a picturesque light, it is otherwise. The arts of industry are rejected; and even idleness, if I may so speak, adds dignity to a character. (Gilpin, *Observations on Cumberland and Westmoreland*: II, 44)

Some recent historians have discussed the process of agricultural industrialization in eighteenth-century England as the historical context for the contemporary paintings of rural landscape. In *The Dark Side of the Landscape*, John Barrell examines rural subject paintings which were prolific in the 1790s. The visible threat of war with France provided an incentive to produce nationalistic paintings which represented rural labourers as the embodiment of British virtue, honesty and hard work. Barrell traces a change in the representation of the rural poor, from the artificial conventions of classical pastoral to a picturesque image of the poor, which, finally, gave way to 'a romantic image of harmony

with nature whereby the labourers were merged as far as possible with their surroundings, too far away from us for the questions about how contented or how ragged they were to arise'². His examination of rural paintings in the late eighteenth century elucidates the complex relationship between the changing imagery of the poor and changes in the ideology of rural life:

.... in the mid-eighteenth century they work blithely, for work is then a pleasantly social activity; at the end of the century, cheerfully, to reassure us that they do not resent their condition, or blame us for it; in the work of Constable, automatically, and in the distance, for the resentments of the poor are not known to us all, and those resentments could not be concealed in any credible image of the poor except by hiding the poor in the middle ground, where we can see their labour but not their expressions. (Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape*: 20)

Ann Bermingham also explores the correspondence between the emergence of rustic landscape paintings and the accelerated enclosure of the English countryside. She regards the picturesque as an early ideological response to the changing rural society 'from a paternalistic, quasi-feudal system of reciprocal rights and duties to an industrial employer-employee relationship, bonded only by a cash nexus'³. When the poor rate markedly increased in the 1790s, local authorities implemented a series of reforming policies to solve the crisis in rural society. The Speenhamland supplement in Berkshire in 1795 is a famous example of these policies. Many parishes in England proposed establishing a workhouse or a school of industry. These projects were intended to provide protection for the rural poor which they used to rely on in the old agricultural community. At the same time, these projects aimed to transform the poor to skilled labourers who could be accommodated to a capitalist economy. The rural reformation of the period was distinguished by a mixed

2 John Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting 1730-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 16.

3 Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition 1740-1860* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), p. 74.

scheme: on the one hand, for maintaining the order of the old paternalistic society and, on the other, for promoting the development of capitalist practices and institutions. Bermingham identifies the picturesque with the aesthetic counterpart of this 'strong commitment to the economic order of the present expressed as a nostalgia for the past' (Bermingham, 77). Having examined the rustic landscape paintings of eighteenth and nineteenth-century England, Bermingham argues that the picturesque was being appropriated to celebrate the order of old rural community and, at a deeper level, to justify the results of agricultural industrialization:

While all these genre paintings depict the old order of small farms, cottage industries, and yeoman charity, they embody the new industrial ethics of hard work, thrift, and sobriety. Like the politics of the poor rate, they express a nostalgia for the old way of life while endorsing the values that facilitate the new. (Bermingham, 82)

For example, picturesque genre paintings of George Moreland present virtuous view of rural life and labour. However, at the same time, as his contrasting pendants, *Comforts of Industry* and *Misery of Idleness* (1790), illustrate, Moreland portrays poverty as the consequence of loose morals and exalts the industrial virtue of hard work and moderation.

What is the relationship between the discourse of the picturesque and that of political economy? This is the question which Barrell and Bermingham attempted to answer in their study of rural changes in eighteenth-century England. In this chapter, by examining Scotland's incorporation into a British commercial economy, I will explore the same question and expand Barrell's and Bermingham's points. The main interest of this chapter lies in the discursive relationship which the fashion for picturesque tours in Scotland may have had with the contemporary endeavour for economic improvement of the region. Did picturesque taste facilitate the commercialization of Scotland in the late eighteenth century to some degree? If so, how was the process undertaken? Did the enthusiasm of picturesque tourists for Scotland's landscape beauty originate from their hopes of increasing British

national wealth by commercializing the region? To begin with, I need to explain how schemes to promote more intensive manufacture in the Scottish Highlands provided a social context for the contemporary fashion for picturesque tours. Secondly, we need to consider the ideological framework of industrialization in Scotland.

In Scotland, a rapid penetration of capitalist relations into the economy took place after 1780.⁴ At the time, sheep-farming which had been widely introduced in the Highlands provided a major impetus to assimilate the regional economy to the principles of market capitalism. However, before the large-scale introduction of sheep and sheep-farming began, there had been numerous endeavours to promote industries and manufactures in the region. After the defeat of the Jacobite Rebellion in 1746, a large number of estates, most of them in the Highlands, were forfeited to the Crown as a punishment for treason. Most forfeited estates were purchased by new landowners mainly from the South, but thirteen continued to belong to the Crown and were left in the charge of the Commissioners for the Annexed Estates. According to A. J. Youngson, the British government believed that 'economic changes would be accelerated throughout the Highlands principally by the work of the Commissioners for the Annexed Estates'⁵. Furthermore, landlords and private capitalists also launched their enterprises to establish a proto-capitalistic economy in the Highlands. They carried out various projects to cultivate local industries like the trades in cattle, kelp, whisky, linen, tobacco and a host of other commodities. The improvement of the Highlands had the backing of English as well as Scottish public opinion. The British Fisheries Society in London was founded in 1786 to promote the fishing industry along the coast of Scotland. However, these substantial economic experiments turned out to be

4 See *Scottish Capitalism: Class, State and Nation from before the Union to the Present*, ed. by Tony Dickson (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1980).

5 A. J. Youngson, *After the Forty-Five: The Economic Impact on the Scottish Highlands* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973), p. 26.

complete failures, mainly because of continuing population growth and the collapse in prices after the Napoleonic Wars. The shift to sheep-farming became the only remaining alternative for landlords who were desperate to keep in line with rapid industrialization elsewhere.

As a result of the introduction of sheep-farming in the Highlands, clearances became a serious social problem: in order to make a room for sheep, a great number of inhabitants were expelled from the region to the Southern industrial towns like Glasgow or to the New World. Though occurring mainly between 1780-1855, the clearances had in reality begun long before 1780. In the 1760s, commercial sheep farming was pressing into marginal areas of the Highlands, notably Perth, Stirling and Angus. The introduction of black-face sheep in Perth and Argyll had begun in the 1770s. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Highlands were attracting sheep-farmers from both sides of the borders: Ross-shire was annexed in the late 1780s and Sutherland around the turn of the century. Youngson suggests that the process of clearances was an unavoidable, though painful, necessity for accommodating the Highlands to the growing market economy of Great Britain.⁶ In *A History of the Highland Clearances*, Eric Richards also argues that the social change brought about by clearances was an inevitable consequence of the combined pressures of agricultural re-organization and unprecedented population growth all over the nation. Richards regards the clearances as 'a substantial regional variant of the enclosure movement and the associated changes in British agriculture'⁷, and he suggests that the social change met little or no opposition, although a formidable disturbance of tenants broke out to protest against the accelerating clearances in 1792 at Ross-shire. Richards

6 See Youngson, p. 184.

7 Eric Richards, *A History of the Highlands Clearances: Agrarian Transformation and the Evictions 1746-1886* (London and Canberra: Croom Helm, 1982), Vol. I, p. 25.

states that the collapse of this episode 'marked the end of co-ordinated opposition from the people'(Richards, I, 200). However, Kenneth J. Logue suggests that the agricultural reformation in the Highlands could never have taken place without opposition. His study of popular disturbances in Scotland between 1780 and 1815 shows that, as economic conditions fluctuated, people made their own collective responses to social change. Logue rejects the idea that popular disturbances represented the common people's response to the stimuli of unemployment or hunger. Rather he argues that they should be understood as the politics of direct action which represents an idea of the 'moral economy':

It is possible to detect in almost every eighteenth-century crowd some legitimising notion. By the notion of legitimation I mean that the men and women in the crowd were informed by the belief that they were defending traditional rights or customs; and, in general that they were supported by the wider consensus of the community.⁸

Not only the plebeian class, but also the ruling landed class were sympathetic to the lost autonomy of old Gaelic society which had been based on the 'moral economy'. In 1778, the Highland Society in London was established in order to preserve ancient Highland traditions and to repeal the laws which forbade the wearing of the Highland dress. The 'Highlandism', as T. M. Devine puts it, 'took off precisely at the same time as commercial landlordism, market pressures and clearances were breaking up the old social order in northern Scotland'⁹. The ruling class's attitude to the Highlands was contradictory; whilst they enthusiastically pursued commercial benefit from the Highlands, they also deplored the collapse of the old Gaelic society which was the result of their promoting industries in the region. Highland society in the late eighteenth century was torn between competing loyalties: there was a national demand to develop its manufactures, but also great anxiety

8 Kenneth J. Logue, *Popular Disturbances in Scotland 1780-1815* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publisher Ltd, 1979), p. 212.

9 T. M. Devine, *Clanship to Crofters' War: The Social Transformation of the Scottish Highlands* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 86.

about the accompanying dissolution of the old Gaelic life.

The industrialization of the Highlands entailed the dissolution of old Gaelic society. Throughout the eighteenth century, the ruling class in Scotland sought for an ideological framework which would legitimate their commercial activities. This need was answered by the endeavours of the Edinburgh Enlightenment. The thinkers of the Edinburgh Enlightenment such as David Hume, Adam Smith, William Robertson and Adam Ferguson were concerned with offering ideas which could facilitate incorporating the Highlands into the British commercial economy and which, at the same time, could compensate for the lost unity of the old community. Having examined eighteenth-century political thought including that of the Edinburgh Enlightenment, J. G. A. Pocock elucidates the transformation of morality which accompanied the rise of commerce. He argues that the Financial Revolution of the mid-1690s - the establishment of the great institutions of public credit: the Bank of England, the National Debt, and the South Sea Company, - generated a society whose authority was derived from the imagination of investors:

Government stock is a promise to repay at a future date; from the inception and development of the National Debt, it is known that this date will in reality never be reached, but the tokens of repayment are exchangeable at a market price in the present. The price they command is determined by the present state of public confidence in the stability of government, and in its capacity to make repayment in the theoretical future. Government is therefore maintained by the investor's imagination concerning a moment which will never exist in reality. The ability of merchant and landowner to raise the loans and mortgages they need is similarly dependent upon the investor's imagination. Property - the material foundation of both personality and government - has ceased to be real and has become not merely mobile but imaginary. Specialised, acquisitive and post-civic man has ceased to be virtuous, not only in the formal sense that he has become the creature of his own hopes and fears; he does not even live in the present, except as constituted by his fantasies concerning a future.¹⁰

10 J. G. A. Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce, and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 112.

According to Pocock, the emergence of commercial society was accompanied by the birth of a new kind of morality. The modern men living in commercial society needed to redefine virtue with an aid of the concept of 'manners'. In this process, they formed the eighteenth-century notion of politeness as a system of rules about the benevolent usage of imagination. Pocock's examination of the politics of commercial ideology suggests that the morality of imagination was also at the centre of the Edinburgh Enlightenment's fascination with modern commercial society. One good example of this is offered by Adam Ferguson's chivalric view of civil society. Ferguson, one of the well-known figures of the Edinburgh Enlightenment, published *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* in 1767. In this essay, he presented the idea of a progressive society which could be developed through the innate capacity of human beings for improvement. Ferguson also devoted himself to the cultivation of his native country, the Highlands, as a Director of the British Fisheries Society. Nonetheless, Ferguson was suspicious of commercial society. He regarded it as a stage of civilization which was not always benevolent and sometimes susceptible to vices. Ferguson illustrated the corruption and baseness of modern commercial men: an 'admiration of wealth unpossessed, becoming a principle of envy, or servility; a habit of acting perpetually with a view to profit, and under a sense of subjection; the crimes to which they are allured, in order to feed their debauch, or to gratify their avarice'¹¹. By contrast, though less cultivated and not yet acquainted with property, the rude society of the barbarian or the savage had nothing to do with these commercial vices. They enjoyed a state of freedom based upon reciprocal affection and communal friendship. Ferguson therefore admired primitive society for what he perceived as its superior morality:

11 Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1966), p. 186.

If the savage has not received our instructions, he is likewise unacquainted with our vices. He knows no superior, and cannot be servile; he knows no distinctions of fortune, and cannot be envious; he acts from his talents in the highest station which human society can offer, that of the counsellor, and the soldier of his country. Toward forming his sentiments, he knows all that the heart requires to be known; he can distinguish the friend whom he loves, and the public interest which awakens his zeal. (Ferguson, 186)

The History of Civil Society is Ferguson's attempt to define what the foundation of modern civilization should be. He considers the world created by writers of romance to be a model of benevolent order absent from contemporary society. The world of chivalry provides an image of perfect society where human gallantry and veneration still exist. According to Ferguson, modern commercial society needs to adopt manners articulated in tales of chivalry, in order to attain civic perfection:

.... chivalry, uniting with the genius of our policy, has probably suggested those peculiarities in the law of nations, by which modern states are distinguished from the ancient. And if our rule in measuring degrees of politeness and civilization is to be taken from hence, or from the advancement of commercial arts, we shall be found to have greatly excelled any of the celebrated nations of antiquity. (Ferguson, 203)

Ferguson's imaginary view of civil society intends to endorse modern commercial practice, but also to exalt the traditional virtue of uncultivated and uncivilized society like that of the Highlands.

Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* was one of the works of the Edinburgh Enlightenment which had a great impact on the emergence of commercial society in eighteenth-century Britain. In addition to offering a theoretical explanation of capitalist economy, the *Wealth of Nations* gave an ideological backing to the British model of free commercial enterprise: a social ethic of 'natural liberty'. The idea of society presented in the *Wealth of Nations* is that of an organization of numerous sectors which are generated from the division of labour and whose unity is grounded on a nexus of their commercial exchange. Smith imagines the system of 'natural liberty', in contrast with the actual system of commerce,

as the state in which every commodity is exchanged at its natural price, in other words, an ideal situation in which the free circulation of labour is possible without any discrepancy between its real and nominal value.

What is important to note is Smith's discursive usage of the term 'natural' to justify the development of commercial society. The difficulty in comprehending the *Wealth of Nations* lies in the complex relationship between the ideal view of society and the reality: what is described as 'natural' and what is represented as something adverse to the natural. The division of labour provides a foundation for the development of the system of 'natural liberty'. At the same time, however, the division of labour is a natural process which causes the corruption of human nature and which jeopardizes the system as a whole. According to Smith, if a man spends his whole life in performing the same and simple operations, he '*naturally* loses' the habits of exerting his understanding and 'generally becomes as stupid and ignorant as it is possible for a human creature to become'¹². Such a mechanical worker cannot produce any benefit either to himself or to the nation:

The torpor of his mind renders him, not only incapable of relishing or bearing a part in any rational conversation, but of conceiving any generous, noble, or tender sentiment, and consequently of forming any just judgment concerning many even of the ordinary duties of private life. Of the great and extensive interests of his country, he is altogether incapable of judging; and unless very particular pains have been taken to render him otherwise, he is equally incapable of defending his country in war. The uniformity of his stationary life *naturally* corrupts the courage of his mind, and makes him regard with abhorrence the irregular, uncertain, and adventurous life of a soldier. (Smith, 782: italics mine)

Smith's idea of naturalness is complex. On the one hand, he presents the ideal state which allows the free exchange of divided labour as the system of 'natural liberty'. On the other, as his usage of the word 'naturally' suggests, he regards the process by which the same

12 Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, ed. by W. B. Todd (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1981), p. 782: italic mine.

division of labour undermines the ideal state as the natural course of things. The two contrary views of commercial society, the one which is ideal and the other which is antithetical to the ideal, each represent something natural. As Stephen Copley suggests, the mode of Smith's account of 'natural' social change provides him with 'a vocabulary of neutral, analytical and descriptive terms dissociated from the value-judgements that are essential to earlier modes of historical and social discourse'¹³.

Now, we need to clarify the relationship between eighteenth-century economic thought and the aesthetic of the picturesque: the two discourses about naturalness. As I have mentioned, the Highlands in this period attracted the acute interest of economic improvers such as James Anderson, John Knox and so on. They endeavoured to turn the Highlands' natural resources to manufacture and to assimilate the region to a British commercial economy. However, at the same time, they were concerned with protecting the harmonious community in the Highlands in its natural state. As we have seen, the bleak and barren nature of the Highlands was not in accordance with the ideas about the picturesque. But, agricultural and industrial change transformed the landscape. They started to appreciate the natural beauty of the Highlands for its resistance to cultivation.

1. THE PICTURESQUE AND IMPROVEMENT IN THE 1770S AND THE 1780S

In the 1770s and the 1780s, prodigious efforts were made to advance the improvement

13 Stephen Copley, 'The "Natural" Economy: A Note on Some Rhetorical Strategies in Political Economy - Adam Smith and Malthus', in *1789: Reading Writing Revolution*, ed. by Francis Barker and others (Colchester: University of Essex, 1982), p. 165. See also *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, ed. by Katheryn Sutherland (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. xix.

of the Scottish Highlands. In particular, the Highlands excited the imagination of private improvers as an arena for economic experimentation. Leading figures of the Highland enterprise at the period were John Knox, James Anderson and David Loch. As A. J. Youngson observes, the writings of these men were characterized by the over-optimism of the age about the natural resources of the Highlands and the current belief that progress was synonymous with a large population. More importantly, their idea of improvement was, in some ways, grounded on the economic thought of the Edinburgh Enlightenment. Though 'the debate about the Highlands was not conducted in what could be called Smithian terms' (Youngson, 65), some points of the *Wealth of the Nations* recurred in their writings. Through an examination of these propagandists' writings in this section, I will elucidate the conflict experienced by these individuals in adopting the principles of free-market economy into pre-industrial society in the Highlands.

James Anderson published his first work about the cultivation of the Highlands in 1777: *Observations on the Means of Exciting a Spirit of National Industry; Chiefly Intended to Promote the Agriculture, Commerce, Manufactures, and Fisheries, of Scotland*. Several writings followed to extend the same subject. A treatise, which was printed only for the perusal of his friends in 1783, attracted the notice of some influential figures in the government. Consequently, at the request of the government, Anderson undertook a voyage to obtain more information about the coast of Scotland. He sailed for these remote areas in one of the King's cutters in 1784. In the following year, he published the report on the expedition which had been submitted to the Lords of the Treasury under the title: *An Account of the Present State of the Hebrides and West Coasts of Scotland: in which an attempt is made to explain the circumstances that have hitherto repressed the industry of the Natives; and some hints are suggested for encouraging the Fisheries, and promoting other improvement in those countries*. Throughout his writings, Anderson demands that

the British government to subsidize the economic improvement of the Highlands and often expresses his disapproval of Adam Smith's criticism of a bounty system. However, the idea of commercial society which Anderson presents in his treatises is derived from the economic thought of the Edinburgh Enlightenment, notably that of the *Wealth of Nations*. He argues that, at a different stage of civilization, each society has a predominant passion which determines its social vices and virtues. In contrast with the despotism which marked society in the Middle Ages, contemporary commercial society of the present age has reached the state of universal liberty. In modern society, the human mind shows an inclination to enjoy property more than to defend it: 'The mind, no longer alarmed with the fear of being, by violence, deprived of those blessings it held most dear, forgetting the care of *defending*, became only studious to *enjoy*'¹⁴. The pursuit of self-interest therefore becomes the people's principal concern. Every individual's preoccupation with accumulating wealth causes disorder in society. Nevertheless, the principles of self-interest work as an inducement to generate social affection. Human beings realize that society is the only theatre where they can fulfil their self-interest. Anderson identifies this feeling with 'the voice of Nature' which impels every individual to turn his pursuit of self-interest to the pursuit of social welfare:

....yet the voice of Nature is so irresistibly powerful as cannot be suppressed, and he finds it impossible to proceed in his little selfish plan. Happiness, the great object of his wishes, perpetually eludes his grasp; and he feels, that in the possession of *millions* no enjoyment affords unmixed delight, but the conscious recollection of past actions of justice and beneficence, or the inward wish to promote to the utmost of his power the general felicity of others.

He is thus forced, almost in spite of himself, to pursue those disinterested plans that are most essentially necessary for his own preservation: and although he may be blinded for a time by the blandishments of pleasure, so as to wish for riches as the

14 James Anderson, *Observation on the Means of Exciting a Spirit of National Industry; Chiefly Intended to Promote the Agriculture, Commerce, Manufactures, and Fisheries, of Scotland* (Edinburgh: 1777), p. ix.

only good, or to sigh for power as the most effectual means for obtaining happiness, he will be forced at length to own, that these are but unreal phantoms, whose possessions afford him no substantial delight. (Anderson, *A Spirit of National Industry*: xix-xx)

Anderson regards British society as being at the stage of manhood in its development. Though at a considerable distance from the political decrepitude of old age, it is already past the meridian of life and 'is declining into that state of listless lassitude which proceeds from inaction, and leads to indifference' (Anderson, *A Spirit of National Industry*: xiii-xiv). Despite the difficulty of recovering the strength of the nation, Anderson emphasises the need to inspire public spirit and to promote national industries. In particular, he attributes the poverty and indolence of the people to a want of commercial interaction. A large town is more prosperous and more benevolent than a small town, because of its broader social communication:

....hence it is found, that that degree of personal independence which constitutes what is generally called *political freedom*, can be found only in those places where men mingle in society; and where the minds of men exalted by communicating with others, come to be gradually expanded, till they acquire an idea of their own united power and importance. - Slavery, on the other hand, is found only to prevail (without the perpetual exertions of constraining power) where the people are divided into scattered families, that do not admit of a social intercourse.¹⁵

If the communication with a distant commercial town is possible, the rural poor learn their comparative situation and wants and are stimulated to cultivate their land. As a result, they acquire a means of independence and experience a spirit of freedom. Social intercourse is therefore indispensable to the improvement of the Highlands. Many contemporary projectors proposed that market towns should be established. In *A View of the British Empire*, John Knox also suggests the expediency of erecting villages and harbours in the West Hebrides. He requests the government to purchase a considerable space of land for

15 James Anderson, *An Account of the Present State of the Hebrides and Western Coasts of Scotland* (Edinburgh: 1785), p. 35.

this purpose and to support the new inhabitants until they settle down. The proposed villages would consist of not only the buildings connected to local industries, especially the fisheries, but also those which would advance the public's welfare, for instance, 'A church, and house for the minister', 'A school house, where reading, writing, the common rules of arithmetic, and practical navigation, may be taught gratis' and 'A public inn'¹⁶. In order to procure useful mechanics who would serve the daily necessities of the inhabitants, an extensive support-system for their daily life was also proposed: 'to encourage adventures, as coopers, carpenter, net makers, blacksmith, &c. it would be necessary to build fifteen or twenty dwelling houses, where these persons might live rent free; each house to be accommodated with three small inclosures....' (Knox, *A View of the British Empire*: 63). The villages which Knox plans to build in the Highlands are a community whose economy would expand through exchanging the multiple products of labour. This echoes the idea of commercial society described by Adam Smith in the *Wealth of Nations*:

It is the great multiplication of the productions of all the different arts, in consequence of the division of labour, which occasions, in a well-governed society, that universal opulence which extends itself to the lowest ranks of the people. Every workman has a great quantity of his own work to dispose of beyond what he himself has occasion for; and every other workman being exactly in the same situation, he is enabled to exchange a great quantity of his own goods for a great quantity, or, what comes to the same thing, for the price of a great quantity of theirs. He supplies them abundantly with what they have occasion for, and they accommodate him as amply with what he has occasion for, and a general plenty diffuses itself through all the different ranks of the society. (Smith, 22)

Furthermore, Knox emphasises the importance of cultivating inland navigation in the Highlands, adopting Smith's remarks on the advantage of water-carriage: 'As by means of water-carriage ... industry of every kind naturally begins to subdivide and improve itself,

16 John Knox, *A View of the British Empire, more especially Scotland: with Some Proposals for the Improvement of that Country, the Extension of its Fisheries, and the Relief of the People* (London: 1784), p. 63.

and it is frequently not till a long time after that those improvements extend themselves to the inland parts of the country' (Smith, 32). A prominent member of the British Fisheries Society, Knox not only proposes several plans of opening canals in Scotland in the *View of the British Empire*, but also devotes himself to the project of a Caledonian canal between Fort William and Inverness.

Late eighteenth-century philanthropic writers attempted to incorporate the Highlands into their idea of British commercial society. In a striking image, Anderson compares the benevolent society which develops through the division of labour to a beautiful chain:

It would be endless to recount all the ways in which a large place tends to give employment to men, suited to their various circumstances and abilities; and to facilitate the means of finding a comfortable substance to themselves, which they do not enjoy in other situations. The chain is long, - the links numerous, - and they hang upon one another in such an endless succession, that it is next to impossible to trace the whole; but the gradation is so beautiful, that it may not be disagreeable to attempt to trace it in a few instances. (Anderson, *An Account*: 53)

Another more frequent metaphor of the beautiful society is the image of a streaming river. In a criticism of protectionist economic policies, Anderson describes the old British nation as a mill which is built 'by an ignorant mechanic upon the principal bed of a mountain-stream, without either reservoir or sluices, that was useless one part of the year on account of the want of water, occasioned by the summer heats' (Anderson, *A Spirit of National Industry*: 298). On the contrary, the present British nation, under the policy of a free-market economy, is compared to a mill which is erected on a river of plentiful water. While the former can provide its benefit only to a small range of people, the latter liberally distributes its riches:

.... whereas now it resembles a mill constructed by a skillful architect upon the banks of a copious river, which never wants a sufficiency of water to keep it going even in the driest weather in summer, and, by means of sluices properly contrived, never admits more water than is beneficial for the mill at any time; a proper outlet being contrived, by which the superfluous water is at all times thrown off with facility, so

as never to interrupt in any degree the operations of the mill. Thus abundance without superfluity is at all times secured to the inhabitants, and they are permitted to carry on every domestic employment with tranquillity and ease. (Anderson, *A Spirit of National Industry*: 298)

In his *Essays on the Trade, Commerce, Manufactures and Fisheries of Scotland*, David Loch gives an account of a tour through the trading towns and villages of Scotland. Most of the towns and villages which Loch visited are located on the waterside. He describes them using similar phrases: 'A royal borough, pleasantly situated on the water Tyne...', 'A pleasantly situated village, nigh the mouth of the water Tyne...', 'The property of Mr. Gibson of Duire, a pleasantly situated village, at the mouth of Leven-water...', 'this village ... is pleasantly situated nigh the river Clyde', 'A pleasant village, situated nigh the Tweed ...', 'The situation of this place is pleasant and agreeable; but, what deserves our particular notice, is the bay...'¹⁷ and so on. As Loch's descriptions indicate, water was very important for the industrial development in eighteenth-century Britain. It provided the principal method of internal transportation; many cotton-mills were also run by water-power. Water was a main power source for manufactures until the steam engine was invented. It is interesting to note that water was appreciated not only for economic reasons, but also for its natural beauty. Rivers and lakes were therefore a popular destination for picturesque tourists. As Gilpin comments: 'I have often thought, that if a person wished particularly to amuse himself with picturesque scenes, the best method he could take, would be to place before him a good map of England; and to settle in his head the course of all the chief rivers of the country' (Gilpin, *Observations on Cumberland and Westmoreland*: I, 210). In Loch's descriptions of the towns and villages, the recurrent word 'pleasant' seems to have a twofold meaning: favourable for their commercial growth on the one hand, and agreeable

17 David Loch, *Essays on the Trade, Commerce, Manufactures, and Fisheries of Scotland* (Edinburgh: 1778), pp. 17, 19, 44, 64, 87 and 104.

as a natural landscape on the other. The ambiguity of the word is explicit in the following description of Dumbarton:

This town is pleasantly situated at the mouth of the Leven.... Here is a fine salmon-fishing; and fish of all sorts are good and plenty, both of salt and fresh water. There were lately erected here a bottle-house and pottery. Several busses were out last season on the herring-fishing. House-rents are moderate, living cheap. The castle, being of old standing, makes a very romantic appearance, and adds to the pleasant prospect of the country. (Loch, 140)

A key concept of improvement in the Highlands was the productive usage of their natural resources. Knox encourages fishery in the Highlands, stating that, though not so fertile as the other part of the nation, the region is blessed with the plentiful products from seas, lakes and rivers as a favour from Nature:

Throughout the globe, Nature seems to have distributed her favours with a very impartial hand.... in conformity to this universal law, those districts of Scotland, called the Highlands, though little indebted to climate and soil, abound in riches, which put them upon an equality with the most fertile regions of the world. Gold, silver, wine, spices and the finer fruits, they have none: but the produce of the Highlands; of their sea, lakes, bays, and rivers; may, with proper management, obtain an influx of those valuable articles, and whatever is necessary for the support and comfort of life. (Knox, *A View of the British Empire*: 21-2)

Anderson also suggests the advantage of promoting woollen manufacture, rather than that of linen manufacture which had been widely adopted in the Highlands. He describes the social benevolence brought about by improvement: 'the distress of the inhabitants of the Highlands, and the poverty of Scotland in general, has been chiefly occasioned by an inattention to the only means that nature has provided these countries with for supporting the inhabitants, the establishing proper manufactures among them, which might render them useful members of society, and happy in the enjoyment of the blessings of life' (Anderson, *A Spirit of National Industry*: 167-8). The ultimate aim of improvement of the Highlands is therefore to produce social pleasure. Anderson expects that *A Spirit of National Industry* should be regarded as a 'patriotic novel' which was intended to amuse

himself and his friends:

Such persons may, if they please, consider this book as a sort of patriotic novel, which may serve to amuse them, although the plans it suggests should never be realized, and may help to pass a few agreeable hours, by allowing them, without prejudice to their worldly affairs, to indulge for a short time those pleasing affections, from the exertion of which they have reaped more genuine delight than from all the other enjoyments of life. After they have dreamed away a few hours in the reveries which it will suggest, they may lay it on the shelf, and plunge once more into those tumultuous scenes in which their heart tells them they have no enjoyment. (Anderson, *A Spirit of National Industry*: xvi-xvii)

The vision of beautiful society which the economic treatise presents is intended to excite its readers' pleasure in imagination. So, is there any relationship between the pleasures of beautiful society and the pleasures of beautiful landscape? Can economic improvement be identical with aesthetic improvement? And, what is the idea of 'Nature' represented by the discourse of improvement? In the rest of this section, I will explore these questions through an examination of John Knox's writing on Scotland.

Knox was for many years a successful book-seller in London. After retiring from the business which had brought him a great fortune, Knox devoted himself to promoting manufactures and fisheries in Scotland. He made sixteen tours to Scotland between 1764 and 1775. His first book on the subject, *A View of the British Empire*, was published in 1784. In this work, Knox is acutely aware of the imperial expansion of France, Britain's rival which is 'Superior in climate, fertility, and dominion; in population, revenue, specie, magnificence, and civil power; availing itself of the errors of this country, and rising upon its fall' (Knox, *A View of the British Empire*: xxix). He therefore emphasises the need to reinforce British national strength in order to protect its wealth against the threatening power of France: 'Considering our situation, therefore, in every point of view, national improvements, and the increase of population, seem not only matters of expediency, but of positive necessity; objects of the first importance, and to which all other concerns are only

secondary, in a very distant degree' (Knox, *A View of the British Empire*: xxxi). However, what Knox saw in his visit to the Highlands was the real poverty and distress of the inhabitants. Highland society seemed to be in danger of ruin because of the increased number of emigrants to the New World. Knox attributes the desolation of the region to the neglect by the government and the oppression of the ruling landed class:

Such is the hard lot of the great body of the people who inhabit a fifth part of our island. Neglected by Government; forsaken, or oppressed by the gentry; cut off, during most part of the year, by impassable mountains, and impracticable navigations, from the scenes of commerce, industry, and plenty; living at considerable distances from all human aid, without the necessaries of life, or any of those comforts which might soften the rigour of their calamities; and depending, most generally, for the bare means of subsistence, on the precarious appearance of a vessel freighted with meal or potatoes, to which they with eagerness resort, though often at the distance of fifty miles. (Knox, *A View of the British Empire*: 8)

Knox suggests that patriotic projects to improve this neglected area are a requisite for the future prosperity of the British nation, especially after the loss of the colonies in America. He assures the public of the great benefits to be gained from the industrial and commercial development of Scotland:

We may therefore consider the trade of Scotland as our principle mart, and the landed property of that kingdom as an inexhaustible mine; from which channels flow a permanent influx of species with this peculiar circumstance in favour of those sources, that they require no fleets and armies, no waste of lives, and of millions, to defend. From that country, therefore, we derive every possible benefit, negative and positive.... (Knox, *View of the British Empire*: lv).

Knox's *View of the British Empire* was positively received. A review in the *Gentleman's Magazine* declared: 'THIS judicious and philanthropic pamphlet... is evidently the result of such "infinite fatigue, application, and expence", that there can be no doubt of its being attentively perused by an enlightened and generous publick'¹⁸. Some extracts from what the reviewer called 'this truly patriotic publication' (*GM*: LIV, 611) were printed in

18 *GM* (August, 1784), Vol. LIV, p. 610.

the following issues. However, Knox's proposals were not accepted without opposition. P. White, an officer of the General Excise-Office in Edinburgh, published a paper giving information about the state of the Scotch fisheries and the best means to promote them: the Highland Society of Scotland awarded White the highest prize medal for 1790. In his paper, White criticises previous writers on Scotland, including Knox, for their inaccurate information, collected during flying excursions, and for their failure to direct public attention to the improvement of the Highlands as a national concern. White's strictures on Knox's writings are particularly harsh. He accuses Knox of exploiting anxiety about promoting prosperity and welfare in the Highlands for his own interests:

Inconsistencies and mis-statements could likewise be pointed out, in the writings of the other gentlemen who have visited that country, but it would answer no particular purpose to do so here. - Mr. Knox having, however, exceeded them all, in the headless and ranting manner of his detail, we thought it not improper to step aside a little from our subject to mention him. We are much afraid he has done hurt to that, which (we have the charity to believe) he meant to serve. At the same time, it may not be improper to observe, as a necessary caution in reading his performances, that Mr. Knox was originally a bookseller in London, in which profession he was very successful. - After having raised 10,000*l.* he quitted *Bookselling*, and commenced *Bookmaking*. Mr. Knox knew from experience, that the sale of a book did not so much depend upon its containing truth, as upon its being judiciously decorated with matter which excites curiosity. It is to be feared that his anxiety for the sale of his book has kept pace with, if not exceeded, his anxiety for the Fishery, although the latter was his great cry. Nothing can shew this more, than the wanton manner in which he attacks the characters of individuals. - Knox knew, as a bookseller, that scandal is always read; that plain truth is too uniform, to please the taste of an age so remarkable for the pursuit of variety.¹⁹

White dismisses Knox's optimism about building a number of fishing towns or even cities and regards him as one of the 'romantic scribblers' (White,196). But, though tending towards the personal, White's criticism often hits the point. For instance, Knox suggests calling the water between the Isle of Skye and the mainland 'King George's Channels' in

19 P. White, *Observations upon the Present State of the Scotch Fisheries, and the Improvement of the Interior Parts of the Highlands* (Edinburgh: 1791), p. 41.

honour of ‘ the prospect of success, and the happy change which is likely to be effected thereby during his Majesty’s reign’²⁰. Knox’s patriotic projects of improvement are, in a way, a product of his romancing.

Knox’s *View of the British Empire* was written to serve two purposes: to give practical information about the improvement of the Highlands, and as leisure reading material. The dual aspects of Knox’s writings can also be recognized in his succeeding publication: *A Tour through the Highlands of Scotland, and the Hebrides Isles, in 1786*. The London Highland Society took an active interest in Knox’s two principle proposals: to promote inland navigation and to establish free villages or fishing stations on the east coast. The Highland Society encouraged forming a support group to carry out these proposals. As a result, the British Fisheries Society was founded in 1786. The Society requested Knox to collect further information about the north of Scotland and raised a subscription for the expenditure of his tour. Knox was awarded the gold medal by the Society and published *A Tour* in 1787.

A Tour was primarily intended to give a report on the present state of improvement in the Highlands. According to Knox, the distress of the inhabitants in the deserted region had been ‘forgotten amidst the cloud of occurrences which glide away with time into the gulph of oblivion’(Knox, *A Tour*: iv), because nobody before him had paid enough attention to the painful reality. Knox therefore attempted to draw the public’s attention to the miserable condition of the Highlanders and to inspire a philanthropic spirit in order to save the region from desolation: ‘Something farther was necessary, to impress the mind more deeply, to awaken the senses as from a lethargy, and to erect an establishment upon the solid basis of virtues, which in all ages have been justly considered as the glory of humanity’(Knox, *A*

20 John Knox, *A Tour Through the Highlands of Scotland, and the Hebrides Isles in 1786* (London: 1787), p. 178n.

Tour: iv-v). As part of his patriotic project, he requested subscriptions to raise funds for the British Fisheries Society, at every visited place throughout the tour. *A Tour* includes a eulogy for the benevolence of the Duke of Argyle and the King who plan to carry out his proposed improvements:

While I was strolling on the hills, to view the island, and the appearance of the ocean in a storm, I was kindly invited into a cottage, presented with the snuff-mill, and heard great news! viz. That the Duke of Argyle, was going to make a canal at Loch Crinan, and to build many towns in the Highlands! Some days before this conversation, I had been informed by a man from Tirey, that the Duke of Argyle and the King were to carry on these grand works between them!

I sounded the praises of both, and told the man that the great Earl of Breadalbane, and many great lairds, had promised to assist the Duke of Argyle and the King in making the Highlands a grand country. (Knox, *A Tour*: 67-8)

Knox is preoccupied with the positive aspect of the improvements, but also with various difficulties in promoting industries in the Highlands. The project to build an industrial village at Kelso, in the Borders, had failed after the Board of Trustees at Edinburgh had expended a great sum of money. Despite the great efforts of improvers, the project had been impeded by the inhabitants' aversion to innovation. Many thousand acres of improvable land were left 'still buried under a bed of moss, which Mr. Jeffries, or his son, would bring into agriculture, if they had the land upon a lease of two or three lives' (Knox, *A Tour*: 122). Furthermore, Knox suggests that the failure of the buss fishery in Scotland had been the result of laws excluding the fishermen of small boats from a share in the benefit. He deplores the fact that the legal restrictions on fishing obstruct the improvement of the Highlands and, consequently, injure the prosperity of the whole nation: 'It is therefore evident, that while all parties suffer more or less by this restricting clause, the nation sustains a proportionable negative loss' (Knox, *A Tour*: 240). The main point which Knox makes in *A Tour* is that fishing is the only way to ensure the prosperity of the Highlands, an area which, otherwise, is too barren to admit any major cultivation:

Such are the treasures which these northern seas afford, a source of wealth unequalled on southern shores, and which might give full employment to the inhabitants, in the various branches that relate to fisheries, of which the Dutch reckon thirty; as fishermen, coopers, curers of red herrings, ship carpenters, block-makers, joiners, painters, blacksmiths, hecklers, spinners, net-makers, sail-cloth manufacturers, sail-makers, rope-makers, tanners, salt makers, coasters, bargemen, curriers, labourers, women, children, and old people, who gut the herrings, and wash them at the second packing. (Knox, *A Tour*: 38-9)

Knox describes how the introduction of fishing into the region would increase employments and bring affluence to its inhabitants. He inserts a long list of projected stations for a fishing village to clarify his proposal for improvement.

Though the primary purpose of Knox's tour is to report the state of improvement in the Highlands, *A Tour* is also intended for the amusement of his readers. As soon as he crosses the border, he notes a striking contrast between the beautiful and prosperous landscape in England and Scotland's landscape of desolation: 'a picture of dreary solitude, of smoky hovels, naked, ill cultivated fields, lean cattle, and a dejected people, without manufacturers, trade, or shipping' (Knox, *A Tour*: 5). Nevertheless, Knox is appreciative of Scotland's picturesque landscapes. He highly estimates the beauty of the river Tay: 'The banks of this river, from its source to the sea, are justly celebrated by all admirers of picturesque scenery' (Knox, *A Tour*: 14-5). Knox describes the coast of Dunvegan in picturesque terms: 'a lofty romantic shore, abounding in beautiful cascades, from one ledge of rocks to another, till they were lost in the sea immediately below' (Knox, *A Tour*: 139). Knox also admires the view from Stirling castle for its beauty which is comparable to the beauty of classical landscape paintings: 'The view from the castle scarcely yields in soft luxuriance to the most admired scenery in Italy. The river Forth glides, in numerous beautiful meanders, through a rich, a populous, and a highly cultivated country, ornamented with plantations and gentlemen's seats' (Knox, *A Tour*: 11). Furthermore, *A Tour* contains various passages which serve to interest the reader, but are not directly related to the

economic improvement of the Highlands. Describing his visit to the church at Applecross whose minister 'Dr. Johnson imagined he had foiled on the subject of Ossian's Poems' (Knox, *A Tour*: 128), Knox gives a more favourable view of the authenticity of the poems in order to stir up Scotland's national pride:

The old gentleman is since dead, and the son defends his memory against the Doctor's pretended victory. It is a well known fact, that there are many poems or songs in the Highlands, similar to those that have been published in the name of Ossian. It is also certain, that the whole country, and all the islands, are filled with the exploits of Fingal. That a man of this description, of great heroism and splendid achievements, actually existed in the Highlands, at some remote period of time, the numerous remarkable places that still go under the name of Fingal, is another strong corroborating proof. (Knox, *A Tour*: 128-9)

Various episodes of his voyage from coast to coast assume an aspect of an adventure novel. Knox describes the pleasures obtained through his expeditions in a manner to inspire the reader's attraction toward the region. For instance, Knox lists the luxuries one by one which he relished at a camp on the way to Lewis. A long and detailed account of the sail from Lewis to Pool Ewe dramatizes the danger which the author encountered throughout the night, when the ship lost its way in a storm. Knox also gives the theatrical description of a fisherman called Macdonald:

The distance between the south-east side of Coll and Bara, by the course I proposed to take, is a navigation of more than seventy miles, upon the main ocean. The only boat upon Coll, in which any person, except those amphibious animals the Highlands fishers, would venture himself, belonged to Mr. Maclean, and had been taken to Sky by his family, who were upon a visit. In this dilemma, a venerable old man offered, with a degree of frankness that I little expected, to carry me in his vessel to Bara, or wherever I might think proper to go; not only so, 'but faith', said he, 'I can introduce you to any family in the Long Island, for every body knows William Macdonald, who has been a fisher these five and forty years, and was always respected by the first lairds in the Highlands. - I saw your book', added he, 'in the Isle of Sky: O! how you have trimmed that ***** *****! He talk of fishing! he knows more about custom-house fees, and how to harrass industrious men who toil at sea; throwing out his gibes by a good fire side, with the wine bottle before him. If you can be ready to go tomorrow morning, we'll get out with the ebb tide; our harbour is none of the best, but leave that matter to old Macdonald, who knows it weel'. (Knox, *A Tour*: 80-1)

Such a dramatizing way of narrative is effective in making Knox's tour realistic and attractive to the readers.

These two aspects of Knox's *Tour* - a practical report on the improvement of the Highlands and a book for leisured amusement - are closely related to each other. Frequent descriptions of picturesque landscape are intermingled with the description of the place's state of improvement. For example, Knox celebrates the view of Loch Tay, describing its banks which are 'fruitful, populous, and finely diversified by the windings of the lake, and the various appearances of the mountains' (Knox, *A Tour*: 14). His admiration for the scenic beauty is followed by his gratification about a plan for building a town there: 'Here I had the pleasure of being informed that the Earl of Breadalbane intends to build a regular town, nearly upon the plan proposed to the *British Society for Extending the Fisheries*' (Knox, *A Tour*: 14). Knox also appreciates beautiful landscapes in the Isle of Skye as scenes which indicate the generosity and the refined taste of gentlemen who have cultivated the land:

The country through which we passed, afforded agreeable views of hills, corn fields, and waters. Major Macleod is a great improver, and here is an inexhaustible field, on which he has made some successful experiments. It is a happy circumstance for the estate of Macleod, that a great part of it is let on easy terms, to gentlemen of benevolent dispositions, of liberal education, and much observation. This circumstance, with leases of two or three lives, or three 19 years, is the surest means of doubling the value of any improvable estate, within a reasonable time. (Knox, *A Tour*: 141-2)

These two discourses are interconnected because both are concerned with transforming Scotland's wild nature into productive value. On the one hand, economic improvements in the Highlands are attempts to exploit the region's natural resources for industrial use. On the other hand, picturesque taste aims to make the region affluent in natural beauty. Knox attempts to describe the Highlands as an image of nature which is productive both of economic and aesthetic value. The aesthetic and the economic representation of nature each

require the same exertion of imagination. While he is gratified with a view in the Isle of Skye which is abundant in agricultural produce, Knox's imagination is also inspired by its natural beauty: 'the views of magnificent hills, of seas, and of vessels passing continually to and from the north, please the imagination' (Knox, *A Tour*: 90-1). Furthermore, Knox describes the admirable view of a town which the Earl of Seaforth establishes at Stornoway:

When I looked from the window next morning, which happened to be very fine, the views were among the first that I had seen. The small craft were afloat at the head of the bay, with their sails up to dry after some rains; behind, was the point stretching across the bay, and covered to the very extremity with neat white-washed houses. Beyond these, in the outer bay, were the shipping with their sails up; while some were going out, and others coming in. Upon the north side of the bay were sloping fields of ripe corn; on the south, were lofty hills; and, to crown this matchless scenery, the far distant mountains of Ross-shire conveyed the idea of a country that had been convulsed into a chaos.

When the church and spire shall be built, with a small spire also upon the town-house, and other ornaments which Seaforth's fertile imagination may easily conceive, this place will merit the pencil of the first landscape painter in the kingdom, and be a considerable acquisition to the many beautiful prints which distinguish the present age. (Knox, *A Tour*: 183-4)

Knox celebrates the Earl for having the imagination both to improve and embellish one of the remotest and the most uncultivated areas in Scotland.

What is the image of nature presented by Knox's economic imagination? Knox dismisses the uncultivated situation in Scotland as a 'state of nature'. However, at the same time, he appreciates the plentiful, though not cultivated yet, blessing of nature in the Highlands. For example, Knox deplores the poverty of Inverness, Ross and Sutherland because these regions are largely composed of mountains, rocks and moss. Nevertheless, despite their wild and barren appearance, 'Nature has made ample amends for the poverty of the soil, in the great abundance of fish that are found on, or near the eastern as well as the western shores of this division of our island' (Knox, *A Tour*: 97). Knox regards the 'fish of endless variety, inexhaustible in number, and excellent in quality' as the natural produce of the Highlands which 'seem to have been intended by the Author of nature as a

compensation for the inclemency of the seasons, and the sterility of the soil' (Knox, *A Tour*: 27). Knox's economic imagination denies the existing natural state of the Highlands in order to imagine their future cultivation. Knox therefore rejects a previous improver's unfavourable account of the bays of Loch Lye because the improver 'speaks of bays, as he found them, in their natural state only, without describing the shelter which artificial work would afford' (Knox, *A Tour*: 66). What Knox seeks for in his tour of Scotland is a view of future improvement. The word 'improvable' is a recurring term of description: 'The breadth of this peninsula to the main opening into Loch Broom, where Mr. Mackenzie resides, is four miles, and the country very improvable', 'The country through which we were now passing, seems though still moss and heath, to be improvable' (Knox, *A Tour*: 223 and 267) and so on. Furthermore, in contrast to the view of Gareloch as a place of utter desolation, Knox's imagination describes the area as an improvable land:

We coasted along an uninhabited shore, which rises gradually from the water, to no considerable height, and seems well adapted for the hand of the improver. The same appearances continued to Gareloch, and along the south side of that water. Upon my expressing some surprise that so much improvable land should be thus neglected and lost, I was informed, that the moss was of an extraordinary depth, which no labour could remove. I must however be of opinion, that if the whole was divided into lots, and given gratis for the number of years, to small farmers, these men would realise much arable, or at least potato ground. (Knox, *A Tour*: 216)

The views of nature which Knox presents in *A Tour* are, in a way, future visions existing only in his imagination.

The pleasure of these visions of nature is related to the pleasure of Scotland's natural landscapes. In an appendix of *A View of the British Empire*, 'Remarks on the *Short Tour of Scotland*, comprehending the Southern Division of that Kingdom and a considerable Portion of the Highlands', Knox celebrates Scotland for 'its picturesque views, and romantic scenery' (Knox, *A View of the British Empire*: 96) and describes a series of landscapes which he believes please the picturesque taste of tourists. 'Remarks' concludes

with Knox's expectation that the tour will allow tourists to discover nature in Scotland, not only as an aesthetic pleasure, but also for the promotion of national prosperity:

In passing these extensive tracts, he will have sufficient leisure to contemplate the works of God as having been exhibited to his view, in a boundless variety of forms and appearances, and all designed for valuable purposes, which it is the business of man to discover and improve. This will bring to mind what hath been done, and what remains to be done; the vast tracts of country, yet in a state of nature; the many thousands of sober, well disposed people, who are thereby lost to themselves, their families and the state. He will perceive that the kingdom through which he hath passed, its vallies, seas, lakes, and islands, is a great store yet in reserve for the aid of a dismembered empire, in strength, in commerce, and national consequence, whenever government shall be disposed to call for these important sources. (Knox, *A View of the British Empire*: 113)

Knox was also involved in the enterprise of publishing 'Picturesque Scenery of Scotland', a ten volume set of prints which described picturesque landscape throughout Scotland with topographical explanations. The *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1789 reproduced his address to the public and highly acclaimed the 'work which, when considered in its magnitude and expense, would appear somewhat hazardous, if we had not been well acquainted with the zeal of the Author'²¹. The address lists the pleasures expected in a tour of the country which is 'finely diversified with mountains, hills, cliffs, and vallies; with noble rivers and lakes; exhibiting the soft and the rude scenery of Nature in boundless variety, and which are much admired by all strangers of taste and judgement' (*GM*, LIX, 326). However, 'Picturesque Scenery of Scotland' is concerned with presenting a picturesque image of nature as something which produces aesthetic pleasure, but which also produces commercial benefit. This commercial as well as aesthetic project is closely related to Knox's patriotic ambition. Knox declares the patriotic purpose of the project when he requests the subscription for the book:

It is therefore hoped that a design, which has national *utility* and *ornament* for its

21 *GM* (April, 1789), Vol. LIX, p. 326.

principal objects; which gives encouragement to ingenious artists; which brings forward and displays the variegated prospects of Nature and of Art, upon a wide scale, and with uncommon elegance in the execution, will meet with general approbation. (*GM*, LIX, 327)

Knox hopes that 'Picturesque Scenery of Scotland' serves to advance the economic prosperity of the British nation, but also to form the whole nation as a beautiful and civilized society.

In the next decade, it became apparent that the proto-industrial economy did not always bring benevolence to the Highland society. In the next section, I will examine the writings of picturesque tourists in the 1790s and show how their idea of the picturesque is related to their ambivalent attitude towards the growing British commercial society.

2. THE PICTURESQUE AND COMMERCE IN THE 1790S

What the imagination of the picturesque describes is a vision of nature which produces social prosperity and benevolence. As the fashion for picturesque tours accelerated, the concern for the economic improvement of the Highlands became more closely related to the appreciation of natural beauty. A contributor suggests an ideal itinerary for 'the Short Tour of Scotland' in an issue of the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1788. This proposed tour includes not only beautiful scenes of nature, but also industrialized sites, for instance, 'Great Iron foundery (sic), 1000 men constantly employed', of Carron Works, 'Linen-manufacture, Salmon fishery' in Perth, 'canal, manufactures of Glasgow and Paisley' (*GM*: LVIII, 505). When the cotton mills of New Lanark were founded in 1784, Lanark had become one of the most popular destinations for picturesque tourists. A number of tourists who visited the town appreciated the picturesque beauty of the falls of the Clyde, and the

philanthropic management of the cotton mills by an enlightened employer, David Dale. A *Guide from Glasgow* published by James M'Nayr exemplifies the popularity of Lanark. He declares that the main purpose of the *Guide* is to describe these scenes which are now celebrated for their grand and picturesque beauties.²² However, he also gives a detailed description of the foundation of the cotton mills at New Lanark, their management and the lives of the workers:

Although it was not the author's original intention to conduct his company to the contemplation of other scenes, than the beautiful and sublime of Nature, yet the splendid exterior of the mills of New Lanark, and the importance, in a national view, of their interior arrangement, will, he trusts, prove a sufficient apology for the following brief account of their erection and management.(M'Nayr, 232).

The 1790s was the period when social fragmentation as a result of industrial development became a serious problem in Scotland. This period was especially marked by the rise of the political radicalism which was associated with the French Revolution. As Kenneth J. Logue illustrates, a series of disturbances took place in the early 1790s, involving such actions 'as the lighting of bonfires, the burning of effigies and the planting of trees of liberty, as symbols of revolutionary virtues of liberty, equality and fraternity'(Logue, 128). The most devastating of the radicals' attacks was the King's Birthday riot which broke out in Edinburgh in June 1792. The rioters assaulted and set fire to the house of Henry Dundas, 'the British Home Secretary, Scotland's political manager and "de facto King of Scotland"'(Logue, 154). The Scottish radicals were mostly merchants and mechanical labourers from the growing industrial towns such as Edinburgh and Glasgow. They were dissatisfied with their marginalised position because the power of Henry and Robert Dundas, the Younger Pitt's devoted allies, controlled Scotland's

22 James M'Nayr, *Guide from Glasgow, to Some of the Most Remarkable Scenes in the Highlands of Scotland, and to the Falls of the Clyde* (Glasgow: 1797), p. 5.

politics in the interest of the country gentry. The urban labourers took radical action to protest against the oligarchy of the land-owning class. In so doing, they became familiar with the republican ideas of revolutionary France, as they read Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* in 1791-92 with an enthusiastic sympathy. The radical activists formed the Friends of the People in Scotland to demonstrate their new democratic political ideas. Their first General Convention in 1792 made an appeal for the extension of suffrage and for more parliamentary elections.

How was the picturesque taste of travellers in Scotland related to their anxiety about the social turmoil in the 1790s and to their idea of British society? I will now examine the writings of two travellers in the period: John Lettice and Robert Heron. Both adopt a conservative standpoint in support of the governmental policy of Scottish improvement. In *Letters on a Tour Through Various Parts of Scotland* in 1794, John Lettice asserts that the extension of commerce results in 'the progressive corruption of moral principles, and the beginning of declension in social happiness'²³. According to Lettice, the philosophy of perfect liberty has become a dangerous substitute for neglected morality and religion. The pursuit of perfect liberty inevitably causes social turmoil. The 'multitude' who believe in their right to govern themselves soon 'proceed to take the management of their country into their own hands' (Lettice, 89-90). The radicals' insistence on 'the equality of all conditions' leads them to 'overthrow all orders and distinctions; destroy property; dissolve all the ties of society; murder and massacre each other; become barbarians and savages' (Lettice, 90). Lettice believes that radicalism might develop into the revolutionary terror experienced by France. He states that it is therefore necessary to recover the old idea of social order which is based on the subordination of class:

23 John Lettice, *Letters on a Tour through Various Parts of Scotland, in the Year 1792* (London: 1794), p. 88.

(Personal security, peace and order) can only be procured by religion, morals, public law, a delegated force, and the representative wisdom of communities, brought into the narrow compass of assemblies and councils, under the rule of one, or of few, to simplify the execution of the common force and wisdom; nor is it probable that mankind will ever discover any thing better or wiser; perhaps I might say, any other possible means to give strength, consistence, and duration to governments, than the old institutions, religious and moral, privileged orders in society, distinctions of merit, rank and office, inequalities of rich and poor, which have more or less subsisted, hitherto, in every government in the world. (Lettice, 90-91)

Robert Heron, a prolific Scottish writer on miscellaneous subjects, also advocates the social and political status quo maintained by the oligarchy of the landed class. In 1792, Heron published a pamphlet to counteract the political agitation incited by the Friends of the People, 'Facts, Reflections, and Querries, Submitted to the Consideration of the Associated Friends of the People'. The main point of the pamphlet is an affirmation of the existing Constitution. According to Heron, the British Constitution represents a benevolent system of laws, which guarantees that the benefits of the commercial prosperity are distributed to every level of society and, as a result, renders the nation great and happy. He opposes those radical actions which tend to disturb the peace, harmony and prosperity of the present British nation.²⁴ Heron's defence of the British Constitution is frequently repeated in his travelogue of Scotland, published in 1793: *Observations made in a Journey through the Western Countries of Scotland*. Here, he admires the inhabitants' loyalty to the British Constitution in Kirkcudbright-shire:

The inhabitants of this district were not less informed than the citizens of Glasgow, of Paisley, of Perth, of Kirkintilloch, concerning the general train of public events. The improvement of the condition of the poor, had been less rapid here, than in those places. Yet, no murmurs had begun to rise, no schools of sedition had been instituted, none of its revels had been celebrated in these parts. High and low agreed in thinking it the truest patriotism, to love the British Constitution, to preserve its forms unviolated, and to perpetuate it unaltered, uninjured, to their posterity, as the

²⁴ Robert Heron, *Facts, Reflections, and Querries, Submitted to the Consideration of the Associated Friends of the People* (Edinburgh: 1792).

noblest legacy that one generation of human beings could bequeath to another. - At Gatehouse, although a seat of manufacture, where a good number of the industrious part of the society were assembled, in a state of considerable independence, no Reform Society had been instituted or suggested. All were content with their political condition, and were ready to attribute chiefly to its advantages, that rapid progress of wealth and industry in which they rejoiced.²⁵

In contrast with industrial towns which are centres of the radical movement, Heron celebrates the county as a society which preserves its integrity and well-being.

Lettice and Heron are ambivalent about the rise of commerce in Britain. Whilst endorsing the government's policy of assimilating the Highlands to the British commercial economy, they deplore the social change which is brought about by their industrial development. Throughout the *Letters*, Lettice applauds the generosity and the public spirit of local landowners who employ their commercial opulence to promote industry. He welcomes obsolescence of the Highland dress as the sign of the Highlanders' accommodation to the British civil government: 'When a highlander begins to throw off any article of his national dress, it is a pretty good pledge for his parting with the whole, as soon as he can with convenience equip himself in the English way' (Lettice, 266). He also supports the spread of English education in the Highlands, though fascinated by the beautiful sounds of their native language: 'these sentiments of admiration, know how to keep their distance, before the awful decrees of our ruling powers, who, ever since the union, and more particularly since the rebellion of 1745, have been using means to extirpate this diabol-adamical language from every corner of the Highlands' (Lettice, 263-64). Alarmed, however, by the dissolution of Highland society as a result of increasing emigration, Lettice proposes 'very deliberate and gradual improvements', instead of sudden

25 Robert Heron, *Observations made in a Journey through the Western Countries of Scotland; In the Autumn of 1792: Related to the Scenery, Antiquities, Customs, Manners, Population, Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, Political Condition, and Literature of these Parts* (Perth: 1793), Vol. II, pp. 233-34.

ones which 'cannot be pursued without cruelty or outrage to their fellow-creatures' (Lettice, 342-3). Compared with the pompous life in a palace, the humble life of a Highland cottage is regarded not as the subject for contempt or pity, but rather as the subject for admiration:

Who, have I sometimes said to myself, when riding through a village, or hamlet, composed of these humblest dwellings of our species, who can look upon them, without a sense, even of respect; if he consider, that each is inhabited by the sons and daughters of the same good Providence, that protects the prosperous, and the noble; that all beneath them, are acting under the common sensations, appetites, and passions of our nature; that they possess the same natural understanding, form and beauty; live under the same close and sacred relations of husband and wife; father and mother; son and daughter; sister and brother with those of higher condition, and communicate in all the delightful charities attendant upon each; expressed with more grace, perhaps, in polished scenes of life, but no where, with truer feeling, or warmer cordiality! (Lettice, 289-90)

Heron's *Observations* shows the same ambivalence to the industrialization of the Highlands. Heron expresses full approval for the commercial society which had developed in Scotland after the Union. Heron appreciates the patriotic endeavour of individuals, notably, Johnson, Knox and Anderson, to improve the Highlands as an integral part of the British nation. He even justifies the increasing emigration from the Highlands to the other parts of the kingdom as a favourable aspect of commercial expansion of the British nation: 'it is unreasonable to complain of the present depopulation of the Highlands of Scotland.... Those who are induced to leave the Highlands, find employment elsewhere, without being obliged to forsake their country' (Heron, I, 251). However, at the same time, Heron disapproves of the excessive promotion of industry at the expense of the people's virtue. Commercial opulence produces 'convivial and sensual enjoyments' and makes human beings 'extravagant, debauched, idle, and knavish' (Heron, II, 109). Heron invokes Rousseau's idea about the natural state of men when he admires the inhabitants of an uncultivated village who are 'undefinably virtuous without pretence, and pious without hypocrisy':

But although I should rejoice to see these scenes adorned by more general cultivation, and occupied by a greater number of inhabitants, than at present: Yet, I am not sure that growing population, and increasing opulence would not introduce into them vices to which their present inhabitants are strangers; and debauch, while they augmented the society here established:.... When I consider how crowded society tends to make its members worthless, I am sometimes almost tempted to fancy, that men were intended for hermits and savages. Yet, society which refines and quickens ingenuity, while it exalts humanity must be the natural state of man. But, not the thronged, compressed society of the camp, of the great city, of the disorderly manufacturing village. In such situations human nature is degraded below itself. No wonder that living and writing, as he did, in the midst of Paris, John James Rousseau should have been led to maintain, that man was happier, more dignified, more independent in the savage state, than in a condition of polished civility. (Heron, II, 174-75)

It is notable that Lettice and Heron also share a similar attitude to the picturesque tradition. One of their preoccupations throughout the tour is to evoke the picturesque in appreciating the natural beauty of Scotland. For instance, following Gilpin's criterion of picturesque landscape, Lettice celebrates the beautiful scene of Queen's-Ferry at Edinburgh, comparing it to a classical landscape painting: 'a pleasing little port, which with its naval appendages, might adorn a landscape of Claude Lorrain' (Lettice, 508). Lettice associates a painting of Salvator Rosa with a dismal landscape of rocks which was allegedly 'a place of concealment to some enemy of the inhabitants' in barbarous times: 'A Salvator Rosa would have sketched the scene with rapture; particularly at the moment, when a group of smuggling banditti had been celebrating their nocturnal orgies round a blazing fire, at the mouth of the chasm' (Lettice, 154). Furthermore, Heron frequently uses the word 'station', a piece of the terminology of picturesque tours, as he describes a landscape from Mount Etna: 'From this station', for example, 'the beholder enjoys a charming prospect of the lawn below, the lake, the river, the opposite hills, and the loftiest peaks of the Grampian mountain rising distant perspective' (Heron, I, 243-4). Heron calls the pleasant landscape of Loch Ken a 'picture' because the composition of the view follows the principle of paintings: 'If, however, as the traveller proceeds, he turns his eye backwards, on the

environs of Loch Ken, and if the back-ground happens to be, at the moment, more splendidly illuminated, than the foreground, on which he stands; he will be delighted with the picture' (Heron, II, 177-78). Picturesque terms also recur in the following description of Perth:

If the spectator, still keeping his station on the Bridge, now turn to mark the course of the stream, as it runs on, east by south, he has, on his right hand, a back view of one of the lines of houses which compose George's Street.... Carrying his eye farther on the same side, he has a glimpse of the south-eastern edge of the South Inch; and the eye rests on the north-eastern side of Moncrief-hill.... Yet, I must acknowledge that, this station is too near for the spectator to enjoy the prospect of the wood to the best advantage. And, there is no very distant station from which it can be seen. (Heron, I, 84-5)

This description shows that Heron's tour represents the determined attempt to discover an artistic unity of natural beauty from one place to another through the exercise of his picturesque eye.

More importantly, Heron's and Lettice's picturesque taste takes the form of an anti-utilitarian aesthetic. As I have mentioned, Gilpin excludes signs of industry from the framework of a picturesque landscape; he therefore appreciates an idle labourer as an object of picturesque beauty. Likewise, Heron and Lettice give praise to the mode of labour which has disappeared in the early stage of a capitalist economy. Heron gives an account of pedlars or chapmen, an occupation rapidly becoming obsolete in consequence of the development of a market economy. Pedlars travelled around the country for the trade of daily goods. As well as selling useful goods, the inhabitants gleaned useful information from pedlars. They were respected as 'the great civilizers of countries and nations' (Heron, I, 89); in many ways they laid a foundation for commercial society. Lettice also deplors the disappearance of a pre-industrial mode of labour and adores the virtues of the uncivilized life in the Highlands. The situation of a Highlander, Mac Allum, is described with admiration for his intellect and spirit of independence: 'He occupies a farm of some

extent; and though delicacy, or even cleanliness seemed but little regarded in his house, there was an appearance of something substantial in his establishment, which to a mind unused to artificial necessities, may, perhaps, supply the most essential comforts of life' (Lettice, 301). Lettice also relates a sad story about a Mr. Macdonald, ' a solitary wanderer among the gloomy mountains of the Highlands' (Lettice, 323):

He appeared much attached to the contemplation of the great and wild scenes of nature, which surrounded us, and was fond of describing them. He pointed out some lead-mines, among the hills, on the opposite shore of Lochiel, about which, the country people had many superstitions; believing them to be possessed by fairies, and other imaginary beings, with which untutored fancy naturally peoples these solitary recesses. He talked with much feeling about Morven, the country of Fingal; a mountainous district, of no great extent, but singularly wild, which we then were reluctantly leaving unvisited behind us. It is nearly of triangular form, bounded on the south-west, by the sound of Mull, on the south-east, by the Loch-Linnhe, and on the north, by the lake of Sunart, except where the narrow passage of Achnatoa, on the north-eastern angle, leaves room for entrance into this sequestered district. The waters all communicate with one another, and with that on the banks of which we were travelling. (Lettice, 327-28)

Macdonald retires into the region to comfort his wounded soul for unfulfilled love and hapless fate. Lettice describes Macdonald's life which is devoid of any worldly concern as a state of nature closely associated with the surrounding picturesque scenery.

Lettice and Heron do not simply adopt the aesthetic of the picturesque uncritically. For example, they criticize Gilpin for his formalism in applying principles derived from the art of painting to the appreciation of natural beauty. As we saw in the first chapter, Gilpin dismisses a view from Stirling castle because its historical particularity cannot be accommodated to his picturesque framework. However, Heron gives praise to the extensive prospects on all sides from the battlement of the castle because they are rich in picturesque variety: 'the *Forth* and the *Teith* advancing from gloomy hills and a wide extent of level heath', 'The Allan, too, a stream celebrated in some of our Scottish songs' and 'The house of *Craigforth* ... with an highly picturesque effect from the level plain in which it

stands' (Heron, II, 442). Lettice also applauds the picturesque view from Stirling castle and disputes the narrowness of Gilpin's aesthetic:

His business is to produce pleasure upon fixed principles. Grand conceptions of nature; surprise, admiration, elevation of mind; reflections upon art, cultivation and human power, and numberless sentiments and association of ideas, will affect, and charm, a spectator on first surveying so glorious an horizon, which no rules of verbal description, drawn from the art of painting, could ever enable him to communicate to a reader. What small portion of my own feelings the profusion of my general draught above may have conveyed to yourself, you alone can judge. (Lettice, 474)

Lettice believes that Gilpin's artistic rules are not appropriate for describing the variety of impressions which the human mind receives from natural beauty. Lettice appreciates the adjacent area of the castle as 'a region through which any person of feeling or imagination might be conceived to saunter with perpetual amusement' (Lettice, 473).

The most significant feature which distinguishes these two writers from Gilpin is their interest in associating Scottish landscape with the images of Ossian's poems. In *The Observations on the Highlands*, Gilpin hardly refers to the poetical work except for a brief remark about Glencoe, the birth place of the ancient poet: 'This valley is famous also for being the birth place of Ossian. In its wild scenes that bard is said to have caught his first poetic raptures. Near it lies the country of Morven; which Fingal hath turned into classic ground by his hunting, and his wars' (Gilpin, *Observations on the Highlands*: I, 166). However, Lettice is more enthusiastic about associating the Highlands with Ossian's poems than Gilpin. Lettice delights in the idea that a Highland girl who sings a Gaelic song for him might be an offspring of the bard: 'Heyday!, said I, to myself, who knows, but I may have been listening to a descendant of one of the old bards? long may have been the line of her fathers, and old Ossian, himself, her great progenitor!' (Lettice, 258). The solitary wanderer whom he meets on the way from Fort William, Mr. Macdonald, is represented as a picturesque figure who embodies the mind of the ancient Gaelic poet:

This country naturally led to the subject of the ancient poems; some of which, Mr. Macdonald assured me, he had heard recited there, as he had done in other parts of the Highlands. You will easily conceive, that a person of his cast of mind must have found in them the attraction of congenial sentiment; and, indeed, he talked of them with visible pleasure. He had, yesterday, he said, been rambling in the vale of Glenco, whose savage grandeur, and pastoral amenity, opposed, as they are, to each other, you will not doubt, had peculiarly charmed him.... (Lettice, 328-29)

Heron is also delighted with the view of Dunkeld because it closely corresponds to the images of Ossian's poems: 'I began to reflect that I was entering the land of Ossian's heroes; the land which presented those few simple, grand, and gloomy objects which gave a melancholy cast to the imagination of the poet, and supplied that sublime, but undiversified imagery which forms one of the most peculiar characteristics of the ancient Gaelic poesy' (Heron, I, 157). In the section on Dunkeld, Heron discusses the meaning of the term 'romantic' which he applies to the region's scenic beauty. He traces the origin of the term to 'romances', a literary fiction which has the ancient time before civilization as its common setting:

The time was, when *romances*, filled with a peculiarly refined, lofty, and notwithstanding these qualities, in some instances simple system of morals, manners, scenery, and incidents, held that place in the estimation of the gay and the idle, - which is now occupied by novels. The scenery particularly, which was described in those works of fiction, was of a character of wild sublimity, or fanciful beauty, such as bore little or no resemblance to either the beauty or the sublimity marking the scenery of cultivated regions. Still, however it was of a nature to move the feelings, and to excite and keep up the play of imagination. The fond readers of romances learned to admire it with an extravagance of delight.(Heron, I, 164-65)

Heron defines the romantic as the beauty of uncultivated scenes. The imagination takes pleasure in identifying the sublimity of the landscape with the venerable image of the ancient world. Though synonymous with 'picturesque', the romantic is not the mere visual equivalent of natural beauty. Rather, it evokes a particular narrative about civilization. In the description of Loch-Tay, for example, Heron connects the 'barrenness and wildness of that country' (Heron, I, 255) with the scene of Ossian. The memory of Ossian recalls the

proress and the lofty virtues of the ancient heroes: 'that strange peculiarity in their circumstances and manners, by which simplicity and refinement, rudeness and delicacy were wonderfully united in them' (Heron, I, 255). Heron then reflects on the superior morality of the primitive community in comparison with the present state of civil society:

THERE was something animating, as well as soothing in this train of thought. Who could think a country dreary, which had produced such heroes? Who could allow his spirits to sink under present inconveniencies, in a land in which perhaps every moor, every stream, and every hill had been distinguished by the residence, or by the deeds of a race of men, in whom savage life seemed to triumph over all the refinements of civility? What native of Scotland could avoid feeling his heart swell, when led to recollect the ancient glories of his country.

THERE was somewhat of painful intermingled with these reflections. If the state of manners represented in the poems of Ossian ever actually existed; and if the people among whom it existed were in circumstances of poverty, and helpless artlessness, as he also represents: Ah! why have the improvements and refinements of civilized life, produced nothing more amiable or exalted in sentiment among men? (Heron, I, 255-56)

Heron appreciates the Ossianic scenery because it represents the nobility of human nature which the modern civilization cannot attain. However, Heron's adoration of the sublime landscape does not mean that he abandons the cultivation of the wild nature. On the contrary, the vigorous spirit of the Ossianic heroes assures him of the future productivity of the dreary scene and the strong development of civilization in the region. The romantic scenery of Loch-Tay suggests that a benevolent and virtuous society should be established only by a moderate form of improvement which does not destroy the face of nature.

For Lettice and Heron, the description of picturesque landscape is inextricable from a vision of society. Furthermore, it is important to note that Lettice and Heron also use the picturesque to appreciate beauty in the scenes of manufacture. Lettice's *Letters* contains numerous descriptions of manufacturing-sites. They indicate the close relationship between the aesthetic pleasure in picturesque landscape and the commercial opulence of the region. The description of the iron manufacture at Carron shows that the natural power represented

by its picturesque image is identical with the power which brings about economic prosperity to Scotland:

.... from the general and picturesque images which I have endeavoured to convey, relative to such objects, in this, and some of the preceding letters, may be inferred the great power, which man has established over the world of matter, by the ministerial agency of fire, air, and water. Of these three elements, science may be said to have formed the grand tripod, on which rest all the arts and manufacturers; to which our country owes so much of its prosperity and its fame; and in the exercise of which North Britain has, for some time, taken so brilliant share. (Lettice, 490-1)

What excites Lettice's economic and aesthetic imagination most in Scotland is the scene of the Clyde. Lettice admires the Clyde for the commercial opulence and picturesque beauty which it distributes throughout the country. He connects the description of the river which is productive of aesthetic as well as economic value with the prosperous and benevolent image of commercial society:

Although this stream does not flow in varied curves, and rarely breaks into romantic bays and recesses, overhung with woods and rocks, which render the course of many rivers interesting to painters of landscape, it every where forms a splendid and exhilarating object; is every where the boast of commerce, the main organ of social comfort, and elegance of life, to the western and southern regions of Scotland. The Clyde, though not picturesque in itself, soon becomes so in its accessories: Its farther shore presented to our view, the mountains of Dumbarton and Sterlingshire, rising on the eastern side of Loch Lomond, with lively green vallies, opening between them, till the eye, lost in their long perspectives, or unable to pursue their turns among the mountains, experienced in the distant scenery, that sort of effect, which is so highly piquant to the imagination. (Lettice, 112-13)

Likewise, Heron is delighted with the enchanting landscape of the Clyde:

The ascent is considerable between Clyde Bridge and the Kirk of Crawford. Yet, through this part of its course, the river falls, without any remarkable cataract, to command the wonder and suspend the attention of the traveller. A few decent houses have been built, of late, having their roofs slated, and with narrow parks, inclosed and planted about them. Hereafter the rugged aspect of these scenes may be greatly softened; and the Clyde may to its very source, display a continued series of cultivated and decorated landscape. - Not that I should wish to see my countrymen all one nation whether, of artisans or of husbandmen. I, for my part, think it necessary to the safety, and to the true prosperity of a country, that the shepherd, the husbandman, and the manufacturer should be intermingled in it: that there should be diversity of characters, diversity of employments, diversity of ranks, among its

inhabitants. This *concordia discors* will constitute its truest strength. (Heron, II, 47)

Heron attributes the beauty of the river to the harmony of its various objects and scenes. At the same time, he identifies the picturesque landscape of the Clyde with the view of society whose strength is derived from its social diversity. Heron expresses his expectation that commercial society should develop on the basis of the harmony between different kinds of labour.

Lettice's and Heron's description of picturesque landscape is distinguished by their deep concern about the commercial expansion of British society. This is the point at which their aesthetic concept differs from the picturesque idea in the previous decades. The fashion for picturesque tours was originally connected to the public's interest in the agricultural transformation of the rural area. For instance, in *Travels in France during the Years 1787, 1788, 1789*, Arthur Young investigates the foundation of France's formidable power and resources. He attaches more importance to an 'enlightened agriculture' as the 'permanent basis' of national strength than to the 'insecure support of manufactures and commerce'²⁶. However, Lettice's and Heron's interest in Scotland lies in its commercial development rather than its agricultural reformation. In his description of linen and cotton manufacture, Lettice suggests that any scene of manufacture is worthy of close attention from a traveller:

... from such parts as a traveller is allowed to see, he may sometimes be able to suggest new employments, and new resources for industry, in distant regions, at his return home; such as may be wanted, and are adapted to other situations. Some benefit to the public may then be derived from that information, which he can communicate, or but even hint upon subjects of this nature. (Lettice, 191)

Lettice believes that a traveller can play a significant role in promoting the industries and manufactures of the country. Heron also declares that his interest in Scotland throughout

26 Arthur Young, *Arthur Young's Travels in France During the Years 1787, 1788, 1789*, ed. Betham Edwards (London: George Bell and Sons, 1906), p. lvi.

the tour is not confined to its agricultural situation, but ranges over various aspects of its society: 'I was neither a sentimental, an agricultural, a commercial, a virtuoso, nor an antiquarian traveller; but a sort of compound of all these'(Heron, I, 6). Heron emphasises the importance of promoting the harmonious development of diversified sectors: manufactures, fisheries and agriculture: 'Canals, roads, the establishment of manufactures, and the scattering of manufactures in proper places must come first. The fisheries will then promote the manufactures; the manufactures will promote fisheries. Agriculture will advance hand in hand with both'(Heron, I, 331).

Furthermore, the close relationship between Heron's picturesque idea and his interest in commerce is interesting because of his own experience of being involved in commercial activity. Indeed, when Heron wrote the *Observations*, he was in jail for debt. He was not released until his next publication, a history of Scotland, which enabled him to earn enough money to pay his creditors in part. The *Observations* illustrates how the contemporary banking-system makes investment too easy and results in the distribution of discredited bills. In particular, Heron enters into details about the bankruptcy of the Douglas and Heron Bank in Ayr. He ascribes the ruin of the bank to the knavery and folly of the subscribers who confound paper credits with their real fortunes and to the mismanagement of the directors who employ the money and the credits for ill-conducted or unsuccessful speculations. However, despite these disastrous effects, Heron advocates the banking-system because it is favourable to the improvement of the adjacent area:

Yet to the improvement of Ayr-shire, at least, - if not of Galloway, the establishments and the career of this bank have been friendly. The abundance of wealth which it fallaciously seemed to pour into the hands of the proprietors; and the ready command of money which it gave - set all the gentlemen round the seat of the Bank, to the building of new houses; the formation of gardens and ornamented grounds; the inclosure and the expensive cultivation of their estates. Clumps of wood were scattered over the knolls; belts were stretched along the edges of the lawns; the water was taught here to stagnate into pools, and there to wind with an artificially

meandering course. (Heron, II, 337-38)

According to Heron, the circulation of money in a commercial economy is productive of aesthetic value, though it does not always ensure commercial prosperity. In such descriptions, picturesque landscape is an artifact which helps to render natural the emergence of commercial society. Therefore, in contrast with the gloomy prospect of nature in which 'man is seen in a state of meanness and of wretchedness', Heron appreciates the mixture of labour and enjoyment, of the rich and the poor, of refinement and simplicity, as the scene 'where the dignity of human Genius and of human Art appears almost to rival the great works of Nature' (Heron, II, 377). His description of the industrial success of the Forth clearly shows that picturesque beauty is an achievement of human art which domesticates nature for the prosperity and benevolence of society:

I was thus led to reflect on the benignity with which the author of nature has ordered the relative disposition of land and water in a manner highly favourable to human industry and happiness; on the power of man to subdue the stubbornness of nature, and to multiply wonderfully, by ingenious art, the conveniences which nature affords; and on the varying aspects which the face of a country assumes with the various fluctuations of civil life. (Heron, I, 18-19)

As we have seen, while promoting the improvement of the Highlands, Lettice and Heron deplore the consequent social fragmentation. They endeavour to modify the picturesque in order to represent their idea of prosperous and benevolent commercial society. Their description of picturesque landscapes provides an imaginary vision of nature which produces commercial prosperity and, at the same time, protects the venerable integrity of community from corruption. The picturesque therefore helps to render natural that process by which the Highlands is incorporated into a British commercial economy.

The production of value was a key object of discussion in the emergence of British commercial society in the eighteenth century. However, the position of women in the society was problematic because they were largely excluded from commercial production.

In the next chapter, my interest lies in the relationship between the sentimentalism of female picturesque tourists and their sense of citizenship. I will explore how the picturesque is used to define what it means to be a British citizen.

CHAPTER THREE

**WOMEN'S PICTURESQUE TOURS IN SCOTLAND
AND THEIR SENSE OF CITIZENSHIP**

INTRODUCTION

The commercial expansion of eighteenth century British society was brought about not only by the transformation of modes of production, but also by changing forms of consumption. Pointing to the rise of consumer society in eighteenth-century England, Colin Campbell asserts that the 'upheaval which went under the title of the Industrial Revolution had to be regarded as centring upon a revolution in consumption as well as in production'¹. Although there had already been a dramatic increase in demand since the mid-seventeenth century and Britain became a mass consumer society in the preindustrial period, what was remarkable about the consumer revolution in the eighteenth century was the emergence of new consumers. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, the main interest of consumption shifted from daily necessities to luxury products: tea, coffee, tobacco, china cups, cotton prints, muslin and so on. These luxuries were consumed by the rising middle class, who were anxious to represent their social status by a certain style of spending their wealth. Industrialization developed in order to respond to and to stimulate their appetite for luxury. As Campbell observes, 'the manufacturing industries most closely associated with the early Industrial Revolution were those producing consumer rather than capital goods and among these, those which produced objects for "luxury" consumption predominated'(Campbell, 25). The modern consumer society in the eighteenth century was driven by the reciprocal relationship between emulation on the part of consumers and manipulation on the part of producers.

¹ Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell, 1987), p. 8.

The development of consumer society in eighteenth-century Britain was accompanied by the emergence of bourgeois consumer values at the heart of which lay the concept of 'sensibility'. Paul Langford suggests the significance of 'sensibility' which acted as a key term in the contemporary discussion of politeness. The rising middle class who were involved in consumption as well as production required a set of rules with which to regulate their manners and to distinguish their social status as a predominant class in commercial society. Langford remarks that 'Sentiment ... had a special appeal to middle-class England at a time of economic growth and rising standards of living'². Adopting the code of genteel conduct enabled the middle-class to acquire gentility which was 'the most prized possession of all in a society obsessed with the pursuit of property and wealth'(Langford, 464). Politeness was established as the middle class's code of conduct to challenge the aristocratic ideals and fashions and to control and deal with their inferiors. The social change which took place under the name of 'sensibility' was an extensive transformation in notions of gentility, politeness and manners in all spheres of life.

It is important to note that sensibility provided an important opportunity for middle-class women to play significant roles in eighteenth-century commercial society. In *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, G. J. Barker-Benfield identifies the cultivation of sensibility as largely a woman's issue and relates it to the rise of modern consumerism. The culture of sensibility fundamentally emerged from the association, accepted in the period, of women with emotion or feeling. The science of neurology had developed since the late seventeenth century on the basis of the belief that

² Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727-1783* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 464.

men and women had different nervous systems. According to this gendered view of the nerves, women's nerves were more delicate than men's, but not strong enough for exercise in acts of will or reason. Barker-Benfield explains the ambiguous values of fine 'sensibility' as follows:

The aggrandizement of a certain kind of consciousness on the one hand was associated with the powers of intellect, imagination, the pursuit of pleasure, the exercise of moral superiority, and wished-for resistance to men. On the other, it betokened physical and mental inferiority, sickness, and inevitable victimization, circumstances throwing severe doubt on the effectiveness of the female will.³

This eighteenth-century view of female sensibility led to a contradictory attitude concerning women and consumption; on the one hand, they were greedy consumers who indulged in luxury and pleasure; on the other, they had the capacity to be superior moral agents. Sensibility became a focus for the problems about how to discipline women's appetite for consumption and also about how to improve men's treatment of women. As Barker-Benfield demonstrates, sensibility developed into a culture of reform.

Barker-Benfield also emphasises the significance of the domestic sphere as a major stage on which the culture of sensibility was established. The expansion of capitalist economy produced extensive changes in the organization and function of the family and, by the same token, in the transformation of women's lives within the household.⁴ While the household

3 G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. 35-36. See also John Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), Janet Todd, *The Sign of Angellica: Women, and Fiction 1660-1800* (London: Virago Press, 1989) and Markman Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility: Race, gender and commerce in the sentimental novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

4 See Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977), Chapter 6 and Catherine Hall, *White, Male and*

ceased to be the central unit of production, the family began to be perceived as a centre of consumption. Because eighteenth-century women were publicly excluded from the world of business, their preoccupation was limited to consumption in the domestic sphere. However, home demand had a great significance for eighteenth-century commercial capitalism because of its large share of the market. For a long time, historians have portrayed females as passive beings who were subservient to the intrusive forces of commercial economy. However, recent reassessments of female consumption have identified this phenomenon as making a positive contribution to the creation of culture and meanings. For instance, Amanda Vickery introduces a case history of a Lancashire woman, Elizabeth Shackleton, to elucidate the relationship between women and the world of goods in the eighteenth century. Vickery examines the journal in which Shackleton chronicled how she used domestic goods and their role in social practice: 'the maintenance of property was a constituent of genteel housekeeping; goods served as currency in the mistress-servant relationship; possessions were key props in inconspicuous ceremonies, but they also demonstrated polite conformity and were easy targets for social criticism'⁵. Vickery argues that, when Shackleton appropriated domestic goods through inheritance, home-production and gift-exchange, a multitude of meanings was being invested in them. As the people who controlled domestic consumption, women defined the home as the space where they could play an active role as citizens of commercial society.

The problem of sensibility is important because it was closely related to eighteenth-

Middle-Class: Explorations in Feminism and History (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988).

⁵ Amanda Vickery, 'Women and the world of goods: a Lancashire consumer and her possessions, 1751-81', in *Consumption and the Worlds of Goods*, ed. by John Brewer and Roy Porter (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 282.

century women's identity as citizens of British commercial society. With the developing culture of sensibility as a background, I will examine the writings of female picturesque tourists in Scotland. As picturesque tours of Scotland became more popular at the end of the eighteenth century and in the first decade of the nineteenth century, an increasing number of aristocratic and middle-class women participated in this practice. Female tourists were more interested in the consumption and display of riches than in the antiquarian, ethnological or economic investigations of the region undertaken by men. Their main concern in tours was to enjoy the leisure purchased by their wealth and to exhibit their high social status by the exercise of their refined taste. Furthermore, it is notable that during an age when woman's place was largely limited to the home, the scenic tour was a rare occasion for women to experience the world outside the home and even to express themselves on more equal terms with men. In other words, through the tours, female tourists encountered events which tested the values of their domestic culture outside the domestic sphere and even redefined their identity as citizens of commercial society.

In this chapter, through an examination of women's travel writing in Scotland, I will attempt to elucidate the complex relationship between women's sense of citizenship and their picturesque taste. How did women appropriate the picturesque discourse to resist, or to incorporate themselves into a predominantly masculine commercial society? Is there any correspondence between their status as political and economic individual subjects and their nature as aesthetic subjects? To begin with, I need to clarify the way in which the picturesque represents the masculine idea of citizenship.

One of the most influential books in the contemporary debate on aesthetics was Edmund Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*.

In this work, Burke defines the sublime as the masculine and heroic passions which belong to self-preservation. On the other hand, he associates the beautiful with society in general, and sexual relations in particular: 'The passion belonging to this is called love, and it contains a mixture of lust; its object is the beauty of woman'⁶. Burke's argument indicates that the experience of beauty is inseparable from men's sexual perception of women. He illustrates his idea of beauty as the related images of a female body: the smoothness of a fine women's skin, the softness and the gradual variation of her neck and breasts, and so on. Furthermore, Burke regards fragility as an essential characteristic of feminine beauty:

An air of robustness and strength is very prejudicial to beauty. An appearance of *delicacy*, and even of fragility, is almost essential to it.... I need here say little of the fair sex, where I believe the point will be easily allowed me. The beauty of women is considerably owing to their weakness, or delicacy, and is even enhanced by their timidity, a quality of mind analogous to it. (Burke, 105-6)

What underlies Burke's gendered distinction between the sublime and beautiful is his intention to validate and to stabilize middle-class men's sense of social order. Tom Furniss argues that 'Burke's emphatic distrust of the beautiful in favour of the sublime can be read as a symptomatic attempt to repress or exclude the middle class's own perhaps inevitable tendency towards the personal and political corruptions which were thought to result from material luxury'⁷. Indeed, Burke designs the aesthetic of the sublime so as to present the image of a middle-class subject 'as an heroic and virtuous labourer whose sublime

6 Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, ed. by Adam Philips (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 47.

7 Tom Furniss, *Edmund Burke's Aesthetic Ideology: Language, gender, and political economy in revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 2. See also Peter De Bolla, *The Discourse of the Sublime: Readings in History, Aesthetics and the Subject* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1989).

aspirations are quite different from the beautiful but debilitating luxury of the aristocracy (and of women)' (Furniss, 2). Thus, Burke associates femininity with pleasure in luxury. He defines feminine value as a subordinate to masculinity and as something dangerous both for the male body and the body politic.

The picturesque was a form of taste originally practised and theorized by gentlemen of the landed class. A central issue in picturesque taste was the aesthetic valuation of land. The late eighteenth century had seen the acceleration of a money economy and the consequent transformation in the meaning of land, because many of the landed class involved in commercial practices raised money against their estate in order to invest in commercial ventures. The value of land was no longer intrinsic, but mobile, for it was controlled by indirectly, usually from a London office. Land, therefore, ceased to be an autonomous basis of social stability and independence. Having examined Uvedale Price's and Richard Payne Knight's picturesque taste, for example, Sidney K. Robinson shows how their aesthetic ideas are related to their social and economic position as country Whigs. Robinson argues that the contemporary country Whig protected the position of the landed gentry against the power of the court which 'relied increasingly on the money-men in London'⁸ and stood for the liberty of the British Government which was based on the land. As staunch supporters and school mates of Charles James Fox, the leader of the Whig party, Price and Knight were in sympathy with the Whiggish ideal of liberty and elaborated the taste of the picturesque as its aesthetic counterpart.

The connection between aesthetic liberty and political liberty in Price's and Knight's

8 Sidney K. Robinson, *Inquiry into the Picturesque* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 54.

idea of the picturesque was apparent in a controversy which took place between these two gentlemen connoisseurs and a commercial landscape gardener, Humphry Repton, in the year 1794-5. As Stephen Daniel observes, what was at issue in such controversies was 'the patriotism of landscape improvement: its allegiance to various geographical identities, local and national, and provincial and metropolitan, English and British'⁹. Under the patronage of the Duke of Portland, Repton had extended his field of work throughout England, including a commission at the seat of William Pitt, Holwood in Kent in 1791, and other Tory commissions. As Foxite Whigs, Price and Knight were hostile to the rapprochement between the conservative Portland Whigs and Pitt's Tory administration. Price and Knight were provoked by Repton's appearance in their home county of Herefordshire.

Herefordshire was a border country between England and Wales which continued to be a zone of transition between two cultures. Price and Knight set out to wreck Repton's career under the pretext that they would thereby protect picturesque landscape of their home country from commercial invasion.

The controversy was initiated by Price's attack on Repton's predecessor 'Capability' Brown in *Essays on the Picturesque*. In this essay, Price associates the clump, a common feature of Brown's improvement, with a line of soldiers: 'clumps, like compact bodies of soldiers, resist attacks from all quarters....'¹⁰ and criticises modern gardening as despotism: 'There is, indeed, something despotic in general system of improvement; all must be laid

⁹ Stephen Daniels, *Humphry Repton: Landscape, Gardening and the Geography of Georgian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 104.

¹⁰ Uvedale Price, *Essays on the Picturesque, As Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful; and, on the Use of Studying Pictures, For the Purpose of Improving Real Landscape* (Farnborough: Gregg International, 1971), Vol. I, p. 245.

open; all that obstructs, levelled to the ground; houses, orchards, gardens, all swept away' (Price, I, 338). In vindication of Brown's style, Repton defends the clump as the best means to protect young plants for future growth. Repton denounces Price's picturesque idea for its political radicalism: 'I cannot help seeing great affinity betwixt deducing gardening from the painter's studies of wild nature, and the deducing government from the uncontroled opinions of men in a savage state' (Price, III, 10).

Price attempted to establish the picturesque as a third category which was independent of the sublime and beautiful. He defined the picturesque as the aesthetic value which had more unified effect than the sublime and, at the same time, which was richer in variety than the beautiful. This aesthetic position of the picturesque would correspond to the middle-term position of liberty between tyranny on the one hand and licence on the other. In his reply to Repton's accusation, Price shows that the harmonious mixture of variety and intricacy is not only the attribute of the picturesque, but is also an essential facet of social freedom:

The mutual connection and dependance of all the different ranks and orders of men in this country; the innumerable, but voluntary ties by which they are bound and united to each other, (so different from what are experienced by the subjects of any other monarchy,) are perhaps the firmest securities of its glory, its strength, and its happiness. Freedom, like the general atmosphere, is diffused through every part, and its steady and settled influence, like that of the atmosphere on a fine evening, gives at once a glowing warmth, and a union to all within its sphere: and although the separation of the different ranks and their gradations, like those of visible objects, is known and ascertained, yet from the beneficial mixture, and frequent intercommunication of high and low, that separation is happily disguised, and does not sensibly operate on the general mind. (Price, III, 178-79)

In *An Analytical Inquiry into the Principle of Taste*, Knight aligns himself with Price in criticizing the system of modern gardening for its erroneous effects: insipidity and

strictness. A major concern in the *Analytical Inquiry* is to distinguish refined taste in the liberal arts from vulgar taste in the mechanical arts. Knight considers taste as a subject which is not susceptible to rational schematism, but rather belongs to questions about feeling or sensibility. Knight therefore articulates picturesque taste as a faculty of sensation, an improved perception to appreciate natural beauty through the association of ideas with landscape paintings. The picturesque represents an idiosyncratic taste of intellectual elites:

To a mind richly stored, almost every object of nature or art, that presents itself to the senses, either excites fresh trains and combinations of ideas, or vivifies and strengthens those which excited before: so that recollection enhances enjoyment, and enjoyment brightens recollection. Every insect, plant, or fossil, which the peasant treads upon unheeded, is, to the naturalist and philosopher, a subject of curious inquiry and speculation....¹¹

More importantly, according to Knight, taste functions as the principle of morality because both are matters 'which depend entirely on feeling and sentiment' (Knight, *Analytical Inquiry*: 235). A fine sensibility is a general axiom for taste, but also for moral improvement: 'without some mixture of passion, sentiment, or affection, beneficence itself is but a cold virtue' (Knight, *Analytical Inquiry*: 236). Knight admires the refined taste of his countrymen because they thereby extend gratifications 'to every object in nature or circumstance in society' (Knight, *Analytical Inquiry*: 146) and, in so doing, form a foundation for national morality and benevolence.

According to Knight's idea of the picturesque, aesthetic taste is acquired only by propertied and educated men. Knight excludes women in general as well as unpropertied

¹¹ Richard Payne Knight, *An Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste* (London, 1808), p. 143.

and uneducated men from the privilege of exercising taste. However, in contrast to Burke, Knight denies the connection between beauty and femininity: the 'yielding delicacy too, ... as it is nearly allied to comparative weakness, so it is, in some degree, allied to comparative littleness of person..... may therefore be considered as an ingredient of feminine attractions, though it has nothing whatever to do with abstract beauty of form.....' (Knight, *Analytical Inquiry*: 232). Moreover, Knight dismisses false delicacy and affected timidity as a common misconception derived from the association between beauty and female weakness. Instead of 'this sort of selfish timidity', he elevates 'another quality of the mind, which is frequently called timidity, though very improperly' as a true female virtue: 'delicate and modest reserve of behaviour, which proceeds from nice sensibility, joined to a dignified, but not confident pride; and which, therefore, distinguishes a mind, that dreads shame, but not danger; and trembles at morals, while it scorns physical evil' (Knight, *Analytical Inquiry*: 355). A similarity between female sensibility and picturesque taste lies in the private value which they both represent. Gilpin specifies picturesque sketches as a private amusement to be enjoyed by a 'man of business' at his leisure (Gilpin, *Three Essays*: 89). Likewise, in his didactic poem, *The Landscape*, Knight describes a picturesque landscape as a private sphere where the poet escapes from the disquietude of the public world and recovers his peace of mind: 'Let me, retir'd from bus'ness, toil, and strife, / Close amidst books and solitude my life; / ...wander through the grove'¹². Moreover, within this private space secured by the picturesque landscape, the social man experiences the pleasure of intellectual contemplation and the pleasure to control nature by his refined taste:

12 Richard Payne Knight, *The Landscape: A Didactic Poem* (Farnborough: Gregg International, 1972), Vol. I, ll.317-20.

Hail! happy scenes of contemplative ease,
Where pleasure's sense, and wisdom is to please: -
.... such as nature's common charms produce
For social man's delight and common use:
Form'd to amuse, instruct, and please the mind,
By study polish'd, and by arts refin'd;
Arts, whose benignant powers around dispense
The grace of pleasure, that's approv'd by sense;
And, bending nature to their soft controul,
Expand, exalt, and purify the soul. (Knight, *Landscape*: I, ll. 363-75)

In the complex relationship between the arts and nature which these lines suggest, nature predominates over art as well as being subordinate to it. The 'social man' exercises the power of the arts to control nature and to let her serve the 'social man's delight and common use'. At the same time, the man acknowledges the superiority of nature as an agent to 'instruct' the mind and to 'Expand, exalt and purify the soul'. Here, it is possible to recognize the similarity between the unstable value of nature in the picturesque and that of women in the family. Among the torrent of sermons and addresses descending on wives and daughters in the eighteenth century, James Fordyce's *Sermons to Young Women* in 1765 is one of the most popular, though controversial, conduct books. In this work, Fordyce attempts to show that the obligation of the 'fair sex' is to 'amuse, instruct and please' the mind of men in the domestic sphere. First of all, his sermons give instructions concerning how women are to look agreeable and pleasant to men's eyes. Fordyce regards women as an object of men's marital affection, or even sexual desire. He praises the virtues of modesty, shamefacedness and sobriety as an ornament to enhance female beauty and to excite men's desire:

The ornament we now recommend is as Wise, as it is Necessary. There is nothing so engaging as bashful beauty. The beauty that obtrudes itself, how considerable soever, will either disgust, or at most excite but inferior desires. Men are so made. They

refuse their admiration, where it is courted: where it seems rather shunned, they love to bestow it. The retiring graces have been always the most attractive.¹³

However, though Fordyce acknowledges that female beauty signifies women's subordination to men's control or protection, he identifies beauty with women's power as used on men. Fordyce admits that the greatest influence of women is to improve and refine the manners of men: 'To form the manners of men various causes contribute; but nothing, I apprehend, so much as the turn of the women with whom they converse' (Fordyce, I, 22). Men's taste, if it is polished by women at home, is 'more perfect, and more pleasing, than that which is received from a general commerce with the world' (Fordyce, I, 23). Fordyce asserts that the home is an empire wherein women reign over men by the authority of their beauty: 'There is an influence, there is an empire which belongs to you, and which I wish you even to possess: I mean that which has the heart for its object, and is secured by meekness and modesty, by soft attraction and virtuous love' (Fordyce, I, 272).

As I have illustrated, picturesque taste in the eighteenth century is fundamentally a masculine aesthetic and is intimately connected with a masculine idea of citizenship. Male aesthetic theorists of the period construct the aesthetic subject as a gentleman: privileged, educated, leisured and property-owning. In this masculine discourse on aesthetics, the status of a middle-class woman is ambivalent: on the one hand, she is an object of aesthetic pleasure for the control of the male spectator; on the other hand, her beauty is a superior agent to improve and refine men's taste. Having examined women's travel writing in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, Elizabeth A. Bohls explains the paradoxical relation which women bear to the language of aesthetics. She points out the three founding

13 James Fordyce, *Sermons to Young Women* (London, 1766), Vol. I, p. 96.

assumptions of eighteenth-century aesthetics:

The first is the generic perceiver, the idea that it is possible to make universally applicable generalizations about 'the' subject of aesthetic appreciation. The second is disinterested contemplation, the paradigm of reception that strips the subject's relation to the aesthetic object of any practical stake in that object's existence. The third assumption, closely related, is the autonomy of the aesthetic domain from moral, political, or utilitarian concerns and activities.¹⁴

These aesthetic assumptions disqualify middle-class women from speaking as the aesthetic subject, despite their membership in the ruling and propertied class which entitles them to exercise aesthetic taste. In order to explain the male position of power in the aesthetic sphere, male theorists align women with the particular or the practical, in other words, 'the constitutive background from which the subject implied in mainstream aesthetic discourse needed to differentiate himself' (Bohls, 20). Bohls's study illustrates some contemporary women's attempts to challenge the three foundations of the male-dominant aesthetic: universality, disinterestedness and autonomy, and their appropriation of the aesthetic discourse to acquire the position of the aesthetic subject.

A remarkable example of resistance against aesthetic patronizing is offered by the writings of Mary Wollstonecraft. In *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, Wollstonecraft criticizes contemporary ideas about female education as expressed by male writers: James Fordyce is one of them. The main point of her criticism is that men consider 'females rather as women than human creatures' and are 'more anxious to make them alluring mistresses than [affectionate wives and rational mothers]'¹⁵. The male writers' system of

14 Elizabeth A. Bohls, *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716-1818* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 7.

15 Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, in *The Works of Mary Wollstonecraft*, ed. by Janet Todd and Marilyn Butler (New York: Pickering and Chatto

education is based on the association between beauty and female weakness. Wollstonecraft dismisses the male writers because their educational system only serves to produce creatures of exquisite sensibility and docile manners and to domesticate them to slavish dependence on men in marriage. In particular, Wollstonecraft directs her indignation to the gendering of sensibility, what she calls the male writers' 'chivalrous generosity': 'man was made to reason, woman to feel' (Wollstonecraft, *Rights of Woman*: 132). The aim of the *Rights of Woman* is to declare the equal status of women relative to men as rational and free citizens. Wollstonecraft therefore emphasises the need to build female minds strong enough for the exercise of the understanding. Only when a woman cultivates her understanding, can she comprehend her duty to be a virtuous citizen. Being a virtuous citizen involves co-operating with her husband's patriotic activity as a companion and teaching her children the true principles of patriotism as an affectionate mother. In this argument, Wollstonecraft rejects the affinity between femininity and the beautiful and defines the virtue of a female citizen as something sublime. She writes that friendship, the equal relationship between men and women, which is the foundation of happiness in marriage, 'is a serious affection; the most sublime of all affections' (Wollstonecraft, *Rights of Woman*: 142). Wollstonecraft identifies reason, which liberates women from slavery to men's desire and ambition, with the sublimity of the mind:

... if they [be] really capable of acting like rational creatures, let them not be treated like slaves; or, like the brutes who are dependent on the reason of man, when they associate with him; but cultivate their mind, give them the salutary sublime curb of principle, and let them attain conscious dignity by feeling themselves only dependent on God. (Wollstonecraft, *Rights of Woman*: 105)

In *Letters Written in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark*, sublime landscape is a reflection of Wollstonecraft's independent mind. In the letters originally addressed to Gilbert Imlay, her business partner as well as her lover, Wollstonecraft gives a report on the political, economic and social situation of the Scandinavian countries. At the same time, Wollstonecraft expresses her personal agony and distress about Imlay's betrayal. Because of the despair in her real love relationship, her indignation against the oppressed state of her sex sounds keen and desperate. However, Wollstonecraft achieves a certain freedom of the mind when she describes the landscape:

With what ineffable pleasure have I not gazed - and gazed again, losing my breath through my eyes - my very self diffused itself in the scene - and, seeming to become all senses, glided in the scarcely-agitated waves, melted in the freshening breeze, or, taking its flight with fairy wing, to the misty mountains which bounded the prospect, fancy tript over new lawns, more beautiful even than the lovely slopes on the winding shore before me. - I pause, again breathless, to trace, with renewed delight, sentiments which entranced me, when, turning my humid eyes from the expanse below to the vault above, my sight pierced the fleecy clouds that softened the azure brightness; and, imperceptibly recalling the reveries of childhood, I bowed before the awful throne of my Creator, whilst I rested on its footstool.¹⁶

Here, Wollstonecraft refuses to situate herself as part of the landscape. Rather she attempts to dominate the landscape by her physical self and associate it with her personal memories. In so doing, Wollstonecraft presents how her mind perceives the landscape. Her perception of the landscape coincides with the sublime experience of encountering the supreme being, 'my Creator'. When she submits herself to the transcendental power, Wollstonecraft realizes the dignity of her mind which is free from the oppression by any worldly authority.

In contrast with Wollstonecraft, Dorothy Wordsworth hesitated and refused to publish

16 Mary Wollstonecraft, *Letters Written in Sweden, Norway and Denmark*, in *The Works of Mary Wollstonecraft*, ed. by Janet Todd and Marilyn Butler (New York: Pickering and Chatto Ltd, 1989), Vol. 6, p. 280.

any of her writings despite the encouragement of her poet friends. Rather than establishing herself as a female writer, or even as a married woman, Dorothy devoted her life to supporting the poetical activity of her brother, William Wordsworth. An examination of her *Recollections* will elucidate the discursive relationship between femininity and the masculine discourse on aesthetics. While Wollstonecraft challenged the male-dominant autonomy of eighteenth century aesthetics and struggled to acquire her own independent aesthetic stance, Dorothy found the basis of her identity in William's poetical world and attempted to live as her brother-poet described her. As John Barrell observes, Dorothy in 'Tintern Abbey' is a problematic entity: though the poem is about an expectation of her future development, her intellectual growth is postponed or prevented in two contradictory ways. On the one hand, the poet regards the language of the sense employed by Dorothy 'as a present and audible guarantee of the meanings in his own language of the intellect'¹⁷. Therefore, for the sake of the poet's poetic identity, Dorothy should not develop her own language of intellect. On the other hand, the pleasure and excitements of sublimity which the poem offers are, in a way, relevant to a satisfaction of the polite male 'in contemplating the vast gap which separated him from those others, the uneducated rustic and the impressionable female, who could perform no very elaborate operation on the impressions they received' (Barrell, *Poetry, Language and Politics*: 165). My interest in this chapter is to investigate how Dorothy's enigmatic existence articulates itself or how she appropriates the aesthetic discourse of men when she ceases to be a part of the landscape and shares a point of view as a spectator of the landscape. In my examination of the *Recollections*, I will

17 John Barrell, *Poetry, Language and Politics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p. 162.

suggest that Dorothy Wordsworth's picturesque tour attempts to establish her independent identity as a female citizen in commercial society.

In order to clarify Dorothy's picturesque idea, it is useful to look at some of the other female travellers' writings on Scotland. Women's travel writing in the eighteenth century was controversial, not only because the home was practically and symbolically women's place, but also because writing was a privilege which was acknowledged only for propertied and educated men. Yet although writing was a male domain, reading had become a favoured activity for middle-class women. For instance, Fordyce considered reading as women's chief concern and related it to female sentimentality: 'Your business chiefly is to read Men, in order to make yourself agreeable and useful. It is not the argumentative but the sentimental talents, which give you that insight and those openings into the human heart, that lead to your principle ends as Women' (Fordyce, I, 273). Nevertheless, sentimentality could also provide a ground on which women could emulate the authority of male writers.

1. SENTIMENTALISM AND PICTURESQUE TOURS

The first female travel writer on Scotland was Mary Anne Hanway who published *A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland, with Occasional Remarks on Dr. Johnson's Tour, by a Lady* in 1775. Hanway's travelogue consists of twenty-three letters which are addressed to Lady Mary B-, the Earl of C-, and Miss -, the author's sister: 'a correspondence, begun,

continued, and completed, upon motives of amusements, invitation, and tenderness'¹⁸. In the intimacy of this private correspondence, Hanway is involved in exhibiting her refined taste for the picturesque. She frequently uses the vocabulary of picturesque tourists, such as 'most romantic views', 'ruinous beauties', 'horrid gulph', 'terrifying noise', 'the astonished eye' and so on. Moreover, a significant characteristic of Hanway's picturesque taste is her sentimentalism. When she describes the intentions of her picturesque tour in the preface, she regards it as a sentimental journey: 'I did not suffer the postilion to indulge his professional passion..., but ordered him to go *sentimentally*; In a word, I rode *pencil* in hand, employing myself in drawing a sketch of the landscape, whether of hill or valley, morass or mountain, as it lay before me....' (Hanway, vii-viii). Then, in a description of the River Tay, Hanway recognizes the picturesque landscape as an experience of her own sentimentality: 'I think nothing in nature can lull our turbulent passions, and give to the mind that sweet serenity so truly desirable, and so seldom found, as such a prospect in the deliciously - pacific calm of a summer evening. Such was the effect I found from it; for my sentiments always flow from my feelings....' (Hanway, 108).

Hanway also resorts to sentimentalism when she criticizes Samuel Johnson's view of Scotland. She announces that one of the purposes of publishing the *Journey to the Highlands of Scotland* is to challenge Johnson's prejudice against Scotland:

.... I am sensible, if, on my return to England, I deliver my opinions, as freely as I have written them to your Lordship, I shall lay myself open to criticism; but I shall not fear it, as nothing but justice for the opprest, could have obliged me to have spoken my sentiments on Dr. J-'s historical *Ramble*; and, for that, I have, though a woman, fortitude enough to stand any attack from the pens of *such* critics, in the

18 Mary Anne Hanway, *A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland: With Occasional Remarks on Dr. Johnson's Tour: By a Lady* (London, 1775), p. v.

defence of *our mountainous neighbours*. (Hanway, 159)

The focal point of Hanway's criticism is the manner in which Johnson describes Highland society. Hanway ridicules Johnson's 'great *scrupulosity of minute investigation*' (Hanway, 49) and expresses her resentment at the partiality of his observations 'merely to exaggerate the bad and sink the good' (Hanway, 67). While Johnson's remarks emphasise the strangeness of the Highlands, Hanway attempts to assimilate them to her own view of the united nation. She declares her belief that 'virtue is the growth of every clime!' (Hanway, 138) and defends the independent virtue of the Highland community. Nonetheless, Hanway's philanthropism is nothing but her personal sentimentalism. For example, Hanway plainly expresses her emotional antipathy to the sound of bagpipes: 'this is to *me* more dreadful, than the grunting of pigs, the screaming of owls, and the squalling of cats' (Hanway, 132-3). Despite her alleged sympathy with Highland society, Hanway does not hesitate to dismiss the symbol of Scottish national identity simply because it does not suit her taste.

The contrast between Johnson's and Hanway's view of Scotland corresponds to their different attitude toward the growth of commerce in the British nation. As I have shown in the first chapter, Johnson's objective investigation of the impact which the introduction of a monetary economy might have on the Highlands induces him to be sceptical about the social benevolence resulting from commercial prosperity. Hanway, however, has an entirely favourable view of the social change brought about by commerce. In a description of Glasgow, she is pleased with the happy appearance of people - 'industry, content, and opulence' (Hanway, 17) - which is the effect produced by their mercantile spirit and which celebrates social welfare as a consequence of commercial prosperity: 'Labour is sweetened

by the comforts that attend it, the exigencies of *poverty*, are supplied by the most grateful means in the world - by the exertions of her own *diligence*; such will ever be the benefits arising from the seats of trade, to every part of mankind' (Hanway, 17-8). Moreover, Hanway's admiration for commercial society accords with her position as a pro-Unionist. Hanway supports the government's policy of making the region an integral part of the British nation:

Such, in fact, was the general practice all over this country, till the union with England regulated the power, and put an end to the inhospitable bickerings of these petty princes, and chieftains: Add to which, the many wise acts since passed, have given a proper proportion of liberty to the commonalty. Industry, civilization, and plenty, are the natural consequence of such political, public measures: Notwithstanding this, it was a good while before either the higher or lower degrees of the Scots, could be taught to consider the union of the kingdoms as either constitutional or salutary. Time, however, with its reconciling power, hath rubbed off these prejudices; and I dare say there are none of either rank, who do not rejoice at the friendship which subsists between the two countries. (Hanway, 126-7)

When she acclaims the success of the Union, Hanway is totally indifferent to the lost integrity of old Highland society.

The relation between Hanway's endorsement of commercial society and her sentimentalism seems to be explained by her career as a popular woman novelist in her later years. She was a writer attached to the notorious Minerva Press which was established by William Lane in 1790 to provide circulating libraries with sentimental novels. Hanway acquired much celebrity by publishing three sentimental novels: *Ellinor; or the World as it is*, *Andrew Stuart; or the Northern Wanderer*, and *Falconbridge Abbey; A Devonshire Story*. In particular, *Ellinor* received a favourable critical response and was described as

one of the best novels of 1798 in several of the literary reviews¹⁹. Sentimental novels were the only field where Hanway could emulate the established authorship of male writers like Johnson in the market of literature. *A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland* was Hanway's earliest work which she published anonymously before she started to write sentimental novels. In this work, Hanway also found her sentimentalism as the cultural ground on which she could acquire her own authorial standpoint. For example, Hanway states that 'when I am become bankrupt, and have exhausted my little stock of sentiment, remark or description, I draw upon the poets, for a fresh, and indeed, a far richer supply' (Hanway, 120). She parades her intellectual accomplishments by quoting verse on any occasion. It is interesting that a reviewer of the *Gentleman's Magazine* doubted the authenticity of Hanway's work because it includes a citation from Dryden: 'that from Dryden ... we cannot think a *young lady* would have quoted. For this and other reasons we suppose the character assumed'²⁰. But, the reviewer also quoted an elegy, 'equally descriptive of the beauties, both ruinous and flourishing, of Rosline Abbey' (*Gentleman's Magazine*: XLVIII, 83) as an example of the author's picturesque descriptions and attributed the work to Hanway because of the sentimentalism of her description: 'The Journey has internal marks of authenticity, with many picturesque descriptions' (*Gentleman's Magazine*: XLVIII, 83).

As the fashion of picturesque tours in Scotland accelerated following the 1790s, sentimentalism became a prevailing response of tourists to its natural beauty. In contrast with early travellers who sought the satisfaction of their intellectual curiosity about the

19 Mary Anne Hanway, *Ellinor or the World as it is* (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1974), p. 5.

20 *GM* (February, 1778), Vol. XLVIII, p. 83.

foreign region, later travellers were more concerned with appreciating the beauty of the landscape as their subjective experience. Even when travel writers in the 1790s described a historical event, they tended to dramatize it so as to reflect their subjective impressions. For example, in 'Two Month's Tour in Scotland, performed on Horseback in the Summer of 1773' which appeared in a series in the *Gentleman's Magazine* from 1792 to 1794, W. Gibson gives a romanticized description of the defeat of Queen Mary's troop at the Langside-hills:

.... the Langside-hills; from which last, after her escape from the castle of Loch-Leven, the luckless Mary, watching with anxious eagerness the movement of her troops, engaged in these neighbourhoods with the forces of the regent Murray, had the mortification to witness their entire rout; when, throwing herself again into her saddle, she fled, without a stop, as far as the abbey of Dunbrenan, distant at least twenty leagues towards the South; where, under the joint impression of fatigue, terror, disappointment, and despair, she took the fatal resolution of withdrawing into England, on the faith of those invitations, and assurances of friendship; from her royal kinswoman, which were *fulfilled* in her imprisonment and death.²¹

Despite the frequent reference to Pennant's travelogue to authenticate his observations, Gibson's description of the historical events is characterised by its subjective sympathy. Similarly, in *A Guide from Glasgow*, published in 1797, James M'Nayr remarks on the pleasures of a tour in Scotland as follows:

The man of business, wishing to unbend from anxious cares; and, the man of literature, desirous of relaxation from fatiguing study, may, in the succession of ideas, founded on the constant change of objects, and the matchless scenes of hills heaped o'er hills, and rocks enthroned on rocks, experience an expansion of mind, which cannot but rouse them to the most rapturous admiration; and all of them will return deeply penetrated with the omnipotency of that Intelligence, who put to flight
'Primeval silence, when the morning stars
Exulting, shouted o'er the rising ball.' (M'Nayr, 6-7)

21 W. Gibson, 'Two Month's Tour in Scotland, performed on Horseback in the Summer of 1773', *GM* (April, 1794), Vol. LXIV, p. 330.

M'Nayr regards picturesque tours as occasions for tourists to escape from their daily anxieties and to recover their mental and physical health. Tourists experience exultation in picturesque beauty as 'an expansion of mind' and as an intimacy with the absolute being, 'the omnipotency of that Intelligence'. Therefore, in the *Guide*, M'Nayr presents picturesque landscapes as providing an occasion for the human mind to experience natural beauty: 'In contemplating scenes like these, the mind irresistibly imbibes a portion of their characteristic solemnity', and 'a scene presents itself to the ravished eye, so sublimely terrible, so stupendously magnificent, as, at once, to fill the mind with reverential awe and admiration' (M'Nayr, 26 and 46). In appreciating the picturesque beauty of landscape, M'Nayr sentimentally identifies himself with the object of beauty.

John Stoddart's *Remarks on Local Scenery and Manners in Scotland, during the year 1799 and 1800*, which was published in 1801, is a remarkable example of sentimentalism in the later phase of picturesque tours in Scotland. One of Stoddart's concerns in the *Remarks* is to criticise the narrowness and formality of picturesque conventions. Stoddart directs his attack mainly to the rigid system of Gilpin's picturesque rules: 'the taste of that gentleman commonly induces him to sketch views, not as they *are*, but they *should be*....'²². Stoddart ascribes the 'general weakness of taste, and an incorrectness of execution' to the common notion of an aesthetic which is advocated by Reynolds: 'there is in every species of composition, an abstract idea of perfection, a *central form*, from which all deviation is deformity' (Stoddart, I, 203). Instead of the erroneous obedience to general principles, Stoddart gives priority to the representation of feelings in landscape description: 'the

²² John Stoddart, *Remarks on Local Scenery and Manners in Scotland, during the year 1799 and 1800*, (London, 1801), Vol. I, p. 203.

acquisition of strong, and varied feelings, from individual objects' and regards it as the standard of taste: 'the standard... should be founded in strong, individual feeling, and not in vague, declamatory principle'(Stoddart, I, 205). In so doing, Stoddart expands the picturesque to apply to describe the view which Gilpin dismisses. For example, despite its lumpish and formal appearance, Stoddart rediscovers Arthur's Seat as a subject which is not always 'incapable of picturesque management'(Stoddart, I, 55). Stoddart challenges Gilpin's disregard of the view from Stirling Castle with the claim that 'To make painting the standard of those pleasures which landscape can afford, is, however, to set Art above Nature, the handmaid above her mistress'(Stoddart, II, 228).

The sentimentalism of Stoddart's picturesque taste is closely related to his attitude towards the rise of commerce in contemporary society. Among the views which Stoddart discovers as picturesque include scenes of manufacture, which Gilpin attempts to exclude from his picturesque landscape. Stoddart is delighted with an iron foundry on Leith Walk, for its ' great harmony and softness of light, united with a very powerful depth of shade'(Stoddart, I, 113). Stoddart even praises a mill as the most picturesque subject: 'There is scarcely any subject more deservedly a favourite with painters, than a mill; it is capable of affording picturesqueness to the most formal spot, and of augmenting it in the most romantic....'(Stoddart, I, 206). However, while modifying the picturesque to describe the scene of manufacture and to celebrate its beauty, Stoddart expresses his apprehension about the fragmentation of commercial society. In contrast to the intimate relationship between authors and readers in 'the days of our ancestors', Stoddart deplores his alienated situation which results from the division of labour in modern society: 'when men have various business, and distinct interests, they will look on each other with an eye of

strangeness, and the freedom of their sympathies will be checked' (Stoddart, I, vii).

Stoddart sees the mind of man in modern commercial society as divided between reason and feelings:

Commerce is a great instrument in the hand of reason to connect and intermarry the wide-spread families of mankind; but let us not trust to reason alone - let us not wholly submit our feelings to our purses, and counters, and ledgers - let us never forget, that though the business of the head is calculation, the business of the heart is enjoyment. We may be very rich in products, and manufactures, and population, and very poor in the spirits and minds of men. (Stoddart, I, 12)

Stoddart admires commerce as human activity through which to expand social connection and profit. However, while social prosperity is 'the business of the head', personal happiness as an individual is derived from the satisfaction of the heart. Stoddart is anxious about the harm which modern commercial society does to human feelings. According to Stoddart, taste has a harmonizing function which helps to produce 'Oneness':

When I contemplate human life, I perceive that its endless diversities of contrast and similitude accord in a general harmony - produce a ONENESS, of which every person is conscious, when he looks into his own bosom; but which he is apt to lose sight of, while his attention is engaged by the verbal reasoning of others. (Stoddart, II, 326)

Modern man can discover the 'Oneness' by his feelings, not by his reason. Stoddart emphasises the significance of feelings as the general principle of taste because feelings provides the basis not only for the autonomy of the human mind, but also for social unity.

Stoddart describes the picturesque landscape of Scotland as a view of community which is harmonized by men of taste. More importantly, the benevolent community here seems to be specified as the group of the friends whom Stoddart visited during the tour. As a journalist, Stoddart had a large circle of friends among contemporary men of literature and, in particular, had a close friendship with Samuel Taylor Coleridge whom he accompanied

on his trip to Malta. It is Stoddart who informed Walter Scott of Coleridge's experimental poem, *Christabel*, and excited Coleridge's suspicion that Scott's *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* could be a plagiarism of his poem. The *Remarks* shows Stoddart's attempt to identify his literary circle with the benevolent community which had been established by the Union between England and Scotland. For example, Stoddart praises Walter Scott as a representative poet of Scotland who has succeeded in popularizing the cultural and social value of the country. The *Remarks* gives the description of the poet's residence:

I cannot believe, but that a reader of taste would be delighted even with a slight copy of that domestic picture, which I contemplated, with so much pleasure, during my short visit to my friend - a man of native kindness, and cultivated talent, passing the intervals of a learned profession, amidst scenes highly favourable to his poetic inspirations; not in a churlish, and rustic solitude, but in the daily exercise of the most precious sympathies, as a husband, a father, and a friend. To such an inhabitant, the simple, unostentatious elegance of the *cottage*, at Laswade, is well suited; and its image will never recur to my memory, without a throng of those pleasing associations, whose outline I have faintly sketched. This neighbourhood has been the abode, or the favourite haunt, of many a muse; and in times, when the true dignity of poetry was better known, and acknowledged, than at present, it has witnessed that mutual friendship, founded on mutual admiration, which did equal honour to the English and Scottish poets. (Stoddart, I, 127)

Stoddart celebrates Scott not only for his poetic talent, but also for his virtue as 'a husband, a father, and a friend'. The description of the poet's residence shows how his refined taste creates the basis for social harmony and order and thereby contributes the cultural union between England and Scotland.

How are women allowed to participate in Stoddart's imagined community? When he crosses a river in a boat rowed by a woman, Stoddart expresses distaste for the female labour as a remaining form of barbarism: 'these labourious employments of the female sex, are not uncommon in Scotland, but more particularly characterize the Highlands, and are to be considered, as the most striking remain of barbarism in that country' (Stoddart, I, 254).

On the other hand, Stoddart applauds the Duchess of Gordon for the picturesque taste which she has employed in converting a Highland farm to her summer cottage in Badenoch. Stoddart describes the Duchess's management of the summer cottage in detail and approves the correctness of her taste in following the ideas of Price in the *Essays on the Picturesque*, 'which served as a textbook to all our discussions on local improvement' (Stoddart, II, 157-8). While the woman who rows the boat for him attempts to extract a profit from her labour, the purpose of the Duchess's aesthetic labour is to enjoy her leisure. Nevertheless, though her main concern is seeking for the pleasure in leisure activity, the Duchess's picturesque improvements also produce benefits for local people. In order to procure provisions, for example, the Duchess plans 'the establishment of a village, at a little distance, whose bakers, butchers, &c. may serve all the adjacent country' (Stoddart, II, 156). She also displays her generosity in contributing to the local community:

The most amiable light, in which the Dutchess appeared, was that of a benefactress to the surrounding country. She visited individually the separate cottages of the peasants; at one time she prevailed on a great number to have their children inoculated under her inspection; and she was ever ready to give her personal advice and assistance to those, who applied for it. The affability of her manners, still more than the extent of her benevolence, rendered her name universally beloved. This is the true secret of securing personal attachment, and may, perhaps, afford no useless example to those, who, after much ostentatious charity, complain of ingratitude in the poor, whom they have relieved. (Stoddart, II, 158)

As part of her leisure activity, the Duchess engages in charity. Because of her pleasant and benignant manners, she wins the affection and gratitude of local people. Stoddart regards the exercise of refined taste as the best means for women to play an active role in producing social harmony.

Sarah Murray also justified picturesque tours as the most desirable of women's leisure activities. Murray published *A Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland* in

1799. The success of the *Guide* induced her to make four subsequent journeys to Scotland in 1801 and 1802 and to publish its extended edition in 1803. In the *Guide*, Murray announces her journey as the means to acquire a voice with which to speak on equal terms with men. Murray addresses the *Guide* specifically to male readers: 'Gentlemen - I am an Author neither for fame (my subject being too common a one to gain it), nor for bread. I do not publish from the persuasions of friends, or to please myself. I write because I think my *Guide* will be really useful to travellers, who may follow my steps through Scotland'²³. The *Guide* is Murray's attempt to exhibit her experiences as a picturesque tourist and the correctness of her taste. Therefore, Murray pledges the practicality of the *Guide*: 'I mean in this *Guide* to convey you a long journey; give you the distances; and tell you what I think of the inns; where you may, and where you cannot, have a chance of sleeping' (Murray, 14). Murray provides detailed advice on useful equipment, the best usage of a servant, the convenience of transportation, and so on. For example, she gives the minute description of her travelling tool in a carriage:

For inside of the carriage, get a light flat box, the corners must be taken off, next the doors, for the more conveniently getting in and out. This box should hang on the front of the chaise, instead of the pocket, and be as long as the whole front, and as deep as the size of the carriage will admit: the side next the travellers should fall down by hinges, at the height of their knees, to form a table on their laps; the part of the box below the hinges should be divided into holes for wine bottles, to stand upright in. The part above the bottles, to hold tea, sugar, bread, and meat; a tumbler glass, knife and fork, and salt-cellar, with two or three napkins: the box to have a very good lock. (Murray, 11)

Murray's remark shows that the picturesque tour which she proposes is the way to extend the daily domestic activity to the different setting, rather than the way to experience the

23 Sarah Murray, *A Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland*, ed. by William F. Laughlan (Hawick: Byway Books, 1982), p. 7.

cultural and social peculiarity of the foreign region.

More importantly, Murray's ambition in the *Guide* is to elaborate her journey as a benevolent form of social participation. Murray gives an account of the increasing emigration from the Highlands. She describes it as the desolation brought about by luxury. While Highland lairds used to spend 'their incomes amongst their tenants, connections, and dependents' and were therefore 'rich in love and money', almost every landlord in the present age is degraded to an absentee who 'with his family must live in winter residence in London or Edinburgh, where he spends more than he can afford, and gets deeply into debt' (Murray, 181). Because of his greedy desire to increase his income to pay for his luxurious mode of living, the Highland landlord turns his land into sheep farms and expels his tenants from their native land. In contrast with the avaricious practices of Highland landlords, Murray advocates the importance of attracting picturesque tourists. For example, Murray emphasises the importance of constructing inns in Mull, the isolated and deserted island in Scotland:

The want of inns in Mull, may appear, to some people, of small, or no importance; on the contrary, inns would be of considerable benefit to the people of the country, and the comfort of them, if tolerably kept, to travellers of taste and curiosity, would be infinite. How is it possible, without inns, for any one less enthusiastic than I am, to get a view of the numberless curious spots in Mull? Gentlemen's houses in that island are mostly situated widely from each other; consequently strangers in travelling through Mull will meet with many difficulties, and the island by that means must remain a spot of insignificance and disgust. (Murray, 146)

The development of tourism improves the convenience of travellers and produces a new source of income for local people. In addition, the fashion of picturesque tours is beneficial because it makes the remote area accessible and known as an integral part of the British nation.

The *Guide* presents Murray as a tourist who is deeply involved in the established fashion of picturesque tours in Scotland. The main interest of Murray's tour lies in the search for pleasure in beautiful landscape, as she states: 'The simple beauty of nature is my hobby-horse; and where can a hobby-horse of that breed find greater scope than in Scotland? particularly in the Highlands' (Murray, 25). The *Guide* contains the copious descriptions of picturesque landscapes. However, despite her frequent usage of picturesque terms, Murray never attempts to define her own idea of the picturesque. Murray's description is an adaptation of terminologies which are common in the general discussion about the picturesque during this period. For instance, without any critical inquisition, Murray accepts Richard Payne Knight's picturesque ideas and applies it to her appreciation of natural beauty at the fall of Glen Almond:

As I sat among the stones, viewing the torrent, Mr. Knight's poem called the Landscape, came into my mind; and I was glad to find in the scene before me, no trace, no slime of the modern *shavers* of dame Nature; the sweet goddess there reigned triumphant, and feared neither their trimming razors, nor their sluggish serpentines. (Murray, 45)

Murray identifies the landscape of the waterfall with a description of Knight's poem. She also praises the beauty of wild nature, borrowing Knight's words to attack the erroneous improvement of modern gardeners. What is more, Murray's acquaintance with the fashion of picturesque tours is also discernible in her fascination with the Hermitage at Dunkeld:

On entering the Hermitage I was astonished. The contrast between the room, the beautiful cataract, and its scenery, is beyond description striking! - The mirrors in the room, so far from being absurd (as some Tourists say,) multiply every object they reflect, and thereby increase the delight. A large bow window, down to the floor of the room, faces the fall, and indeed hangs over part of it; so that the reeking spray dashes in with violence, if the sashes be open. The noise of the cascade is excessive, and the view of the river above it is charming; rendered so by the great variety of small falls, wood, and projecting rocks. (Murray, 55)

The Hermitage was one of the most popular destinations for picturesque tourists in Scotland; a small house whose walls and ceilings were covered with mirrors to enhance the picturesque effects of a waterfall beside it. Though some serious tourists contemptuously remarked on the building [Stoddart called its device of painted glass 'childish'(Stoddart, II. 192)], Murray did not hesitate to express her open admiration of its charm.

As a fashionable picturesque tourist, Murray's description of landscape is marked by the particular character of her sentimentalism. The *Guide* shows Murray's interest in describing her sensation: how she feels about the scenic beauty. The specific feature of her sentimentalism is discernable in the recurrent word 'lost' to express her pleasure in picturesque landscape. For instance, Murray explains her delight in the natural beauty of Tweeddale as a sentimental experience: 'It is pastoral beauty completely perfect. Not an object than can hurt the eye, or ruffle the mind. The soul, for four miles, must be lost to every other sensation but that of soft delight, heightened by an elevation of sentiment, which nothing but such enchanting scenes as those on the Tweed, at Yair, can produce'(Murray, 19). She is similarly entranced by the picturesque beauty of a view from the bridge of Dulsie: 'My senses were there lost to every thing but admiration of rocks, wood, and water tumbling furiously round, and over huge blocks of reddish stone, some of them hanging over, others choking up the arch of the bridge, which rests on projecting masses of rock....'(Murray, 60). Moreover, Murray also uses the word 'lost' in describing her pleasure in the sublimity of Fingal's cave: 'The omnipotence of the Deity filled my soul. I was lost in wonder, gratitude and praise'(Murray, 133). Murray's repeated usage of the word 'lost' indicates her disposition to dissolve herself into the beauty of the landscape. Her aesthetic pleasure in natural scenery derives from this sentimental identification with

the object of beauty.

As I have mentioned, it becomes common for sentimental travellers of the period to enjoy landscape beauty as a subjective experience. Their sentimental identification with the object of beauty is sometimes accompanied by the self-consciousness of their own mind's activity.²⁴ For Murray, the sentimental appreciation of scenic beauty gives her an opportunity to speak on equal terms with male travellers. Murray expresses an overwhelming joy at the Fall of Fyres; 'I was in ecstasy with all around me' (Murray, 73). However, the exaltation means more than her admiration for its scenic beauty. Rather than giving a precise description of the waterfall, Murray is more concerned with boasting of the 'bold adventure', her attainment of the difficult station on a promontory. In particular, she emphasises the admiration which she receives from male travellers: 'On my return from the promontory I met four travellers, males, not very active in body, who came tumbling and slipping down the banks, with fright and dismay, that made me smile. They stared at me as much as to say how came you there!' (Murray, 73). Murray's pleasure is furthermore enhanced because she realizes that she can be superior to men in experience of landscape beauty. The experience of ecstasy must be related to her sense of identity as a free and independent individual which she achieves in this event.

A paradox of Murray's sentimentalism is that the pleasure of dissolving herself into the beauty of landscape coincides with the delight of her self-realization. This complex sense of her identity is exemplified by the following description of her departure to Staffa:

24 See William Wordsworth, 'The Sublime and the Beautiful', in *William Wordsworth: Selected Prose*, ed. by John O. Hayden (New York: Penguin Books, 1988), pp. 265-7: Wordsworth, one of sentimental travellers, defines the sensation of sublimity as the human mind's experience of its own active power to oppose to and to reconcile itself to the external power.

The picture of the outset.

A very good house facing the Sound of Mull; near it a ruin of what was once a castle, by which runs a river romantically enough. Mrs. Murray appears, accompanied by gentlemen and ladies, dressed in a red leather cap trimmed with brown fur, and a habit of Tartan such as is worn by the 42d regiment of Highlanders. She mounts a white horse, with a Fingalian stick in her hand, cut out of the woods in Morven. Her horse led by an honest Highlander. Then comes a sheltie with creels (paniers) on his back, containing the baggage, on which sat a Highland lad. (Murray, 128)

In this description, Murray playfully presents herself as a part of the picturesque landscape, a Highland laird who sets forth for an expedition. The picture represents Murray's divided self; on the one hand, as an aesthetic subject perceiving the landscape and, on the other hand, as an aesthetic object to be seen. Murray's sentimentalism describes herself as appendage of the landscape and, at the same time, allows her to speak on equal terms with men.

In the next section, I will examine how women's equivocal nature as aesthetic beings coincides with their ambivalent status as members of eighteenth-century commercial society. I will focus on Dorothy Wordsworth's *Recollections* and explore her sense of female citizenship.

2. THE PICTURESQUE AND THE SENSE OF CITIZENSHIP: DOROTHY WORDSWORTH'S *RECOLLECTIONS*

Dorothy Wordsworth's relation to the picturesque tradition is controversial. John R. Nobholtz claims that 'the picturesque tradition was central to Dorothy's observation of landscape and was a controlling principle in the natural descriptions found in her letters and

journals'²⁵ and suggests the significance of studying Dorothy's style of landscape description in terms of her close commitment to the tradition. Nobholtz argues that her poetic imagination is developed from her practice of the picturesque as 'another means of penetrating to the wondrous activities of nature, which were of such central importance to the Romantics' (Nobholtz, 128). Robert C. Davis also admits that the picturesque tradition had a significant influence on Dorothy Wordsworth. However, Davis denies her the title of a Romantic poet for the same reason. While her famous brother, William Wordsworth, rejects the static harmony produced by the rigid control of picturesque rules and, therefore, attempts to 'relate subjective and objective experience according to an organic model'²⁶, Dorothy's involvement in the picturesque tradition precludes her from the great endeavour and impels her 'to lose the self in a picture of nature' (Davis, 49). Like Nobholtz and Davis, Malcolm Andrews perceives Dorothy's search for inward pleasure in landscape beauty as an anti-picturesque attitude. Referring to her criticism against 'a dead stand' at a pleasure-house called the Fog-house, Andrews suggests that Dorothy Wordsworth resists the picturesque convention in order to regain the aesthetic initiative and to discover spontaneous beauties as personal experience: 'Gilpin's movement through a landscape is directed towards finding particularly satisfying view points, whereas Dorothy Wordsworth wants to dissolve these established view points back into the movement of the tour and

25 John R. Nobholtz, 'Dorothy Wordsworth and the Picturesque Tradition', *Studies in Romanticism* (1964), Vol. III, p. 119.

26 Robert C. Davis, 'The Structure of the Picturesque: Dorothy Wordsworth's Journals', *The Wordsworth Circle* (1978), Vol. IX, p. 48.

recover the pleasures of accidental discovery'²⁷.

The multiplicity of opinions about Dorothy's idea of the picturesque result from her equivocal identity as a female writer. In her examination of the *Recollections*, Elizabeth Bohls indicates the dividedness of its text which 'bespeaks the conflicted subjectivity of the middle-class woman - her ambivalent and compromised relation to the powerful languages of patriarchal culture' (Bohls, 202). Within the shelter of privacy in the *Grasmere Journals*, Dorothy successfully 'situates the experience of beauty almost offhandedly amid the everyday' (Bohls, 179). However, the synthesis between the aesthetic and the practice is fragile because it is achieved only at 'her peculiar location "home at Grasmere"' (Bohls, 183). When Dorothy takes her achievement beyond the private sphere, she exposes its 'provisional, tenuous nature' (Bohls, 183). Bohls perceives the fracture of Dorothy's aesthetic project in the *Recollections* in terms of her ambivalence to the male discourses of aesthetics. My aim in this section is to amplify Bohls's point. I will attempt to explicate what Bohls calls Dorothy's 'conflicted subjectivity', by reading her picturesque tour as an occasion to define her sense of citizenship.

In the established genre of travel writing, the integrity of Dorothy's authorial voice is disrupted by the master-voice of male authors. For example, John Stoddart is one male writer with whom Dorothy was personally familiar. Dorothy mentions Stoddart's travelogue of Scotland several times in the *Recollections*. As I have shown in the previous section, Stoddart elaborates picturesque taste to imagine Scotland as a community which is exclusively male-centred. In this alliance of men of taste, women's position is marginal.

27 Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape, Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989), p. 232.

But, the most prominent of the masculine languages which Dorothy attempts to appropriate in the *Recollections* is that of William Wordsworth, her brother poet and companion on the tour in Scotland. In the *Guide to the Lakes*(1810), William Wordsworth deplors the painful aftermath of industrialization which changes the face of nature in the Lakes and destroys the integrity of their community. William describes as his ideal the lost 'Republic of Shepherds and Agriculturists', the democratic and harmonized society which existed in the Lakes before the introduction of industry and manufacture:

Towards the head of these Dales was found a perfect Republic of Shepherds and Agriculturists, among whom the plough of each man was confined to the maintenance of his own family, or to the occasional accommodation of his neighbour. Two or three cows furnished each family with milk and cheese. The chapel was the only edifice that presided over these dwellings, the supreme head of this pure Commonwealth; the members of which existed in the midst of powerful empire like an ideal society or an organized community, whose constitution had been imposed and regulated by the mountains which protected it. Neither high-born nobleman, knight, nor esquire was here; but many of these humble sons of the hills had a consciousness that the land, which they walked over and tilled, had for more than five hundred years been possessed by men of their name and blood; and venerable was the transition, when a curious traveller, descending from the heart of the mountains, had come to some ancient manorial residence in the more open parts of the Vales, which, through the rights attached to its proprietor, connected the almost visionary mountain republic he had been contemplating with the substantial frame of society as existing in the laws and constitution of a mighty empire.²⁸

In order to restore the lost republic, William expects new proprietors to exercise their 'better taste' and to keep the natural beauty and social harmony of the Lakes intact without 'unnecessary deviations from that path of simplicity and beauty along which, without design and unconsciously, their humble predecessors have moved'(Wordsworth, *Guide to the Lakes*: 91-2). William declares that the Lakes should be protected and shared by men of

28 William Wordsworth, *A Guide through the District of the Lakes in the North of England, with a Description of the Scenery, &c. For the Use of Tourists and Residents*, ed. by Ernest de Selincourt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 67-68.

taste as a 'national property':

In this wish the author will be joined by persons of pure taste throughout the whole island, who, by their visits (often repeated) to the Lakes in the North of England, testify that they deem the district a sort of national property, in which every man has a right and interest who has an eye to perceive and a heart to enjoy. (Wordsworth, *Guide to the Lakes*: 92)

William's *Guide to the Lakes* presents his idea of male autonomous community which is similar to Stoddart's. Dorothy's position in the community of men of taste at the Lakes was ambivalent. According to William, in the lost mountain republic in the Lakes, women played a significant role and supported its economy as manufacturing labourers; 'spinning their own wool in their own houses (work chiefly done in the winter season), and carrying it to market for sale' (Wordsworth, *Guide to the Lakes*: 90). However, as a result of 'the invention and universal application of machinery' (Wordsworth, *Guide to the Lakes*: 90), this source of family income had been cut off. Having lost their means of independence, women were compelled to be more and more reliant on men. Marriage became the only way for women to obtain the stability of their social status and to better themselves. Dorothy was unmarried and, therefore, her title of a citizen was more disputable than that of married women like Mary Hutchinson whose social status was secured by her marriage to William. Nevertheless, though living with William's family, Dorothy was not his dependant. She lived on an annual allowance of 60l., from her three brothers, except William. And especially after the long unsuccessful law-suit against James Lowther was finally settled and the Lowther debt with interest was paid in 1803, 8500l., Dorothy achieved a considerable degree of financial independence. Because of her financial independence, she was entitled to exercise her taste as an active member of the community at the Lakes.

Unlike many married women of the period and, even, unlike the increasing number of female professional writers who struggled to earn their own livelihood, the way which Dorothy chose to acquire her position in the public world was charity. The *Grasmere Journal* gives a detailed description of Dorothy's life consecrated to acts of charity; her alms-giving to deserted families in her neighbourhood and to beggars whom she frequently meet on her daily walk and her dedication to running the large household of William. It is interesting to note that Dorothy read Sarah Trimmer's *The Oeconomy of Charity* in her youth. Trimmer was a well-known female philanthropist who opened her first Sunday School at Brentford in 1786 and acted as an advisor to Queen Charlotte who built Sunday Schools at Windsor. In her practical guidebook about running a Sunday or Charity School, Trimmer emphasises the significance of women's charity because it can produce social order:

.... it must be allowed that though women can neither enact laws, nor put them in execution, they may do much for the establishment and support of good order in a government; and as members of the community living under the protection of the laws, it is surely incumbent on them to use every means in their power for promoting that concord, without which there can neither be safety nor tranquillity; nor can it be justly thought inconsistent with the *female character*, for Ladies to exert their endeavours towards producing that good understanding, between the poor and their superiors, which naturally springs from the interchange of benevolence and gratitude.²⁹

Though women are excluded from any public business, an act of charity enables them to support the basis of social unity and, therefore, to attain a prominent position in the society. Trimmer claims that charity is the most practical way for middle-class women to fulfill

29 Sarah Trimmer, *The Oeconomy of Charity; or An Address to Ladies; Adapted to the Present State of Charitable Institutions in England: With a Particular View to the Cultivation of Religious Principles, Among the Lower Orders of People* (London: 1801), Vol. I, p. 7-8.

their patriotic duty. In particular, Trimmer recounts the sense of responsibility and comfort which unmarried ladies could receive from taking 'the interesting, the satisfactory office of instructing the children of the poor'(Trimmer, I. 65). Trimmer encourages unmarried ladies to use their leisure and wealth in this virtuous purpose: 'Providence has exempted them from family cares; some of them live in affluence; many in easy circumstances; their hours often hang heavy on their hands - how then can they employ their superfluities both of time and money to more advantage, than in affording instruction and employment to poor children?'(Trimmer, I, 65-66). Indeed, Dorothy attempted to adopt Trimmer's suggestion in her teaching at a Sunday school in Forcett St. Peter, the rectory of her uncle, William Cookson, where she moved into at the age of sixteen. Since her hapless childhood when she was the object of charity herself after the early death of her parents, Dorothy had learned that charity was the most available way to establish herself as a citizen of modern society.

The particular society which Dorothy had in her mind during her tour of Scotland and the composition of the *Recollections* was her poetic circle at Grasmere. The circle which developed on the basis on Dorothy's friendship with William and Coleridge existed for her as an equivalence for the mountain republic which William imagined as the ideal benevolent community formed by men of taste. However, William's marriage on 4 October 1802 brought a change not only to the relationship between William and Dorothy, but also to the relationship between them and Coleridge. As Robert Gittings and Jo Manton observe, though it is not clear why, on 15 August 1803, they set off for a tour of Scotland, one possible reason may have been their 'hopes of renewing the enchanted atmosphere of

Alfoxden days in a Northern setting'³⁰. Furthermore, while composing the *Recollections*, Dorothy was interrupted by the accidents which jeopardized the unity of her community at Grasmere; Coleridge's departure to Malta to improve his health and, in particular, the sudden death of her brother, John. Therefore, the *Recollections* seems to be her desperate attempt to recover the lost intimacy of her circle. In a letter to Coleridge who had left for Malta, she mentions her intention to send him a copy and pleads with the 'Dearest Friend' to keep up correspondence:

I am very well at present. I am going on with my journal. I wish I could send you a copy of it when it done. It is a tiresome thing to read long descriptions of places, but in Italy it would not seem tiresome, so far far from us. If you get this letter, write to us yet once again - and never, Dearest Friend! never miss an opportunity of writing when you are abroad.³¹

William encouraged Dorothy to write the journal because he thought that the composition of the *Recollections* might distract her from the deep grief of the loss of her brother on 5 February 1805. Dorothy completed it in the following April. Dorothy's letter to Lady Beaumont on 11 June 1805 articulates her reasons for the *Recollections* and the comfort which she receives from the task:

Since that time I have been engaged in finishing a copy of a journal of our Tour in Scotland - this was at the first beginning a very painful office, - I had written it for the sake of Friends who could not [be] with us at the time, and my Brother John had been always in my thoughts, for we wished him to know everything that befel us. The task of re-copying this journal, which at first when it was proposed to me after his death, I thought I could never do, I performed at last and found it a tranquillizing

30 Robert Gittings and Jo Manton, *Dorothy Wordsworth* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), p. 145.

31 *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth: The Early Years, 1787-1805*, ed. by Ernest de Selincourt, rev. by Chester L. Shaver (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 463.

employment.³²

Dorothy's major concern about the journal was to give pleasure to her friends and, consequently, to strengthen the connection of her circle. She sent the first manuscript of the *Recollections* to her most intimate friend, Catherine Clarkson, heading 'Recollections of a Tour in Scotland by Dorothy Wordsworth. Addressed to her Friends'. As Dorothy endeavoured throughout her life to participate in her Grasmere circle through acts of charity, so the *Recollections* was an achievement of her spirit of charity. Yet, despite her friends' earnest expectation to see it in print, every negotiation to achieve this plan failed, mainly because of Dorothy's own hesitation.

Many critics explain Dorothy's public silence as the contrast between her habitual, sometimes distressing self-effacement and her brother's expansive Romantic ego. For example, Meena Alexander ascribes Dorothy's 'refusal to enter the realm of authorship where the public and patriarchal worlds intersected' to her fear to abandon the privacy that 'sheltered and fostered her genius and granted her power'³³. However, it is important to emphasise the aspect of the *Recollections* as part of Dorothy's charity. Charity was the manner by which she could play an active part in commercial society without being involved in commercial practices. The purpose of Dorothy's writing the *Recollections* was not to gain a commercial profit from the work, but to produce harmony for the community which she was part of. Therefore, it may be possible to say that Dorothy declined to publish the *Recollections* because she believed in charity as the best way for women to contribute to

32 *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth: The Early Years, 1781-1805*, p. 598.

33 Meena Alexander, *Women in Romanticism: Mary Wollstonecraft, Dorothy Wordsworth and Mary Shelley* (London: Macmillan, 1989), pp. 120 and 72.

and participate in society, rather than because she refused to enter in the public world.

Through a close reading of Dorothy's *Recollections* in the rest of this section, I will illustrate Dorothy's picturesque tour of Scotland as a leisure activity which is performed under the auspices of an unmarried woman's charity.

Throughout the tour in Scotland, Dorothy frequently encountered incidents which questioned the decency of her status as an unmarried woman. The *Recollections* describes the curiosity of local women concerning her marital status and their consequent embarrassment in a humorous tone of acquiescence. When Dorothy is chatting with a blacksmith's wife on the way to Glencoe, Dorothy is asked, 'as usual, if I was married, how many brothers I had, etc. etc'. Dorothy's answer that 'Wm. was married and had a fine boy' is accepted with the wariness of the wife, who replies, 'And the man's a decent man too'³⁴. On the other occasion at Loch Lubraig, a woman of 'the most respectable-looking house' asks Dorothy the same question, 'the old one over again, if I was married'. When the woman discovers that Dorothy is not married, she 'appeared surprised' and says to Dorothy, 'as if recollecting herself', 'with a pious seriousness and perfect simplicity, "To be sure, there is a great promise for virgins in Heaven"' (*Recollections*: 382). The unusual nature of the travelling party, a single woman accompanied by her brother and her male friend, provokes the suspicion of local people who believe that marriage is the only proper and possible life for an honourable and decent woman. In particular, Dorothy is annoyed by the bigotry of Mrs Otto, when the landlady of an inn at Leadhills is reluctant to invite her to a three-bed room:

34 Dorothy Wordsworth, *Recollections of a Tour Made in Scotland A. D. 1803*, in *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, ed. by Ernest de Selincourt (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd, 1959), p. 327.

... she had made a hundred hesitations when I told her we wanted three beds. At last she confessed she *had* three beds, and showed me into a parlour which looked damp and cold, but she assured me in a tone that showed she was unwilling to be questioned further, that all *her* beds were all aired. I sat a while by the kitchen fire with the landlady, and began to talk to her; but, much as I had heard in her praise (for the shopkeeper had told me she was a *verra discreet* woman) I cannot say that her manners pleased me much..... (*Recollections: 211*)

Mrs Otto is so discreet that she dismisses anything different from her own value in order to defend her virtue and respectability as a Scottish married woman. What is offensive for Dorothy's pride as an independent English woman is the 'suspiciousness about Mrs Otto, almost like ill-nature', that is, the local patriotism of the landlady who is 'very jealous of any inquiries which might appear to be made with the faintest idea of a comparison between Leadhills and any other place, except the advantage was evidently on the side of Leadhills' (*Recollections: 211*). Dorothy perceives Scotland as a foreign region because of the local women's exclusiveness. Therefore, Dorothy often associates them with French women. For instance, Dorothy remarks on the French air of the shopkeeper who praises the discreetness of Mrs Otto: 'She had a dark complexion, dark eyes, and wore a *very white* cap, much over her face, which gave her the look of a French woman, and indeed afterwards the women on the roads frequently reminded us of French women' (*Recollections: 210*).

Dorothy's description of Scotland is based upon her keen observation of native women's life and upon her conversations with them. In order to counterpoint the intolerance of married women like Mrs Otto, Dorothy endeavours to prove the credibility of her domesticity as an English woman and to make universally known the benevolence of her domestic world. What Dorothy sees and hears during the tour is compared with the value of her English domestic life. Dorothy repeatedly mentions the

dirtiness of Scottish kitchens. When she examines the kitchen of Mrs Otto, Dorothy is amazed to find it 'crowded with furniture, drawers, cupboards, dish-covers, pictures, pans, and pots, arranged without order' and 'floors, passages, staircase, everything else dirty' (*Recollections*: 211). Dorothy also expresses her surprise at the ignorance of a Highland wife who makes barley cakes thin with her hands, instead of using a rolling-pin: the practice which 'prevailed in Cumberland and Westmoreland seventy or eighty years ago' (*Recollections*: 382n). Dorothy confirms that her English domestic life is superior in convenience and efficiency, as she proudly says: 'It was a tedious process, and I thought could scarcely have been managed if the cakes had been as large as ours; but they are considerably smaller, which is a great loss of time in the baking' (*Recollections*: 382). Furthermore, Dorothy applies the standard of her personal life to the appreciation of the natural beauty of the Highlands. In her description of a Highland landscape, Dorothy often compares the view with that of the Lakes and locates it in the setting of her domestic world. For example, Dorothy associates the landscape of Loch Lomond with the view of Ullswater from the house of her closest friend, Catherine Clarkson:

This view is very much like that from Mr. Clarkson's windows: the mountain in front resembles Hallan; indeed, is almost the same; but Ben Lomond is not seen standing in such majestic company as Helvellyn, and the meadows are less beautiful than at Ulswater. The reach of the lake is very magnificent; you see it (as Ulswater is seen beyond the promontory of Old Church) winding away behind a large woody island that looks like a promontory. (*Recollections*: 244)

Dorothy is pleased with the superior natural beauty of the Lakes as the evidence of her private community's benevolence and well-being, in contrast with the jealous exclusiveness of the female society in the foreign region. She tries to share her

impression with her English friends at the Lakes, the implied readers of the *Recollections*.

The ground on which Dorothy acquires the sense of free and independent citizenship is the privilege which she is granted as a tourist. While women in Scotland confine themselves in the closed community where they find their subsistence without knowing the outside world, Dorothy enjoys the financial and cultural liberty to seek for private pleasure in a remote area. Dorothy realizes the contrast between her independence and the oppressed state of Scottish women when she passes a travelling woman on the way up through Loch Lomond: 'I could not but think of the difference in our condition to that poor woman, who, with her husband, had been driven from her home by want of work, and was now going a long journey to seek it elsewhere' (*Recollections*: 369). Dorothy's sympathy with the helpless state of the poor woman is accompanied by her self-awareness of her own privileged status. In contrast with the 'painful toil' of the poor woman's journey with 'her child to bear or a heavy burthen', Dorothy's toil as a picturesque tourist produces pleasure: 'I walked as she did, but pleasure was my object, and if toil came along with it, even *that* was pleasure, - pleasure, at least, it would be in the remembrance' (*Recollections*: 369). Though the poor woman is expelled from her native land to find a means of living, Dorothy can afford to enjoy her leisure at the same region. Dorothy's entitlement to the leisure activity as a picturesque tourist provides the basis for the independence of her mind. However, at the same time, Dorothy is deeply antagonistic to the consumerism of the common tourists who are only concerned with showing off their wealth and social status. The *Recollections* contains Dorothy's criticisms about the vulgar taste of tourists who experience the pleasure of landscape

beauty only as the routine of tours. For example, Dorothy describes Ossian's Hall in Dunkeld which amuses fashionable tourists like Sarah Murray:

...we were first, however, conducted into a small apartment, where the gardener desired us to look at a painting of the figure of Ossian, which, while he was telling us the story of the young artist who performed the work, disappeared, parting in the middle, flying asunder as if by the touch of magic, and lo! we are at the entrance of a splendid room, which was almost dizzy and alive with waterfalls, that tumbled in all directions - the great cascade, which was opposite to the window that faced us, being reflected in innumerable mirrors upon the ceiling and against the walls. We both laughed heartily, which, no doubt, the gardener considered as high commendation; for he was very eloquent in pointing out the beauties of the place. (*Recollections*: 358-9)

Dorothy laughs not because she is impressed by the beauty of the waterfalls, rather because she is shocked by the ostentatious manner in which the Hall presents the view. Her attitude to the Hall which she calls dismissively 'little devices' (*Recollections*, 359) is very different from that of common tourists. Dorothy ridicules the pretentiousness of the gardener who believes that everybody is delighted with the effect of the Hall.

The *Recollections* is, in some ways, Dorothy's attempt to justify her journey as a benevolent social practice. In other words, this is her endeavour to establish herself as an independent cultural agent and to differentiate herself not only from the cultural lower-class like Scottish women who are deprived of liberty to exercise picturesque taste, but also from the greedy consumers like fashionable tourists who devour pleasure in landscape beauty. As I have mentioned, eighteenth-century women's culture of sensibility develops as a reciprocal process between their consumption of goods and the production of meaning. Picturesque tours by women are an extension of the domestic material culture outside the home. Dorothy's tour in Scotland is also a transfer of her private cultural paradigm to the foreign setting. Therefore, her concern is not to appreciate the particularity of Scotland's landscape, but to seek for an image with which

she is familiar in daily life. For example, in her description of landscape, Dorothy frequently refers to the picturesque images which she absorbs from published guidebooks and aesthetic treatises. Dorothy identifies the view of Stirling Castle with a print in Stoddart's book: 'Long before we reached the town of Stirling, saw the Castle, single, on its stately and commanding eminence. The rock or hill rises from a level plain; the print in Stoddart's book does indeed give a good notion of its form' (*Recollections*: 383). The description of Inverary reveals that Dorothy stores specific images in the mind before she actually confronts them. Dorothy compares the scenic beauty of the town with the picturesque images which she has seen at raree-shows or at a play-house:

The town looked pretty when we drew near to it in connexion with its situation, different from any place I had ever seen, yet exceedingly like what I imaged to myself from representations in raree-shows, or pictures of foreign places (Venice, for example) painted on the scene of a play-house, which one is apt to fancy are as cleanly and gay as they look through the magnifying-glass of the raree-show or in the candle-light dazzle of a theatre. (*Recollections*: 294)

Dorothy is also excited with the picturesque beauty of a view near Tarbet, because it exactly agrees with her expected image of landscape: 'We called out with one voice, "That's what we wanted!" alluding to the frame-like uniformity of the side-screens of the lake for the last five or six miles' (*Recollections*: 256).

In the *Recollections*, Dorothy does not discuss the picturesque as an abstract idea, but specifies it as a concrete image. On the way from Tyndrum, Dorothy is pleased with a view of two herdsmen on a hill who are 'overlooking a heard of cattle scattered over a large meadow by the river-side' and calls the picturesque landscape 'a beautiful picture' (*Recollections*: 341). Dorothy often describes the picturesque image of

landscape as an aesthetic asset. When she arrives at Ballachulish under moonlight, she attempts to possess the picturesque image which excites her fancy: 'I have kept back, unwilling to go to the window, that I might not lose the picture taken to my pillow at night' (*Recollections*: 325). Moreover, Dorothy's use of the image of possession is well exemplified by the description of her aesthetic experience in Loch Lomond:

But soon we came to just such a place as we had wanted to see.... We had before seen the lake only as one wide plain of water; but here the portion of it which we saw was bounded by a high and steep, heathy and woody island opposite, which did not appear like an island, but the main shore, and framed out a little oblong lake apparently not so broad as Rydale-water, with one small island covered with trees, resembling some of the most beautiful of the holms of Windermere, and only a narrow river's breadth from the shore. This was a place where we should have liked to have lived, and the only one we had seen near Loch Lomond: I thought, what a place for Wm.! he might row himself over with twenty strokes of the oars, escaping from the business of the house, and as safe from intruders, with his boat anchored beside him, as if he had locked himself up in the strong tower of a castle. We were unwilling to leave this sweet spot; but it was so simple, and therefore so rememberable, that it seemed almost as if we could have carried it away with us. (*Recollections*: 246)

When she comes across a beautiful landscape which satisfies her picturesque taste, Dorothy appreciates its aesthetic value in comparison with picturesque image of the Lakes, her native country. Dorothy imagines the picturesque landscape of Loch Lomond as an extension of her domestic world - her home at the Lakes - and imagines herself carrying it away as part of her private property. Through the accumulation of picturesque images, Dorothy enjoys the feeling that she becomes affluent in aesthetic experience. In so doing, she is involved in imaginatively purchasing Scotland.

Dorothy's imaginary purchase of landscape corresponds to her incorporating Scotland to the cultural realm in which she plays a dominant role. The imaginary construction of her own community in the foreign region is discernible in her

description of a ferryman's hut in the Trossachs, which Dorothy regards her home on the second visit: 'We went up to the door of our boatman's hut as to a home, and scarcely less confident of a cordial welcome than if we had been approaching our own cottage at Grasmere' (*Recollections*: 368). What Dorothy discovers in the Highland hut on the first visit is a completely egalitarian world in which there is neither cultural distinction between the Scottish and the English, nor the gender difference. Dorothy and her companions are amiably and heartily welcomed by the ferryman in his rustic Highland manner. Moreover, it is Coleridge who does for Dorothy what she normally does for him: 'C. had been there long enough to have a pan of coffee boiling for us, and having put our clothes in the way of drying' (*Recollections*: 276). Dorothy's delight in achieving the ideal community in the Highlands is expressed by the childlike laughter which Dorothy shares with William and Coleridge:

We caroused our cups of coffee, laughing like children at the strange atmosphere in which we were: the smoke came in gusts, and spread along the walls and above our heads in the chimney, where the hens were roosting like light clouds in the sky; we laughed and laughed again, in spite of the smarting of our eyes, yet had a quieter pleasure in observing the beauty of the beams and rafters gleaming between the clouds of smoke. (*Recollections*: 276)

Amidst the conviviality at the Highland hut, Dorothy emphasises the strangeness of the experience. She mentions again the strange atmosphere of the hut, when the overwhelming joy keeps her awake on the same night: 'the unusualness of the situation prevented me from sleeping' (*Recollections*: 278). The strangeness and the unusualness of the situation which Dorothy perceives derives from the fact that the egalitarian world in the hut can only exist as an imaginary vision of her creation. The childlike laughter arises from the unexpectedness that the imaginary turns out to be something real.

Dorothy's picturesque tour provides an occasion for her to act as an independent cultural agent who produces the image of an ideal world. However, as the egalitarian community at the Highland hut is Dorothy's imaginary vision, her independence in the community is an imaginary one. She associates 'the vision of the Highland hut' with 'the Fairyland of Spenser, and what I had read in romance at other times' (*Recollections*: 278). Dorothy also imagines how her imaginary view would look if it were located in the scene of urban commercial culture: 'what a feast would it be for a London pantomime-maker, could he be but transplant it to Drury Lane, with all its beautiful colours!' (*Recollections*: 278).

Dorothy achieves the sense of identity as an independent and free citizen and, as we shall see, realizes that her picturesque tour is culturally productive, in contrast with the consumption of wealth in which other fashionable female tourists indulge and with the domestic labour of Scottish women. The complexity of her identity becomes apparent when we look at how Dorothy relates her imaginative labour to the poetical production of her brother. William's business during the tour is to textualize his experience in Scotland and to subsume the foreign region into his egocentric poetical world. For example, impressed with a view of a Highland boy at Tarbet, William describes it as a 'text':

While we were walking forward, the road leading us over the top of a brow, we stopped suddenly at the sound of a half-articulate Gaelic hooting from the field close to us; it came from a little boy, whom we could see on the hill between us and the lake, wrapped up in a grey plaid; he was probably calling home the cattle for the night. His appearance was in the highest degree moving to the imagination: mists were on the hillsides, darkness shutting in upon the huge avenue of mountains, torrents roaring, no house in sight to which the child might belong; his dress, cry, and appearance all different from anything we had been accustomed to. It was a text, as Wm. has since observed to me, containing in itself

the whole history of the Highlander's life - his melancholy, his simplicity, his poverty, his superstition, and above all, that visionariness which results from a communion with the unworldliness of nature. (*Recollections*: 286)

The epitome of Highland life is William's imaginary production. William creates the text not by what he sees, but also by what is hidden from him: the mountain in the darkness, the boy's house which is out of sight, the unintelligible meaning of his Gaelic cries and so on. William transforms the Highland boy into a symbol. The Highland boy is incorporated into William's poetic empire, as if he was a Scottish partner of the boy in Winander.

Dorothy's strategy for acquiring a voice as a female writer is to make her writing serve William's poetical production. As I have mentioned, charity is the manner which Dorothy employed to incorporate herself into the public world. Though the status of unmarried women is insecure and marginal in modern society, the act of charity allows them to participate in men's public practices. Likewise, Dorothy's writing the *Recollections* can be seen as her poetical act of charity. The *Recollections* consists of two different texts: the transcription of the poems which William creates throughout the tour and Dorothy's description of the circumstance which the poems refer to and in which they are produced. Dorothy's descriptive text provides an imaginary substructure which makes William's poetic world possible. Dorothy's labour intends not to create her own poetical world, but to collaborate on William's poetical production. Through poetical charity, Dorothy is able to appropriate the master-voice of men's imagination and to speak of her own creativity. The description of Dumbarton Castle shows the complex nature of Dorothy's poetical identity:

There being a mist over it, it had a ghost-like appearance (as I observed to Wm.

and C.) something like the Tor of Glastonbury from the Dorsetshire hills..... I mention the circumstance, because, with the ghostly image of Dumbarton Castle, and the ambiguous ruin on the small island, it was much in the character of the scene, which was throughout magical and enchanting - a new world in its great permanent outline and composition, and changing at every moment in every part of it by the effect of sun and wind, and mist and shower and cloud, and the blending lights and deep shades which took the place of each other, traversing the lake in every direction. The whole was indeed a strange mixture of soothing and restless images, of images inviting to rest, and others hurrying the fancy away into an activity still more pleasing than repose; yet, intricate and homeless, that is, without lasting abiding-place for the mind, as the prospect was, there was no perplexity; we had still a guide to lead us forward. (*Recollections*: 253)

The landscape is a vision which represents the free activity of Dorothy's imagination.

Its 'intricate and homeless' image expresses the autonomous state of her creative mind.

This is 'a new world' because Dorothy is liberated from the 'home', a prison as well as a shelter of her mind and, therefore, achieves full independence and self-sufficiency.

However, the aside: 'as I observed to Wm. and C.' suggests that Dorothy's poetical creation requires the existence of the two male poets. In other words, Dorothy's creativity is authorized only in William's and Coleridge's poetical world. As Dorothy uses the words 'ghostly' and 'ghost-like' to describe the landscape which projects her creative mind for William and Coleridge, she acquires an equal status with them only as an imaginary being in their poetical world.

Furthermore, the *Recollections* shows that it is upon William's poetical text that Dorothy can complete her hope to establish the stable social status. In the poem which was published in 1807 under the title of 'Yarrow Unvisited', William describes Dorothy as his 'winsome Marrow'. The poem is about the poet's excuse for not visiting the river:

"Be Yarrow stream unseen, unknown,
It must, or we shall rue it,

We have a vision of our own,
Ah! why should we undo it?
The treasured dreams of times long past,
We'll keep them, 'winsome Marrow',
For when we're there, although 'tis fair,
'Twill be another Yarrow.

"If care with freezing years should come,
And wandering seem but folly,
Should we be loth to stir from home,
And yet be melancholy,
Should life be dull and spirits low,
'Twill soothe us in our sorrow
That earth hath something yet to show -
The bonny Holms of Yarrow". (*Recollections*: 393)

The poet's attempt here is to accommodate Scotland to his English poetical world.

When he suggests not visiting the river, he tries to safeguard the integrity of his poetical world. As William's poetic partner who shares his imaginary vision of Scotland, Dorothy participates in his project poetically to unify England and Scotland.

Consequently, Dorothy appears to secure her independent position in William's imaginary world. However, in order to do so, she must be transformed into a poetical figure, a 'winsome Marrow' and it is in this manner that she is incorporated into William's world of imagination. Dorothy's picturesque tour in Scotland reveals that her idea of a female citizen is a complex entity: the subject who imagines and, at the same time, the object who is imagined.

The examination of Dorothy Wordsworth's *Recollections* in this chapter raises a question about the relationship between picturesque travel writings and imaginative writings such as poetry and the novel. As Ann Radcliffe's first gothic novel, *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne* (1789), exemplifies, the picturesque image of Scotland

provides a setting for imaginative writings.³⁵ In the next and concluding chapter, I will illustrate how the picturesque collaborates with the emerging literary genre of the novel in its nation-imagining function.

35Ann Radcliffe, *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

CHAPTER FOUR

WALTER SCOTT'S HISTORICAL PICTURESQUE

The examination of tours in Scotland in the previous three chapters showed the ideas of history, nature and the individual subject which were presented by the picturesque through the cultural unification between Scotland and England. When tourists described the Highlands as picturesque, they transformed the region's distinctiveness - its historical association with Jacobitism and its wild and bleak natural scenes - into the cultural value which was agreeable to their idea of one united nation. At the same time, as I have illustrated in the last chapter, tourists employed the picturesque to define what it meant to be a citizen of the nation. The picturesque was closely related to tourists' desire to imagine a benevolent and harmonious community and to imagine themselves as founding members of that community. My argument suggested that, through this nation-imagining function of the picturesque, the picturesque image of Scotland assumed something analogous with literary fiction. It became popular for picturesque tourists to seek the natural scenes which evoked associations with Ossian's poems. In their landscape description, they often used the word 'romantic' as a synonym of 'picturesque'. To conclude my examination of tours in Scotland, I will elucidate the relationship between the practice of picturesque taste and imaginative writings in the process of forming an idea of the British nation. The focus of this chapter will be on Walter Scott's taste for the picturesque and his idea of Britishness.

As I have shown in my discussion of Gilpin's tour in the first chapter, the basic function of Gilpin's picturesque idea was the negation of Scotland's particular history; the tour attempted to dissolve the association with a Jacobite past, and to represent the region as an integral part of the British nation. However, as many critics suggest, Scott's idea of the picturesque represents a shift in concerns. Eric G. Walker identifies the shift with Scott's

move 'from the natural world of picturesque art to the human world of the novel'¹. In contrast with Gilpin's negation of history, Scott turns to history in order to humanize picturesque landscape. Scott's position regarding the picturesque is ambivalent. On the one hand, he is not interested in the conventional practice of the picturesque which applies the rigid principles of painting to landscape description. On the other, he employs the picturesque as a framework to present a natural setting into which he introduces his historical narrative. Walker explains the complex relationship between history and the picturesque in Scott's novels:

Scott's great allegiance is to history, not to picturesque landscape. When Scott makes this critical shift from the picturesque in scenery to the picturesque in action, in one sense he turns his back to the picturesque aesthetic and embraces history and narrative as entirely different activities of taste and imagination. But in another sense, Scott carries the picturesque with him when he turns to history. The pictorial value of striking contrasts that lies at the heart of the picturesque is a favourite method by which Scott gives shape to his history and narratives. (Walker, 22)

Peter Garside also points out Scott's literary attempt to implant narrative into landscape description, as the aspect which Garside calls a 'Scottian *historical picturesque*'².

Moreover, Alexander M. Ross argues that the application of the picturesque to historical narrative beyond the mere description of landscape is a significant process which establishes the tradition of the nineteenth-century novel. Scott uses the word 'picturesque' to describe a particular kind of narrative writing 'in which stress is upon vivid pictorial detail, exciting historical action, and the emotions of characters caught up in the rush of

1 Eric G. Walker, *Scott's Fiction and the Picturesque* (Salzburg: University of Salzburg, 1982), p. 8.

2 Peter Garside, 'Picturesque figure and landscape', in *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, landscape and aesthetics since 1770*, ed. by Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 148.

resulting circumstances'³. According to Ross, Scott's historical picturesque produces an important element of nineteenth century literature: the landscape description of nature 'not as set pieces, but particularized and integrated fully into the fabric of the novel' (Ross, 24). In this chapter, I will expand Walker's and Ross's argument to show how Scott's historical picturesque helps to represent his idea of Britishness. How does Scott imagine the British nation as picturesque? How does Scott promote his novels as a cultural device which propagate the picturesque image of the nation? Through an examination of Scott's idea of the picturesque, I will explore these questions. More generally, my concern is to illuminate the picturesque's history-making function: the function to mythologise the particular history of Scotland, to make the process of the Union natural and to make the imagined community of the British nation as something to live for or, equally, as something to die for. To begin with, I will examine Scott's responses to the contemporary vogue for picturesque tours of Scotland.

As Scotland attracted a wide range of tourists in the early nineteenth century, multiple discourses of the picturesque emerged. Even the unpropertied and uneducated, who were not expected to exercise picturesque taste, adopted the picturesque as a general mode of landscape description. An example of the working-class appropriation of picturesque taste is offered by the *Highland Tours* of James Hogg, known as 'the Ettrick Shepherd'. As his pseudonym implies, Hogg was originally a shepherd of Ettrick, a rural village in the Borders. Scott discovered Hogg's poetic genius and relied on his vast knowledge of the ballads of the area to compose *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*. In July 1802, Hogg set out for

3 Alexander M. Ross, *The Imprint of the Picturesque on Nineteenth-Century British Fiction* (Waterloo: Wilfrid University Press, 1986), p. 41.

a journey to the Highlands to look for employment as overseer of a sheep-farm. Despite Scott's recommendations to various friends, he returned without success. Though he did not achieve his original purpose, the tour gave him an opportunity to build his literary career. Hogg published his letters to Scott during the journey in the *Scots Magazine*. Scott wrote an introductory letter to the editor of the magazine:

Those whose education has commenced with the first opening of their ideas, who have never known what it was to be at large from the trammels of an instructor, who have been as it were, 'rocked and cradled, and dandled' into men of literature, may be considered as the denizens of the realms of taste and science. But the uneducated and hardy intruder, whose natural strength of mind impels him to study, to whose researches novelty gives all its charms, may, while bewildering himself in unknown streets, and occasionally mistaking gewgaws and trinkets for real treasures, view nevertheless recesses untrod before, and discover beauties neglected by those who have been bred up among them.⁴

Scott assures the editor of the letters' authenticity and suggests the advantage which would be derived from the observations made by a man of humble rank. He acknowledges that the uneducated is sometimes superior to the educated in natural strength of mind and that, therefore, the uneducated can discern beauty or truth of which the educated is unaware.

Hogg's *Highland Tours* includes various passages which lampoon the educated because their mind is so much narrow-focussed on 'the realms of taste and science' that they cannot perceive the true nature of beauty. Some of Hogg's remarks are intended to cast doubt on the universality of aesthetic value which is represented by picturesque convention. In his landscape descriptions, Hogg frequently uses terms which are common to picturesque tourists. He appreciates, for example, the scenic beauty at Loch Rannoch as 'a mixture of

⁴ James Hogg, *Highland Tours: The Ettrick Shepherd's Travels in the Scottish Highlands and Western Isles in 1802, 1803 and 1804 with an Introduction by Sir Walter Scott*, ed. by William F. Laughlan (Hawick: Byway Book, 1982), p. 9.

the beautiful and the sublime'(Hogg, 42). Hogg also applies the word 'romantic' to appreciate something pleasing in a landscape: 'a large river winding between two romantic hills', 'in the bosom of romantic hills, crowned with wood to the very tops', 'a romantic little elevated plain'(Hogg, 29, 33, 97) and so on. Moreover, Hogg adopts the picturesque convention when he describes the landscape of Loch Katrine,: 'The landscape at large was quite spoiled by a thick, lowering mist, that hid in shades all the high mountains which should have made up the back-ground of this romantic scene'(Hogg, 49). However, while Hogg self-consciously exhibits his picturesque taste, his description also suggests the absurdity of the craze for the picturesque. In Hamilton house, for example, Hogg makes a ridiculous effort to agree with his high-class companions regarding the paintings of the estate, though he finds their picturesque taste very odd: 'whenever I saw a frightful, ill-looking figure, I praised that for its beauty, and never missed being joined by the rest, although, in fact, they were rather like hobgoblins than earthy creatures'(Hogg, 122). Hogg also describes himself hanging from a precipice in order to have a perfect view of Loch Fion:

From a precipice near to this we had a view of a curious bason of very romantic dimensions, but in order to see it properly we were obliged to lie down full length on our breasts, and make long necks over the verge. I was afraid to trust my head, and ordered Mr. Mackenzie to keep a firm hold of the tails of my coat, but before I could reach so far as to have a proper survey, I was obliged to roar out to be pulled back, my 'conscience having failed me', as I once heard a boy say in the same predicament. (Hogg, 100)

Hogg's awkward attempt to follow picturesque tradition at the risk of his life reveals the stupidity of tourists' enthusiasm for picturesque beauty.

Though tolerant of or even favourable to Hogg's taste for the picturesque, Scott directed a furious attack on picturesque tourists of his own rank for their abusive exercise of taste.

As a result of the development of tourism, Scotland had become more popular as a tourists' destination, not only for its scenic beauty, but also for the variety of leisure activities which the region offered - hunting and fishing, in particular. In 1804, Colonel Thomas Thornton published *A Sporting tour through the north parts of England, and Great Part of the Highlands of Scotland*. The travelogue is a long list of his exploits in hunting and fishing; recording when, where and how much fish and game he caught. Thornton describes in detail the extravagance of his tour which shows off his wealth and high social status. The picturesque is an indispensable feature of his attempt to seek pleasure in luxury. In order to follow the convention of picturesque tours, Thornton asks Gilpin to introduce him to a proper person who can accompany him on the tour and who can paint impressive scenes for him. Thornton employs 'Mr. Garrard', Gilpin's pupil:

I had communicated my ideas respecting the plan I meant to adopt to the ingenious Mr. Gilpin, in whose taste as an artist, and good sense as a man, I could confide; and particularly lamenting the want of a proper person with me last year to do justice to the view I had been so enchanted with, he promised to exert himself to find some young man, of good family, whose abilities were equal to the task. Many offers, rather sooner than my determination was fixed, were made; but, for the following reasons, I chose Mr. Garrard, a pupil of Mr. Gilpin's. The scenes I wished to have painted were to illustrate not only the views, as mere views, but as scenes adapted to sport, and his forte in animals was very manifest: his age, constitution, and acknowledged rising genius would admit of no comparison: added to which he was an excellent walker.⁵

While Thornton is amusing himself with hunting, Garrard's business is to hunt for picturesque beauty and to preserve it in his sketchbook. For example, after the hunting of the day in Loch Lomond, Garrard gratifies Thornton's 'expectations to the full with an accurate view of this charming scene' (Thornton, 40). Thornton, in return, shows Garrard

5 Colonel Thomas Thornton, *A Sporting Tour through the Northern Parts of England and Great Part of the Highlands of Scotland* (London: Edward Arnold, 1896), pp. 1-2.

'the duck, and afterwards the cormorant, with which he was quite delighted, and joined in opinion with Mr. P. that it would make an excellent repast at a Highland inn'(Thornton, 40). The game and the picturesque landscape are exchanged as are the catches they made. Thornton is delighted not only with the game, but also with the picturesque landscapes as the spoils of his sporting tour. Moreover, in the *Sporting Tour*, Thornton gives a minute description of how he cooked and ate the fish and game and even inserts a bill of fare.

It is the tourists' greedy pursuit of pleasure in Scotland against which Scott expressed his repugnance. No sooner had the *Sporting Tour* been published than Scott launched into a criticism of the work; as Scott says in a review in 1805: 'And deeply have we often sworn, that if any of those gentlemen should be tempted to hunt across Parnassus ... we would them [sic], in return for their lectures on the game laws, introduce them to an acquaintance with the canons of criticism'⁶. Scott condemns Thornton for the lengthy and tedious account of his tour's splendour which 'exceeds the licence given to sportsmen'(ER: V, 400). He denounces Thornton as tyrannical for his attempt to 'stuff a quarto with his personal exploits of shooting and fishing, all detailed with the most unmerciful prolixity'(ER: V, 402). Scott also censures Thornton's superficial knowledge of the Highlands, exemplified by his frequent misspellings of Gaelic place names. Moreover, Scott comments harshly on Thornton's descriptions of landscapes:

The descriptions of the Highland landscapes which the Colonel met with on his route are very similar to what are usually found in books of the kind, abounding in all the *slang* by which tourists delight to describe what can never be understood from description. The accounts of abbeys, castles, antiquities, &c. are bolstered out by quotations from Pennant and Gray. Indeed, whole pages are borrowed from the former, without either shame or acknowledgement. (ER: V, 404)

⁶ Walter Scott, 'Colonel Thornton's *Sporting Tour*', *ER* (January, 1805), Vol. V, p. 399.

Thornton simply copies the expression of the popular travel writers without his own appreciation of natural beauty. Scott despises Thornton's description of landscape because he displays picturesque taste only to gratify his pride.

As a response to and sometimes as a resistance to the multiplication of picturesque discourse, Scott attempts to authenticate his picturesque idea as a standard of national taste. Scott regards picturesque taste as a means to protect and celebrate Scotland's national identity. In his letter to Alexander Young in 1830, Scott waggishly describes the Scots' initial antagonism toward Samuel Johnson's *Journey*: 'Now when this appeared our dear country men fell to crying sham[e] and false hood and other bad words & could they have got the Doctor under their Andrew Ferraras⁷ he was in danger of being mad[e] fit for the contents of a haggis'⁸. In contrast with the general Scottish public, Scott admits the advantage derived from Johnson's tour. One of Johnson's observations which incurred the resentment of Scots was his censorious remark about the lack of trees in Scotland. Scott states that, though shocking the national pride of the Scots, Johnson's sarcasm incites them to improve the landscape of their country. Therefore, Scott encourages the plantation of Scotland to enrich its landscape with picturesque beauty as 'the best mode of vengeance' (*Letters of Scott*: XI, 354) for Johnson's criticism.

Scott's journey to the Shetland and Orkney islands in 1814 illustrates the close relationship between his idea of the picturesque and his concern to improve the remote

7 'Andrew Ferrara' was a common name for Scottish broadswords. See Walter Scott, *Waverley: Or, 'Tis Sixty Years Since* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 404.

8 *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. by H. J. C. Grierson (London: Constable & Co. Ltd, 1932), Vol. XI, p. 354.

islands as a part of the British nation. The Board of Commissions for the Northern Lighthouse Service invited Scott as a guest on their voyage to investigate the condition of lighthouses on the coast of Scotland. Scott joined the voyage not only because of his interest in the Board's business, but also because of his own need to acquire local knowledge and information for his novel, *The Pirate*, whose original idea he conceived during this period, although it was published eight years later. Scott's voyage to the northern islands had the mixed purposes 'of public utility and some personal amusement'⁹.

Scott's journal of the voyage includes numerous remarks on the picturesque beauty of landscape: the old Castle in Fraserburgh, 'now bearing the light, is a picturesque object from the sea', the town of Lerwick, 'a fishing village built irregularly upon a hill ascending from the shore, has a picturesque appearance', 'a noble and picturesque effect' of the Hill of Hoy, 'a succession of picturesque mountains of every variety of height and outline' in Cape Wrath (Scott, *Northern Lights*: 26, 27, 72, 84) and so on. When Robert Stevenson, an engineer of the Board and a grandfather of Robert Louis Stevenson, proposes to demolish an old tower on the Isle of May, Scott recommends 'ruining it *a la picturesque* - ie demolishing it partially' (Scott, *Northern Lights*: 23). Throughout the voyage, Scott enjoys the picturesque view of Scotland's coast. Nevertheless, what is peculiar in Scott's picturesque taste is his sense of detachment from the object of beauty. Instead of expressing his personal sentimentality in landscape description, which is the common practice for picturesque tourists, Scott often attempts to survey the object of aesthetic interest. He gives the precise dimensions of the ancient castle of Mousa:

⁹ Walter Scott, *Northern Lights or a Voyage in the Lighthouse Yacht to Nova Zembla and the Lord know where in the summer of 1814* (Hawick: Byway Books, 1982), p. 11.

Outside diameter at the base is fifty-two feet; at the top thirty-eight feet. The diameter of the interior at the base is nineteen feet six inches; at the top twenty-one feet; the curve on the inside being the reverse of the outside, or nearly so. The thickness of the walls at the base seventeen feet; at the top eight feet six inches. The height outside forty-two feet; the inside thirty-four feet. (Scott, *Northern Lights*: 46)

The measurement of aesthetic objects is also one of Johnson's preoccupations in his tour.

Like Johnson's *Journey*, Scott's journal intends to present an accurate and impartial view of the economic, cultural and social situation of the visited islands. Scott seems to share Johnson's objective point of view in observations. However, there is a significant difference between Johnson and Scott. Johnson believes that the integrity of the Highland community might be imperiled by the introduction of trade; by contrast, Scott is more positive about promoting economic improvement in the Shetland and Orkney islands. For example, Scott proposes agricultural reforms in the islands where fishing is the single and primal recourse of income:

The improvement of the arable land, on the contrary, would soon set them beyond the terrors of famine with which the islanders are at present occasionally visited; and, combined with fisheries carried on - not by farmers, but by real fishers - would amply supply the inhabitants without diminishing the export of dried fish. This separation of trades will in time take place, and then the prosperous days of Zetland will begin. (Scott, *Northern Lights*: 35-36)

Scott describes the social benefit and prosperity which would be brought about by the multiplication of trades; he believes strongly in the importance of incorporating the underdeveloped area into a commercial economy.

Here, we can see the similarity between Scott's picturesque taste and that of economic improvers in the late eighteenth century. As I have examined in the second chapter, the economic improvers like John Knox employed picturesque taste to promote industry and manufacture in the Highlands. The picturesque worked to imagine the nature of the

Highlands as productive of aesthetic as well as of economic value. Likewise, in his articles published in *The Quarterly Review*, Scott clearly articulates the connection between his idea of the picturesque and his concern for national improvement. In the review of Robert Monteath's *The Forester's Guide and Profitable Planter* in 1827, he deplores the fact that a great area of Scotland has been neglected and advocates the plantation of the waste lands as 'one of the most important of national improvements'¹⁰. According to Scott, the plantation serves two patriotic goals: to embellish the landscape of the country and to provide a stock of timber for military supplies: 'A patriotic spirit, therefore, might be supposed sufficiently rewarded by preparing for the future conquests of the British navy, and for the ornament of his native land' (*QR*: XXXVI, 560). It is clear that Scott regards plantations for profit as also serving the purpose of ornament and vice-versa: 'No very large plantation can be formed without beautifying the face of the country...; and, on the other hand, the thinnings of merely ornamental plantations afford the proprietor who raises such, a fair indemnity for the ground which they occupy' (*QR*: XXXVI, 560). Scott repeats the same claim in another review of Henry Steuart's *The Planter's Guide* in 1828. The review contains Scott's hearty approval of Steuart's invented method of transplanting grown trees and his innovative application of steam and gas to the plantation. The Highland Society dismisses Steuart's system of ornamental gardening because they regard it as the practice which 'belongs to the fine arts rather than those which have had direct and simple utility for their object'¹¹. However, Scott rejects the Highland Society's remark, insisting on the profitability of ornamental gardening: 'the improver *has* created a value - unproductive, indeed, while he

10 Walter Scott, 'On Planting Waste Lands', *QR* (October, 1827), Vol. XXXVI, p. 559.

11 Walter Scott, 'Landscape Gardening', *QR* (March, 1828), Vol. XXXVII, p. 341.

continues to retain possession of his estate, but which can be converted into actual productive capital so soon as he chooses to part with it' (QR: XXXVII, 341). He expects this 'beautiful and rational system' of planting to be brought into general practice and to 'do more to advance the picturesque beauty of the country in five years than the slow methods hitherto adopted can attain in fifty' (QR: XXXVII, 344). Scott believes that the creation of picturesque landscape is an effective method of national improvement.

Scott's building of Abbotsford offers a further example of the relationship between his idea of the picturesque and his project of national improvement. He attempts to adopt Uvedale Price's idea of the picturesque in constructing the garden of the new estate. In a letter to Lady Abercorn in 1813, Scott jests about his enthusiasm in this project:

I have been studying Price with all my eyes and [am] not without hopes of converting an old gravel-pit into a bower and an exhausted quarry into a bathing-house. So you see my dear Madam how deeply I am bit with the madness of the picturesque and if your Ladyship hears that I have caught a rheumatic fever in the gravel-pit or have been drowned in the quarry I trust you will give me credit for dying a martyr to taste. (*Letters of Scott*: III, 240)

Scott presents the history of gardening since the Elizabethan Age and traces the change in national taste 'from that which was meagre, formal, and poor' to 'a character of richness, variety and solidity' (QR: XXXVII, 318). He dismisses William Kent because of Kent's erroneous system which confounds Art with Nature. On the other hand, Scott admires Price as one of the 'founders of a better school' who succeed 'in demonstrating to a deceived public, that what had been palmed upon them as nature and simplicity were only formality and affectation....' (QR: XXXVII, 317). In particular, Scott celebrates Price's idea of the picturesque for 'the propriety of retaining every shred connected with history or antiquity' (QR: XXXVII, 317). While the masters of the last age destroyed scenery by

introducing the 'mummery of temples and obelisks'(QR: XXXVII, 317). Price is concerned with preserving the historicity of a landscape. Scott adheres to Price's principle of the picturesque because he believes that historicity is an essential feature of Scotland's natural beauty. On his visit to Iona, Scott observes that, in Scotland, the 'traditions wonderfully vivid of the persons and achievements of ancient warriors'(Scott, *Northern Lights*: 101) have been transmitted from generation to generation, long after the architecture attached to them has disappeared:

... the monks of Melrose, Kelso, Aberbrothock, Iona &c. &c. &c., they can tell nothing but that such a race existed and inhabited the stately ruins of these monasteries. The quiet, slow and uniform life of these recluse beings glided on, it may be, like a dark and silent stream, fed from unknown resources and vanishing from the eye without leaving any marked trace of its course. The life of the chieftain was a mountain torrent thundering over rock and precipice which, less deep and profound in itself, leaves on the minds of the terrified spectators those deep impressions of awe and wonder which are most readily handed down to posterity. (Scott, *Northern Lights*: 101-2)

Rather than being memorialized by its buildings, the ancient history of Scotland is represented by its natural landscape. Scott attributes the quintessence of natural beauty in Scotland to its associations with historic figures and incidents.

Scott regards the picturesque as a means to create a landscape which reflects the history of Scotland. However, Abbotsford is the estate which does not call up any association with Scotland's ancient past. Therefore, Scott employs the picturesque to invent history, the history of a new 'Laird' of Abbotsford as he calls himself in several letters to his friends.¹² For example, he bashfully explains to Robert Southey his motives of constructing a

¹² See *Letters of Scott*: II, 519: 'I have bought a small farm about 150l. a year prettily situated upon the banks of the Tweed so now I am a *Laird* at your Ladyships service', and *Letters of Scott*: IV, 286: 'I have commenced Laird since I heard from you'.

landscape garden at the new estate: 'You who live in a land of romance would laugh at my efforts to introduce into a barren waste beauties which I myself shall not live to see but I trust Posterity on whom we rest our hopes of fame will do justice to the man who planted a million of trees on a naked heath' (*Letter of Scott: V, 114*). Scott expects to transmit Abbotsford to posterity as the legacy of his fame for creating a landscape whose picturesque beauty would rival that of the Lakes. Furthermore, in the previous chapter, we have seen Stoddart describe Scott's estate at Laswade as a view of poetical community which achieves harmonious unity between Scotland and England. In the same way, Scott aims to create a landscape at Abbotsford which commemorates his contribution to the cultural union between the two countries. In order to show the intimacy of his poetical community, Scott requests numbers of his English friends to donate seeds of trees, especially acorns of English oaks. He names the plantation thus produced after the donors: 'Morritt grove', 'Joanna's Bower' (*Letters of Scott: II, 542 and IV, 119*) and so on. In his letter to Joanna Baillie, Scott appreciates his English friends for sending him acorns from Windsor forest:

While I was watching my infant or rather embryo oaks you have been wandering under the shade of those celebrated by Pope and Denham or in a still earlier age by Surrey and Chaucer. How often have you visited the site of Hearnes oak and called up the imaginary train of personages who fill the stage around it in representation? And was I obliged to your kindness or to that of George Ellis for a bag of acorns from Windsor forest which reached me a few days ago? (*Letters of Scott: III, 34*)

The acorns from Windsor forest awaken various poetical associations. The letter suggests that Scott is collecting acorns of English oak because he hopes that the landscape of Abbotsford looks like the scenes described by English poets. Though Abbotsford lacks its own history, Scott attempts to provide one by his poetical imagination. In doing so, he expects that the picturesque landscape of Abbotsford will represent the history of his poetical community between Scotland and England.

Is there any similarity between Scott's picturesque plantation in Abbotsford and his novel writing as part of his project of national improvement? I would like to suggest the relationship between Scott's idea of the picturesque and his sense of history by examining his first novel, *Waverley*. I chose *Waverley* because this is the most serious and successful of Scott's literary endeavours to present his idea of Britishness. Though *The Lady of the Lake* in 1810 made the Highlands popular as a romantic place, *Waverley* was the first novel which treated one of the most crucial events in the creation of British national identity, the '45. Moreover, the success of *Waverley* prepared the reception of his succeeding novels which had Scotland's historical landscape as their setting.

Waverley is the story whose date is fixed at 'Sixty Years before this present 1st November, 1805'¹³. It was in 1814 when the novel was published. Both years were marked by Britain's major triumphs in the Napoleonic Wars: the battle of Trafalgar in 1805 and the battle at Toulouse in 1814 which was followed by Napoleon's unconditional abdication. The Highland regiments played a significant part in these wars. However, the repeated recruitment increased the distresses of the people in the Highlands. It is important to note that the landlords of the Highlands regarded recruitment into the army as a means to facilitate clearances. Their encouragement of recruitment was backed by a direct or indirect threat that they would take away the land from the people unless the recruits were offered up. The people in the Highlands sometimes took direct action to resist against their landlord's coercive method of recruitment: for example, the militia riot in Assynt in

13 Walter Scott, *Waverley; or 'Tis Sixty Years Since* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 4.

September 1799.¹⁴ During the war, Great Britain experienced a widespread source of patriotic solidarity in the fight against French imperialism. The Tory Party was in power with the broad support of the public and managed to keep the radicals under control. Yet, at the end of the wars, the Tories feared that in peacetime the social discontent bred by the clearances would lead to increased political radicalism in the Highlands. Indeed, not a few of the radicals who were tried at the 'state trials' of 1817 in Scotland had served as volunteers or in the militia during the wars.¹⁵ All this historical background suggests that Scott, who was also deeply committed to the Tories' cause, expected *Waverley* to be a timely novel which could appease the public sorrow for the victims at the wars and consolidate the status quo. Scott's aim in *Waverley* would be to pay tribute to the bravery of Highland soldiers and, at the same time, to advocate the established authority of Great Britain.

One explanation for Scott's choosing the Jacobite rising in 1745 as the subject matter for *Waverley* will be found in the fact that the idea of Britishness had become more problematic since the Act of Union between Ireland and Great Britain was enacted in 1801. In the 'General Preface' to the Magnum Opus edition, Scott attributes one impetus for the composition of *Waverley* to the success of Maria Edgeworth's novels:

I felt that something might be attempted for my own country, of the same kind with that which Miss Edgeworth so fortunately achieved for Ireland - something which might introduce her natives to those of the sister kingdom, in a more favourable light than they had been placed hitherto, and tend to procure sympathy for their virtues and indulgence for their foibles. (Scott, *Waverley*: 352-53)

14 See Edwin A. Pratt, pp. 289-90.

15 See William Ferguson, pp. 272-75.

Scott admires Edgeworth for making the manners and the life in Ireland familiar to British readers. Scott intended to emulate Edgeworth's contribution to the cultural union between Ireland and Great Britain. Nationalism was also the central issue of *Waverley*. However, what Scott was concerned with in *Waverley* was no longer Scotland after the Union in 1707, but Great Britain in the aftermath of the Union in 1801. A profound impact on Scotland's national identity was brought about by the controversy over Catholic emancipation which was an inevitable consequence of implementing the Union with Ireland. As a political measure to complete the Union between Scotland and England, the British Government promoted the Protestant missions in the Highlands which had a high proportion of Catholics and, as a result, many Highland Catholics were driven overseas. When Parliament passed the Catholic Relief Act in 1778 in order to make it easier to recruit large numbers of Highland Catholics for wartime services, violent protests ensued in Edinburgh and Glasgow. At the turn of the century, Henry Dundas, the most influential man in Scottish politics, supported Pitt the Younger who wanted Roman Catholic emancipation in order to rally Irish Catholics to the Union and the war effort. Public opinion was so antagonistic to the bill that Dundas was forced to resign. The Tory oligarchy in Scotland lost the foundation of its power and, since then, had gradually been weakened. While in parliament the campaign for Catholic emancipation continued until the bill was finally passed in 1829, Scott, one of the ruling Tories, needed to defend the national polity of the country which had been established on the basis of Protestantism since the Union in 1707. Therefore, he wrote a novel about the Jacobite insurrection in 1745, a historical event which was crucial for Protestantism in Great Britain.

Since the Act of Union in 1801, the novels which described the present state of Ireland,

the genre called 'national tales', had become popular. In the years around 1810, some prominent national tales by Irish writers were published: Lady Morgan's *The Wild Irish Girl; A National Tale* in 1806 and Edgeworth's *Ennui* in 1809 and *The Absentee* in 1812. Peter Garside suggests 'a need to reconsider the part played by Scott in the emergence of the "national tale" as a significant subgenre during the first two decades of the nineteenth century'¹⁶. Garside discredits Scott's account in the 'General Preface' to the Magnum Opus edition and claims that '*Waverley* was newly begun in late August or early September 1810' (Garside, 44), not in 1805. Katie Trumpener also suggests that the publication of *Waverley* in 1814 was a decisive turning point in the genre of the national tale. Trumpener distinguishes *Waverley* as a historical novel from a national tale because it reiterates and transforms 'the national tale's generic premises by explicitly historicizing its allegorical framework'¹⁷. The common framework of national tales is a story of a man who makes a tour from England to Ireland and, through the tour, discovers the way to reconcile Irish values with English. When he describes the historical events in 1745 in *Waverley*, Scott introduces history into the national tale. In so doing, Scott elaborates the narrative mode of the national tale to provide a historical narrative about Britishness. Trumpener defines the difference between the two genres in their 'opposed ways of situating culture in relationship to nationalism and to history': while 'nationalism is a self-evident legacy' in the national tale, the historical novel posits 'the moment of nationalism somewhere else, at a further

16 Peter Garside, 'Popular Fiction and National Tale: Hidden Origins of Scott's *Waverley*', *Nineteenth-Century Literature* (1991), Vol. 46, pp. 48-9

17 Katie Trumpener, 'National Character, National Plots: National Tale and Historical Novel in the Age of *Waverley*, 1806-1830', *ELH* (1993), Vol. 60, p. 697.

stage of historical development' (Trumpener, 697-98). What Scott's historical novel presents is not the simple delineation of an event in the past, but the projection of a future view of the British nation developed from that same past. My examination of *Waverley* will explore Trumpener's point and, furthermore, clarify the relationship between Scott's idea of the picturesque and his sense of history about Britishness.

Waverley is the picturesque travelogue of a hero, Edward Waverley, who establishes his British identity through his tour in the Highlands. The hero's identity is divided between the apostate whiggism of his father and the Tory or high-church predilections of his uncle. Edward joins a regiment in Scotland as an English soldier of the Hanoverian army. Nevertheless, he visits the Lowlands of Perthshire to see an old Jacobite friend of his uncle, the Baron of Bradwardine, and then is attracted to journey into the Highlands where he forms a deep friendship with a Highland chieftain, Fergus Mac-Ivor. Shortly, Edward is involved in their Jacobite cause and pledges his allegiance to Charles Edward Stuart. Through experiences which tear his identity between filial affection to England and fraternity to Scotland, Edward finally attains self-discovery. The hero's tour of the Highlands is identical with the process of his spiritual growth. *Waverley's* narrative mode as *Bildungsroman* adopts the form of the picturesque tour, as the author-narrator compares the novel with the journey to the Highlands by 'a humble English post-chaise, drawn upon four wheels, and keeping his majesty's highway':

Those who dislike the vehicle may leave it at the next halt, and wait for the conveyance of Prince Hussein's tapestry, or Malek the Weaver's flying sentry-box. Those who are contented to remain with me will be occasionally exposed to the dulness inseparable from heavy roads, steep hills, sloughs, and other terrestrial retardations; but, with tolerable horses, and a civil driver, (as the advertisements have it) I also engage to get as soon as possible into a more picturesque and romantic

country, if my passengers incline to have some patience with me doing my first stages. (Scott, *Waverley*: 24)

Edward's tour of self-discovery corresponds to the development of his idea of the picturesque. Under the education entrusted to an old and indulgent tutor, Edward drives 'through the sea of books, like a vessel without a pilot or a rudder' (Scott, *Waverley*: 13) and acquires the habit of reading without discipline. Edward is captivated by the world which his imagination creates through his reading:

... he was master of Shakespeare and Milton, of our earlier dramatic authors, of many *picturesque* and interesting passages from our old historical chronicles, and particularly of Spenser, Drayton, and other poets who have exercised themselves on *romantic* fiction, of all themes the most fascinating to a youthful imagination, before the passions have roused themselves, and demand poetry of a more sentimental description. (Scott, *Waverley*:14, italics mine)

As the words, 'picturesque' and 'romantic' are interchangeably used in *Waverley*, Edward's picturesque taste is closely related to his interest in romantic fiction. When he travels in Scotland, the 'picturesque and romantic country', what Edward looks for is also a view which satisfies his literary imagination. For example, throughout the tour in Scotland, Edward tends to associate himself with the heroes of romance. When he visits the Baron of Bradwardine at Tully-Veolan, Edward imagines himself as the Prince Arthur who is entering the castle of Orgoglio in *The Faerie Queene*. Edward is reminded of 'one of Shakespeare's roynish clowns' by David Gellatly and enjoys his association with Shakespearean heroes, as he says to himself: 'I am not over prudent to trust to his pilotage; but wiser men had been led by fools' (Scott, *Waverley*: 39). Moreover, the story of Rose's experience excites Edward's curiosity about the Highlands as the place of romance:

Waverley could not help starting at a story which bore so much resemblance to one of

his own day-dreams. Here was a girl scarce seventeen, the gentlest of her sex, both in temper and appearance, who had witnessed with her own eyes such a scene as he had used to conjure up in his imagination, as only occurring in ancient times. He felt at once the impulse of curiosity, and that slight sense of danger which only serves to heighten its interest. (Scott, *Waverley*: 72)

Edward's search for romance in the Highlands reaches a climax when he meets Flora, the sister of the chieftain of a Highland clan. When he asks her to sing the song of the clan's bard in an English translation, Flora invites Edward to one of her favourite haunts. The path through the narrow glen entices Edward into an illusion that, conducted by a fair Highland damsel like 'a knight of romance', he enters into 'the land of romance' (Scott, *Waverley*: 105). At the 'romantic water-fall' which Flora appoints as a suitable scene for the song, Edward encounters a typical picturesque landscape in which Flora appears 'like one of those lovely forms which decorate the landscapes of Claude' (Scott, *Waverley*: 106). Edward is extremely delighted with the romantic scene because this is exactly the image of the Highlands which his imagination describes. While listening to her song in the picturesque scene, he feels an ecstatic adoration for Flora as the embodiment of Highland beauty.

Though fascinated with the picturesque and romantic situation, Edward expresses his ambivalent feeling:

Indeed the wild feeling of romantic delight, with which he heard the few first notes he drew from her instrument, amounted almost to a sense of pain. He would not for worlds have quitted his place by her side; yet he almost longed for solitude, that he might decypher and examine at leisure the complication of emotions which now agitated his bosom. (Scott, *Waverley*: 107)

While irresistibly attracted by the romantic scene, Edward is seized with an impulse to protect himself from its destructive enchantment. Edward's affection for Flora as the

Highland beauty implies a self-contradiction. On the one hand, Edward's love arises from his imagination which is delighted by Flora's beauty. On the other hand, Edward is compelled to sacrifice his imaginary world for the sake of his love. Flora speaks of herself as a Celtic Muse: 'He who woos her must love the barren rock more than the fertile valley, and the solitude of the desert better than the festivity of the hall' (Scott, *Waverley*: 107), and Edward's devotion to her requires him to accept her ideal world, in other words, to live up to 'the memory of the gallant Captain Wogan' (Scott, *Waverley*: 133) who had dedicated himself to the Stuart cause in the Civil War. Though Flora's zealous loyalty, which is 'pure and unmixed with any selfish feeling' (Scott, *Waverley*: 100), shares the same quality with the benevolence and disinterestedness of Edward's imagination, the worlds in which they believe are fundamentally incompatible. Flora explains the division between them when she excuses her rejection of Edward's love:

"... But you, Mr. Waverley, would forever refer to the idea of domestic happiness which your imagination is capable of painting, and whatever fell short of that ideal representation would be construed into coldness and indifference, while you might consider the enthusiasm with which I regarded the success of the royal family, as defrauding your affection of its due return". (Scott, *Waverley*: 135).

In contrast to the domestic nature of Edward's imagination, Flora's loyalty to the Stuart family is of the despotic nature which demands self-sacrifice. In order to cultivate the affection of Flora, Edward is obliged to abandon the world of his domestic imagination. Therefore, Edward's delight in the romantic scene of the Highlands is accompanied by the 'sense of pain' which intimates the fear of self-destruction.

In *Waverley*, the spiritual growth of the hero is traced through the conflict between his romantic view of the world and that of Flora and Fergus. Edward devotes himself to Flora

because the Highland beauty which she represents satisfies his imagination. In the same way, Edward offers his allegiance to Prince Charles Edward, because the prince's 'form and manners, as well as the spirit which he displayed in this singular enterprise, answered his ideas of a hero of romance' (Scott, *Waverley*: 193). Fergus takes advantage of Edward's romantic disposition to win him to his conspiracy. However, Edward's involvement in the Jacobite rebellion convinces Edward of his difference from Fergus and Flora. Edward is disappointed with Flora who maintains a dignified aloofness and rejects his love. He is shocked by Fergus's indifference to his grief for the death of Colonel G -, an English officer whose regiment Edward used to belong to. Their common interest in Rose creates discord between Edward and Fergus. And finally, the defeat of the Highland army persuades Edward to return to his original romantic and picturesque world.

It is interesting to note that Edward achieves a moment of self-revelation, when he wanders in the middle of the most picturesque country, the Lake District. In the *Observations on the Highlands*, Gilpin made his way northward to Scotland and back to the centre of England, through the Lake District: from the less picturesque area to the place which is rich in picturesque beauty. He regarded the Lakes as the place which represented the English standard of beauty. The course of this journey allowed him to assimilate the historical distinctiveness of Scotland to an English idea of natural beauty, and so to present Scotland as an equal partner with England in the British nation. It is in the Lake District that Edward achieves his fullest sense of British nationhood and identity. But, Edward's self-revelation in the Lakes is the moment when the picturesque begins to assume a history-making function :

These reveries he was permitted to enjoy, undisturbed by queries or interruption; and it was in many a winter walk by the shores of Ulswater, that he acquired a more complete mastery of a spirit tamed by adversity, than his former experience had given him; and that he felt himself entitled to say firmly, though perhaps with a sigh, that the romance of his life was ended, and that its real history had now commenced. (Scott, *Waverley*: 283).

After leaving the battle field, Edward spends the days of quiet contemplation at the shore of Ullswater. What he encounters in the Lakes is the people's life of domestic happiness as it is exemplified by the story of the love and marriage between Edward Williams, the son of his host, and Cicely Jopson. Edward recovers his physical and mental strength in the harmonious community of the Lakes and makes up his mind to establish his own domestic happiness by the marriage with Rose. Edward also learns that the proper employment for the imagination is not to seek for pleasant associations with literary fiction, but to bring domestic harmony to a country divided by the war. The experience of picturesque beauty in the Lakes gives him an opportunity to leave the nursery of personal illusion and to attain a sense of British identity which reconciles the discrepancy between his English and Scottish interests. The transition from 'the romance of his life' to 'its real history' does not indicate disillusionment with his romantic world, rather the shift from romance to history is identical to the process in which his imagination develops an understanding of the harmonious unity of Britishness.

The picturesque invention of a history of the Union between Scotland and England is initiated by Edward's marriage with Rose. In contrast with Flora's accomplished dignity, Rose is innocent and destitute of the devoted enthusiasm of loyalty. Under the protection of the Baron, Rose looks so naive as if she appeared 'with one of her father's old campaign coats upon her person for her sole garment' (Scott, *Waverley*: 247). However, because of

the simplicity of her mind, Rose is ready to share the world of her future husband, as Flora predicts: 'Her husband will be to her what her father now is, the object of all her care, solicitude, and affection. She will see nothing, and connect herself with nothing, but by him and through him' (Scott, *Waverley*: 111). While Flora embodies the Highlands as the complete and independent beauty, the Scottishness of Rose is an empty sign. The marriage with Rose enables Edward to unite filial affection for his English family and devoted attachment to his Scottish friends. The picturesque description of the Baron's country house which Edward repurchases for the marriage shows the happy union between English and Scottish values:

Indeed, when he entered the court, excepting that the heavy stables, which had been burned down, were replaced by buildings of a lighter and *more picturesque* appearance, all seemed as much as possible restored to the state in which he had left it, when he assumed arms some months before. The pigeon-house was replenished; the fountain played with its usual activity, and not only the Bear who predominated over its bason, but all the other Bears whatsoever were replaced upon their stations, and renewed or repaired with so much care, that they bore no tokens of the violence which had so lately descended upon them. (Scott, *Waverley*: 334, italics mine)

Edward restores the court of the house almost as it was and embellishes it according to his picturesque taste. He erases all traces of rebellion as if no act of violence had occurred. Everything in this picturesque landscape has been designed to represent the union between the two countries, not as a decisive change, but as a natural transition which is brought about without any painful cost.

The process of creating a history of the Union is also discernible in a supplement to the picturesque alteration of the country house; 'a large and spirited painting, representing Fergus Mac-Ivor and Waverley in their Highland dress, the scene a wild, rocky, and mountainous pass, down which the clan were descending in the background' (Scott,

Waverley: 338). In contrast with 'the contemplative, fanciful, and enthusiastic expression' of Edward, Fergus's 'ardent, fiery, and impetuous character' (Scott, *Waverley*: 338) indicates what should be excluded or maintained to complete the Union. Fergus's political disposition must therefore be subdued in order to keep peace and order in Edward's picturesque world. At the same time, Fergus's bravery and fidelity are celebrated as a British virtue. Therefore, Fergus is annihilated as a historical entity and reduced to a sign which is incorporated into the painting. Edward's picturesque world absorbs the Jacobite past associated with Fergus in order to create an image of Britishness. This is the inevitable consequence of the Union, as Flora deplors the predestination of Fergus's lost cause and death: 'I do not regret his attempt, because it was wrong: O no; on that point I am armed; but because it was impossible it could end otherwise than thus' (Scott, *Waverley*: 323). In the picturesque view of Tully-Veolan, Edward suppresses the intrinsic history of the place and encodes the ideological history of the Union.

How did the reader accept *Waverley*'s picturesque image of Britishness? Francis Jeffrey, a reviewer of the *Edinburgh Review*, appreciated the animated description of the period which is 'too recent to be romantic, and too far gone by to be familiar'.¹⁸ He regards the Jacobite past of the Highlands in the same light of 'the days of Heptarchy' and 'the age of Cromwell' (Jeffrey, III, 34) in England. In the postscript of the novel, the author-narrator aligns its romantic descriptions with its representation of history: 'the most romantic parts of this narrative are precisely those which have a foundation in fact' (Scott, *Waverley*: 340). Likewise, Jeffrey attributes the source of the interest which the novel possesses to the

18 Francis Jeffrey, *Contributions to the Edinburgh Review by Francis Jeffrey* (London: 1846), Vol. III, p. 33.

sensation of the discovery that 'in our own country, and almost in our own age, manners and characters existed, and were conspicuous, which we have been accustomed to consider as belonging to remote antiquity, or extravagant romance'(Jeffrey, III, 34-35). The picturesque description in *Waverley* translates the historical events in 1745 to a romantic past and, in so doing, generalizes the peculiar manners and state of Highland society as the aspect of society which had once prevailed in the other part of the country, in other words, as part of us, English as well as Scottish. The *Quarterly Review* also praises *Waverley* for 'the truth of its facts, and the accuracy of its delineations'¹⁹. The reviewer defines the merit of modern novels as their utility to improve the morals and manners of the people. He places *Waverley* and Edgeworth's works in the same category of the modern novel, but hails *Waverley* as a 'Scotch Castle Rack-rent' in 'a much higher strain'(QR: XI, 356). The author-narrator of *Waverley* differentiates the novel from other contemporary fictions like 'a romance of chivalry' or 'a tale of modern manners'(Scott, *Waverley*: 4). The author-narrator declares that the object of his tale is more 'a description of men than manners'(Scott, *Waverley*: 4) and pledges to narrate 'the characters and passions of the actors' which have not been changed for ages:

.... - those passions common to men in all stages of society, and which have alike agitated the human heart, whether it throbbed under the steel corslet of the fifteenth century, the brocaded coat of the eighteenth, or the blue frock and white dimity waistcoat of the present day. (Scott, *Waverley*: 5)

Waverley describes how the hero's British identity develops from the never-changing human love for his family, friends and country. The *Quarterly* see *Waverley* as a more

¹⁹ QR (July, 1814), Vol. XI, p. 377.

valuable and a more improving book than *Castle Rackrent* because it represents British national identity as universal human nature.

Waverley enjoyed great success throughout Britain. The first edition of one thousand copies obtained an immediate sale. Two days after publication, the publisher rushed to print an additional two thousand copies. Before the end of 1814, five thousand copies had been sold. The more widely Scott's novel was read, the more generally his idea of Britishness began to be shared by the public. Following the success of *Waverley*, Scott produced a series of novels which described the historical events and characters of Scotland. More importantly, he set out to merchandise his literary works in order to meet the demand of a growing mass of readers. Scott endeavoured to systematize the mode of composition and publication as a business. He built the partnership with James Ballantyne and Archibald Constable in order to protect the copyright of the *Waverley* novels. Scott helped the printing trade of Ballantyne and Constable to develop into the publishing corporation which propagated Scott's image of Britishness through the wider public. The growth of mass-reading consumers induced Constable to conceive his 'Miscellany project', the revolutionary venture to flood the market with the cheap reprints of the *Waverley* novels: 'a three shilling or half-crown volume every month, which we must and shall sell, not by thousands, or tens of thousands, but by hundreds of thousands - ay, by millions'²⁰. The project failed because of the financial crash in 1826. However, a mass readership continued to consume the succeeding editions of the *Waverley* novels and perhaps absorbed the idea of Britishness they presented.

20 John Gibson Lockhart, *The Life of Sir Walter Scott* (Edinburgh: 1902), Vol. IV, pp. 270-71.

The success of Scott's literary enterprise can also be traced through the production of paintings and engravings of the scenes adopted from his novels. Book illustration of his works had become a sizable industry by the time of Scott's death in 1832.²¹ Richard Westall and David Wilkie were major artists who produced prominent illustrations for Scott's works. More than thirty artists, including Wilkie, contributed to the Magnum Opus edition of the Waverley novels. Collected editions of novels were published at the average rate of one every two years, some with sets of freshly drawn illustrations, others with reused ones. The portfolios of separate engravings began to appear in the 1820s: typical examples were *Portraits of the Principal Female Characters in the Waverley Novels* (1832-33), *Waverley Gallery* (1840-42) and so on. Among the hundreds of paintings which had been hung at the Royal Academy in the first few decades of the nineteenth century, many were paintings which evoked associations with Scott's historical romances. Indeed, the popularity of the paintings illustrating Scott's literary fiction was part of a new notion of history painting, whereby painters increasingly chose for their subject the domestic life of historical characters. A similar change was occurring in the genre of landscape painting. Scott's novels were an important influence on what might be called 'literary landscape': a number of professional and amateur artists visited the Highlands to capture in their canvas the picturesque scenes which Scott described, and no exhibition of the period was without paintings which were explicitly or implicitly identified with the landscape description of Scott's romances.

One example of Scott's and contemporary painters' joint-venture is found in *Provincial*

21 See Richard D. Altick, *Paintings from Books: Art and Literature in Britain, 1760-1900* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1985).

Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland. The *Provincial Antiquities* series was published from 1819 to 1826. The individual parts of the work were purchased by subscription from named booksellers in Edinburgh and London. Each book contained an illustration of one selected site of Scotland and the description of its picturesque beauty and history. The illustrations were engraved after original works by prominent British painters, chiefly J. M.W. Turner, Edward Blore, John Thomson of Duddingston and so on. The description of the views was supplied by Scott.²² Scott's attempt in the *Provincial Antiquities* was to associate the history of Scotland with its natural scenery. For instance, in the description of Borthwick Castle, Scott's goes into the detail of the castle's historical situation during the Civil Wars. He also admires the present proprietor of Borthwick Castle for the correctness of his taste in preserving the remnant of antiquity in its present state, without rendering it habitable: 'in the general case, it is more judicious to arrest the progress of decay, and preserve ancient buildings in the style and form in which they were originally built, than to change their appearance, and injure their historical interest, by attempting to metamorphose them into modern places of residence'²³. Moreover, it is interesting to note that Scott often connects a historical anecdote of an aesthetic object with his literary fiction. Scott introduces the association between the Hall of Borthwick Castle with the scene from his novel, *The Abbot*: 'Here we may suppose the Abbot of Unreason

22 See Katrina Thomson, *Turner and Sir Walter Scott: The Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland* (Edinburgh: The Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland, 1999).

23 Walter Scott, *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland, with descriptive illustrations* (London: John and Arthur Arch, Cornhill, and William Blackwood, Edinburgh, 1826), Vol. I, p. 50.

was permitted to exercise his frolics, till the applaud with which they were received encouraged him to set his mimic authority in competition with that of the Primate of Scotland' (Scott, *Provincial Antiquities*: I, 49). The description of Crichton Castle mentions the relationship between the son of a proprietor and a personage in Scott's novel: 'He is mentioned in the Memoirs of Captain Creightoun, but is perhaps better known as the Bothwell of the popular novel called Old Mortality' (Scott, *Provincial Antiquities*: I, 22).

Scott's description of Edinburgh, like Turner's illustration, is a full endorsement of the social change that followed the Union. Scott deplores the disappearance of the old system of Edinburgh manners; on the other hand, he justifies it as the inevitable consequence of social progress: 'the progress of society cannot be suspended, and while it moves on, must display new advantages and inconveniences as the wheel gradually revolves' (Scott, *Provincial Antiquities*: I, 74). In particular, he celebrates Modern Edinburgh for the people's refined taste:

It is a minor consideration, which it yet falls in our way particularly to notice, - that of the increased expenditure much is employed in the encouragement of the fine arts; that the purchase of books is a common expence with all classes, and that of pictures introduced amongst the opulent; while society is proportionally improved by the conversation to which so general a taste gives rise. The lawyer of former days was esteemed irrevocably lost to his profession, if he meddled with literature, or employed his spare time in any relaxation save that of cards or the bottle. But now the most successful professional men are both aspirants after, and dispensers of, literary fame; and there is spread through society at large a more general tinge of information and good conversation than is to be met with elsewhere. This circumstance may be perhaps traced to the general mixture of fashionable and literary persons in Edinburgh, where the society is not extensive enough to enable either to form a class by themselves, and where, of course, wit and learning become tempered and fashioned by their constant intercourse with polished manners, beauty, and high rank..... The inhabitants, generally speaking, live in much harmony with each other; and though political opinions (as is usual when men are at a distance from the scene of action) are maintained with keenness, and even with acrimony, the harmony of the place is interrupted by no other causes of schism. (Scott, *Provincial Antiquities*: I, 81-

2)

The commercial prosperity after the Union helps the cultural development of Edinburgh. Scott describes the city as a benevolent and harmonious community which is formed by men of taste. By the purchase and possession of the work, the readers authorize themselves as men of taste, in other words, as active members of the community who commercially and culturally contribute to create the prosperity and well-being of Scotland after the Union.

The same view of the city is presented by Turner's illustration: his 'daring representation of one of the most magnificent scenes in this romantic city' (Scott, *Provincial Antiquities: I*, 83) [Plate 8]. The picturesque landscape of Edinburgh from the Castle Hill shows that the city is blessed with 'the noblest scenery and ruins of antiquity' (Scott, *Provincial Antiquities: I*, 82) and that the people proudly and merrily work to enhance the prosperity of the city. The illustration awakens associations with Scott's text to describe the city's history and also with those of his novels which have Edinburgh as their setting like *The Heart of Midlothian* and *Waverley*. In *Waverley*, the author-narrator regards the novel as a chapter 'from the great book of Nature, the same through a thousand editions' (Scott, *Waverley*: 5). Turner also describes the buildings of the historic city as if they were natural objects: trees, a valley and a mountain. The picturesque landscape presents 'Nature' as an imaginary view which unifies the historical and the natural. My examination of Dorothy Wordsworth's picturesque tour in Scotland showed that she achieved her identity by imagining herself as significant part of her brother's poetical world. In the same way, Turner's picturesque landscape of Edinburgh makes the readers identify themselves as one of the citizens who are drawn in the landscape and, in so doing, imagine Nature as something communal which they belong to. Through the perception of the imaginary

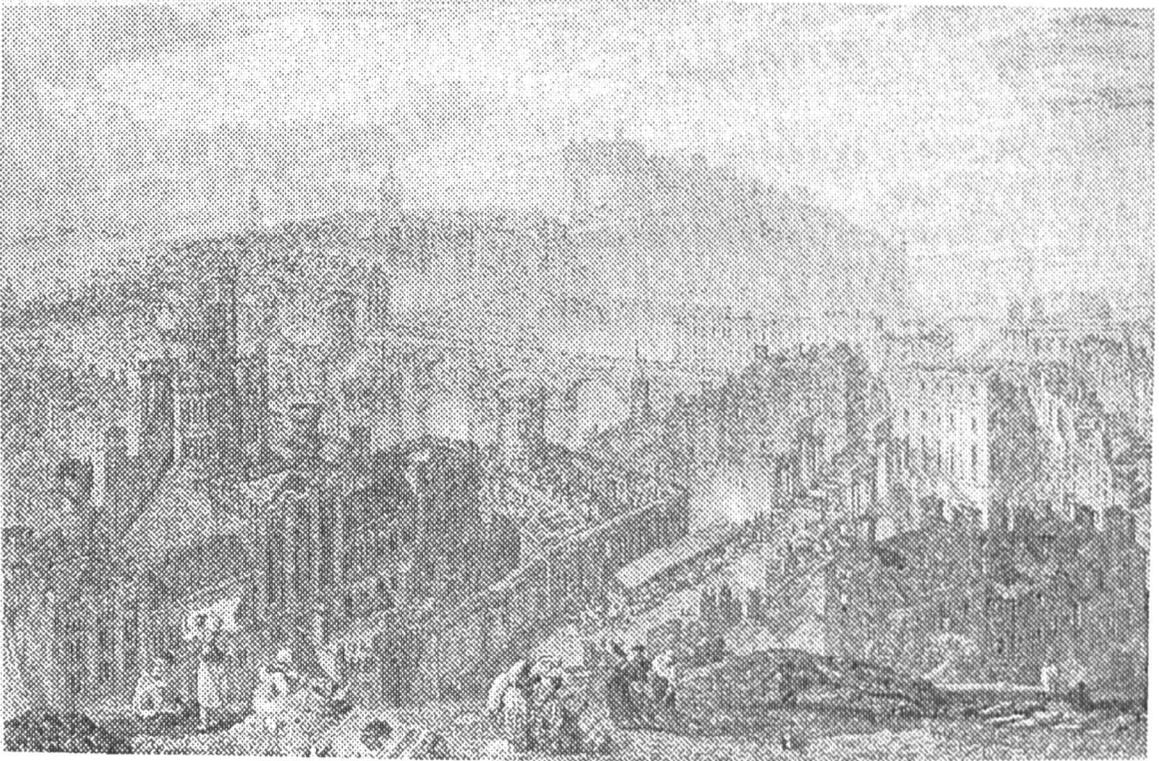


Plate 8

vision of community which is created by the interrelationship between the picturesque description of text and the picturesque image of illustrations, the readers realize their sense of citizenship.

To conclude my examination of Scott's idea of the picturesque, I will take a public event as a further example to illustrate how he made the people participate in his making a history of Britishness: George IV's ceremonial visit to Edinburgh in August 1822. Scott acted as a general advisor who organized festivities to welcome the first Hanoverian monarch to set foot in his northern domain. The news of the Royal Visit was not always received with exaltation by the people in Edinburgh. Especially among Whigs and radical sympathizers, George was extremely unpopular mainly because of his treatment of Queen Caroline who had died a year earlier. In order to make the Royal Visit successful, Scott devised a strategy to use the Highland culture as the keytone of the Pageant. He requested every gentleman not to appear in anything but the ancient Highland costume. During the festivities, George displayed himself in the tartan of the Stuarts and Scott himself wore the Campbell tartan by courtesy of his great-grandmother.²⁴ Lockhart was somehow critical about Scott's celtified pageantry:

With all respect and admiration for the noble and generous qualities which our countrymen of the Highland clans have so often exhibited, it was difficult to forget that they had always constituted a small, and almost always an unimportant part of the Scottish population; and when one reflected how miserably their numbers had of late years been reduced in consequence of the selfish and hard-hearted policy of their landlords, it almost seemed as if there was a cruel mockery in giving so much prominence to their pretensions. (Lockhart, VII, 44)

24 See Edgar Johnson, *Sir Walter Scott: The Great Unknown* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1970), pp. 790-95 and John Sutherland, *The Life of Walter Scott: A Critical Biography* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), pp. 257-61.

Lockhart was embarrassed by Scott's invention of Scotland's tradition freely from the Highland culture. However, at the same time, Lockhart praised the men in the Highland costume at the Pageant as picturesque: 'there could be no question that they were picturesque - and their enthusiasm was too sincere not to be catching'(Lockhart, VII, 44). He was also delighted with the view in which every order of the people participated in the Pageant: 'high and low were in the humour, not only to applaud, but each, according to his station, to take a share in what might really be described as a sort of grand *terrification* of the Holyrood chapters in Waverley; George IV, *anno aetatis* 60, being well contented to enact 'Prince Charlie', with the Great Unknown himself for his Baron Bradwardine....'(Lockhart, VII, 45). The people became a part of the picturesque scene by associating themselves with personae of Scott's novels, that is, as 'the Waverley and Rob Roy *animus*'(Lockhart, VII, 53). Scott employed the picturesque to identify the Pageant with the scenes from his novels and to invite the people to his imagined community. The *Blackwood's Magazine* also delivered a detailed report of the Royal Visit in Edinburgh. The *Blackwood's* acknowledged that, though the picturesque effect of the Pageant had something delusive, 'the delusion is a lofty one; and without imagination there can be neither loyalty nor patriotism'²⁵. The picturesque description of the procession from Leith to Edinburgh presents George as 'a King, with Scottish blood in his veins, and as nobly adorned with kingly accomplishments as our own James I, himself'(BM: XII, 257) and, at the same time, acclaims him as a king who is 'worthy to sit on the British throne, and to reign over a nation of free men'(BM: XII, 263). In the prologue of the article, *Blackwood's*

²⁵ BM (September, 1822), Vol. XII, p. 259.

introduced a passage from Wordsworth's poem:

Loud voice the land hath utter'd forth,
We loudest in the faithful north;
Our hills rejoice, our mountains ring,
Our streams send forth a welcoming!
Our strong abodes and castles see
The glory of our loyalty. (*BM*: XII, 253)

When the people participated in the Pageant, it meant that they became of a part of Nature.

Through the acceptance of Scott's picturesque image of Britishness, the people imagined the nation which they would live and die for as natural and universal as Scotland's hills and glens.

Through my examination of Scott's picturesque in this chapter, I have argued that it played an essential part in his endeavour to present his idea of Britishness. Moreover, Scott developed his literary fiction as a cultural device to propagate his picturesque image of the nation through the general public. Scott employed the picturesque to translate the historical into the imaginary and the imaginary into the natural. This was also the process in which the picturesque image of nature evolved into Nature: the transcendental terrain to which the origin of the nation and the meaning of life were attributed.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis I have focussed on the picturesque, on an aesthetic discourse about land, at a time when land itself was changing its meaning and value, and when 'the land' - the home of the British nation - was being defined. The emergence of the British nation coincided, and was facilitated by, the commercialisation of the British economy. The expansion of inter-regional trade, along new arterial roads and navigable waterways, was connecting the commercial interests of the inhabitants of different areas. The enclosure of open fields and common lands, the growth of towns and especially of manufacturing towns in previously rural areas, was transforming the appearance of the land. The exploitation of land, by agriculture, mining, and by the use waterpower, became an increasingly respectable concern, even for aristocratic landowners. The value of land increased greatly, as did the frequency with which land was traded; increasingly London became the centre at which landed estates were bought and sold. The more that the ownership of land was seen as an opportunity for commercial exploitation and investment, the more indirect and impersonal became the relationship between individuals and the land they owned. At the same time, however, the picturesque was emerging as a discourse which articulated a new, aesthetic, and so apparently more disinterested attitude to land. My aim in this thesis has been to examine the relationship between the picturesque and the commercial in one region of the new nation of Britain, and to show how the picturesque allowed a new way of imagining the nation as a community, and as focus of the common interests of the different peoples of the British Isles.

My examination of picturesque descriptions of Scotland has suggested that one thing at stake in forming an idea of the British nation was Scotland's distinctive history. William Gilpin's picturesque tour of Scotland attempted to dissolve the region's historical

association with Jacobitism and to present a vision of Scotland in which it was an equal partner with England within the British nation. Gilpin defined the picturesque as an imaginary view of natural beauty. In doing so, he followed the conventional English idea of beauty as theorized by Joshua Reynolds. When Gilpin applied his idea of picturesque beauty to the Scottish landscape, he denied part of Scotland's past and transformed its historical distinctiveness into an aesthetic value. Thus, he created the image of Scotland as a region which was culturally united with England.

By contrast, the investigation of Walter Scott's taste for the picturesque showed his appropriation of aesthetic language to invent a British national history. His literary achievement was to implant a historical narrative about Britishness within the picturesque description of Scotland. Moreover, he employed the picturesque to propagate his historical sense of Britishness. Scott's version of the picturesque has become a lens through which we view Scotland's past and its place in the history of the British nation.

The picturesque's denial of and re-invention of history corresponded with the process by which the imaginary came to be identical with the natural. The travel writings of John Knox, John Lettice and Robert Heron illustrated how the economic imagination which promoted industry and manufacture in the Scottish Highlands was closely related to the aesthetic interpretation of the region as picturesque. These writers who were concerned with the economic improvement of the Highlands were interested in describing not so much an existing state of nature, rather an image of nature in which the region could be commercially productive. Thus, in their description of the Highlands, the picturesque became a discourse through which to justify and to facilitate the development of commercial society as if it were a natural process. Correspondingly, I have suggested that

these writers tended to associate their picturesque descriptions with poetic images of nature, in particular, with those in Ossian's poems. I explored this point by examining Dorothy Wordsworth's *Recollections*. Dorothy's tour in Scotland could be seen as her endeavour to play an essential part in her brother, William's poetic production and, by doing so, to define her identity as a female citizen. I also argued that her paradoxical sense of citizenship was, in some ways, related to her ambivalent status in commercial society. Dorothy regarded herself as an independent cultural agent because she could use the picturesque to imagine Scotland as an extension of her personal community in the Lakes. Nevertheless, she did not attempt to create her own poetical world, rather was concerned with dedicating her picturesque imagination to William's poetic production. Dorothy's *Recollections* showed her equivocal nature as a poetic entity, which had an imagination to be creative, but at the same time, which existed only as an imaginary being in William's poetical world.

This thesis elucidated a variety of picturesque ideas which were fundamental to the emergence of British national identity. Roland Barthes's analysis of myth as a semiological system gave me a theoretical framework with which to examine the picturesque images of Scotland.¹ Barthes explained the modern sense of history as a mythological process by which bourgeois ideology transformed the historical reality of the world into a natural image of this reality. I suggested that myth-making is a main function of the picturesque. I demonstrated that the propertied and leisured classes used picturesque tours in Scotland as a means of transforming what was originally the region's strangeness according to their Anglo-centric code of signs into a myth of Britishness.

However, at the same time, I emphasised the point that this two-dimensional picturesque

¹ Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (London: Vintage Books, 1993).

landscape become the model for this new socio-political British history. The picturesque worked as a structure upon which to build or totalize reality - what post-modernism described as a complex of manifold discourses - into a knowable truth. As Alan Liu puts it, the structure 'is arbitrary: always free and unpredictable, yet always also determinate and knowable'². The picturesque movement gave the impression that the people were at liberty to imagine their own community or the British nation. Nevertheless, the structure presented by the picturesque was, in fact, determinate because it had a symbiotic relationship with the socio-economic system to control and employ land as the basis of wealth. By imagining the British nation as a picturesque unity, the readers were unconsciously led to believe that the system of modern commercial economy beneficially and benevolently operated in their favour. Moreover, they imagined a civic identity for themselves by imagining that they participated in the unity of a picturesque landscape. My examination of tours in Scotland showed that an idea of the British nation in the eighteenth century emerged as a picturesque invention and also that the picturesque space of signs and symbols became a primary site in which the people of the modern British nation defined the meaning of their life.

² Liu, p.41. See also David Simpson, 'Literary Criticism and the Return to "History"', *Critical Inquiry*, 14 (1988).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

HISTORICAL TEXTS

- Alison, Archibald. *Essays on Nature and Principles of Taste*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsuchhandlung, 1968.
- Aristotle. *On the Art of Poetry*, trans. by T. S. Dorsch. New York: Penguin Books, 1965.
- Anderson, James. *Observation on the Means of Exciting a Spirit of National Industry: Chiefly Intended to Promote the Agriculture, Commerce, Manufactures, and Fisheries, of Scotland*. Edinburgh: 1777.
- *An Account of the Present State of the Hebrides and Western Coasts of Scotland: In which an attempt is made to explain the circumstances that have hitherto repressed the industry of the Natives: and some hints are suggested for encouraging the Fisheries, and promoting other improvements in those countries: Being the substance of a Report to the Lords of Treasury, of Facts collected in a Tour to Hebrides, with large additions: together with the Evidence given before the Committee of Fisheries*. Edinburgh: 1785.
- Andrews, Malcolm, ed. *The Picturesque: Literary Sources and Documents*. East Sussex: Helm Information Ltd, 1994.
- British Museum. *English Cartoons and Satirical Prints 1320-1832 in the British Museum*. Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1978.
- Boswell, James. *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson*. London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1963.
- *Life of Johnson*. London: Oxford University Press, 1953.
- Burke, Edmund. *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, ed. by Adam Philips. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- De Selincourt, Ernest, ed. *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*. London: Macmillan, 1941.
- *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth: The Early Years, 1787-1805*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967.
- Defoe, Daniel. *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain*. London: Everyman's Library, 1928.
- Ferguson, Adam. *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1966.
- Gibson, W. 'Two Months' Tours in Scotland performed on Horseback in the Summer of 1773'. *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 62-63, 1792-93.
- Gilpin, William. *Observations, relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year*

- 1776, *On Several Parts of Great Britain: particularly the High-Lands of Scotland*. Richmond: Richmond Publishing Co., 1973.
- *Observations on Several parts of England, particularly the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland, Relative Chiefly to picturesque Beauty, Made in the year 1772*. London: 1808.
- *Observations on the River Wye, and Several Parts of South Wales, etc. relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, made in the Summer of the Year 1770*. London: 1782.
- *Three Essays: on Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Scketching Landscape: to which is added a poem on Landscape Painting*. Westmead, Farnborough, Hants: Gregg International, 1972.
- *Memoirs of Dr. Richard Gilpin, of Scaleby Castle in Cumberland; and of His Posterity in the Two Succeeding Generation; Written, in the Year 1791, By the rev. William Gilpin, Vicar of Bolda: Together with an Account of the Author, by Himself: And A Pedigree of the Gilpin Family*, ed. by William Jackson. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1879.
- Grierson. H. J. C., ed. *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*. London: Constable & Co. Ltd, 1932-37.
- Fordyce, James. *Sermons to Young Women*. London: 1766.
- Hanway, Mary Anne. *A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland, with Occasional Remarks on Dr. Johnson's Tour, by a Lady*. London: 1775.
- *Ellinor or the Worlds as it is*. New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1974.
- Heron, Robert. *Facts, Reflections, and Queries, Submitted to the Consideration of the Associated Friends of the People*. Edinburgh: 1792.
- *Observations made in a Journey through the Western Countries of Scotland; In the Autumn of 1792: Related to the Scenery, Antiquities, Customs, Manners, Population, Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, Political Condition, and Literature of these Parts*. Perth: 1793.
- Hogg, James. *Highland Tours: The Ettrick Shepherd's Travels in the Scottish Highlands and Western Isles in 1802, 1803 and 1804 with an Introduction by Sir Walter Scott*, ed. by William F. Laughlan. Hawick: Byway Book, 1982.
- Jeffrey, Francis. *Contributions to the Edinburgh Review by Francis Jeffrey*. London: 1846.
- Johnson, Samuel. *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.
- Knight, Richard Payne. *The Landscape: A Didactic Poem*. Farnborough: Gregg International, 1972.
- *Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste*. London: 1805.
- Knox, John. *A Tour through the Highlands of Scotland and the Hebrides, in 1786*. London: 1787.
- *A View of the British Empire, more especially Scotland: with Some Proposals for the*

- Improvement of that Country, the Extension of its Fisheries, and the Relief of the People.* London: 1784.
- Lettice, John. *Letters on a Tour through Various Parts of Scotland, in the Year 1792.* London: 1794.
- Loch, David. *Essays on the Trade, Commerce, Manufactures, and Fisheries of Scotland; Containing Remarks on the Situation of most of the Sea-ports; the Number of Shipping employed; their Tonnage; Strictures on the Principle Inland Towns; the different Branches of Trade and Commerce carried on; and the various Improvements made in each: Hints and Observations on the Constitutional Police; with many other Curious and Interesting Articles never yet Publishers.* Edinburgh: 1778.
- Lockhart, John Gibson. *The Life of Sir Walter Scott.* Edinburgh: 1902.
- Macleod, Donald J., ed., *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland Circa 1695 by Martin Martin, Gent.: Including A Voyage to St. Kilda By the Same Author and A Description of Western Isles of Scotland by Sir Donald Monro.* Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd, 1994.
- M'Nayr, James. *Guide from Glasgow, to Some of the Most Remarkable Scenes in the Highlands of Scotland, and to the Falls of the Clyde.* Glasgow: 1797.
- McNicol, Donald. *Remarks on Dr. Samuel Johnson's Journey to the Hebrides: with Observations on the Antiquities, Language, Genius, and Manners, of the Highlands of Scotland.* Glasgow: The Stanhope Press, 1817.
- Murray, Sarah. *A Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland*, ed. by William F. Laughlan. Hawick: Byway Books, 1982.
- Pennant, Thomas. *A Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides.* London: 1776.
 ----- *A Tour in Scotland, 1769.* London: 1774.
 ----- *A Tour in Wales, 1770.* Caernarvon, 1883.
- Price, Uvedale. *Essays on the Picturesque, as compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful; and, on the Use of Studying Pictures, For the Purpose of Improving Real Landscape.* Farnborough: Gregg International, 1971.
- Radcliffe, Ann. *The Castle of Athlin and Dunbayne, A Highland Story.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Reynolds, Joshua. *Discourses on Art*, ed. by Robert R. Wark. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Scott, Walter. 'On Planting Waste Lands'. *Quarterly Review*, Vol. 36, 1827.
 ----- 'On Ornamental Plantations and Landscape Gardening'. *Quarterly Review*, Vol. 37, 1828.
 ----- 'Review on Colonel Thornton's Sporting Tour'. *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. 5, 1805.

- *Waverley; or 'Tis Sixty Years Since*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- *Northern Lights or a Voyage in the Lighthouse Yacht to Nova Zembla and the Lord know where in the summer of 1814*. Hawick: Byway Books, 1982.
- *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland, with descriptive illustrations*. London and Edinburgh: John and Arthur Arch, Cornhill, and William Blackwood. 1826.

Smith, Adam. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, ed. by W. E. Todd. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1981.

Stoddart, John. *Remarks on Local Scenery and Manners in Scotland, during the year 1799 and 1800*. London: 1801.

Thornton, Thomas. *A Sporting tour through the northern parts of England, and Great Part of the Highlands of Scotland; Including Remarks on English and Scottish Landscape, and General Observations on the State of Society and Manners*. London: Edward Arnold, 1896.

Todd, Janet and Marilyn Butler, eds. *The Works of Mary Wollstonecraft*. New York: Pickering and Chatto Ltd, 1989.

Trimmer, Sarah. *The Oeconomy of Charity; or An Address to Ladies; Adapted to the Present State of Charitable Institutions in England: With a Particular View to the Cultivation of Religious Principles, Among the Lower Orders of People*. London: 1801.

White, P. *Observations upon the Present State of the Scotch Fisheries, and the Improvement of the Interior Parts of the Highlands*. Edinburgh: 1791.

Dorothy, Wordsworth. *Recollections of a Tour Made in Scotland A. E. 1803*, in *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, ed. by Ernest de Selincourt. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd, 1959.

Wordsworth, William. *William Wordsworth: Selected Prose*, ed. by John O. Hayden. New York: Penguin Books, 1988.

- *A Guide through the District of the Lakes in the North of England, with a Description of the Scenery, &c. For the Use of Tourists and Residents*, ed. by Ernest de Selincourt. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Young, Arthur. *A Six Months Tour through the North of England*. New York: Augustus M. Kelley Publishers, 1967.

- *Arthur Young's Travels in France During the Years 1787, 1788, 1789*, ed. by Betham Edwards. London: George Bell and Sons, 1906.

SECONDARY TEXTS

Albert, William. *The Turnpike Road System in England 1663-1840*. Cambridge:

- Cambridge University Press, 1972.
- Alexander, Meena. *Women in Romanticism: Mary Wollstonecraft, Dorothy Wordsworth and Mary Shelley*. London: Macmillan, 1989.
- Altick, Richard D. *Paintings from Books: Art and Literature in Britain, 1760-1900*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1985.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London and New York: Verso, 1983.
- Andrews, Malcolm. *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800*. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989.
- Atherton, Herbert M. *Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth: A Study of the Ideographic Representation of Politics*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974.
- Ballantyne, Andrew. *Architecture, landscape and liberty: Richard Payne Knight and the picturesque*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Barker-Benfield, G. J. *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Barrell, John. *The Idea of Landscape and the Sense of Place 1780-1840: An Approach to the Poetry of John Clare*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972.
- *The Birth of Pandora and the Division of Knowledge*. London: Macmillan, 1992
- *The Dark Side of the Landscape: the Rural Poor in English Painting 1730-1840*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- *Poetry, Language and Politics*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.
- Barthes, Roland. *Mythologies*, trans. by Annet Laves. London: Vintage, 1993.
- Baudrillard, Jean. *Jean Baudrillard: Selected Writings*, ed. by Mark Poster. Cambridge and Oxford: Polity Press, 1988.
- Bermingham, Ann. *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition 1740-1860*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1987.
- Betz, Paul, ed. *Sir David Wilkie of Scotland: 1785-1841*. Raleigh: North Carolina Museum of Art, 1987.
- Blakey, Dorothy. *The Minerva Press, 1790-1820*. London: 1939.
- Bohls, Elizabeth A. *Women Travel Writers and the language of Aesthetics, 1716-1818*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Brewer, John and Roy Porter, eds. *Consumption and the Worlds of Goods*. London and New York: Routledge, 1993.

- Broom, Iain Gordon. 'Modern Rome and Ancient Caledonia: The Union and the Politics of Scottish Culture', in *The History of Scottish Literature 1660-1800*, ed. by Andrew Hook. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987.
- Brown, Iain Gordon. 'Modern Rome and Ancient Caledonia: The Union and the Politics of Scottish Culture', in *The History of Scottish Literature 1660-1800*, ed. by Andrew Hook. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987.
- Campbell, Colin Barnsley. *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*. Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell, 1987.
- Clarke, Michael and Nicholas Penny, eds. *The Arrogant Connoisseur: Richard Payne Knight 1751-1824*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982.
- Colley, Linda. *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*. London: Pimlico, 1994.
- Copeland, Edward. *Women writing about Money: Women's Fiction in England, 1790-1820*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Copley, Stephen. 'The 'Natural' Economy: a Note on Some Rhetorical Strategies in Political Economy- Adam Smith and Malthus', in *1789: Reading Writing Revolution*, ed. by Francis Barker and others. Colchester: University of Essex, 1982.
- Copley, Stephen and Peter Garside, eds. *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, landscape and aesthetics since 1770*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Copley, Stephen and Kathryn Sutherland, eds. *Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations: New Interdisciplinary Essays*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995.
- Crawford, Robert. *Devolving English Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.
- Daniels, Stephen. *Humphry Repton: Landscape Gardening and the Geography of Georgian England*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Davis, Robert Con. 'The Structure of the Picturesque: Dorothy Wordsworth's Journals'. *The Wordsworth's Circle*, Vol. 9, 1978.
- De Bolla, Peter. *The Discourse of the Sublime: Reading in History, Aesthetics and the Subject*. New York: Basil Blackwell, 1989.
- Devine, Thomas Martin. *Clanship to Crofter's War: The Social Transformation of the Scottish Highlands*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1994.
- Devine, Thomas Martin, ed. *Improvement and Enlightenment*. Edinburgh: John Donald Publisher Ltd, 1989.
- Dickson, Tony, ed. *Scottish Capitalism: Class, State and Nation from before the Union to*

- the Present*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1980.
- Duffy, Michael. *The English Satirical Print 1600-1832: The English and the Foreigner*. Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986.
- Dwyer, John. *Virtuous Discourse: Sensibility and Community in Late Eighteenth-century Scotland*. Edinburgh: John Donald, 1987.
- Ellis, Markman. *The Politics of Sensibility: Race, gender and commerce in the sentimental novel*. Chicago: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Everett, Nigel. *The Tory View of Landscape*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.
- Ferguson, William. *Scotland: 1689 to the Present*. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1968.
- Foucault, Michel. *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. New York: Vintage Books, 1994.
- *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.
- Furniss, Tom. *Edmund Burke's Aesthetic Ideology: Language, Gender and Political Economy in Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Garside, Peter. 'Popular Fiction and National Tale: Hidden Origins of Scott's *Waverley*'. *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, Vol. 46, 1991.
- Gittings, Robert and Jo Manton. *Dorothy Wordsworth*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.
- Gold, John R. and Margaret M. Gold. *Imagining Scotland: Tradition, Representation and Promotion in Scottish Tourism since 1750*. Hants and Vermont: Scholar Press 1995.
- Gray, Malcolm. *The Highland Economy 1750-1850*. Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1957.
- Hall, Catherine. *White, Male and Middle-Class: Explorations in Feminism and History*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992.
- Harrison, Mark. *The Crowds and History: mass phenomena in English towns, 1790-1835*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Heinzelman, Kurt. *The Economics of the Imagination*. Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1980.
- Hemingway, Andrew. *Landscape imagery and urban culture in early nineteenth-century Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Holloway, James and Lindsay Errington. *The Discovery of Scotland: The Appreciation of Scottish Scenery through two centuries of painting*. Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 1978.

- Hussey, Christopher. *The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View*. London and New York: G. P. Putman's Sons, 1927.
- Janowitz, Anne. *England's Ruins: Poetic Purpose and National Landscape*. Oxford and Cambridge MA: Basil Blackwell, 1990.
- Jenkins, Philip. *The Making of a Ruling Class: The Glamorgan gentry 1640-1790*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Jenkins, Geraint H. *The Foundations of Modern Wales: Wales 1642-1780*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987.
- Johnson, Claudia L. *Equivocal Beings: Politics, Gender and Sentimentality in the 1790s; Wollstonecraft, Radcliffe, Burney, Austen*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Johnson Edgar. *Sir Walter Scott: The Great Unknown*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1970.
- Jones, Christopher Bertram. *Radical Sensibility: Literature and Ideas in the 1790s*. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Langbauer, Laurie. *Women and Romance: The Consolations of Gender in the English Novel*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990.
- Langford, Paul. *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727-1783*. Oxford and London: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Lawrence, Karen R. *Penelope Voyage: Women and Travel in the British Literary Tradition*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- Lenman, Bruce. *Integration, Enlightenment and Industrialization: Scotland 1746-1832*. London: Edward Arnold, 1981.
- Levinson, Marjorie. *Wordsworth's Great Period Poems: Four Essays*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Liu, Alan. *Wordsworth: The Sense of History*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1989.
- Logue, Kenneth J. *Popular Disturbances in Scotland 1780-1815*. Edinburgh: John Donald, 1979.
- Lukacs, Georg. *The Historical Novel*, trans. by Hannah and Stanley Mitchell. London: Merlin Press, 1962.
- Lynch, Michael. *Scotland: A New History*. Pimlico, 1992.
- McGann, Jerome J. *Romantic Ideology: A Critical Investigation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.

- McMaster, Graham. *Scott and Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Michasiw, Kim Ian. 'New Revisionist Theses on the Picturesque'. *Representation*, Vol. 38, 1992.
- Monod, Paul Kleber. *Jacobitism and the English People 1688-1788*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Morgam, Marjorie. *Manners, Morals and Class in England 1774-1858*. London: Macmillan, 1994.
- Mullan, John. *Sentiment and Sociability: the Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1988.
- Murdoch, John and Robert Woolf. *The Discovery of the Lake District: A Northern Arcadia and its Uses*. London: Faber & Faber, 1986.
- Nobholtz, John. 'Dorothy Wordsworth and the Picturesque'. *Studies in Romanticism*, Vol. 3, 1964.
- Newman, Gerald. *The Rise of English Nationalism: A Cultural History 1740-1830*. London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1989.
- Newton, Judith Lowder. *Women. Power, and Subversion: Social Strategies in British Fiction, 1778-1860*. New York and London: Methuen, 1981.
- Nicholson, Colin. *Writing and the rise of finance: Capital satires of the early eighteenth century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Parry, Graham. *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Paulson, Ronald. *Representations of Revolution 1789-1820*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983.
- Payne, Christina. *Toil and Plenty: Images of the Agricultural Landscape in England 1780-1890*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.
- Pears, Iain. *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England 1680-1768*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988.
- Pittock, Murray G. H. *The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and The Scottish Identity, 1638 to the Present*. London and New York: Routledge, 1991.
- Pocock, John Greville Agard. *Virtue, Commerce and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Pratt, Edwin A. *A History of Inland Transport and Communication*. Newton Abbot

- Devon: David and Charles Ltd, 1970.
- Richards, Eric. *A History of the Highland Clearances: Agrarian Tradition and the Evictions 1746-1886*. London and Canberra: Croom Helm, 1982.
- Robinson, Sidney K. *Inquiry into the Picturesque*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Rogers, Pat. *Johnson and Boswell: The Transit of Caledonia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.
- Ross, Alexander M. *The Imprint of the Picturesque on Nineteenth-Century British Fiction*. Waterloo: Wilfrid University Press, 1986.
- Sack, James J. *From Jacobite to Conservative: Reaction and Orthodoxy in Britain, 1760-1832*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Schor, Naomi. *Reading in Detail: Aesthetics and the Feminine*. New York and London: Methuen, 1987.
- Scott, Peter Henderson. *Walter Scott and Scotland*. Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1981.
- Shell, Marc. *Money, Language and Thought: Literary and Philosophical Economies From the Medieval To the Modern Era*. London: University of California Press, 1982.
- Shevelov, Kathryn. *Women and Print Culture: The Construction of femininity in the early periodical*. London and New York: Routledge, 1989.
- Simpson, David. *Romanticism, Nationalism and the Revolt Against Theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- 'Literary Criticism and the Return to "History"'. *Critical Inquiry*, Vol.14, 1988.
- Solkin, David. *Painting for Money: The Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-century England*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.
- Stevenson, John. *Popular Disturbances in England 1700-1780*. London and New York: Longman, 1979.
- Stone, Lawrence. *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977.
- Sutherland, John Andrew. *The Life of Walter Scott: A Critical Biography*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1995.
- Sutherland, Katheryn, ed. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Thomson, Katrina. *Turner and Sir Walter Scott: The Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland*. Edinburgh: The Trustees of the National Galleries

of Scotland, 1999.

Thompson, Edward Palmer. *Customs in Common*. London: The Merlin Press, 1991.

Todd, Janet. *The Sign of Angellica: Women, Writing and Fiction 1660-1800*. London: Virago Press, 1989.

Tribe, Keith. *Land, Labour and Economic Discourse*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978.

Trumpener, Katie. 'National Character, National Plots: National Tale and Historical Novel in the Age of *Waverley*, 1806-1830'. *ELH*, Vol. 60, 1993.

Walker, Eric G. *Scott's Fiction and the Picturesque*. Salzburg: University of Salzburg, 1982.

Williams, Raymond. *The Country and the City*. London: The Hogarth Press, 1973.

----- *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. London: Fontana Press, 1976.

Womack, Peter. *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands*. London: Macmillan, 1989.

Woolf, Daniel R. *The idea of history in Early Stuart England: Erudition, Ideology, and 'The light of Truth' from the succession of James I to the Civil War*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.

Youngson, Alexander John. *After the Forty-Five: the Economic Impact on the Scottish Highlands*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973.