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Forsyth, Emma Scott (2001) *The romantic image: the culture, heritage and iconography of Scotland in the nineteenth century*. PhD thesis.

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**The Romantic Image:
The Culture, Heritage and Iconography of Scotland
in the Nineteenth Century.**

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A thesis presented for the degree of Ph.D.
in History.

University of Glasgow

December 2001.

Abstract

This thesis explores nineteenth-century perceptions of Scotland. The aim is to provide an assessment of the primarily middle-class perceptions of Scotland, and to analyse how this understanding of Scotland came into being. The thesis focuses on cultural history themes, encompassing the interdisciplinary fields of art history, cultural geography, and history. Crucially, the nineteenth-century image of Scotland became entrenched as tourism became a realistic leisure activity for the middle class, and consequently the romantic image of Scotland was embellished concurrently with the influx of tourists to Scotland. Scotland became a major tourist attraction in the nineteenth century, specifically because of this particular image, one which developed from Scotland's history and from the cultural atmosphere of the time.

The first chapter concentrates on the ubiquitous figure of Sir Walter Scott, examining his contribution to the cultural heritage of Scotland. In a sense, this chapter on Scott acts as a guide for the entire thesis, as many of the themes discussed here are relevant to the subsequent chapters. Chapter Two is an examination of the role of the Highlands in Scottish identity, and analyses the development of tourism, tartanry and artists' impressions of Scottish subject matter. The final chapter encompasses a discussion of heritage and heroes, looking at the growth in the celebration of Scottish history and iconography, and other forms of celebrating national expression and the image of the country.

The central theme which runs throughout the entire thesis is the visual imagery of Scotland, and artists' interpretations of scenes from the Scottish past and present. Of particular interest are the many landscape paintings of the country, especially those of Highland settings. These stereotypical landscapes came to encapsulate the identity of the nation, embracing people who were bound by cultural background and national traditions. The quest to illustrate and substantiate an identity was developed with the organisation of a national historical and cultural iconography. The emphasis was clearly on visual imagery, hence the popularity of the work of artists who depicted the Scottish landscape and scenes from Scottish history.



Sir Edwin Landseer, *The Monarch of the Glen*, 1851

Acknowledgements

Many people have helped in the completion of this thesis, both directly and indirectly. Firstly I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr Irene Maver, for her invaluable advice and support. I am also grateful to the staff of the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, Stirling County Library, Ayr Reference Library, the National Library of Scotland and Glasgow University Library. Thanks are also due to my friends, especially Tarn Harrison, Blair Forsyth and John Paterson for their help with the illustrations. Above all I wish to thank my family for their constant encouragement and support.

Emma Forsyth

December 2001.

Abbreviations

Glasgow Museums: Art Gallery and Museum, Kelvingrove	Kelvingrove
National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights	NAVSR
National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh	NGS
National Library of Scotland	NLS
National Portrait Gallery, London	NPG
National Trust for Scotland	NTS
Phillips, de Pury & Luxembourg	Phillips
Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh	RMS
Royal Academy	RA
Royal Scottish Academy	RSA
Stirling Country Library	SCL
Scottish Economic and Social History	SESH
Scottish Geographic Magazine	SGM
Scottish History Review	SHR
Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh	SNGP
Scottish Rights Association	SRA
Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co.	Sotheby's
Tate Britain Art Gallery, London	Tate

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Introduction

This thesis is an examination of how the nineteenth-century vision of Scotland was created from the Romantic fascination with the wild and primitive and attempts to define Scottish culture and heritage. The objective is to provide a vignette of primarily elite and middle-class perceptions of Scotland, and to analyse how this understanding of Scotland came into being. It also aims to examine the role of history, sentiment and nostalgia in shaping the images which distinguished the country, and created an appearance of continuity and familiarity in response to the fast changing economic and social environment. It is not an analysis of nineteenth-century political nationalism; rather, it seeks to address cultural and iconographical manifestations of heritage and identity. Specifically, it is concerned with issues of cultural history, encompassing the interdisciplinary fields of art history, cultural geography, history, and to a lesser extent, theatre studies. All these areas provide insight into the image of Scotland within the nineteenth century, and the cultural atmosphere of the age.

Understandably, because of their subjective quality, the question of perceptions is difficult to pinpoint precisely. Images and ideas are intangible and illusory, especially in the notoriously slippery context of national identity. Indeed, it can be argued that the perception of Scotland within the nineteenth century was a false consciousness, promoted for, or by the English market. The incipient idealisation of Scotland came predominantly from those not native to the country; an English-led, elite view of the landscape, which prevailed among the fashionable upper-classes who were familiar with the theories of the Picturesque and Sublime. These early tourists considered themselves to be connoisseurs of the landscape; but this sense of exclusivity did not last for long, and their extravagantly Romantic interpretation was embellished by Scott and came to dominate conceptions of Scotland within and beyond its borders. Crucially, this favoured image of Scotland began to gain momentum as tourism became a feasible leisure activity for many of the middle-class. Consequently the romanticised image of Scotland developed concurrently with the influx of tourists to Scotland. Scotland became a major tourist attraction in the nineteenth century, specifically because of this particular image; one that developed from Scotland's history and from the cultural atmosphere of the time. While the popularity of Scotland among tourists can be seen as English-led demand for consuming Romantic Scotland, the romanticised image was certainly established within Scotland, and this vision is validated

by the domestic popularity of pictorial images of the landscape, history and cultural traditions of the country.

Anthony Smith makes a clear distinction between political and cultural nationalism, claiming that the usage of 'nationalism' as a purely political term is unduly restrictive. It omits the other important dimensions of nationalism such as culture, identity and the homeland.¹ Michael Billig, who makes much of the theory of 'banal nationalism', notes that national identities are forms of social life, rather than an internal psychological state; they are ideological creations, caught up in the historical processes of nationhood. Essentially, Billig explains that a 'national identity' is not a thing: it is a short-hand description for ways of talking about the self and community.² National consciousness, however, is the internal psychological state which then seeks expression in outward sign of identity.³ National consciousness does not necessarily encompass the goal of attaining statehood. Directly referring to Scotland, Tom Nairn differentiates between the specific political demand for a nation state, and a more general identification with the Scottish people.⁴ Indeed, the sense of collective recognition implicit in 'national consciousness' differs from nationalism. It is feasible for a people to develop national consciousness without subsequently becoming nationalists, and it is this sense of consciousness which is discussed within the remit of this thesis.

Romanticism and Scotland

While not denying the significance of the political form of nationalism, to focus on this alone seriously underestimates the scope and power of culture in the making of a nation. Hence the importance of historians who rediscover the past and chart its destiny, of artists who celebrate the heroes of the nation and create out of the collective experience of the people.⁵ Although substantially overlooked by artists and commentators for the most part of the eighteenth century, Scotland engaged the Victorian imagination. Alongside a native-born contingent, poets, novelists, artists and musicians flocked to Scotland, as did vast numbers of tourists. This thesis shows how a new attitude to Scotland developed in the late-eighteenth century, and became entrenched in the nineteenth century. From its reputation as an austere and uncultured country, Scotland came to be regarded as an idyllic land, with a Picturesque, Sublime landscape, and a unique culture. As the ensuing chapters will show, this vision found resonance in the nineteenth-century Victorian

popular consciousness, and spread worldwide. Thus the history of tourism in Scotland is more than the development of an economic industry. It is a history of travellers' expectations of Scotland, and how these expectations affected their perceptions.

The central theme which runs throughout the thesis is the visual imagery of Scotland and artists' interpretations of scenes from Scotland's past and present. In essence the focus is upon the Romantic vision of Scotland from the perspective of the middle-classes and through the medium of art. Thus, the chapters emphasise the pictorial iconography of the country – the celebration of Scottish heroes and heritage, and contemporary representations of identity and culture. The first chapter concentrates on the ubiquitous figure of Sir Walter Scott, scrutinising his contribution to the cultural heritage of Scotland. This chapter on Scott serves as a guide for the whole thesis, as many of the themes discussed here are pertinent to the subsequent chapters. The second chapter encompasses an analysis of the role of the Highlands in Scottish identity, and examines the evolution of tourism, tartanry and artists' impressions of Highland subject matter. The final chapter revolves around a discussion of heritage and heroes, looking at the expansion of the celebration of Scottish history and iconography, and other forms of celebrating national expression and the image of the country.

The development of stereotypical images of a nation is not uncommon; however it created special problems for Scotland. England and Scotland were, after all, part of the same Union. But the universality of the cult of Scotland bound the country to a rigid form, and at a time when the Scots needed to come to terms with modernity, the whole self-concept of the country was based on an often illusory past. While society in Scotland underwent a transformation in this period, the image of the country remained entrenched in the Romantic ideal. In a sense, the basic nature of the Romantic image persisted, a contrast to the changes within society, providing a sense of stability. Thus, contradictions and ironies attend any critique of the development of Scottish cultural identity and iconography in the nineteenth century. As already noted, the prevailing notion of Scotland as a rustic retreat of pre-industrial purity also had the effect of depicting Scotland as somewhat underdeveloped and unenlightened. Consequently Scotland was indirectly portrayed as an inadequate counterpart to England, and furthermore, many Scots accepted this attitude. This was particularly prevalent in relation to the Scottish Highlands, as will be shown in Chapter Two. Indeed, the pictorial and literary visions so attractive to tourists were frequently fashioned by Scots, because of both national pride and the profitability of tourism.

Certain romanticised and picturesque perspectives of Scottish landscape, culture and history were typical of the art and literature of the age, and these attitudes quickly became established in British popular culture. Guidebooks and other tourist literature utilised the same themes; tourists imposed their preconceived expectations upon the places they visited, even if those areas did not wholly fulfil that anticipated form. The prevalence of the Picturesque image had the effect of creating an enduring interpretation of Scotland. Indeed, the romanticised stereotypes of Scotland were so widespread that it would have been perverse for tourists to conceive of the country in any other way. Even those who had never been to Scotland probably had a fair idea of what it looked like. The prevailing appeal of Scotland to the tourist in the nineteenth century had as much to do with the Victorian mindset as it did with Scotland. Any traveller's choice of destination reveals much about the traveller as it does about the destination. Thus, a study of the Victorian rationale for visiting Scotland communicates a good deal about the Victorian middle-class values and culture. Tourists journeyed to Scotland before and after Victoria's reign, but her subjects - and, famously, the Queen herself - were especially fond of this country. There are a variety of reasons for this, but fundamentally Scotland was convenient, easily accessible and relatively inexpensive. However, convenience alone would not lure many people to a desolate and often wet landscape. More important was the certainty that Scotland's image engaged the Victorian imagination.

In 1859, the travel writer George Measom summarised that there were three elements in the process of English acquaintance with Scotland. These were the 1745 Rebellion, Sir Walter Scott, and the railways: a keen definition of the high-points of the discovery of Scotland.⁶ However, these conditions would have made little impression had it not been for the vogue for Romanticism. One of the important forerunners to the Romantic movement in Scotland was James Macpherson, whose work prepared the ground for the romanticism of the Scottish Highlands following the publication of his 'translations' of Gaelic epic poetry. As is well known, this caused enormous literary controversy, the implications of which continue to be analysed by scholars.⁷ Indeed, the dispute in time became more famous than the poetry itself. Hugh Cheape has stated that an atmosphere of contemporary excitement for Ossian was shadowed by a swelling critical backlash which queried the origins and composition of the literary epic.⁸ This controversy surrounding the authenticity of *Ossian* reached its pinnacle in the 1760s and 1770s and persisted past the end of the century. However, the idea of *Ossian* continued to influence writers, artists and tourists throughout the nineteenth century. While the majority

dismissed the poems as the product of a modern imagination, no one objected to the motifs and themes of the Ossianic poetry.

Yet, for all its controversy, *Ossian* succeeded in opening Scotland to a wider European audience, encouraging the idea of the Highlands as a picturesque, sublime region with an ancient culture and tradition. As will be shown in the second chapter, this image was magnified and enhanced by romanticism; a trend encapsulated in the title of Fiona Stafford's work *The Sublime Savage* (1988). Although a European movement, romanticism was a key determinant in converting popular perceptions of Scotland. Romanticism elevated intense emotions and sentiments to a fashionable height, and stressed the cathartic merit of returning to nature. According to Rousseau, intuition was a more valuable quality than knowledge, and consequently, 'uncivilised' people were considered to be more pure and uncorrupted than 'civilised' society. Rousseau declared his faith in the innate goodness of mankind, believing that they were corrupted by society and that society perverted nature. Those who sought virtue should therefore reject social artifices as far as possible, and conform to nature's dictates.⁹ This was the central assumption of the outlook that was to take shape towards the end of the eighteenth century as romanticism.

Romanticism has been called an attempt to bring colour back into the world; the cult of Medievalism, as it developed in Scott, with all its associated pageantry and drama, was clearly part of the same endeavour.¹⁰ Like the Romantic Movement, which helped to foster it and which it partly shaped, the Medieval Revival was an intricate, yet coherent movement. Medievalism was yet another response to the ever growing problems arising from the industrial revolution, but it was also a reaction inherent to the post-Napoleonic period. While it is hard to define, its influence is evident in architecture, literature and philosophy, economics, politics and religion. This theme will be further examined in relation to the Eglinton Tournament, iconography and history painting in Chapter Three. At the peak of the revival hardly an aspect of society remained untouched by medievalist influence, but behind all these divergent assertions of the medievalist imagination lay a single motive; to feel at home in an ever-changing world. The more that the world altered - and the period of the Medieval Revival was an era of quickening social movement - the more that the Middle Ages (partly historical, but basically mythical) were exemplified as a period of faith, community, and creativity. Feudalism was seen as fatherhood, and this aptly matched the Victorian idealisation of a patriarchal society.

It was a nineteenth-century commonplace that the Medieval Revival had begun with Sir Walter Scott, but as much as Scott's literary output had fashioned much of the medievalism which followed, it was the product of more than two centuries' investigation of the feudal past. Scott brought this interest to focus by shaping an utterly credible mediaeval world, which he depicted so vividly that it was mistaken for historical truth rather than historical fiction. More importantly, the Middle Ages became idealised and were used as a model by which to measure and modify current-day life. Medievalism flourished as a popular philosophy because it appealed to and satisfied contemporary consciousness. It brought the vision of a more stable and harmonious social order to an increasingly urbanised and industrialised society, substituting paternal benevolence for the harshness of the industrialised city. In the Scottish context, Romanticism and Medievalist philosophies were apparent in the sentimental nostalgia for the past, which contributed to the creation of a sense of cultural heritage and identity. In the words of David Lowenthal, the 'past gradually came to be cherished as a heritage that validated and exalted the present. And the new role heightened concern to save relics and restore monuments as emblems of identity, continuity and aspiration.'¹¹

Art, the Landscape and Tourism.

Developments within Scottish art are also characteristic of particular representations of the country. It was during the reign of Queen Victoria that Scottish painting began to take on a character by which contemporaries were able to distinguish it, and thus began to talk of a 'Scottish School' in art. The recent past had seen the emergence of several influential artists in addition to Runciman. The painters Sir Henry Raeburn, Alexander Nasymth and Sir David Wilkie were to be the driving force behind Scottish landscape, portraiture and genre painting. In 1839 the *Art Union* carried an advertisement for engravings 'peculiarly interesting to the Scottish Nation' which distilled the themes prominent within the Scottish School.¹² The topics depicted in these engravings ranged from images of John Knox through to Highland scenes of drovers or whisky stills. These are indicative of the standard tastes of the age - landscape with a hearty regional character, and figure painting which tended towards illustration, preferably that of Scottish historical subjects, or of the works of Walter Scott and Robert Burns. Indeed, Duncan Macmillan asserts that this style of painting - the illustration of the prose and poetry of Sir Walter Scott - is really a sub-genre in nineteenth-century Scottish painting.¹³

This development is examined in the final chapter. The popularity of these themes is reflected in Susan Ferrier's novel *Destiny* (1831): 'Scotland and the Scotch people and Scotch books and scenery, and so forth, happen to be in fashion at present.'¹⁴

The notion of a characteristic Scottish style in art was cultivated by the foundation of the Scottish Academy in 1826.¹⁵ Indeed, by 1835 the main agencies in Scotland for exhibiting, collecting and selling pictures and for the instruction of artists had been brought together in one building in the heart of Edinburgh, although they remained under separate administrative organisation. The prestigious new building, designated the Royal Institution (now the Royal Scottish Academy) was completed in accordance with Playfair's design in 1826 and further extended in 1835 with funds provided by the Board of Trustees for Improving Fisheries and Manufactures in Scotland. This same Board was instrumental in the administration of the Trustees' Academy, an art school founded in 1760, which was also housed within the Royal Institution building from 1826. Membership of the Academy was an important factor in fostering this idea of a separate Scottish School, by distinguishing painters with the letters 'RSA' after their names. Initially there was a distinct London influence to the paintings exhibited at the Royal Scottish Academy - in 1841 the *Art Union* observed that all the best works shown the current RSA exhibition, with the exception of David Scott's and Thomas Duncan's, were contributed from London.¹⁶ This would appear to bear out the broader based training of some Scottish artists, which was often augmented by trips to Rome, and this had an undeniable affect on their work. The result of this liberal artistic education can be seen in the subject and coloration of the work that they produced. They showed a predisposition to 'High Art', a peculiarly Victorian concept involving subjects of a morally elevated character, and the stimulus of Italy is visible in the more creative and aesthetic use of colour. However, six years later the same journal was able to report that works of art from the south were reduced considerably in number and pronounced the Scottish School to be 'scarcely second to that of England'.¹⁷ This shows that the acknowledgement of Scottish artists within the Royal Academy and the London-led art establishment succeeded in encouraging the development of Scottish painters at home. Particular praise was given to David Octavius Hill, Joseph Noel Paton and Horatio McCulloch. The editorial concluded by praising the judicious selection from the exhibition of paintings for the awards made by the Royal Association for the Promotion of the Fine Arts.

D O Hill, as secretary to the Scottish Academy from 1830, is due much of the credit for this favourable review. He constantly urged English artists to send their paintings to the

annual Edinburgh exhibitions, aided by London-based Scotsmen such as David Roberts. Hill was greatly involved in the encouragement of Scottish art; indeed, he had plans for a gallery of Scottish art at Holyrood. In a letter to Joseph Noel Paton, he outlined his scheme for a collection of paintings of ‘the history, poetry, romance, superstitions, sylvan sport and landscapes of Scotland and by Scottish artist, and all this in Holyrood’.¹⁸ In 1833 Hill initiated the Association for the Promotion of the Fine Arts in Scotland, the first scheme of its kind to be launched in Britain, which received its royal charter by 1850. Its main aim was to provide encouragement of patronage for Scottish artists at home, hoping to stem the tide of emigration to London, and foster the growth of the Scottish school. The Association also commissioned engravings to be distributed amongst its members, including David Scott’s *The Descent from the Cross* (1836), Horatio McCulloch’s *Loch An Eilan* (n.d) and William Allan’s *Heroism and Humanity* (1841) which depicted a scene from the early life of Robert the Bruce.¹⁹ Later commissions were given to Noel Paton, Robert Herdman, George Harvey and other Scottish artists. Further activities included the purchase of paintings from annual funds for the National Gallery of Scotland. This emphasised the elite and middle-class perceptions of Scotland; the Romantic and Picturesque portrayal of Scotland and the glorious interpretation of the nation’s culture, history and landscape, a subject which will be discussed in the final chapter of the thesis.

In *Scotland the Brand*, it is argued that Scotland might suffer from an excess of heritage. Scottish iconography includes tartan, Bonnie Prince Charlie and Culloden, Glencoe, Bannockburn, Burns, Mary, Queen of Scots, and much more.²⁰ Furthermore, it is noted that it has become an *idée fixe* of many Scottish intellectuals that Scotland suffers from a deformation of culture; that it has sold out its political birthright for a mess of cultural pottage.²¹ All manner of characterisations have been allowed to gather around the image of the country, of which the best known is perhaps the technicolor Hollywood idealisation of *Brigadoon*, and these images still linger in the present. David Stenhouse adroitly asserts that for most of the tourists flocking to Scotland in the year 2001, Victoria might still be on the throne, for around the world Scotland is still a land in which the ghost of Harry Lauder holds court and everybody is “roamin’ in the gloamin’”.²² And at the centre of all this heritage stands the country itself, Scotland as a theme park, where the nineteenth century has contrived an iconography of Scottish landscape which is largely bereft of people.²³ As will be shown by the subsequent discussion in chapter two, Landseer’s painting of *The Monarch of the Glen*, sets a framework for these expectations.²⁴

The idea of landscape, and its use in the Picturesque theories of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries established its conception as a tool for heritage. The following chapters will show the way in which landscape evolved as an essential component of Scottish culture and identity. The landscape came to represent the country – a three-dimensional setting for identity. Heritage is likewise of fundamental importance to the interests of contemporary historical and cultural geography, which focus on signification, representation and the crucial issue of identity. Places are distinguished from each other by many attributes that contribute to their identity and to the identification of individuals and groups within them. Cultural geography is concerned with the ways in which the past is remembered and represented in both formal or official senses and within popular forms, and the implication which these have for the present and for the ideas and constructs of belonging.²⁵

The issue of tourism is also important in this context. As Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge explain, despite the close analogy between the conceptualisation of heritage and landscape, hitherto the geographical debate on heritage has remained uneasily poised between being an addendum to tourism studies and forming an isolated, self-sustaining, if micro-scale, theme within the discipline.²⁶ However, heritage, cultural and economic geography, and tourism literature are all interrelated. The images of Scotland, which were transmitted to the public consciousness, were influential in determining the identity of the nation, both at home and abroad. This thesis will explore the manner in which Scotland's historical landscape and image was emphasised by the work of Walter Scott and the artists who took inspiration from his novels. This has had a knock-on effect as far as tourism is concerned as landscape, natural history, buildings, artefacts, and cultural traditions, which are literally and metaphorically passed on from one generation to another, are among those inherently Scottish features that can be marketed for the purposes of tourism. The second chapter includes an examination of this developing trend in Scottish souvenir ware. According to Frans Shouten, tourism is not just an aggregate of merely commercial activities; it is also the ideological framing of history, nature and tradition; a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs.²⁷ Consequently historical landscapes, suitably sanitised, have conspicuously become stage sets for tourism. Heritage is an integral part of the concept of nation building and treasured heritage can become an instrument to create a sense of belonging to a common place.

Heritage and tourism are both strongly connected with places and sites of interest. Historically, places with special character or significance served as attractions for tourists - for example, this can clearly apply to the Highlands of Scotland. The invention of traditions draws heavily on the idea of territorial myths. Similarly, landscape, and its pictorial representation, are powerful components in the construction of identity, and often form a significant part of the perception of a nation. Anderson claims that nations are not simply unearthed – rather, they expertly claim particular territories and derive distinctiveness from them. Indeed, as Anderson indicates, nationalists typically over-emphasise the particular uniqueness of their own territory and history.²⁸ Often, buildings and monuments have great symbolic meaning and serve as icons of an emergent state. The image builders in many ways decide and construct the building blocks from which a sense of identity can be forged. For this reason, the physical manifestations of the iconography of a nation are of intrinsic importance in disseminating identity.

A brief summary of the economic and social conditions of Scotland during this period places these developments in context. This was a time of rapid change, and many commentators in the nineteenth-century were very conscious of the fact that a new society was being created. In spite of their evident pride in their achievements, most Victorians also seemed to be uneasy about them. The middle-class especially was indebted to industrialisation for its new-found wealth and position, but was simultaneously troubled by the way the industrial world was cut off from the past, and from the purifying impulse of nature. While the Victorians preferred to live with nineteenth-century modernity, they found consolation in the idea that in Scotland an earlier civilisation was still functioning. In reality, as John McCaffrey indicates, Scotland was a subordinate part of an economic system, on the periphery of the political and cultural universe, which was increasingly directed and administered by metropolitan England and London-led finance and trade. Scottish society continued to be profoundly affected by economic changes in the 1830s and 1840s, and the phenomenal expansion of the industrial economy and urbanisation surpassed anything previously experienced.²⁹ The pace of life accelerated, wider markets could be penetrated, and the rapid access to English markets was of particular consequence. The advantages for the industrial areas of the central belt were obvious, but the regions also benefited from the pace of change. Notwithstanding the very real geographical problems of Scotland, the country was integrated, in terms of communication, in a manner that had never been accomplished before, and the effects were both material and psychological. These anxieties are exhibited in the Victorians' response to Scotland. Much of the fascination with Scotland, and the Highlands in

particular, was connected to the fact that it was seen as a place untouched by modernisation. In an increasingly industrialised and urbanised Europe, Scotland was one of the few places where one could find the world as it had once been – or as people thought it had been. This thesis will demonstrate how educated, middle-class Scots attempted to reconcile the duality of their cultural and historical identity within the urban, industrial environment.

¹ AD Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, (London, 1998), pp. 176 - 179.

² M Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, (London, 1995), pp. 24, 60.

³ N Davidson, *The Origins of Scottish Nationhood*, (London, 2000), p.18.

⁴ T Nairn, 'Empire and Union', in *Faces of Nationalism*, (London, 1997), pp. 196 – 197.

⁵ Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, pp. 176 - 179.

⁶ George Measom, *Official Illustrated Guide to the Lancaster and Carlisle, Edinburgh and Glasgow, and Caledonian railways*, (London 1859), pp. 131 –132.

⁷ See F Stafford, *The Sublime Savage: A Study of James Macpherson and the Poems of Ossian*, (Edinburgh, 1988)

⁸ H Cheape, 'The Culture and Material Culture of Ossian 1760 – 1900', *Scotlands*, 4, 1997, p. 1.

⁹ W Doyle, *The Old European Order 1660 – 1800*, (Oxford, 1992), pp. 214 - 216.

¹⁰ A Chandler, *A Dream of Order, the Medieval Ideal in Nineteenth-Century English Literature*, (University of Nebraska PhD thesis, 1970), pp. 12 – 13.

¹¹ D Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, (Cambridge, 1985), p.xiv.

¹² See figure 74.

¹³ D Macmillan, *Scottish Art 1460 – 1990*, (Edinburgh, 1990), p.187.

¹⁴ S Ferrier, *Destiny, Or the Chief's Daughter*, (1831; London, 1929), p. 613.

¹⁵ The Scottish Academy received its royal charter in 1838.

¹⁶ *Art Union*, 1841. 'Art in the Provinces: Review of the Royal Scottish Academy Annual Exhibition'.

¹⁷ *Art Union*, 1847. Review of the Royal Scottish Academy Annual Exhibition.

¹⁸ DO Hill in a letter to J Noel Paton, 7 February 1854. D & F Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad*, (London, 1975), p. 285.

¹⁹ Advertisement for engravings available from the Association for the Promotion of the Fine Arts in Scotland, in *The Art Union*, 1847. See figure 62.

²⁰ D McCrone, A Morris & R Keily, *Scotland the Brand – The Making of Scottish Heritage*, (Edinburgh, 1995), pp. 4 -5.

²¹ Ibid. See also D McCrone, *Understanding Scotland - The sociology of a stateless nation*, (London, 1992), pp. 174 – 196; T Nairn, 'Old Nationalism and New Nationalism', in G Brown (ed), *The Red Paper on Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1975) and C Beveridge & R Turnbull, *The Eclipse of Scottish Culture*, (Edinburgh, 1989).

²² D Stenhouse, 'Scots still find place for Victorian values', *Sunday Times*, 7 January 2001.

²³ McCrone at al, *Scotland the Brand*, pp. 5- 6.

²⁴ See frontispiece.

²⁵ B Graham, GJ Ashworth and JE Tunbridge (eds.), *Geography of Heritage; Power, Culture and Economy*, (London, 2000), pp. 4 – 5.

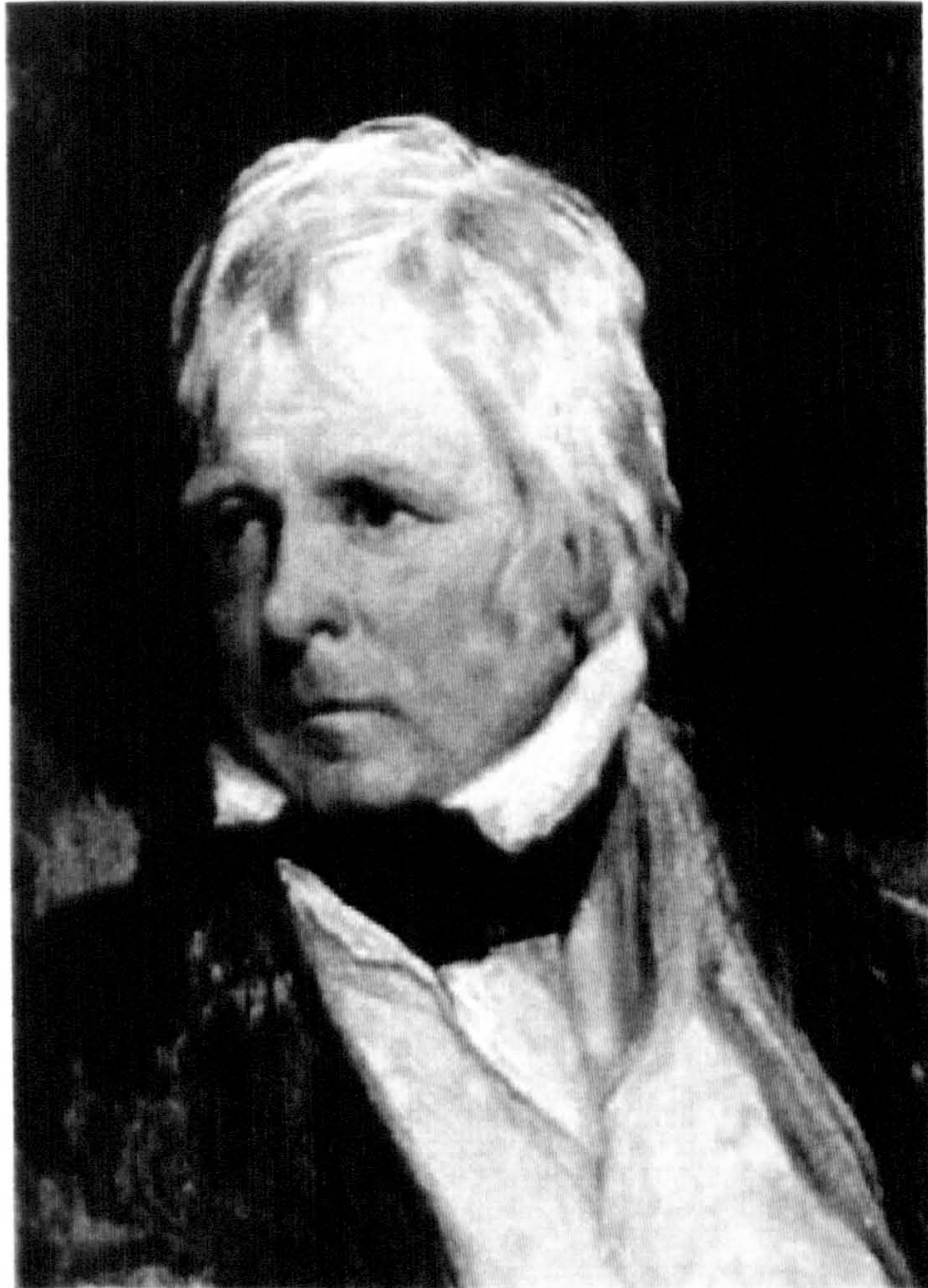
²⁶ Ibid, pp. 4 – 5.

²⁷ F Shouten, 'Heritage as Historical Reality', in D.T. Herbert (ed), *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, (London, 1995), pp. 21 – 23.

²⁸ B Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London, 1991), p.18

²⁹ J McCaffrey, *Scotland in the Nineteenth Century*, (East Linton, 1998), Ch. 2.

Figure 1.



Sir Walter Scott,
Sir Edwin Landseer, 1824; (detail)

Chapter One

Scott as Scotland:

The impact of Sir Walter Scott on Scottish culture

Through his novels and poems Sir Walter Scott devised a distinctive vision of his native land, his compatriots and their collective history which continues to influence how Scots perceive themselves, and how others see them. Scott was responsible in part for the imaginative construction of Scottish cultural identity through his own writing and through the work of others who were motivated by his representation of Scotland. Scott was also active in advocating an interest in Scottish history and antiquarianism. As Kino Iwazumi has noted, Scott created a vision of the Scottish past around which consensus could develop.¹ He encouraged the establishment of clubs such as the Bannatyne in 1823 and the Maitland in 1829, which were dedicated to research historical material and to the publication of erudite editions of Scottish documents and chronicles. Undoubtedly the central figure in the Romanticisation of Scotland, Sir Walter Scott did much to bring Scotland to the attention of the fashionable world in Europe and America.

This section will examine the contribution that Scott made to the cultural identity of Scotland, and how this sense of identity moulded perceptions of the country. It is not an attempt to rehash literary critique of Scott's work, nor will it endeavour to retell the story of Scott's life. Rather, it is an analysis of the flamboyant pageants and popular images which were associated with Scotland and Walter Scott. In a sense, this section on Walter Scott is a case study for the following discussion of Scottish identity and perceptions of Scotland; it acts as an illustrative guide to the principal motifs of the period. Andrew Marr has stated that Scott was neither the originator nor the most extreme proponent of the 'Celtification' of Scotland, but that he links the pre-Union and Jacobite Scotland with its Victorian caricature like no other person. He takes the view that despite Scott's understanding of the complex nature of Scottish history, he turned his early Jacobite rebelliousness into a pastiche, first of itself, and then of all of Scotland. Scott is thus likened to a Caledonian Madame Tussaud, resculpting the historical truth into a jovial, painted waxwork, and leading both people and monarchs past it, selling his books like tickets at the door.²

The enormous upsurge, in the nineteenth century, of interest in Scottish themes within the arts was implicitly due to Scott's work as a writer, poet and pageant-maker. There can hardly be a book on Scottish culture that does not make reference to Sir Walter Scott. His influence – however it may be interpreted – is never in doubt. Through his literature he spawned an attachment for Scottish history and scenery which was felt both within and outwith Scotland. His work influenced artists throughout Britain and Europe, and he inspired compositions in other media such as opera, painting and theatre. The countless numbers that read Scott's novels came to view Scotland through his eyes, and Scotland was as effectively the country of Scott just as surely as today the Lake District is associated with Wordsworth, or Dickens with London. Scotland was 'where the spirits of history, summoned up by his [Scott's] enchantments, haunt visibly its mouldering temples and ruined castles.'³ Twenty-nine novels appeared between 1814 and 1832, alongside other narrative poetry and historical or antiquarian works. The sales of his poetry were unequalled in his lifetime; sales of novels were counted in millions throughout the nineteenth century.

In the nineteenth century Scott was ubiquitous, although by the early years of the twentieth century he had all but disappeared. Raleigh wrote in the early 1960s that none could equal the meteoric rise and fall of Scott, and never before nor subsequently in the western world has any writer been such an authority in his own day, and yet so inconsequential to succeeding generations. Raleigh pursues this avenue further; declaring that Scott had been dealt the harshest blow of all with the reversal of his estimation in the eyes of modern Scottish nationalists. Despite the assumption that Scots continued to revere his memory, and read his work, he had been discredited by critics such as Hugh MacDiarmid, who grudgingly conceded that Scott had only one success in Scottish history - his defence of the Scottish banknotes in the *Letters of Malachi Malagrowther*.⁴ Scott's influence on the landscape of Scotland, and the visual representation of the country, remained undiminished however. The 1930s and 1940s, despite being the nadir of Scott's literary reputation saw the first, albeit infrequent, attempts at academic reappraisal of his use of landscape in his literary work.⁵ Since the 1960s, there has been an alteration in the perception of Scott and his influence in Scotland; indeed, there has been a rehabilitation of Scott in the late twentieth century as his reputation was restored to its former glory. Certainly, according to the cultural nationalist Paul Scott, there has been a new analysis of Scott's historicism, notably in the

work of David Daiches, which has established Scott's intellectual reputation on more solid foundations than ever before.⁶

This is not to say that Scott was without contemporary critics: his early poetical works often occasioned moral controversy, principally centred upon his 'vicious' heroes, and it was not until the publication of *The Lady of the Lake* (1810) that there was any significant shift in critical approbation.⁷ Carlyle claimed that Scott was a writer with no moral purpose:

There is nothing spiritual in him; all is economical, material, of the earth earthy. A love of picturesque, of beautiful, vigorous and graceful things; a genuine love, yet not more genuine than has dwelt in hundreds of men named minor poets: this is the highest quality to be discerned in him.⁸

Carlyle further repudiated Scott's prominence, declaring that although he strove for the heroic, 'he falls almost at once into the rose-pink sentimental',⁹ while his literary career was dismissed as consisting 'of writing impromptu novels to buy farms with'.¹⁰ Mark Twain was also disparaging of Scott's literary outpourings, and for his part asserted that Scott's impact on culture in the American South was wholly detrimental; he undid all the good of the French Revolution and set back the course of religion, politics and social justice:

Then comes Sir Walter Scott with his enchantments and by his single might checks the wave of progress, and even turns it back; sets the world in love with dreams and phantoms; with decayed and degraded systems of government; with the sillinesses and emptinesses, sham grandeurs, and sham chivalries of a brainless and worthless long-vanquished society.¹¹

Twain accused Scott of being the true author of the American Civil War by having written novels which, read by the ladies and gentlemen of the Southern States, idealised feudal society.¹² The case of Scott as a promoter of cultural regression is nowhere else so forcefully expressed, although Daiches counters this argument by declaring that if Twain really believed this allegation, then he had never read any of Scott's novels, or at any rate read him with attention. He maintains that the predominantly popular view of Scott as a writer who glorified the past, romanticising the heroic days of old, is the absolute reverse of the truth. But that is not to say that Scott presented a debunked past in his novels either. Daiches believes that Scott had a 'double vision' which allowed him to recognise the allure of the nostalgic, the fascination of the heroic gesture in the face of ordinary life – recognising this as well as believing in progress and in a future of unheroic prosperity.¹³

Nevertheless, the predominant view in the nineteenth century considered Scott as the leading author of the age, and indeed, the foremost ambassador of his country. This role is, in part, the consequence of one biographer's talent. J G Lockhart's *Memoirs of the Life of Scott*, (1837-38), remains one of the greatest of all literary biographies. Several of Scott's friends and acquaintances penned memoirs after his death: James Hogg, William Laidlaw, and Washington Irving. Lockhart's *Life*, however, created an icon for the Victorian period. Benefiting from Scott's own recollections of the circumstances of his life, Lockhart assembled an evangelising account of success, disaster and self-sacrificing redemption that welcomed frequent retellings.

Coming hard on the heels of the impact of Ossianic poetry and growing appreciation of the songs and poetry of Robert Burns, Scott constructed a hearty regard for all things Scottish. Although Scott doubted the validity of Macpherson's poems, he nevertheless built upon and adapted the image of Ossianic Scotland. One reading of this would be that in the process, Scott and his followers were to reinvent not just the traditions of rural Scotland, but also new ways of looking at the land and the people.¹⁴ What captivated the readers of Scott's novels and poetry was not the realism of Scott's picture of Scotland, but its picturesqueness and romance. As J A Smith contends: it was not the end of the chieftains' power in the Highlands, but the survival of Highland dress and culture, which enchanted his readership. Scott had presented the old order with truth, but he also dramatised it, and it was the drama that made the greater impression.¹⁵ Obviously the authentic period feel of his novels and poetry was only part of the reason for the strength of Scott's influence on prevailing Scottish attitudes. It was the originality of his work that pushed him to the heights of literary acclaim unprecedented in Scotland. Henry Cockburn attests to this aspect of the Scott phenomenon, noting the considerable impact made by the publication of Scott's literary work:

The unexpected newness of the thing, the profusion of original characters, the Scotch language, the Scotch scenery, Scotch men and women, the simplicity of the writing, and the graphic force of the descriptions, all struck us with an electric shock of delight.¹⁶

This initial commentary by Cockburn was echoed throughout Scott's career, and after his death. Indeed, an obituary in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* noted that:

The *Waverley* novels will be prized by Scots as permanent depositories of their language and manners, and of the genuine Scots character, which is fading before the fast encroaching tide of southern refinement. The classical language of Scotland, though it is discarded by the polite and wealthy, has still its own simple

graces.... How forcibly did he sketch the ludicrous points, as well as the loftier features of the Scots character, with all the vigour and truth of nature, without the slightest approach to caricature, even in his broadest and most rustic characters, while his dramatic scenes comprise the whole treasures of the language - the pure ore of expression without the alloy.¹⁷

The issue of the utilisation of the Scots language is an interesting point, and links Scott, and indeed Robert Burns, in the usage of folklore and popular antiquities. Both Scott and Burns legitimised the use of vernacular Scots in literature and poetry. Popular culture was considered to belong to the common people, the uncultivated lower classes, but during the nineteenth century it also appealed to the literate elite. As Goethe observed, 'it has an incredible charm even for us who stand on a higher plane'.¹⁸

Scott's novels were read by a wide cross section of society; the general public was clearly devoted, as can be gauged by the swift sales that followed each successive publication. William Donaldson indicates that the cost of the case bound book was often a major obstacle to ordinary people in search of recreational reading, and thus for much of the century book buying was the preserve of the well-to-do. Even the middle classes tended to rent their novels from private subscription libraries rather than buy them outright. For most of this period book fiction represented the taste and the outlook of the upper middle class is conditioned by the London-dominated all-British bookmarket.¹⁹ The novels and poems were additionally translated into the more popular medium of chapbooks. For example, *The Death of Marmion* was published in *A Poetical Scrap Book: a selection of poems for recitation*, and *Blue Bonnets over the Border* appeared in *Watty's Travels to Carlsile* [sic].²⁰ During the nineteenth century Scotland experienced a communications revolution. Major advances in popular literacy and increasing affluence in a rapidly expanding upper working and lower middle-class created a new mass popular literary market. Chapbooks were the staple secular reading matter of the common people until well into the nineteenth century. They cost a penny and were published in pamphlet form on coarse paper, adorned with assorted, usually crude, illustrations. As the century advanced they became more diverse, merging with the popular literary miscellany at one end of the scale, and the sensational novella at the other.²¹ As will be discussed in further detail later in this chapter, Scott's novels also lent themselves to theatrical interpretations, and when dramatic versions of *The Lady of the Lake* and *Rob Roy* appeared on the Edinburgh stage, crowds thronged to see them and the shows ran for several years.

Scott was essentially a historical novelist, although he moved from period to period, maintaining no temporal congruity, and roamed across the countryside. He was not concerned with composing stagnant pictures of a quaint past. Rather, he was interested in the relationship between the past and the present, and the ways in which tradition could be disentangled and made viable in contemporary life. Daiches concludes that Scott's regard for the connection between traditional customs and convention and contemporary progress made him the first true historical novelist. This attribute also conspicuously distinguishes him from earlier Gothic novelists who believed that the past was something far behind them, something which could be contemplated from a safe distance and which possessed a stylised and Romantic way of life that charmed the reader. For Scott, as for the Scottish historians of the eighteenth century, history was a process that extended into the present, and past and present illuminated each other.²²

Scott's first encounter with history was with the oral tradition, and closely associated with topography. All his life he had an abiding interest in the historical associations of places, which is clearly evident in the spirit of place associated with his novels and poetry. His view of Scottish history was tempered with Romantic allusion and ideas of heroic valour, and his vivid interpretation of both characters and terrain proved to be immensely popular. In 1856 Cockburn recollected his description of Scott as:

A genius now appeared, who... will long delight the world. Walter Scott's vivacity and force had been felt since his boyhood by his comrades, and he had disclosed literary inclinations by some translations of German ballads, and a few slight pieces in the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*; but his power of great original conception and execution was unknown both to his friends & himself. In 1805 he revealed his true self by the publication of the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*. The subject, from the principle of which he rarely afterwards deviated, was, for the period, singularly happy. It recalled scenes and times & characters so near as almost to linger in the memories of the old, and yet so remote that their revival, under poetic embellishment, imparted the double pleasure of invention & of history.²³

Nineteenth-century literature is filled with testimonials to Scott's evocative expertise - John Stuart Mill wrote that Scott could depict a landscape better than Wordsworth, although he pragmatically added that any mediocre vista itself would be superior to both. Henry James and Lord Coleridge can verify Scott's prowess with description. In 1881 James visited Scotland: he drove through the dusk to a great illuminated castle, and when a lady leaned out of a window, he declared 'I was in a Waverley novel.' Coleridge was

equally entranced by Scott's depiction of a region, particularly 'the extraordinary fidelity with which Walter Scott had caught the air and general feeling of the place.'²⁴

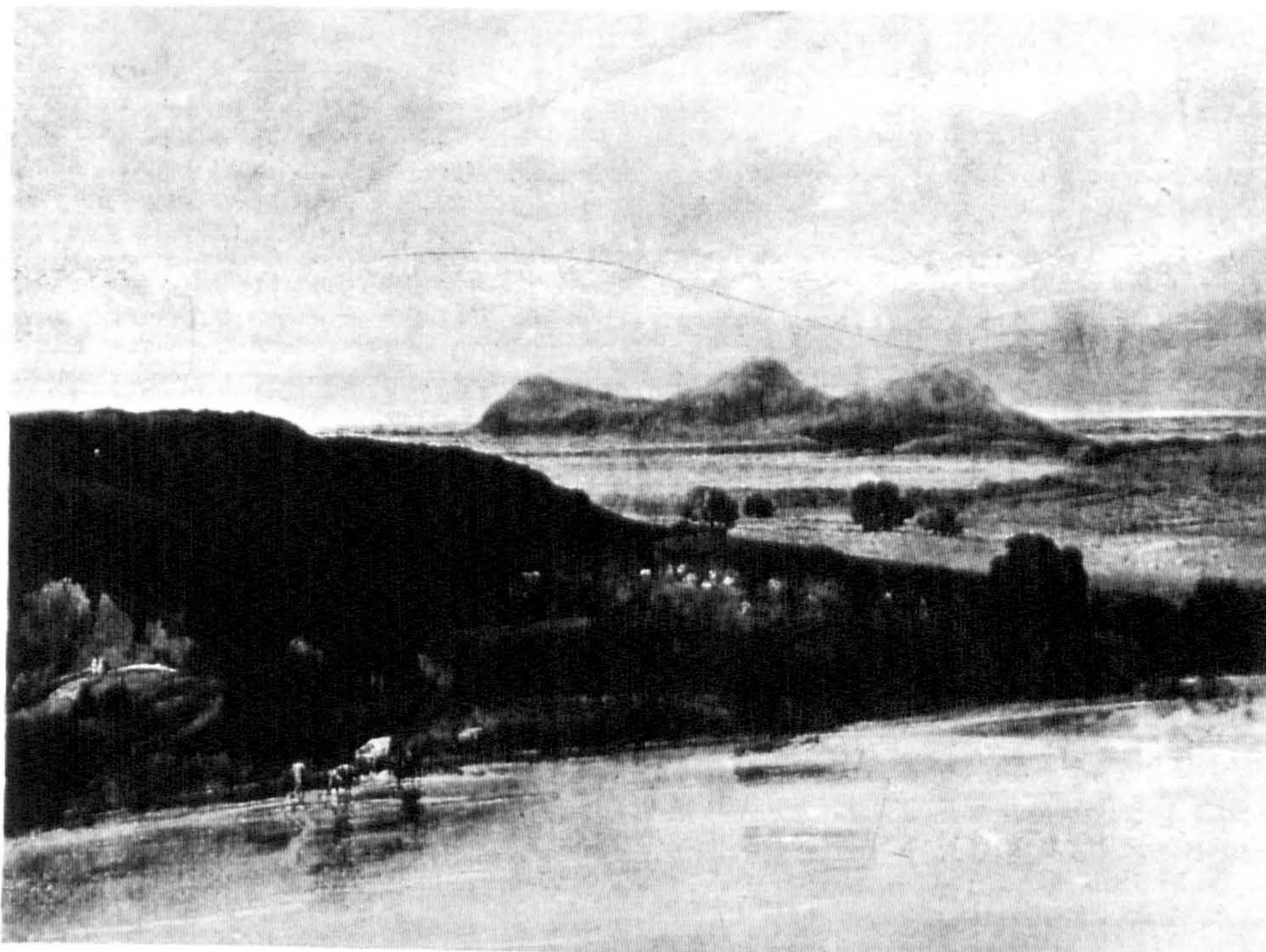
These last two declarations, both from the 1880s, verify the longevity of Scott's influence with regard to perceptions of Scotland. Moreover his novels and poems positively encouraged tourists to visit Scotland, and see for themselves the picturesque and impressive scenery which he described. The notion of the 'sense of place' is also an important element of Scott's success in promoting Scotland. Through his poetry and prose he produced an image of Scotland which permeated public consciousness. Relative to Scott's Highland novels, he was profoundly inspired by Ossian, although he believed that Macpherson's poems were forgeries. This suggested to Scott that the Highland region could not be equalled in terms of a wild and romantic location, and he was ineffectual in altering the tenacious Lowland conviction that the Highlands in the days of clanship was a land of savagery, and valour. Essentially Scott's fictional narratives were a more palatable option to the generally unpropitious experiences of the past.

Regional identities: the Borders and the Highlands.

J H Paterson remarks that there are some novelists who, in a literary sense, have made a particular region their own. In their prose it emerges as a place, or as a milieu, with a distinctive character, and is thus perceptible to readers who have never visited the area. Paterson alludes to Professor E. W. Gilbert in asserting that in the strictest sense, Scott was not a regional novelist as such; rather, his work had a more national flavour.²⁵ However, the regional setting of Scott's work is nonetheless marked, and he has been credited with the capacity to attach new significance to the landscape with his descriptions. Scott was a writer who paid great attention to the details of the scenery, even when it served as an inconsequential setting to his narrative, a talent he shared with William Wordsworth, who made the English Lake District so popular.

The Borders region was considered Scott's own countryside; he spent his childhood at Kelso, and his later life at Abbotsford. *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, a collection

Figure 2.



Thomas Girtin, *The Eildon Hills and the Tweed near Melrose*, c.1800.

Girtin was a visitor to the Scottish Borders before the publication of Scott's *Minstrelsy*, and thus, like many of the early travellers, regarded the landscape without the benefit of Scott's literary associations. Girtin's depictions of the scenery show an unprecedented plaintive emptiness in the unadorned landscape.

of traditional ballads accompanied by Scott's detailed notes, was edited by Scott and published in 1802 and 1803. This was succeeded by the wholly original *Lay of the Last Minstrel* in 1805, and the Border setting of this poem extended over the same geographical area as the *Minstrelsy*. *Marmion*, which followed in 1808, again covered the same landscape, although it extended north to Edinburgh and Linlithgow, and south to Northumberland. Thereafter Scott's geographical settings moved further north to the Highlands and Islands, although he returned to the Borders in some of his novels, especially *Guy Mannering* in 1815. Since most visitors (those not travelling by sea) had to travel through the Borders it was there that they received their first taste of the Scottish landscape and thus the work of Scott affected their perception of this region. William Scrope, an amateur artist and friend of Scott, described his first impression of the Border region;

My first visit to the Tweed was before the Minstrel of the Forth had sung those strains which enchanted the world, and attracted people of all ranks to this land of romance. The scenery therefore at that time, unassisted by story, lost its chief interest; yet was it all lovely in its native charms. What stranger just emerging from the angular enclosures of the South, scored and subdued by tillage, could not feel his heart expand at the first sight of the heathery mountains, swelling out to vast proportions over which man has no dominion.²⁶

Scrope continued to extol the Romantic qualities of the landscape, but claimed that the close association with the work of Scott enhanced the effects;

The stranger might wander in the quiet vale (of Tweed), and, far below the blue summits, he might see the shaggy flock grouped on some sunny knoll... and, lower down on the haugh, his eye perchance might rest awhile on some cattle standing on a tongue of land by the margin of the river, with their dark and rich brown forms opposed to the brightness of the waters. All these outward pictures he might see and feel; but he could see no further; The lore had not spread its witchery over the scene.²⁷

Interestingly, Scrope's publication *Days and Nights of Salmon Fishing in the Tweed* (1843) was accompanied by illustrations by Edwin Landseer and David Wilkie, which emphasised the idyllic and picturesque elements of the landscape. The inclusion of the work of Landseer in the book also underlined the sporting opportunities available within Scotland – since he was predominantly known for his celebrated pictures of majestic stags within the wild Scottish Highlands.

Gilpin had noticed the same qualities in the landscape that Scrope had commented upon: the vast expanses of land unmarked by boundaries ‘intirely in a state of nature’ [sic].²⁸ The artist Girtin was also a visitor to the region before the publication of Scott’s *Minstrelsy*, and these early travellers looked upon the landscape with the eyes of the innocent tourist. Girtin’s depictions of the landscape show an unprecedented melancholy starkness, a pictorial bleakness which would not have been the subject of a native Scottish painter. (See figure 2.) It was not merely that Scottish landscape painting at this time was more provincial than its English counterpart, but national pride would have been offended by the successive taunts of treeless hills.²⁹ Thus Scott gave the general public a change of heart; the barren hills remained the same, but his readers were taught to recognise the merit of the same aspects in the landscape which had once been considered barren and bleak. The power of historical association and the sense of place essentially effected this change of heart.

Scott readily admitted that he was drawn to landscapes which were distinguished by historical events. Lockhart recalled that Scott took Washington Irving to his favourite view, and while Irving was disappointed in the vista, Scott took exception to his response, countering: ‘I like the very nakedness of the land; it has something bold, and stern, and solitary about it’.³⁰ This enthusiasm was communicated to a diverse range of people, who came to appreciate the stern and wild aspects of the Scottish Border scenery. Elizabeth Grant recalled that as a child travelling home to the Highlands in 1812, with *The Lay*, *Marmion* and *The Lady of the Lake* in the family luggage, that it was not the scenery itself which provoked an emotional reaction. Rather, ‘it was the classic ground of all the Border country’ which had them ‘starting up in ecstasies, flinging ourselves half out at the sides each time these familiar names excited us’.³¹ The associations provoked by Scott also affected Lord Cockburn, who felt ‘the genius of Scott lingering in every valley’:

It is when the trees begin to fail, when the hard-wood keeps back, and lets the fir go on, and when... the very fir gives up to the grass, and we are left with to the solitude of the hills, that the real peculiarity and interest of the range begins... the bareness, openness, and sameness of the valley might seem to preclude its being interesting, but these are the very things that aid the old associations, and impart that feeling of pleasing melancholy which belongs to the region.³²

As the Borders came to be closely allied with Scott’s poems and novels, so too was the visitor affected and entranced by the association between Scott’s work and the landscape. Scott was clearly judged by the public as a poet of landscape – this is clearly evident in

the illustration to his collected poems. The early edition of *The Lay* in 1805 was originally intended to be accompanied by figurative illustrations by Flaxman, who had previously illustrated editions of Homer and Dante. By comparison, as the landscape came to be the dominant element in perceptions of Scott's work; this was manifested in Cadell's employment of Turner in 1831 where this artist's remit was exclusively concerned with landscape drawings.

Sir Walter Scott performed the greatest role in positively revamping the characterisation of the Highlands and modifying the customary perception of that district and its society. While the publication of James Macpherson's 'translations' of ancient Gaelic poetry in the early 1760s signalled the beginning of a transformation of attitudes towards the Highlanders, equally, the general perception of the Highlands was less tainted by political history than it had been. This phenomenon is more fully examined in the following section, which relates specifically to the changing perceptions of the region. The poetry of *Ossian* displayed the Highlanders, not as ignorant ruffians, but as noble savages. Subsequently, with all the embellishment of Romanticism and primitivism, the verses and dramatic novels of Walter Scott supplied the literate public with an extravagant and quixotic illustration of the Highlands in the days of clan society.

The Lady of the Lake, published in 1810, was Scott's third long poem, and epitomised those themes which were recurrent in Scott's work. This poem proved to be enormously successful both commercially and critically. Robert Pierce Gillies recollected that:

The copyright of the poem was estimated at £4,000, and in truth its success was unprecedented. The necessity of having to read it for fashion's sake precluded borrowing it in many instances. It was a kind of disgrace, a losing of *caste*, not to possess it. But it found numberless intelligent, as well as fashionable readers. More especially were young hearts gained by this metrical story, for in it there was nothing which they could not understand. On the contrary, there was much which they had themselves perceived and felt, yet were not able to express, nor had heard expressed before.... In the autumn of that year a degree of homage was paid to the poet, such as has never been manifested before or since. All the world, rich and poor, including crown-princes and *noblesse*, crowded to visit the scenery which he had depicted. Instead of being, as usual, a dull stupid village, whose inhabitants were all in a state of *cabbageism*, Callender of Menteith became a rallying point for all classes, a place wherein to study varieties of character. Truly *that* study was not very consolatory or edifying.³³

The commercial success of this poem is thus manifest. Daiches notes that the first edition of the poem, some 2,050 copies, sold out immediately, and four further editions were issued in the same year, amounting to a total of 20,000 copies within a few months.³⁴ Sales of *The Lady of the Lake* were estimated to have reached 50,000 by 1836, and reaction to the novels was similar – four editions of *Waverley* were produced between July and November of 1814, amounting to a total of 5,000 copies, which rose to 40,000 by 1829. In a single year – 1822 – the Ballantyne Press issued 145,000 volumes by Scott, including new novels, reprints and miscellaneous prose. These sales suggest that the expensive prices demanded for Scott's literary works was no bar to his commercial success. A quarto copy of *The Lady of the Lake* was priced at two guineas, the three volume edition of *Waverley* cost a guinea, and in 1820, with the publication of *Ivanhoe*, the standard price of the novels was raised to thirty shillings.³⁵

Through the success of his work, Scott did much to change the perceptions of the Highland area and the people who lived there. He helped to dispel the notion that the Highlands were a barbarous wilderness steeped in dirt and economic depression. Edmund Burt³⁶ and Samuel Johnson³⁷, who presented an image of a bleak and forbidding landscape, had fostered such impressions. In contrast to these two men, Scott depicted the grandeur and richness of the Scottish scenery, and the bravery and pride of the inhabitants. This new image attracted tourists from all over the world. J G Lockhart also commented on the enthusiastic reception of the poem, and more strikingly, the consequences this had for tourism in the country:

As the book came out just before the season of excursions, every house and inn in that neighbourhood was crammed with a constant succession of visitors. It is a well ascertained fact that, from the date of the publication of *The Lady of the Lake*, the post-horse duty in Scotland rose in an extraordinary degree, and indeed it continued to do so regularly for a number of years, the author's succeeding works keeping up the enthusiasm for our scenery which he had thus originally created.³⁸

Similarly, Robert Cadell, Scott's publisher and friend, remembered how:

The whole country rang with the praises of the poet – crowds set off to the scenery of Loch Katrine, till then comparatively unknown; and as the book came out, just before the season for the excursion, every home and inn in that neighbourhood was crammed with a constant succession of visitors. It is well ascertained that the post horse duty in Scotland rose in an extraordinary degree, and indeed it continued to do so regularly for a number of years, the author's

succeeding works keeping up the enthusiasm for our scenery which he had thus originally created.³⁹

The initial deluge of tourists was likewise recalled by the Reverend George Gilfillan, a Comrie author and editor, who wrote that the inns in the Trossachs were suddenly packed with visitors, and that on all the roads leading to the area 'was suddenly heard the rushing of many chariots and horsemen. Inns were crowded to suffocation. Post-hire permanently rose.'⁴⁰ He recognised the pen of Walter Scott in creating this upsurge of popularity, commenting on the many tourists who roamed 'carrying copies of the book in their hands.... repeating passages from it with unfeigned rapture'. In Gilfillan's opinion, Scott had 'hit the public between wind and water'; the effect of the publication of *The Lady of the Lake* was 'as if a ray from heaven had fallen on and revealed a nook of unmatched loveliness, and all rejoiced in the gleam and in its revelation.'⁴¹

Thus, the works of Scott assuredly confirmed the popularity of the Scottish Highlands, and his novels served as a continuous advertisement for the area. Thousands came to see the landscape that had been so commendably depicted by the author. John Eddows Bowman toured the area in 1825, a man ardently fascinated by the Romantic ideal:

I had for many years felt a strong desire to visit Scotland:- its wild and romantic scenery; its many monuments of rude and barbarous ages; the marvellous events of its ancient and modern history; and the spirit of liberty which still lingers among its mountains, and breathes in its native poetry, had long operated, as so many talismans, to allure me to its soil.⁴²

For him, Scott rendered the consummate representation of the Highlands, and by virtue of his knowledge of Scott's prose and poetry; his perception of the Highlands was preordained. His devotion to Scott is palpable as he continued:

Who that has a mind the least sensible to the charms of Nature and of Poetry, can fail, while rambling here, to bear testimony to the spirited fidelity of the picture which Sir Walter Scott has drawn of it in that bewitching gem of poetry. Though the scenery is new and enchanting, we recognise it at every turn, by his luxurious touches, and when we attempt to describe it, it is his glowing language.⁴³

He was not at all displeased with what he encountered, and found the Trossachs and Loch Katrine most enchanting, 'just as it is described in the first canto of the *Lady of the Lake*.'⁴⁴

Broadly speaking, Scott had two main aims when it came to his work. The first was 'to illustrate the customs and manners which anciently prevailed on the Borders of England

Figure 3.



Fast Castle from Below; St Abb's Head in the Distance

The Reverend John Thomson of Duddingston 1824.

Thomson executed several views of the precipitous Fast Castle, which can be considered the first thoroughly Romantic execution of Scottish landscape painting. This picture is a reflection of the artist's emotional reaction to the vista, rather than an accurate description of the scene, and it is a conspicuous manifestation of the theories of Picturesque and Sublime landscapes. Undoubtedly the comprehensive handling of the effects of the weather and the stormy sea appealed to Walter Scott, and in 1826 Thomson was commissioned to provide an illustration of Fast Castle for Scott's *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland*. Effectively, Thomson was creating an iconography of landscape which matched Scott's literary vision; not analytical, but highly emotive. Fast Castle was also Walter Scott's model for Wolf's Crag Castle in *The Bride of Lammermoor*, and Thomson presented Scott with a view of *Fast Castle from the Landward Side*.

and Scotland', a comment made by way of the preface to *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, but which could equally apply to other works.⁴⁵ In his introduction to the 1829 edition of *Waverley*, Scott explained that he hoped he could achieve as much for Scotland as Maria Edgeworth had done for Ireland through her writing. He believed that Edgeworth had made the Irish familiar to her English readers, and in doing so had accomplished 'more towards completing the Union than perhaps all the legislative enactments by which it has been followed up'.⁴⁶ Scott believed that he was well placed to achieve something similar, particularly considering his:

Intimate acquaintance with the subject which I could lay claim to possess, as having travelled through most parts of Scotland, both Highland and Lowland; having been familiar with the elder as well as more modern race; and having had from my infancy free and unrestrained communication with all ranks of my countrymen, from the Scottish peer to the Scottish ploughman.⁴⁷

Scott had developed an inspiring store of historical knowledge and had a fascination for myths relating to the Scottish past. He staunchly believed that old poetry, plays and romances constituted valid historical source material.

His second aim was to proffer landscapes not simply as attractive scenery but as the backdrop to characters and events. He was particularly drawn to locations where stirring events had unfolded, since they allowed him to communicate the sentiment which landscape could arouse. On occasion historical events were placed in the authentic locale, but frequently imaginary episodes were also placed in suitably evocative surroundings. Scott's view of nature was earnest and intense. He regretted his inadequacy in painting or drawing, and there may well have been a sense of compensating for this perceived deficiency with his descriptive approach to scenery. Scott relished the effects of natural landscape, and approached it subjectively, not topographically. He viewed the inconstant attributes of the natural environment as metonyms for history, and was constantly entranced by the variety of areas of light and shade, rough and smooth surfaces discernible in the landscape. This belief echoes the theories of the Picturesque, which were so ably explained by William Gilpin⁴⁸, and which attracted many artists to Scotland. Scott was aware of the theories of Picturesque, but claimed that he also appreciated the related disciplines of fine art and literature:

I do not by any means infer that I was dead to the feeling of picturesque scenery; on the contrary, few delighted more in its general effect. But I was unable with the eye of a painter to dissect the various parts of the scene, to comprehend how

the one bore upon the other, to estimate the effect which various features of the view had in producing its leading and general effect.⁴⁹

However, in his introduction to *The Monastery*, Scott acknowledged that: 'it was not the purpose of the author to present a landscape copied from nature, but a piece of composition, in which the real scene, with which he is familiar, had afforded him some leading outlines'.⁵⁰ While the potency of Scott's writing was derived from personal knowledge of the landscapes he reproduced, they achieved greater recognition in the eye of the reader by being affiliated with the characters and incidents described by Scott. This brought forth the desire to recite the poems in the location where the action occurred. Critics, too, were aware of the connection between Scott's words and the landscape. The review of *The Lady of the Lake*, which appeared in the *Quarterly Review*, highlights this:

Never, we think, has the analogy between poetry and painting been more strikingly exemplified than in the writings of Mr. Scott. He sees every thing with a painter's eye. Whatever he represents has a character of individuality, and is drawn with an accuracy and minuteness of discrimination which we are not accustomed to expect from verbal description. Much of this, no doubt, is the result of genius...⁵¹

The *Review* continued:

It is because Mr. Scott usually delineates those objects with which he is perfectly familiar that his touch is easy, correct and animated. The rocks, the ravines, and the torrents which he exhibits, are not the imperfect sketches of a hurried traveller, but the finished studies of a resident artist.⁵²

Guidebooks mirrored this connection between Scott's poetry and the landscape, and were often full of quotes from Walter Scott in conjunction with descriptions of the various places of scenic or historic interest, and picturesque grandeur.

The Trossachs are.... A central spot of particular splendour within this compass there are scenes so grand, so magnificent, and so exquisitely beautiful, that it is a matter of surprise that they lay unnoticed and comparatively unknown in the midst of our land, like buried gems, till near the beginning of the present century, when Sir Walter Scott's matchless poem, *The Lady of the Lake*, flashed across the length and breadth of Britain, and invested the Trossachs with an interest which, we are persuaded, shall never die away.⁵³

This lavish compliment was followed with another - 'It is utterly impossible to convey a correct idea of the Trossachs by means of description. The most vivid graphic that has

ever been written, is from the illustrious pen of Sir Walter Scott.⁵⁴ This suggests that where Sarah Murray⁵⁵ had believed the Trossachs to be beyond the descriptive powers of the pen, Walter Scott had proved her wrong, and his depiction of the region surpassed all others in the mind of the public. James Skene even went so far as to produce *A Series of Sketches of the Existing Localities Alluded to in the Waverley Novels*.⁵⁶ This was a book wherein each chapter featured an illustration of a landscape particular to Scott's works, alongside a quote from one of the novels and a summary of any other points of historical or literary interest.

The phenomenal success of the poem ensured that Scott would return to the Highland theme in later novels, proving the popularity of tales of Highland manners and exploits. In 1814 Scott published *Waverley*, and in his own later account explained that the positive reaction to the *Lady of the Lake* had encouraged the notion of a novel set in the Highlands:

My early recollections of the Highland scenery and customs made so favourable an impression in the poem called *The Lady of the Lake*, that I was induced to think of attempting something of the same kind in prose. I had been a good deal in the Highlands at a time when they were much less accessible, and much less visited, than they have been of late years, and was acquainted with many of the old warriors of 1745, who were, like most veterans, easily induced to fight their battles over again for the benefit of a willing listener like myself. It naturally occurred to me that the ancient traditions and high spirit of a people, who, living in a civilised age and country, retained so strong a tincture of manners belonging to an earlier period of society, must afford a subject favourable for romance, if it should not prove a curious tale marred for the telling.⁵⁷

Cockburn, always an enthusiastic proponent of Scott, remarked upon the triumphant reception of *Waverley*:

The first of those admirable and original prose compositions which have nearly obliterated the recollection of his poetry. Except the first opening of the *Edinburgh Review*, no work that has appeared in my time made such an instant and universal impression. It is curious to remember it.... I wish I could again feel the sensations produced by the first year of these two Edinburgh works. If the concealment of the authorship of the novels was intended to make mystery heighten their effect, it completely succeeded. The speculations and conjectures, and nods and winks, and predictions and assertions were endless, and occupied every company, and almost every two men who met and spoke in the street.⁵⁸

The comment on the concealed authorship of *Waverley* is significant. It emphasises the dramatic effect that Scott often employed, particularly in his involvement in the pageantry surrounding the visit of George IV in 1822. By enshrouding the origin of the novel in mystery, he encouraged an enigmatic and flamboyant perception of the work.

Waverley is usually identified as the first historical novel in the English language, a genre that Scott contrived to partially counter the supremacy of Byron in the province of Romantic poetry (to the extent that 'Byronic' is now synonymous with 'Romantic'). Despite the chronological disparity, *Waverley* has much in common with *The Lady of the Lake*; for instance, the focal characters in both are Highland chiefs, renowned for valour and fortitude, and both are located north of the Highland line. The focus of *Waverley* is the '45, a theme that allowed Scott to draw upon the many Jacobite anecdotes, which he had gleaned on his tour of the Highlands in 1793, and 'from the old Jacobites who used to frequent my Father's house'. These were experiences that satisfied and encouraged his interest in all the Highland traditions.⁵⁹

Waverley was also met with remarkable acclaim, perhaps more so than *The Lady of the Lake*. The *Edinburgh Review* surveyed the novel in 1814:

One great source of the interest which the volumes before us undoubtedly possess, is to be sought in the surprise that is excited by discovering, that in our own country, & almost in our own age, manners & characters existed, & were conspicuous, which we had been accustomed to consider as belonging to remote antiquity, or extravagant romance.⁶⁰

There are alternative methods of elucidating the success of the *Waverley* novels, for while Scotland was no longer the hereditary enemy of England, it was possible to take pleasure from the portrayal of a charming, archaic, and distinctive culture. In addition, the reaction against the French Revolution had revived attention in the complexities of history, race and culture.⁶¹ The Revolution also established a new development in tourism, as the elite could no longer make their traditional Grand Tour on the Continent while the Napoleonic Wars raged, and so many journeyed north to Scotland.

Scott's novels received a rapturous reception outwith the British Isles as well. Smith makes use of a quote from Heine to illustrate Scott's impact in Germany and his reception in Europe in general: 'Their theme is mighty sorrow for the loss of national peculiarities, swallowed up in the universality of newer culture – a sorrow which is throbbing in the hearts of all people'.⁶² The French reading public was also genial in its

welcome of Scott's novels. There had been a precedent for this reception in the work of Macpherson, whose *Ossian* had been hugely popular in France. Indeed, Napoleon was a great admirer, and had created an appreciative familiarity with the Highlands. It also had the effect of producing a proclivity for regarding the region in terms of legends and ancient heroes. Of course, in 1814, the year in which *Waverley* was published, the French public had the opportunity to see Highlanders more tangible than those depicted by Macpherson, when the Highland regiments advanced with the allied armies. It was the uniform of these soldiers that entranced the French public: 'avais très vite séduit les Parisiennes, enchantées par l'élégance du kilt' [the people of Paris were quickly seduced by the dashing Highland costume], claimed one French scholar, while a fashion journal pictured a page of illustrations showing 'Enfants Vêtus à l'écossaise' [children dressed in the Scottish style].⁶³

This indicates that the French were enthusiastic in their response to Scott's work, and in the 1820s a number of Frenchmen visited Scotland to experience the country for themselves. They were primed by their reading of the *Waverley* novels, and had a clear perception of what they expected to see there. For them the novels evoked a Romantic and picturesque land, and one traveller declared that he often wondered which was the more beautiful – the scene before his eyes, or the scene depicted by Scott in the pages of the novel he was carrying. Another, Charles de Boigne, claimed that Scott had *invented* Scotland.⁶⁴ They were greatly affected by his descriptive powers, and therefore perceived only the parts of the country he had reproduced, and disregarded the rest. Thus, it seems that the French came to regard the Highlands as representative of the whole country, and in their eyes everything Scottish had to be tartan-wrapped. The Highlands, as seen through the eyes of Scott, came to represent the whole of Scotland.

Scott also drew visitors into the more remote parts of the country. His poem on Loch Coruisk in Skye is an illustration of this. Scott wrote in an effusive annotation to this poem his personal notes on *The Lord of the Isles* that 'It is as exquisite a savage scene as Loch Katrine is a scene of Romantic beauty'. The poem embraced elaborate descriptions of the landscape, which were composed to appeal to contemporary sensibilities – a vision of desolate wildness, unspoiled by humans. Scott declared that the countryside here was remarkable, and 'the extraordinary piece of scenery which I have attempted to describe is, I think, unparalleled in any part of Scotland, at least any that I have happened to visit.'⁶⁵ The poem itself is effective at describing the forbidding spectacle of the loch and surrounding scenery:

For rarely human eye has known
A scene so wild as that dread lake,
With its dark ledge of barren stone.
Seems that primeval earthquake's sway
Hath rent a strange and shatter'd way
Through the rude bosom of the hill,
And that each naked precipice,
Sable ravine, and dark abyss,
Tells of the outrage still.⁶⁶

Such a portrayal of Loch Coruisk and the Cuillins quickly attracted more daring visitors. Artists made their way to Skye in such numbers that it soon became a frequently painted scene.⁶⁷ Among the artists brought to Scotland by the attractions of the picturesque scenery and the historical associations was JMW Turner (1775 - 1851). This London - born artist provides a sure link between the attractions of the Picturesque and the effects of Scott as an unofficial public relations guru for Scotland's landscape, history and heritage.

Landscape in art and literature.

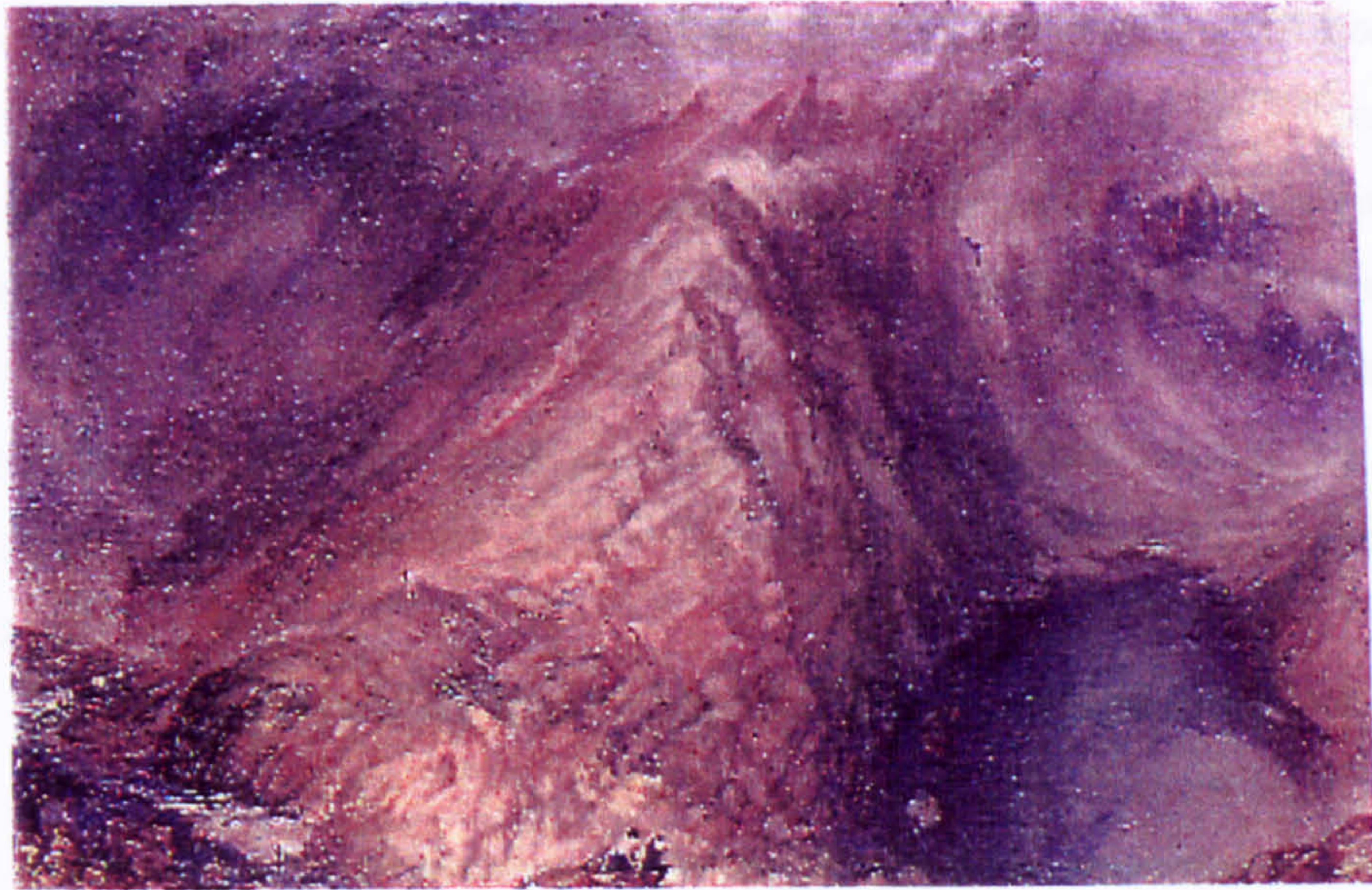
Turner's interest in Scotland was excited by firsthand reports of the landscape from fellow artists such as Thomas Hearne⁶⁸ and Joseph Farington⁶⁹. Turner visited Scotland briefly in 1797 and 1801, but it is his four further trips between 1818 and 1834 that provide us with evidence of the association between Scott and the artist. These four visits were all undertaken while Turner was in the employ of either Scott himself, or Robert Cadell, Scott's Edinburgh-based publisher. Turner accepted his first commission from Scott in 1818, reflecting both admiration for Scott and his interest in the native scenery of Scotland. Scott wished to extend his work on Scottish scenery further by publishing the two volume *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland* in 1819 and 1826. Turner was persuaded to undertake the illustrations and agreed to become financially involved in the project. Turner was one of eight artists commissioned to illustrate *The Provincial Antiquities*, a speculative venture initiated by Scott as a serial publication, which proposed to cover the whole of Scotland. It appeared in parts from 1819, but had to be wound up prematurely in 1826, plagued with financial difficulties and delays in the shadow of an economic crash. Sales of the volumes were poor, providing an

additional source of pressure on Scott's resources, and in the end, the serial was limited to ten issues covering Edinburgh and the Lothians.

The *Provincial Antiquities* was organised in the popular format of a travelogue for a public newly awakened to the cultural and emotional drama of the Scottish landscape. Tours to wild beauty spots had become all the rage, motivated primarily by Scott's own enormously influential literary works. Scott was of the opinion that the subject had generally been better represented by the pen of the author than by the pencil of the artist, and wished to redress the balance. Consequently, the *Provincial Antiquities* was intended to be of predominantly visual, rather than literary, appeal; the Romantic and historical associations of each location conveyed not in stirring poetry or prose, but through a series of fine engravings of views by leading topographical artists. As a result, Scott promoted a new understanding of landscape and a fashion that has endured to this day for the kind of scenery which an earlier generation dismissed as barren and unprofitable. But Scott was not alone in this endeavour. According to Duncan Macmillan, not only did Scott draw on the inspiration of the writers and painters who preceded him and were already promoting this vision, he also worked in partnership with many of his contemporaries. Indeed, of all of them, it was Turner who most closely matched or even surpassed his gift for evoking the awe-inspiring grandeur of the natural world and the fragility of our place in it.⁷⁰ Turner's remit was to provide views to embellish the publication of *Provincial Antiquities*. The very title of this publication seems to emphasise the interests of these two men - and indeed the fashionable appeal, of which Scotland was the subject.

From as early as 1811, Turner was aware of Scott's poetry and consequently he gladly received the opportunity to meet with Scott and to combine forces with him as illustrator. When they met briefly in 1818, both were well established in their fields, but it was not until 1831 that the two became better acquainted. At this time Turner stayed at Abbotsford, and here we have the meeting of two of the great Romantic minds of the time, with much in common. It is highly probable that Scott was engaged by Turner's instantaneous and invariable passion for the landscape, whether he was looking at the ruins of a castle, or the turn in a river. It can also equally be taken for granted that Scott discovered Turner shared with him a mutual knowledge of the theories of the Picturesque, according to which nature was considered and regulated by the principles of art. The Picturesque principles of art determined that an area took on the features that governed its character - the rationale concluded that landscape was more than mere topography - it was the quiescent witness to episodes of human history.

Figure 4.



JMW Turner, *Loch Coruisk, Skye*, 1831.

Turner was fascinated with the experience of the sublime, and it was the opportunity to express emotion through landscape painting that regularly attracted Turner to the mountains of Britain. This painting, which appeared as the frontispiece to Cadell's edition of Scott's *Lord of the Isles*, clearly illustrates Turner's interest in depicting the savage and elemental forces of nature and his personal fascination with the sublime. The remarkable tumultuous effects of the mountains and clouds in this meteorological masterpiece verify that this is one of the finest of Turner's small-scale illustrative works.

Turner was additionally involved in a publication of a collection of views of the Scottish landscape in 1846. This book, *Scotland Described*, was a compilation of work, mainly by three Scottish artists - Horatio McCulloch, William Allan and David Roberts, as Turner, and was dedicated to the Queen. The dedication described the nature of the work as 'designed to illustrate the Natural Beauty, History and Antiquities of Scotland', and was said to be 'one of the projects with which Victoria regarded "the richest and best portion of her dominions"'.²⁰ The scenes depicted by these eminent artists included the

In this same year, Turner embarked upon a northern tour, which was to take him to the west Highlands and Islands, Inveraray, Oban, Loch Ard, Loch Venachar, Loch Lomond and Loch Katrine. His sketchbooks from this time show that he captured the mood of the landscape with his on the spot compositions, and his drawings served to intensify the effect of Scott's prose and poetry. To illustrate, in one watercolour of *Loch Coruisk, Skye*, Turner selects the same desolate qualities that are reflected by Scott's description of the Loch above. The watercolour composition takes a high and dramatic viewpoint, from high above the lake, with exaggerated form and structure, jagged outlines which are blurred by the upward sweep of cloud and mist. The overall effect is that of isolation, and this painting has been described as Turner's tour de force among his small-scale illustrative works. Turner's landscape painting was subject to praise from his contemporaries:

Turner knows that the portrait of a place often depends on small matters of detail. The introduction of minute objects gives a largeness and grandeur to the principle. If Turner leaves out anything, it is those matters that are detrimental to the beauty of the scene, and he heightens and even exaggerates those features that increase its fascination. In this particular he throws Uvedale Price and Capability Brown into the shade. Like a clever auctioneer in the sale of an estate, he omits noticing objectionable portions; and clothes, with the glowing description of imaginative beauty, such parts as are only suggestive of ornament. His landscapes are full of poetry, - he is in fact a painter, not a facsimilist.⁷¹

The watercolour painting of *Loch Coruisk, Skye*, (1831) was used as the frontispiece for Cadell's Edinburgh edition of the *Lord of the Isles*.⁷² (See figure 4.) With the theories of the Picturesque foremost in his mind, these compositions, drawn on Turner's Northern Tour, must certainly reflect his emotional response to the scenery. They are the expression of his experience, and his recollections combined with Scott's poetry and the images that that evoked to provide him with fundamental inspiration.

Turner was additionally involved in a publication of a collection of views of the Scottish landscape in 1846. This book, *Scotland Delineated*, was a compilation of work, mainly by three Scottish artists - Horatio McCulloch, William Allan and David Roberts - and Turner, and was dedicated to the Queen. The dedication described the nature of the work as 'designed to illustrate the Natural beauties, History and Antiquities of Scotland', and was said to be proof of the interest with which Victoria regarded 'that ancient and loyal portion of her dominions'.⁷³ The scenes depicted by these eminent artists included the

battlefield of Prestonpans, Loch Lomond and Edinburgh Castle, along with landscapes of Balmoral, Loch Katrine and the deer forest belonging to the Marquis of Breadalbane. The paintings included in the book were engraved and offered for sale to the public, with the price ranging from one to three guineas, depending on the style and coloration of the finished picture.⁷⁴

The publication of this book, among others, reflects the prevalence of the fashion for Scotland, and the twin themes of Scottish landscape and history are indicative of the Victorian fascination for Scotland and its past. It also emphasises the ideal of the Picturesque, which was still an influential factor in cultured taste. The descriptions of the landscape provided alongside the depictions of the scenes reflect this -

Romantic grandeur, rich and varied beauty, picturesqueness and sublimity, are the distinctive features of the scenery of Scotland. The steep and stern summits that look down upon the traveller as he journeys onward through the 'Land of the Gael', the remote and solitary glens, the wild corries, the deep and dark tarns, the rivers, lochs and sounding shores of Caledonia;

Land of brown heath and shaggy wood,

Land of the mountain and the flood;

are the themes of wonder and admiration to all who behold them, and form favourite subjects of illustration to the poet and the painter. The 'wild and majestic', as Byron happily phrased the character of its scenery, have their true home in Scotland, while its old historic castles and venerable ruins possess an imperishable interest from the traditions, national associations, poetry and song, with which they are in many instances inseparably invested.⁷⁵

This appears to encapsulate the idea that the identity of Scotland was indisputably connected to the landscape and history of the country, and that the presentation of Scotland to the world was in cultural terms - art and literature. The direct quotation from Scott himself - 'Land of brown heath and shaggy wood / Land of the mountain and the flood' - also underlines the association between his work and the landscape.⁷⁶ The way in which a country presents itself to the world must necessarily relate to the ideas of identity at home. The clear relationship, which was perceptible between Scott's work and the characterisation of Scotland as a whole, emphasises his position in promoting a particularly romanticised image of the country. Scott's description of the landscape is a manipulation within the existing tradition of Picturesque touring, and of the public interest in the poems and novels which elevated anything associated with them to a fashionable status.

The transition from the Picturesque way of viewing the Scottish landscape to the full-blown, Romantic approach which became the stock-in-trade of the Victorian artist was gradual. In 1817 Wilkie had summarised this new direction in art:

Scotland is the most remarkable as a volume of history. It is the land of tradition and of poetry, every district has some scene in it of real or fictitious events, treasured with a sort of religious care in the minds of the inhabitants and giving dignity to places that in every other respect would, to the man of the world, be considered barren and unprofitable.⁷⁷

The new trend was stimulated by the alliance between Scott and Turner, and amongst the initial exponents of this style in Scotland was the Rev. John Thompson of Duddingston, a native Scottish artist; Richard Muther, in his *The History of Modern Painting*, indicated that he was the first great nature painter.⁷⁸ Thompson was part of the more virile school of landscape art, although it is difficult to assign a clear artistic heritage to him. He was a pupil of Alexander Nasmyth, who belonged to the old-fashioned classical tradition and modelled Scottish landscapes on the Italianate ideal of Claude, but Thompson's work presents a marked contrast with the delicate formality of Nasmyth's landscapes. There is the obvious influence from Claude, and additionally from the work of Gaspar Poussin, but above all Thompson's aesthetic values are imprinted upon the Scottish School of landscape painting, with a conspicuously naturalistic impetus. While Thompson's art marked no great departure from past artistic fashion, there is an indication of the breath of new life into the artistic model within Scotland. His unrestrained style and mannered use of monochromatic colouring influenced later landscapists such as McCulloch. Thompson was more closely associated with the native art than others; he spent little time outside of Scotland and his subjects were primarily Scottish scenes. By the mid-1820's he had discovered a clear personal style with a more subjective painterliness, and his work is littered with the motifs which distinguished his paintings – the lochs and glens, and the coastal castles.

There is a connection between the landscape work of Turner and those of John Thompson.⁷⁹ Turner even visited Thompson on some of his trips to Scotland, and they occasionally went on sketching expeditions together. Both were contributors to Scott's *Provincial Antiquities*, and alongside Turner, Thompson performed a key role in turning the direction of Scottish landscape painting away from the classical tradition. Thompson was a close friend of Scott, who pronounced that 'though a clergyman, is one of the best of our Scottish artists', and who was engaged in painting the Scottish Regalia, which had

been rediscovered by Scott in 1818.⁸⁰ Scott's approach to landscape was similar to that of Thompson; indeed, Scott had done much to supplant the eighteenth-century view of the landscape with the landscape of association, giving definition to the theories of Alison and shaping the circumstances in which the wild, the gloom and the melancholy could be preferred to the cultivated or the Picturesque.

Of all the Scottish artists, Scott was closest to Thompson, and was employed in promoting his work. Furthermore, Thompson has been described as the 'Turner of Scotland, and the pictorial counterpart of Sir Walter Scott', and along with Turner, was one of the earliest painters to master the power of the Highland scenery.⁸¹ His depiction of the landscape exhibits the same romanticism with which Scott awarded his historical characters. Some of Thompson's most distinguished works are his numerous versions of *Fast Castle*, the same castle which was reputed to be the model for Wolf's Crag Castle in the *Bride of Lammermoor*. Scott's description of the castle appears closer to Thompson's paintings than to the actual locale:

The castle perched on the cliffs like the nest of some sea eagle... a solitary and naked tower situated on a projecting cliff that belted on the German Ocean. Tall and narrow it stood, glimmering in the moonlight like the sheltered spectre of some huge giant. A wilder or more disconsolate dwelling, it was perhaps difficult to conceive. The sombrous and heavy sound of the billows, successively dashing against the rocky beach at a profound distance beneath, was to the ear what the landscape was to the eye – a symbol of unvaried and monotonous melancholy, not unmingled with horror.⁸²

In Thompson's *Fast Castle*, the idealisation of the landscape is less defined: the character of the coast is preserved while the elements of artistic exaggeration render the scene all the more dramatic. The sheer face of the cliff is illuminated against the dark surface and high horizon of the ocean, and the castle tower is delineated against the wind-swept sky.

Similarly, the scenery in Thompson's *Glen of Althavie* harmonises with Scott's description of the scenery in the *Lady of the Lake*, and *Waverley*. Thompson was instrumental in discovering a technique that catalogued the particular location efficiently yet still preserved the Romantic temperament of Scott and of Salvator Rosa. As with Turner, Thompson's compositions are discernible depictions of particular sites, but he charged them with an emotion and atmosphere that made them representative of a certain disposition and perspective of Scotland. He also succeeded in validating the landscape itself, offering it as the cause of profound emotion. His fantastic landscapes bear the

names of real places, and he directed all the intense and passionate feelings onto identifiable Scottish locations.⁸³ (See figure 3.)

Of his later works, *View of Glen Feshie, Inverness-shire* (1835) epitomises his development as a painter of nature. This scene of pine forests shows the same treatment which Thompson applied to cliffs and castles ten years earlier. McKay describes the painting:

The funereal masses of giant firs, the rank undergrowth, the gleam of rippling water which seems to hurry across the shadowed silence, and the vista of mountain pass, is no topographical transcript, but an embodiment of the mood engendered by such scenes, which all experience to some extent, but which only the artist who is also a dreamer can capture and make permanent. The broken and blasted members of those monarchs of Rothiemurchas, telling of storm and tempest, enhance by contrast the stillness of this enchanted wood and the delicious blue and white of the summer sky, whilst the twinkle of antlers in the glade to the left suggests the bugle horn and the romance associated with the hunter and the chase.⁸⁴

Thompson's paintings were well received in Scotland, and stimulated this branch of painting which had hitherto been neglected by native artists. McKay claims that Thompson also awakened Scottish painters to the pictorial possibilities of their country.⁸⁵ However, Thompson occupies a position of eminence that his ability as a painter does not qualify him to hold. His choice of subject is often repetitive - as the many variations on the *Fast Castle* theme would appear to indicate - and his coloration often clouded or oppressive. Furthermore, his draughtsmanship shows only a rudimentary grasp of form and technique, which refutes his comparison with Turner. Nevertheless, while Thompson's delineations of lochs and glens are as much generic as local, he set the example to those later painters who interpreted and accentuated the native intonation of the Scottish landscape. As Errington indicates, amongst all genres of painting, the landscape offers the amateur the easiest route to disguise his own weakness, and thus Thompson's unfamiliarity with draughtsmanship may even have proved advantageous in this arena.⁸⁶ What he offers is not a composition of cleanly drawn rocks, castles or mountains, rather it is a display of naked emotion; the landscape of the mind projected upon the exterior world. Errington further suggests that the key to Thompson's popularity lay in the titles of his paintings, and their association with Walter Scott; by turning all his

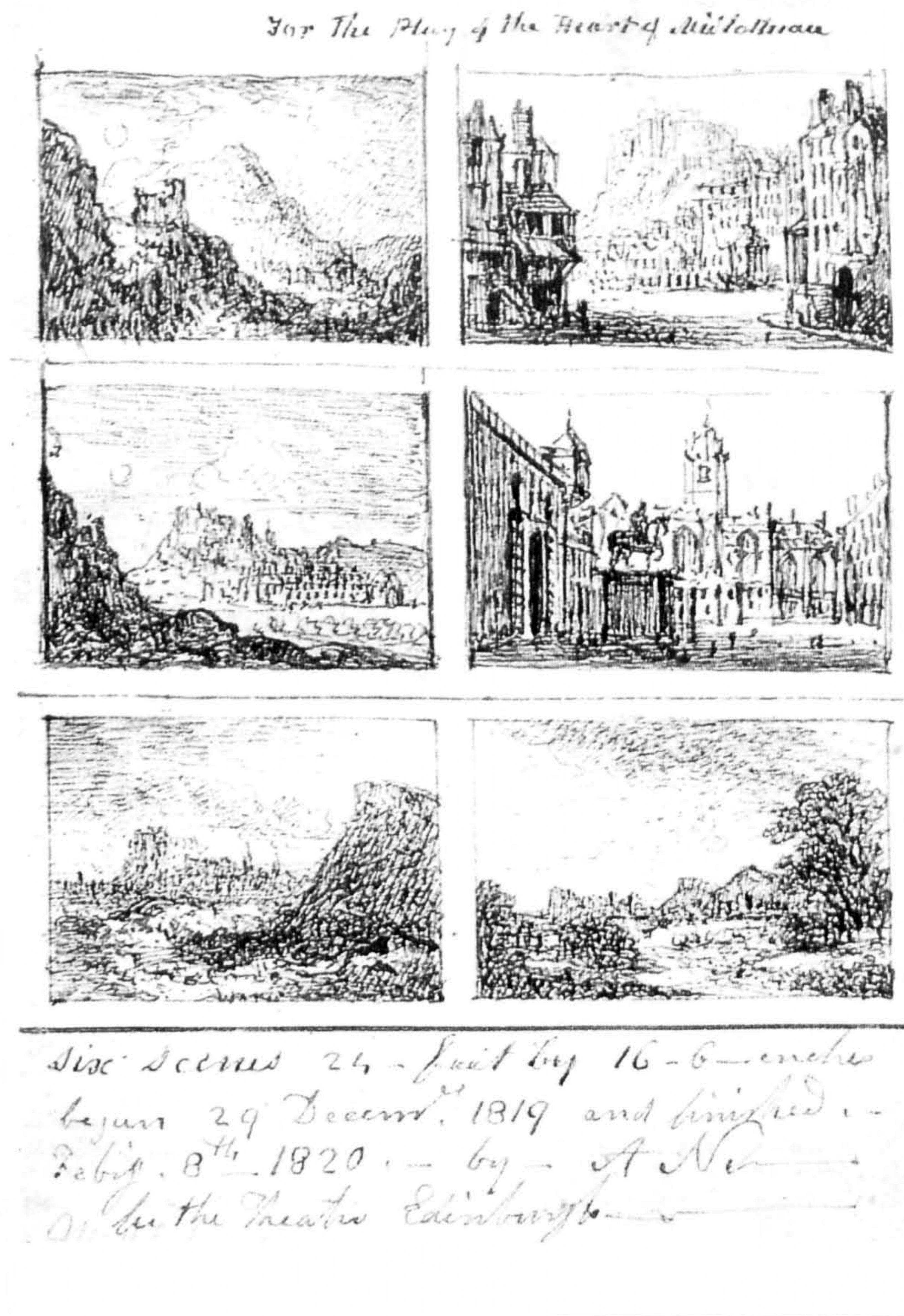
intense and passionate feeling onto identifiable Scottish locations, he validated the very landscape itself, exposing it as the cause of intense emotion.⁸⁷

In this way Walter Scott was instrumental in fashioning a vision of Scotland, which saturated the public mind. McKay claims that through the developmental years of the Scottish School of painting 'the genial presence of Scott ran like a golden thread'. Although aestheticism was not Scott's strong suit, he embraced the artistic community in Scotland.⁸⁸ The popularity of illustrations of Scott's work, even thirty years after his death, is emphasised by the annual publication of volumes of engraved plates which were produced by the Association for the Promotion of Fine Arts in Scotland. At the same time artists also played an important role in influencing the public perception of the country. Literary and artistic conventions of Scotland frequently went hand in hand, as is manifest in the work of the various artists associated with Walter Scott. The work of Scott was central to the portrayal of visual images of Scotland in the nineteenth century - his literary glorification of certain sites such as the Trossachs ensured that the Victorian artist could be confident that his audience would understand the significance of paintings and prints of Loch Katrine. As has been shown, Scott's novels and poetry not only popularised Scotland as a tourist destination, and inspired the compositions of many artists, but he also provided a fundamental incentive for artists in the form of commissions of illustrations to accompany his text.

As with no novelist before, Scott was closely allied to contemporary art and architecture. Historically art in Scotland had primarily concerned with portraiture, but after the appearance of the Waverley novels illustrations from Scottish history and legend became as popular as those which depicted scenes of social or domestic life. Likewise, Scott enlivened the scope of landscape painting with his own and the following generation.

The advent of Scott's novels was also advantageous for the evolution of the theatre in Scotland. Barbara Bell asserts that during the early years of the nineteenth century there was a real sense of frustration among many Scots at the perceived cultural and institutional shift.⁸⁹ This was related particularly towards the abridged status of the nation inherent in the appellation of 'North Britain' - a feeling which was only partially suspended by the work of Burns. Dramatisations of the *Waverley* novels began to effect a genuine change in terms of cultural awareness. The novels were widely read, and their comparative respectability, despite their setting in Scotland's recent past, allowed their transfer to the stage, where they made Scotland's history an acceptable subject for

Figure 5.



Six Stage Sets with Views of Old Edinburgh for 'The Heart of Midlothian',

Alexander Nasmyth, 1820.

Several thousand drama productions were derived from Scott's novels and poems, which were critical in generating the genre known as the 'National Drama'. *The Heart of Midlothian* was among the core repertoire which promoted Scott's particular vision of Scottish cultural identity. In common with most landscape painters of his generation, Nasmyth was also employed in the theatre. These rapidly executed sketches for a dramatisation of *The Heart of Midlothian* in 1820 provide a marked contrast with the refinement and elegance of his finished oil paintings.

representation. The *Waverley* romances came out at the right moment; H A White claims that audiences in Scotland always doted on Highland pictures, with an assortment of glens, lochs and mountain views which every play-house possessed in original painted scenery.⁹⁰ Mackenzie also supports this view, noting the overwhelming emphasis on Scott, and commenting that as the novels poured forth, 'almost as fast as they appeared in the bookshops, they were transcribed into theatre form and quickly presented'.⁹¹ The dramatisations did not escape censorship entirely – any mention of religion was completely taboo – but for the first time in many years Scotland's actual history and character were regarded as serious subjects for plays. The 'Scott' dramas introduced thousands to Scottish theatres, and once the floodgates were open, the Scots were anxious to assert their shared cultural heritage in the public arena. Audiences returned time and again to see their national heroes and heroines being portrayed in authentic Scottish settings by Scottish actors with Scottish accents. (See figure 6.) As Barbara Bell asserts, this essentially marked the beginning of the 'National Drama' in Scotland – novels, set in Scotland, which were best suited to being transferred to the stage.⁹² Notably, the usage of the word 'Scotch' to describe the plays was replaced with 'National' – a clear expression of cultural identity, and another example of Scott's influence in integrating the iconography and cultural heritage of the nation.

Early in the century there was an almost insatiable appetite for plays about Scotland, the land of mountains and mystery. Scottish writers, especially Walter Scott, were responsible for some of the most frequently revived works on the English stage. This owed a great deal to the Romantic imagination, and to the writings of Macpherson's *Ossian* which had been dramatised in various forms towards the end of the eighteenth century. Ossianic eulogies on the Highlands and Islands were plundered to provide the settings for plays as diverse as Joanna Baillie's *The Family Legend*, CE Walker's *The Warlock of the Glen*, and JR Planché's *The Vampyre*, which was set in Staffa rather than Transylvania. The Ossianic connections and Romantic appeal of Fingal's Cave for English audiences are obvious:

The Curtain rises to slow Music, and discovers the interior of the Basaltic Caverns of Staffa – at the extremity of which is a chasm opening to the air – the moonlight streams through it, and partially reveals a number of rude sepulchres.⁹³

The nineteenth-century theatre's thirst for dramatic novelty, stimulated by the lengthy programmes on offer each evening, meant that every corner of Scottish literature and history was ransacked to provide mainpieces, curtain-raisers, pantomimes, and

harlequinades. The subjects chosen ranged from the obvious, like Mary Queen of Scots, to the seemingly unstageable, such as *Tam O'Shanter*. Burns' poem inspired at least five plays as well as a harlequinade and a pantomime. Part of its attraction came from the fact that through the medium of the chapbooks, engravings by Wilkie and Landseer, the widely exhibited statue by James Thom, the poem was known all over Britain. The early part of the nineteenth century is particularly rich in plays and this is hardly surprising, for, until about 1870, Scotland had a distinct National Drama, (and at the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh; between 1810 and 1851, a 'national theatre'). These ranged from solemn gothic tragedy – *De Montford* by Joanna Baillie, to the equally solemn Celtic gloom of Flora MacLeod's *The Immortal Hour*; from the unashamedly commercial plays of WH Murray to the closet tragedies of Professor Robert Buchanan; from Barrymore's *Wallace* and Isaac Pocock's *Rob Roy* to RL Stevenson's *Deacon Brodie* and JM Barrie's *Little Minister*. Indeed, Cameron claims that between 1800 and the 1900 Scottish drama presents a cornucopia of riches. The Scottish stage provided hundreds of dramas by Scots; plays for and about Scotland and the Scottish people.⁹⁴

Walter Scott was directly involved in the Scottish theatre – in 1810 he became one of the Trustees of the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh and encouraged the development of Scottish elements within the theatre. He promoted the staging of Joanna Baillie's *The Family Legend*, a tale of a fifteenth-century blood feud on Mull, and took an interest in the accuracy of the costumes for this production. In a gesture premonitory of the George IV visit to Edinburgh in 1822, Scott wrote to all the chiefs of the Highland clans, inviting them to attend the first night to make it a 'great Scottish occasion'.⁹⁵ For much of the century, the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh dominated theatre in Scotland. It was here that the phrase 'National Drama' was first coined, to appeal to the patriotism of the prosperous. It described any play with a historical Scottish setting, usually adapted from a novel by Walter Scott and containing liberal flourishes of Scottish music, Scottish dancing, spectacular scenery and tartan soldiery. Bell asserts that the period from 1812 – 1832 saw a revolution within the world of Scottish theatre.⁹⁶ Fundamental changes were made to the repertoire, the organisation of theatres, the fabric of the actual buildings and to the way in which people viewed theatres. As William Ferguson argues, the drift towards North Britain was arrested by the popularity of the work of Burns and Scott.⁹⁷ And at the very heart of the nineteenth-century Scottish National Drama were the dramatisations of the work of Walter Scott.

The vogue for the stage-adaptations of Scott's work began with Isaac Pocock's version of *Rob Roy MacGregor* in 1818, although before that there had been many attempts to get the formula right. Cameron notes that the most successful of these adaptations had been William Terry's version of *Guy Mannering*. *The Lady of the Lake* also proved popular, even though its first performance in Edinburgh in 1810 initially ailed despite the lavish scenery and wide advertisement.⁹⁸ By the time of Scott's death in 1832, most of his novels and poems, including even *Anne of Geierstein* and *The Lord of the Isles*, had been adapted for the stage. Sometimes the novel would appear under a different name – *The Heart of Midlothian* was adapted as *The Lily of St Leonard's* and *The Bride of Lammermoor* as *The Spectre at the Fountain*. Some novels were constantly being reworked – *Ivanhoe*, for example, produced over thirty plays and operas. Perhaps the most famous, and certainly the most enduring of all the adaptations were those of *Rob Roy*. This became the foremost National drama, a fusion of the Highlands and Lowlands; the emotional espousal of the Jacobite cause contrasted with Bailie Nicol Jarvie's arguments on behalf of the Union and the overall sense of balance and clear view of Scottish history. All the adaptations kept much of the spoken Scots and preserved the memorable Scottish characters, including 'Dougal Craitur' and Bailie Nicol Jarvie himself.⁹⁹

Scott was aware of the stereotyping of Scottish characters. In 1810 he wrote to Joanna Baillie complaining about some illustrations which were being prepared for his poem *The Lady of the Lake*:

I expect to see my chieftain Sir Roderick Dhu in the guise of a recruiting sergeant of the Black Watch and his bard the very model of Auld Robin Grey upon a japand tea-tray. [sic]¹⁰⁰

Scott himself was actively involved in the affairs of the theatre and counted its manager (from 1815 – 1851) WH Murray and many actors among his friends. He also supported the performances of works by other Scottish dramatists, most notably the work of Joanna Baillie. Scott's novels *Guy Mannering*, *Rob Roy*, *The Bride of Lammermoor*, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* and *The Abbot* were frequent staged in Scottish theatres, drawing crowds for every performance. There was also a discernible affection in Scotland for those Scott adaptations that conformed to the originals in plot and language.

The Scott dramatisations impacted on all areas of Scottish theatrical life. They greatly expanded the audience for the emerging National Drama. Dibdin's *Annals of the Edinburgh Stage* describes the reaction to the Theatre Royal production of *Rob Roy*:

Figure 6.

This present Evening, WEDNESDAY, April 26, 1828,
Will be performed, by Dutton, the National Opera of

Rob Roy Macgregor,

OR
AULD LANGSYNE.

Special Obligations to Mr THOMAS, in which Character he will introduce the favorite New Song called
DRAW THE SWORD, SCOTLAND,
Composed by ALEXANDER LEA,
The Favorite Verse by Mr J LINDSAY—Rabbitt's Obligations by Mr DEWHAM,
Mr Owen by Mr MASON—Captain Thomson by Mr MONTAGUE STANLEY—Major Outhwaite by Mr MURRAY,
Rob Roy Macgregor Campbell by Mr FITCHARD,
Hannah by Miss STANLEY—Robert by Miss ANN MURRAY,
Belle Niece Jones by Mr MACKAY—Duggal by Mr ANDERSON,
John by Mr HARROLD—Mademoiselle by Mr FELTON—Mademoiselle Wyle by Mr MILLER,
Wife by Mr JOHN STANLEY—Quaker by Mr Aikin,
Wife by Miss MURRAY—Jean N'Alpion by Miss NICOL—Magpie by Miss BERRY,
Maid by Miss FAIRBROTHER—Charles by Miss BILSTON,
Diana Verse by Miss NOEL, in which Character she will sing the favorite British of
AN I WOULD IT WERE MY HUMBLE LOT—THE HIGHLAND LASSIE,
And with Mr TROTT, Dances to the favorite National Air of
BOY'S WIFE OF ALDIVALLOCH, AND, YE BANKS AND BRANS.

This being the Day appointed for the Celebration of
HER MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY,
The National Anthem of
GOD SAVE THE KING
Will be sung by the Company, at the End of the Opera.

To which will be added the favorite Melo-Drama of

GILDEROY.

General Battle by Mr JAMES—Captain Mackintosh by Mr ANDERSON—Surgeon Mackintosh by Mr HARROLD,
General Mackintosh by Mr Aikin—Captain by Mr FERGUSON—Nurse by Mr MILLER—Sergeant by Mr JOHN STANLEY,
Water Lagen, a Highland Farmer, by Mr DENHAM—Jack Blair, his Son, by Mr MACKAY,
Alias of Dumory by Mr FELTON—Miss M'Toath by Miss NICOL—John by Miss BILSTON,
Miss Lagen by Miss MASON—Miss M'Toath by Miss NICOL—John by Miss BILSTON.

PERFORMANCE OF THE PRINCIPAL SCENES AND INCIDENTS IN THE MELO-DRAMA,
Which is founded upon a Tradition, that, during the occupation of Scotland by the Parliamentary Forces, Oglethorpe introduced the practice of
a VILLAGE ALMSHOUSE NEAR THE ENGLISH CAMP,
and the preparation of General Battle for the capture of Oglethorpe.

THE INTERIORS OF THE COTTAGE OF WALTER LOGAN, THE HIGHLAND FARMER,
With the Escape of Oglethorpe from the English Troopers, through the coverage of Logan, and integrity of Jack Blair, his Son,
A VIEW OF DUNCAN M'TAVISH'S COTTAGE; and the Melo-Drama concludes with a View of
AN ENGLISH OUTPOST, WHICH COMMANDS THE ENTRANCE TO A HIGHLAND PASS.
The preparation for the Execution of Water Lagen, with his Son, and
**THE DEFEAT OF THE PARLIAMENTARY FORCES BY GILDEROY AND HIS
HIGHLANDERS.**

The Doors will open at half-past six o'Clock—the Performance begins at Seven—and the Second Price will be received at
the End of the Second Act of the Opera, which Act generally terminates about Nine o'Clock.

CHARLES EDWARD, OR THE LAST OF THE STUARTS,
Having been received with very great Approbation, will be repeated To-morrow; and Mr Mackay's New Opera, in Two Acts, called
THE INVINCIBLES,
Having been staged throughout with shouts of Laughter and Applause, will be repeated To-morrow and Friday.

To-morrow, CHARLES EDWARD, or The Last of the Stuarts—THE INVINCIBLES—and
GRAMOND BRIG.

On Friday, a favorite Comedy, and THE INVINCIBLES.
On Saturday, by Dutton, PAUL PRY—THE LANCERS—and other Entertainments.

MR MACKAY'S BENEFIT.

This present Evening, WEDNESDAY, June 4, 1828, will be performed the National Play called
THE BRIDE OF LAMMERMOOR.

Mr William Ashon, Lord Keeper, by Mr JAMES,
General Ashon by Mr MONTAGUE STANLEY—Henry Ashon by Miss MURRAY—Rochdale by Mr FERGUSON,
Major Hunter of Ravenswood, by Mr FITCHARD—Frank Ravenswood, Lord of Ravenswood, by Mr JOHN,
Captain Crayneston by Mr MURRAY—Caleb Beldersly, Sheriff of Ravenswood, by Mr MACKAY,
First Gentleman by Mr ANDERSON—Second Gentleman by Mr HARROLD,
Lookhart by Mr MILLER—Shawnee by Mr JOHN STANLEY—Nurse by Mr Aikin,
Lady Ashon by Miss NICOL—Lady Ashon by Miss FRY.
Maid by Miss NICOL—Dance Lightly by Miss MARY MURRAY—Maid by Miss ANN MURRAY—Alias Gray by Miss BERRY.

In the Course of the Evening,
**CAN' YE BY ATHOL—KATHLEEN O'HORE—AND, BY DENRE,
EVEN AS THE SUN—BY MISS NOEL,
YAN DAY A BRAW WOOD, BY MISS TUNSTALL,
AND THE LAIRD O' COCKPEN, BY MISS MACKAY.**
To which will be added the popular Farce, in Two Acts, called

GRAMOND BRIG.

James, King of Scotland, after The Capture of Edinburgh by Mr MONTAGUE STANLEY,
Who has kindly undertaken the Character in consequence of the Decease of his Son,
Bride of the Brig by Mr HARROLD—Captain of the Guard by Mr Aikin—The Page by Mr MILLER,
John Mackintosh, Farmer of Brackley, by Mr MACKAY—Tom Maxwell, attached to Mackintosh, by Mr ANDERSON,
Queen by Mr FERGUSON—Nurse by Mr JOHN STANLEY—Shawnee by Mr VIRTUE,
Table Service by Miss NICOL—Marian Mackintosh by Miss NOEL, in which Character she will introduce the favorite British of
**SAW YE JOHNNY COMING, QUO' BEE,
THE SOLDIER LADDIE, AND, SAW YE MY WEE THING,
AN IRISH MELODY, BY MR WEEKES,
A DANCE, BY MISS FAIRBROTHER,
AND BUY A BROOM, BY MISS TUNSTALL.**
The whole to conclude with the favorite Melo-Drama of

GILDEROY.

General Battle by Mr JAMES—Captain Mackintosh by Mr ANDERSON—Surgeon Mackintosh by Mr HARROLD,
Alias of Dumory, Mr FERGUSON—Captain Mackintosh, Mr Aikin—Nurse, Mr MILLER—Sergeant, Mr JOHN STANLEY,
Water Lagen, a Highland Farmer, by Mr MASON, who has kindly undertaken the Character in consequence of Mr Deane's Illness,
Jack Blair, his Son, by Mr MACKAY—Quaker by Mr P. FITCHARD,
Miss Lagen by Miss MASON—Miss M'Toath by Miss NICOL—John by Miss BILSTON.

PERFORMANCE OF THE PRINCIPAL SCENES AND INCIDENTS IN THE MELO-DRAMA,
Which is founded upon a Tradition, that, during the occupation of Scotland by the Parliamentary Forces, Oglethorpe introduced the practice of
a VILLAGE ALMSHOUSE NEAR THE ENGLISH CAMP,
and the preparation of General Battle for the capture of Oglethorpe.

THE INTERIORS OF THE COTTAGE OF WALTER LOGAN, THE HIGHLAND FARMER,
With the Escape of Oglethorpe from the English Troopers, through the coverage of Logan, and integrity of Jack Blair, his Son,
A VIEW OF DUNCAN M'TAVISH'S COTTAGE; and the Melo-Drama concludes with a View of
AN ENGLISH OUTPOST, WHICH COMMANDS THE ENTRANCE TO A HIGHLAND PASS.
The preparation for the Execution of Water Lagen, with his Son, and
**THE DEFEAT OF THE PARLIAMENTARY FORCES BY GILDEROY AND HIS
HIGHLANDERS.**

The Doors will open at half-past six o'Clock—the Performance begins at Seven—and the Second Price will be received at
the End of the Play, which generally terminates about a quarter past Nine.

**THE REVIVAL OF SHAKESPEARE'S TWELFTH NIGHT, INTERSPERSED WITH
MUSIC.**
Having been received with the greatest Applause, by a most Brilliant and Praiseworthy Audience, on Wednesday Evening Last, on the
DER FRYSHOT, OR NUMBER SEVEN,
These popular Pieces will be repeated To-morrow, on which Evening,
THE CELEBRATED FRENCH HERCULES, MONSIEUR DECOUR,
Will appear, for One Night only, and called
HIS CELEBRATED GYMNASTIC EXERCISES.

To-morrow, TWELFTH NIGHT—DER FRYSHOT—and Monsieur DECOUR'S Performances.
On Friday, GEORGE HERIOT—THESE—and the Last Act of LIFE IN LONDON
BEING FOR THE BENEFIT OF MR JEFFERIES, PRINCIPAL MACHINIST.
On Saturday, JOHN BULL—THE DAY AFTER THE WEDDING—and THE IRISH TUTOR—Being
FOR THE BENEFIT OF MR WEEKES, AND LAST APPEARANCE THIS SEASON.
On Monday, A CURE FOR THE HEART-ACHE—MISS IN HER TEENS—and THE INVINCIBLES
BEING FOR THE BENEFIT OF MR AND MRS STANLEY.

Edinburgh Theatre Royal, Playbills, 23 April 1828 and 4 June 1828.

These playbills show the vogue for the stage-adaptations of Scott's work which began with Isaac Pocock's version of Rob Roy MacGregor in 1818.

‘The effect of the production on the public, not only the play-going section, but hundreds who had never before been within the walls of a theatre, was marvellous’.¹⁰¹ The enthusiasm for Isaac Pocock’s stage adaptation of *Rob Roy* was particularly marked. It had been first staged in Covent Garden in London in 1818, and the following year debuted in Edinburgh, where it aroused such excitement that it ran for 41 nights. Mackenzie noted that the theatre manager, WH Murray, called *Rob Roy* the ‘Managerial Sheet Anchor’¹⁰² – the play which restored the financial buoyancy of the Theatre Royal. This success was attributed to the reaction of the Scottish audiences, and their belief that *Rob Roy* revealed the character of the Scots. It instilled a sense of pride in the finest qualities of the Scottish character, both Highland and Lowland. Mackenzie explains that Scott demonstrated an understanding of the Scottish temperament and identity in his handling of the people, the terrain and events, creating something which could immediately be understood and shared by all Scots.¹⁰³

Scott’s work was influenced by Scottish folk memory, and this was transmitted to the audiences, who in turn reclaimed their heritage reworked through Scott’s genius for character and dialogue.¹⁰⁴ One nineteenth-century commentator noted:

These national dramas, however, are not to be judged by strict rules; the connection between the different incidents is extremely loose; and the memory of the audience is required as an adhesive plaster to bind them together.¹⁰⁵

The National Dramas are also significant in the way in which they tried to blur the distinction between High Art and popular culture taken from the same materials, through the use of popular forms. The National Drama was taken up and promoted by performers, playwrights, managers and scenic artists from a wide variety of backgrounds. It was not an exaggeration to say that it was played in every town and village in Scotland which saw theatre, by companies, professional and amateur, of every sort, ranging from patent houses to small travelling family groups.¹⁰⁶ This obfuscation of the distinction between High Art and popular culture is particularly interesting in light of the influence of Scott’s work on both mediums. Scott was an influence and a source for both – as the later discussion of history painting will show.¹⁰⁷

This blurring of the line between High Art and theatre is also apparent in the evolution of set design in theatres across the country. The development of improved theatre lighting during the nineteenth century ensured that, for the first time, scenery was clearly discernible. For much of the period every theatre and company had its own team of scene painters of varying celebrity. An actress, Charlotte Deans, who toured widely in the

Borders during the early nineteenth century, described in *A Travelling Actress in the North and Scotland*, that in Melrose:

Two brothers, Messrs Mackintosh, painted us the best scenery I ever saw in a little theatre, they had judged so correctly of the distance for giving effect that it was admired by all.¹⁰⁸

The new repertoire provided opportunities for scenic artists to paint great landscapes and city views 'taken from life'. Playbills made a point of listing new scenes, detailing locations and historical precedents for particular buildings or interiors. The interior of the newly built Theatre Royal in Dunlop Street in Glasgow was ornately decorated with painted panels featuring 'the most striking scenes of the dramatised works of Sir Walter Scott', reflecting the prominence and popularity of the National Drama in Scottish theatres.¹⁰⁹ Notably when this theatre reopened after a fire in 1863 the first play to be staged was Scott's *Guy Mannering*.¹¹⁰

Many well-known artists also worked in the theatre, and theatre-managers sought to encourage the employment of native artists. Mrs Siddons, the co-manager of the Edinburgh Theatre Royal announced a competition for Scottish artists to complete designs for a new drop-scene featuring a commemoration of the 'Achievements of Scotland in ARTS, SCIENCES, and WAR'.¹¹¹ The new design for the drop-scene:

Depicting some great NATIONAL SUBJECT, would be a handsome and appropriate ornament to the Edinburgh Theatre – The Proprietress respectfully submits the following propositions to the Scottish Artists, as she considers the design and execution ought, as a just compliment, to reside with them.¹¹²

David Roberts began his career as a scene painter for Bannister's Circus in Edinburgh. In 1818 he was appointed scene-painter to the Theatre Royal in Glasgow before moving to the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh. Robert's celebrated stage scenery for this theatre was on show during the 1822 visit of George IV to Edinburgh. Later that same year Roberts moved to London, where he continued his career as designing for Covent Garden and Drury Lane. He started to paint canvases seriously and in 1830 abandoned theatre scene design in favour of working exclusively as an artist. Robert's experience as a set designer influenced his work as a painter – he was able to grasp complex perspective and architectural space effectively.

Alexander Nasmyth was also involved in complex designs for stage productions, designing for the Theatres Royal in both Glasgow and Edinburgh. (See figure 5.) Baynham notes that the act drop for the Theatre Royal in Glasgow, a picturesque view of

the Clyde, was said to be one of the finest bits of scenic illustration in the kingdom.¹¹³ Indeed, Bell reiterates this belief, noting that the loss of Nasmyth's depiction of the Clyde was mourned when fire destroyed the theatre.¹¹⁴ Peter refers to the importance of the set designs, noting that the sense of illusion created by the performance of actors at the Glasgow Theatre Royal was heightened by the elaborate set of lush scenery painted by Nasmyth.¹¹⁵ Another notable artist involved in scene painting was William Leighton Leitch, a contemporary of Roberts. Originally trained as a lawyer, in 1824 he became a scene painter for the Theatre Royal in Glasgow, although within a year he had moved to Cumnock in Ayrshire where he was employed decorating snuff boxes alongside his friends Daniel Macnee and Horatio McCulloch. He moved to London in 1830 where he built a career as a scene designer for London theatres, although his subsequently became tutor to the Royal family at Osborne, Windsor, Balmoral and Buckingham Palace.¹¹⁶

Later scene painting in Glasgow was dominated by Thomas Dudgeon, a topographical artist who provided scenery and moving panoramas which filled the backdrop with scenes including Queen Victoria's visit to Scotland in 1843.¹¹⁷ The Glover family dominated the Glasgow theatre scene, and the obituaries for Edmund Glover in 1860 made recurrent references to the quality of the theatre scenery and to his own skill as a painter of seascapes. The *Glasgow Herald* recalled that 'The pantomimes and burlesques in Glasgow were also noted for their gorgeous scenery... Mr Glover was a fair artist, and had he devoted himself to painting would have risen to eminence'.¹¹⁸ Similarly, the *Glasgow Sentinel* recorded:

As an actor he will be remembered; but another trait of his ability was manifested in his skilful reconstruction of scenic spectacles. Recent pantomimes in the Theatre-Royal testify to Mr Glover's admirable taste and knowledge of artistic traits. Gorgeous spectacles, chastened by a fine feeling for the picturesque... As a painter, indeed, his reputation is considerable. His sea-pieces exhibited in the Scottish Academy's exhibitions in Edinburgh... evinced powers, which if matured, would have given the artist a high place among marine painters.¹¹⁹

Notably, Edmund Glover commissioned the decoration of the Theatre-Royal in Dunlop Street. Subsequently the success of the Glover family eclipsed other practitioners of scene painting in Glasgow. William, another member of the Glover family, was also an amateur artist (of landscapes), although by profession a theatre manager and scene painter. Walter Baynham, in his 1892 history of *The Glasgow Stage* made specific reference to Glover's magnificent scenery.¹²⁰ Likewise, Bell notes that an 1892 inventory of the Glasgow Grand Theatre made particular mention of a valuable backdrop view of

Loch Lomond by Glover.¹²¹ This emphasised the point that some regional variations which usually incorporated the depiction of backdrops of local scenery – Glasgow was said to be especially fond of productions of *The Lady of the Lake*, which allowed scene designers lavish scope in their depictions of views of Loch.¹²² David Daiches reaffirms this point in his discussion of the Glasgow stage, noting that several Scott novels were successfully staged in Glasgow, including a performance of *Rob Roy* which predated its Edinburgh debut by nine months, and that *The Lady of the Lake* proved especially popular when Edmund Glover took the part of the outlawed Highland chief Roderick Dhu.¹²³

The Romantic tendencies associated with Scotland were not restricted to art, music and literature, but also appeared in dance. Again the hand of Walter Scott played a part in this development, albeit inadvertently. Susan Au notes that the Scottish locale had been made both fashionable and exotic by the novels of Walter Scott.¹²⁴ The original Romantic ballet was set within a Scottish landscape, and based on Scottish folklore. The immediate impetus for the great Romantic ballet is usually credited to a single work, Filippo Taglioni's *La Sylphide*, which was first produced at the Théâtre de L'Académie Royale de Musique in Paris on March 12 1832, with Taglioni's daughter Maria in the title role. (See figure 7.) Following the debut performance in Paris, the ballet was staged in London in the same year, St Petersburg in 1837 and Milan in 1841. The scenario for this new ballet was the work of Charles Nourrit, who had been inspired by a fantasy which Charles Nodier had written after a visit to Scotland in 1821, entitled *Trilby, ou le Lutin de Argail* (1822) [*The Goblin of Argyll*], but it was no less original because of this derivation. Instead of a goblin luring a peasant girl from her fisherman husband, the central character of the ballet was the fairy Sylphide, an altogether more appealing Romantic heroine.

La Sylphide sealed the triumph of Romanticism in the field of ballet, exemplifying the intense manifestations of the Romantic spirit. Its plot introduced to French ballet the plight of a spirit falling in love with a mortal, epitomising the quest of the Romantic artist for the infinite and the unattainable. Susan Au confirms the importance of this ballet:

It was such a perfect expression of Romantic urgings that it immediately changed the face of ballet of its time. Style and subject matter were united in it with a felicitousness that comes rarely to any art form.¹²⁵

The Scottish setting emphasised the Romantic character of the ballet and commentators noted that the costumes and scenery played an important role in evoking the local colour of the scenario. It was also been noted that the costumes, which were designed by Eugène Lami and supervised by Duponchel, were credibly authentic.¹²⁶ This sense of

Figure 7.



G LePaule, *Marie Taglioni and Paul Taglioni*, c.1834.

This illustration shows the ballerina Marie Taglioni and her brother Paul Taglioni as the central characters in Romantic ballet, *La Sylphide*.

theatre and drama in connection with the Highland costume also extended to real life, and tartan and the kilt were increasingly accepted as the Scottish national costume.

The Pageant-maker: George IV in Edinburgh.

The widespread fixation with the past was both an affliction and a bonus for Scots. While it offered scope for pride in one's country, and a propitious retreat from the more mundane aspects of contemporary life, it also impaired an even transition to urban and industrialised society. The prominence of the image of Scotland as a Highland idyll could not have seemed further from reality for the majority of Scots living in cities. And while it may have hindered the transition to the industrial society, it was, however, less problematic for tourists, who sought only the escapist elements. As the tourist industry emphasised the natural features of Scotland in an effort to safeguard an untouched and Picturesque paradise, they also highlighted the history of the nation in order to maintain the illusion that the modern world was not completely cut off from the more civilised past. This is important in regard to Scottish identity also – it presented a sense of continuity with history and traditional culture, albeit of the Highland variety.

Through his novels and the ensuing attachment that the Victorian tourist felt for Scotland, Scott was involved in fashioning an imaginative and highly visual image of Scotland that satiated public demand. His association with the royal visit of 1822 was central to the adoption of tartan as a distinctive Scottish symbol. In 1871 Sir Leslie Stephen commented that:

Scott invented the modern Highlander. It is to him we owe the strange perversion of facts which induces a good lowland Scot to fancy himself more nearly allied to the semi-barbarous wearers of the tartan than to his English blood relations.¹²⁷

This promotion of tartan by Scott exemplifies an attempt to demarcate and strengthen the distinctiveness of Scottish society in comparison with that of England. This differentiation is evident at a formal dinner during the king's visit when the King stood to propose a toast to 'The Chieftains and Clans of Scotland, and God bless the Land of Cakes.'¹²⁸ Lockhart commented upon this perception of Scottish society, noting that:

So completely had this hallucination taken possession, that nobody seems to have been started at the time by language which thus distinctly conveyed his Majesty's impression that the marking and crowning glory of Scotland consisted in the Highland clans and their chieftains.¹²⁹

Scott had succeeded in imposing a homogeneity, which obscured the serious cultural differences within Scotland, and in creating this uniform representation of the Scots character and culture, he also set the scene for the commercialisation of that culture.

Scott stimulated a sense of Scottish patriotism, but he was also entranced by the Romantic spell that he had created. Scott took advantage of the attention paid to Highland costume and culture; possibly the finest elucidation of his part is evident in his association with the 1822 visit of George IV to Edinburgh. In this year, after Scott had experimented with numerous possible versions of Scotland in a succession of novels, where he sent Scots south of the border and Englishmen north, and assembled people, politics, and cultures into a complex fabric full of Scottish colour, George IV came to Scotland. The presentation of a royal visit at this time was devised to accomplish various political objectives. The monarchy was motivated by the need to improve upon its poor standing in the light of the royal divorce and the recent death of Queen Caroline. The establishment resolved to distract attention from the radicals. They believed that an effective diversion from their protests against the worsening economic conditions would be accomplished by a huge orchestrated upswell of allegiance to the king, and by association to the government. It was also considered to be an adequate excuse that would veto the King's attendance at the Congress of Vienna, and it gave landowners the chance to assume the guise of paternalistic clan chiefs in the face of criticism over land policies.

This was Scott's great moment to express Scottish distinction and thus signify the nation's separateness and equality within a problematic but still potential Union. To this end, Scott assembled a fascinating complex of symbols. For his part, Scott judged the royal visit as an occasion to re-establish Scottish pride and identity, to reinvigorate ancient protocol, and to restore the ancient Scottish Regalia to the Scottish King. Scott was a primary player in the unearthing of the Regalia in 1818. Iwazumi concludes that for Scott the royal visit was an opportunity for the reconciliation of the Scottish past with the British present.¹³⁰ The Honours of Scotland had been concealed in a chest in Edinburgh Castle since 1707, and indeed, they had been hidden from public view so long that all sense of symbolism and protocol that surrounded them had long since dispersed.

Scott wrote in February 1818 that he had the pleasure of attesting to the perfect preservation of the Regalia, and later augmented his description of the discovery:

The extreme solemnity of opening sealed doors of oak and iron, and finally breaking open a chest which had been shut since 7th March 1707, about a hundred and eleven years, gave a sort of interest to our researches, which I can hardly express to you, and it would be very difficult to describe the intense eagerness with which we watched the rising of the lid of the chest, and the progress of the workmen in breaking it open, which was neither an easy nor a speedy task.¹³¹

Scott was impressed by the level of public interest shown in the unearthing of the 'memorials of ancient independence'¹³², as was Cockburn, who summarised the events of the day: 'It was a hazy evening, about 4 o'clock, when a shot rang out from the Castle and a cheer from a regiment drawn up on Castle Hill announce to the people, that the Crown of their old Kings was discovered.'¹³³ Cockburn concurred with Scott's opinion in the public enthusiasm for the Regalia, declaring that there was no want of popular interest afterwards. The presentation of the Scottish Regalia to the King was thus judged to be a crucial event in the political pageantry of the King's Visit in 1822.

With the enhanced uncertainty created by the absence of a royal presence in Scotland for many years, necessity dictated that tradition must be invented. The Lord Provost of Edinburgh, in need of a source with knowledge of antiquity and history called in Scott. A committee was established which included Scott, David Stewart of Garth, and James Skene. Lockhart noted that:

Sir Walter had as many parts to play as ever tasked the Protean genius of his friend Mathews; and he played them all with as much cordial energy as animated the exertions of any Henchman or Piper in the company. His severest duties, however, were those of stage-manager, and under these I sincerely believe any other human being's temper would very soon have given way. The magistrates, bewildered with the rush of novelty, threw themselves on him for advice about the merest trifles; and he had to arrange everything, from the order of a procession to the embroidering of a cross.¹³⁴

The flamboyant potential inherent in this event was not lost on Scott; he saw that he could avail himself of the opportunity to recreate scenes from his novels, effectively bringing history to life on the streets of Edinburgh.

It also reflected the theatrical and dramatic aspects of Scott's novels. As the earlier comments on the Scottish theatre have shown, Scott's creative writing was ideal for dramatic interpretation, and he was influential in establishing the 'national drama', which involved the use of Scottish themes, actors, costumes and scenery. Several dramatised versions of novels by Scott represented the core repertoire, which promoted Scott's particular vision of Scottish identity. The theatrical connection proved useful to Scott in the organisation of the royal visit – he employed the guidance of W H Murray, the actor-manager of the Theatre Royal, who advised on pageantry and interior design, and Daniel Terry in staging this production. The occasion of the royal visit also saw a command performance of the stage version of *Rob Roy*, which ran in conjunction with performances of *The Heart of Midlothian*. Emphasising the flamboyant and sensational organisation of the royal visit, Lockhart recalled:

As in Hamlet, there was to be a play within the play; and, by his Majesty's desire, William Murray's company performed in his presence the drama of *Rob Roy*. The audience were enchanted with the King's hearty laughter at Bailie Jarvie's jokes.¹³⁵

An 1819 review of this play had asserted;

He who is a man and a Scotsman must be delighted with *Rob Roy*. Why should we not be proud of our national genius, humour, music, kindness and fidelity? Why not be national? We found ourselves pre-eminently so on Monday evening.¹³⁶

The presentation of a dramatised versions of Scott's novels accentuates and underlines the reciprocal association between Scott's novels and the popular perception of Scottish culture. And they certainly proved to be popular - during the week of the King's visit, the box office of the Edinburgh Theatre Royal took £1000.¹³⁷ This popular perception of Scottish culture and heritage was also evident in the many 'Loyal Songs' which were written in honour of the king's visit, including one which recalled Burns' *A Man's A Man for A' That*:

King George the Fourth is coming down
To see his friends in Embro-town;
To hold his court, and wear the crown
O Scotland's Kings, and a' that.

And a' the Chieftains o' the North,
Lords, Leddies, Lairds, and men o' worth,
Are flocking to the Firth of Forth,

To welcome him and a' that.

The joy bells ring, the trumpets sound;
And ere he sets his foot on ground,
'God save the King' is sung around,
Wi' tears of joy and a' that. ¹³⁸

Scott was inspired by a variety of circumstances in his final treatment of the royal visit. The finding of the Scottish regalia – the 'venerable symbols of long-cherished national independence' - was Scott's first taste of pageantry and a crucial preparation for the ceremonies that he devised for the 1822 affair.¹³⁹ Skinner declares that the second significant influence on Scott was the foundation of the Celtic Society in 1820 by David Stewart of Garth and William Mackenzie of Inverness. This new society aimed 'to promote the general use of the ancient Highland dress in the Highlands of Scotland', and Walter Scott was one of the original members and one of its first four vice-presidents. Later he was to recall that he liked this organisation and 'willingly give myself to be excited by the sight of young men with plaids and claymores and all the alertness and spirit of the Highlanders in their native garb.'¹⁴⁰ The Celtic Society had three constituent elements – a heritage society, a dining club and a semi-military organisation, which was in keeping with the contemporary tradition of volunteer soldiering. The military aspect of this society and their potential role in the re-creation of Scottish ceremony was something that would hardly have escaped Scott's notice. In essence, when he developed plans for the pageant of 1822 by enticing a variety of Highland chieftains to appear in Edinburgh escorted by their personal retinue, he was merely augmenting the rituals established by the Celtic Society. Again this accentuates the recreation of a sense of tradition and heritage in the 1822 visit, and the popular militaristic element would have recalled the Highland regiments who were involved in the Napoleonic war.

The third inspirational event, in Skinner's analysis, was the coronation of George IV in 1821. Scott was in attendance on this occasion, which he recollected in the pages of the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal*. This account of the coronation indicates the extent to which Scott soaked in the atmosphere and splendour of the ceremonial occasion, which represented the continuous tradition of state ceremonial as commonly accepted in both England and across Europe.¹⁴¹ Therefore, once it was confirmed that George IV would visit Edinburgh in the summer of 1822, Scott was able to take inspiration from three

Figure 8.



Sir Henry Raeburn, *Sir Alastair Ranaldson Macdonnell of Glengarry*, c.1812.

Walter Scott saw this painting on its exhibition in 1812, and reputedly took inspiration from it for the character of Fergus McIvor, the hero of *Waverley*.

Macdonnell of Glengarry was involved in the organisation of George IV's visit to Edinburgh in 1822. This painting is arguably Raeburn's finest full-length portrait, depicting Glengarry as the heroic Highland chief. At first glance it appears to be a typical portrait in the traditional style, but it also demonstrates the conceptual shift in perceptions of tartan from something to wear to something to dress up in. Raeburn shows him to be the consummate Highlander resplendent in full Highland garb. In raising this issue Raeburn accurately captured the character of Glengarry, who was renowned for his striking commitment to Highland dress and for the mismanagement of his estates which compelled many of his clan to emigrate to Canada.

distinct sources – the recovery of the Scottish Regalia, the Celtic Society as the agency of Scottish tradition, and the coronation of George IV himself.

Scott's own novels give some indication of his disposition in handling the royal visit. His descriptive powers in his novels were distinctly theatrical, making overt allusions to art and drama.¹⁴² *Ivanhoe* and *Kenilworth* also point to an understanding of the pageantry inherent in the staging of the royal visit. Stephen Arata indicates that the Kings visit of 1822 was, as modern chroniclers of pageantry all agree, the last full-fledged royal pageant in nineteenth-century Britain.¹⁴³ *Kenilworth* was published in 1821 and in some respects marks the apex of Scott's popularity and influence. The first edition was issued in January, and sold at the unheard of price of thirty-one shillings. Despite this high price, the book sold quickly; 10,000 copies within the first three weeks and another 3,000 in the next month, a second edition within six weeks of the first. The novel was cited by Maria Edgeworth as one of the reasons behind the visit of George IV – Scott had initially approached him with the idea visiting Edinburgh while engaged in writing *Kenilworth*, and George acquiesced to the idea after he had read the novel.¹⁴⁴

The actual visit was an intriguing spectacle, looking backwards to the royal pageants described in *Kenilworth* and associated with the reign of Elizabeth. Scott handled the affair as a huge pageant - a 'Plaided Panorama' - in which Edinburgh would metamorphose into a city embellished with triumphal arches. Scott enlisted the assistance of many friends to advise and oversee the theatrical elements of the occasion.¹⁴⁵ The Celtic Society was given a leading role in the pageantry of the visit. Scott, in a letter to his son in 1822, recalled how:

The Celtic Society, 'all plaided and plumed in their tartan array' mounted guard over the Regalia while in the Abbey with great military order and steadiness. They were exceedingly richly dressed and armed. There were two or three hundred Highlanders besides brought down by their Chiefs, and armed *cap à pie*.¹⁴⁶

David Stewart of Garth's publication of the *Sketches of the Character, Manners, and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland* (1822), had confirmed his position as an authority on the history and customs of the Highlands while other sections of the *Sketches*, namely the history of the Highland Regiments, had given him unrivalled prestige in the eyes of his contemporaries. Thus, Garth was established as the semi-official arbiter on the correct form for Highland dress to be worn during the royal visit.

He was also given the task of drilling the members of the Celtic Society and other Highland contingents who were to provide a worthy escort for the royal party.

For his part, Scott produced a pamphlet entitled *Hints Addressed to the People of Edinburgh, and Others, in Prospect of his Majesty's Visit* (1822), which gave information concerning the visit, and advised on etiquette and choice of clothing. He announced that on the occasion of the King's entry into Edinburgh, gentlemen were expected to appear in a uniform costume:

The ancient national cognisance of St Andrew's Cross, white upon a blue ground, is also to be universally worn by way of cockade. It can be got up, and that very handsomely, at an expense quite inconsiderable; so it is hoped every loyal person, of whatever station, will sport the *St Andrew* upon this happy occasion.¹⁴⁷

With respect to the Highland dress, Scott also had some words of advice:

For those who present themselves as Highlanders, the ancient costume of their country is always sufficient dress. Those who wear the Highland dress must, however, be careful to be armed in the proper Highland fashion, - steel-wrought pistols, broadsword and dirk. It is understood that Glengarry, Breadalbane, Huntly and several other Chieftains mean to attend with the levee *with their tail on*, i.e. with a considerable attendance of their gentlemen followers. And without a doubt, this will add very greatly to the variety, gracefulness, and appropriate splendour of the scene.¹⁴⁸

This pamphlet serves as evidence of Scott's desire to construct a dignified and orderly manifestation of Scottish identity and tradition, and at least a portion of the warmth with which the Edinburgh public greeted their king was due to careful coaching from Scott.¹⁴⁹

The *Hints* certainly seemed to be taken: James Robertson notes that amongst the thousands of Scots who watched the procession, not one was seen to be drunk, no one committed a crime, and there was not one 'whose behaviour would have been offensive in the drawing room.'¹⁵⁰ Scott too, was impressed by the behaviour of the citizens of Edinburgh, and he wrote in 1822 that the Scots had never showed themselves 'more true-blooded gentlemen':

The extreme tact and taste of all ranks has surprised the king and all about him. No rushing or roaring, but a devoted attachment, expressed by a dignified reverence which seemed divided betwixt high veneration for their sovereign and a suitable regard for themselves.¹⁵¹

Alex Macreadie also echoed this conviction when he documented his account of the proceedings in 1838:

The behaviour of the populace on this occasion did them infinite honour. The street... was lined with the various trades and professions, all arranged under their own deacons and office-bearers, with white wands in their hands, and with their banners, and so forth; all in their *Sundays*' clothes. There was nothing like a mob, and their behaviour towards the King, without wither jostling or crowding, had a most singular and pleasing effect. They shouted with great emphasis, but without any running or roaring, each standing as still in his place as if the honour of Scotland had depended on the propriety of his behaviour.¹⁵²

Scott was well aware of the emotional connotations of the royal visit, and it was evident that he was attuned to the prevailing mood, although some of the more elaborate manifestations of 'Scottishness' could not be disregarded by more discerning eyes. This was Scotland on display: a visual demonstration of national unity, literally cast in Highland clothing.¹⁵³ The King figured as 'the descendant of a long line of Scottish Kings' bearing 'The blood of the heroic Robert Bruce... the enlightened, the generous James I'.¹⁵⁴ Scott had convinced the King to wear the Highland dress as part of the formalities. The emphasis on tartan was not the sole influence of Scott at work, but he shoulders the fundamental accountability for intermingling Highland and Scottish identity in this manner. At the time, this was a source of irritation for many Lowland Scots who were affronted at the preponderance of kilts. Thomas Carlyle left Edinburgh entirely during the time of the royal visit, rather than confront 'such efflorescence of flunkeyisms.'¹⁵⁵ Scott's son-in-law, Lockhart explained:

It appeared to be very generally thought, when the first programmes were issued, that the Highlanders, their kilts, and their bagpipes, were to occupy a great deal too much space in every scene of public ceremony connected with the King's reception. 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 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.¹⁵⁶

While such opinions were stifled at the time, Lockhart countered his criticisms by declaring his approval of the Romantic side of Highland participation in the visit:

But there could be no question that they were picturesque – and their enthusiasm was too sincere not to be catching; so that by and by even the coolest-headed Sassenach felt his heart, like John of Argyle's 'warm to the tartan'.¹⁵⁷

Indeed, Lockhart was well aware of how contrived and artificial the whole affair really was, and how it was hardly illustrative or typical of the Edinburgh in which both he and Scott lived and worked. Yet he did not denounce Scott for this affectation:

Scott's early associations, and the prime labours and honours of his life, had been so deeply connected with the Highlands, that it was no wonder he should have taught himself to look on their clans and chiefs with almost as much affection and respect as if he had had more than a scantling of their blood in his veins. But it was necessary to be an eye-witness of this royal visit, in order to comprehend the extent to which he had allowed his imagination to get the mastery over him as to all these matters; and perhaps it was necessary to understand him thoroughly on such points, in his personal relations, feelings, and demeanour, before one could follow his genius to advantage in some of his most favoured and delightful walks of exertion.¹⁵⁸

Rather, Lockhart accepted that Scott had supplied Scotland with a sense of importance and patriotic fervour, and given the Scots people an occasion on which they could demonstrate their patriotism and pride in the history and culture of their country.

One commentator who seemed aware of the inconsistency in the overwhelming appearance on tartan was Wilkie's biographer, Allan Cunningham. He noted that;

At night all was demure and sedate; in the morning a tartan fit had come upon the city, and putting a plumed bonnet on her brow, stepping out to the sound of the pibroch, and calling on her tail to follow, she marched out, wondering at her own shadow, to welcome the royal visiter. No doubt all this was exceedingly picturesque and striking; but England has as much to do with a leek on St David's day as the Lowlands have with tartan and clanship.¹⁵⁹

Wilkie, however, did not appear to notice any overindulgence in Highland ornamentation, and in a letter to his sister he noted that the King 'looked exceedingly well in the tartan'.¹⁶⁰

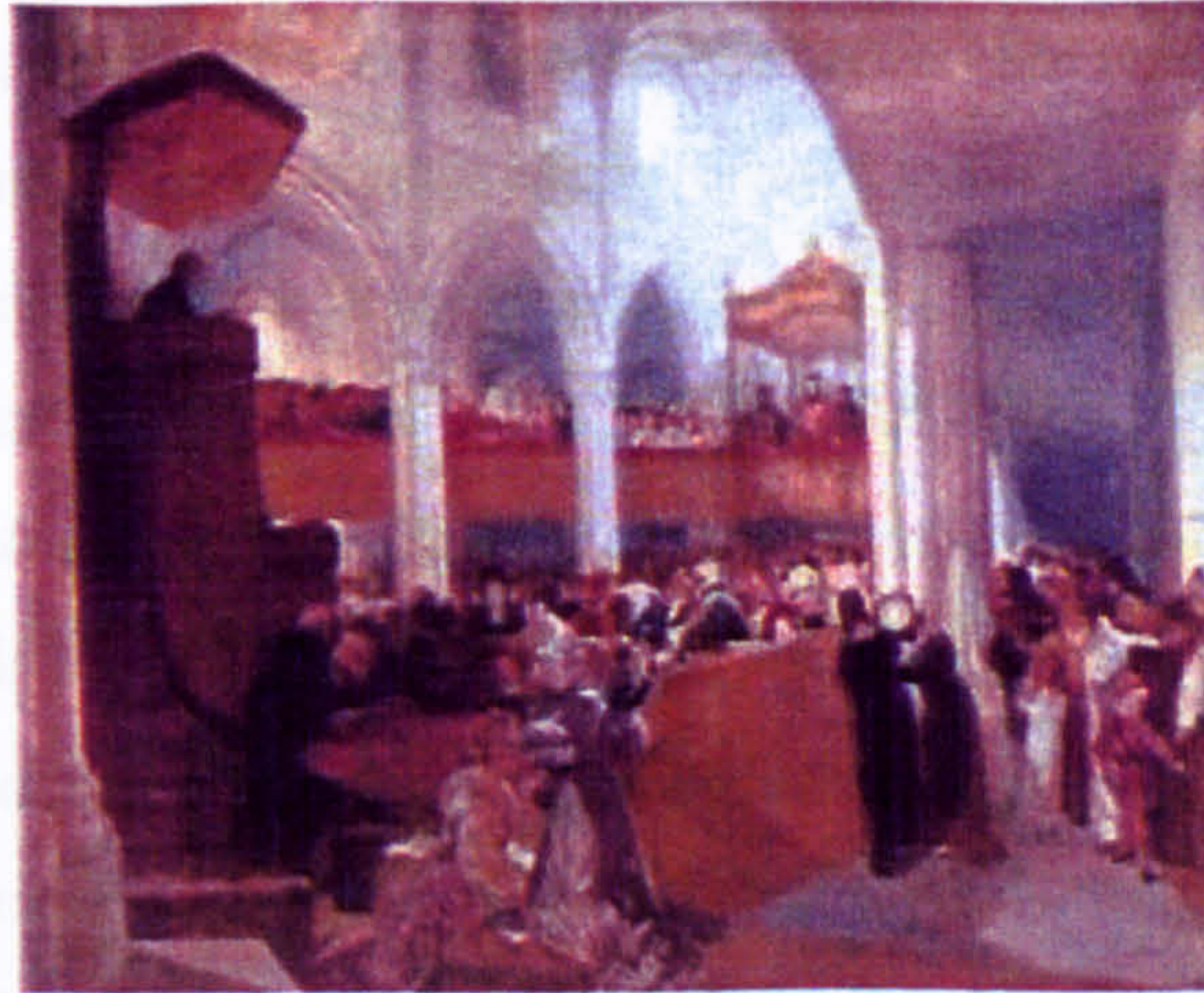
Scotland became a place of kilts and clans, a historic territory of exotic origins. Indeed, it would not be an underestimation to claim that the visit of George IV represented a turning point in the history of Highland dress. Before him, no king had even worn a tartan explicitly declared to be Royal Stewart, and in the absence of any positive proof, it may

be seriously questioned whether any such tartan had previously existed. The fashionable fascination with tartan also owes much to Queen Victoria and Balmoral. Lady Augusta Stanley, lady-in-waiting to the Duchess of Kent described the tartan-themed furnishings within the Castle: 'The curtains of the same Dress Stewart and a few chintz with a thistle pattern, the chairs and sofas in the drawing room Dress Stewart poplin. All highly characteristic, but not all equally *flatteuse* to the eye.' ¹⁶¹ (See figure 37.) Even the draperies within the royal carriages were of Royal Stewart fabric, and Prince Albert designed a new Balmoral tartan.

The scope of the royal visit was monumental, for Scott visualised a royal welcome of unprecedented grandeur. It involved the participation of hundreds, and Scott envisaged more than a festive visual pageant; it was intended to be a succession of vivid and theatrical manifestations with political overtones. All of Scotland was animated by the visit; national excitement caused thousands to flock to Edinburgh to observe this event of historical significance. Artists too were among those interested in the royal visit and their fascination with the pageant led many to the capital to record a visual representation of the occasion. Wilkie and Turner journeyed north to take part in the proceedings and to commemorate the event. The intention was to capture the various events in paintings and prints, which would be seen by those who had come to witness the affair or by those who could not attend. It would also serve to immortalise the occasion for future generations. Artists of differing capabilities and ambitions came to Edinburgh and were soon involved in the heady atmosphere of the occasion. A number of them produced pictorial records of the festivities, which vividly enhance the alternative media of description. Turner in particular proposed a series of grand paintings to memorialise the occasion.

The decision by Turner to depict the scenes from the King's visit to Scotland is echoed by his outlook. He was deeply patriotic, and enthusiastically involved in the recording of events of national or topical interest. Likewise, he was fascinated by Scottish culture; to witness and record this historically significant moment presented an incomparable challenge, and he was undoubtedly appreciative of the political, and cultural, implications of the visit. Turner made records of the ceremonies of the King's visit in two sketchbooks; the first was an on-the-spot depiction of the events, while the second documented his proposals for a series of paintings celebrating the royal visit. (See figure 9.) Although the 'Royal Progress' series of paintings never materialised, he produced three watercolours and four oil paintings that commemorated scenes from the occasion. Two of the watercolours are those that Turner prepared for title page illustrations for the

Figure 9.



JMW Turner *George IV at St Giles, Edinburgh*. c.1822.



JMW Turner, *George IV at the Provost's Banquet in the Parliament House, Edinburgh*. c.1822.

Turner was captivated by Scottish culture; to witness and record the historically significant events of the royal visit of George IV to Edinburgh in 1822 presented an extraordinary opportunity, and he was aware of the political and cultural implications of the visit. The first painting, of *George IV at St Giles*, shows an unusual clarity for Turner's work. The second painting is most typical of Turner – the romantic atmosphere and apparent interest in the effects of the diffused light on the interior scene.

Provincial Antiquities. The design for Volume 1 illustrates the *King's procession to the castle with the Regalia*, which efficiently prefaces Scott's History of the Regalia, the first essay in the publication. The title page of the second volume illustrates *The Mission of Sir Walter Scott*, which includes the welcoming of the King to Scotland. Turner has represented the classical motif of clasped hands, which alludes to the meeting between the King and Scott, and symbolises the Union, and more significantly, the reconciliation of Scotland and England.¹⁶² The composition of the third watercolour, *Edinburgh: March of the Highlanders*, is based upon the procession to Calton Hill associated with the laying of the Foundation Stone of the National Monument, and depicts the Highlanders and their bands as they ascend the Hill. Painted circa 1835, this watercolour served as an illustration to *Fisher's Illustrations of the Waverley Novels* (1836 – 37).

These watercolours, together with the four unfinished oil paintings (circa 1823), reveal the grand scale of the royal visit, and the theatricality and pageantry associated with the events. Wilkie too commemorated the occasion. His painting, *King George the Fourth's Entrance to his Palace of Holyrood House, the 15th of August 1822*, was completed in 1830. An *Art Union* critique of the painting pronounced that:

It contains a multitude of figures, but all subservient to that of the King, who wear military uniform. The keys to the Palace are presented by the Duke of Hamilton, first peer of Scotland; and on the right of the King is the Duke of Montrose, Lord Chamberlain, pointing to the entrance of the Palace, where is stationed the Duke of Argyll in his family tartan, as Hereditary Keeper of the Household. Behind the last is the crown of Robert the Bruce, borne by Sir Alexander Keith; and on the left of the picture are the Earl of Hopetoun, near to whom is Sir Walter Scot in the character of historian, or bard. The likenesses are striking to a degree, and the Duke of Argyll, wearing the tartan of his clan and the ensigns of chieftainship, is a most noble figure; the Highland garb sits well upon him, and seems not to have assumed merely for the nonce.¹⁶³

In addition to this group composition, Wilkie also painted two full-length portraits of George IV: *George the Fourth in Highland Dress* (1832) which was painted for the King, and *George the Fourth in Highland Costume* (1834), which was commissioned by the Duke of Wellington.

That such a visit was the focus for so much artistic attention indicates the political and cultural importance. An estimated 30,000 people thronged the streets of Edinburgh to catch a glimpse of the King, and the popularity of the event seems genuine enough. For

Scott, the King's visit offered the opportunity of a reconciliation of the past and the present in Scotland, and the elaboration of his vision of the country, its people and its history. The extent to which Scott allied his orchestration of the 1822 visit to the sense of historical tradition in his novels can be best illustrated by the banquet, which was held in the Parliament Halls on 24 August. At this affair the Lord Provost of Edinburgh and the Magistrates of the City received over 300 guests at a dinner in honour of the King. It was on this occasion that William Howison Crawford performed the traditional *reddendo*, or symbolic act of feudal service for his estates near Edinburgh. Skinner indicates that this act had an obvious parallel with an event described in *Waverley*, where Baron Bradwardine paid homage to Prince Charles after the battle of Prestonpans.¹⁶⁴

For Scott, the visit of the King doubtless achieved all that he anticipated. It gave Scott an unrivalled stage on which to demonstrate his conception of the symbolism of Scottish patriotic consciousness, and produced within Scotland an explosion of patriotic fervour that the country had not experienced in modern times. It also served as the instrument for the ultimate realisation of his ideas of traditional glory and for the dramatic depiction of moments of historic ceremony. The pageantry of the whole occasion was one of consummate Romanticism, recalling the days of ancient chivalry and the honour of the nation of Scotland.

The effects of this histrionic pageant were long-lived. Indeed, there is an echo of this event in the inauguration of the Loch Katrine waterworks in 1859. It was not only patriotic sentiment and the tourist industry that benefited from the association with Scott's work: civic government also jumped on Scott's bandwagon, and tried to harness the symbolism of the Highlands within the urban community. The connection here is manifestly obvious, Loch Katrine being so closely allied to Scott and the setting for *The Lady of the Lake*. In their drive to revitalise the city councillors were called to demonstrate their civic commitment, and it was with this in mind that the proposal to bring the city's water supply under municipal control was first posited. The reasoning underlying this design was at once pragmatic and philanthropic: the civic leaders intended a system, which would ensure the supply of this essential resource, and additionally provide a utility 'for the improvement and ornament of the city'.¹⁶⁵ In 1859 this proposal became reality with the inauguration of Loch Katrine Waterworks by Queen Victoria. (See figure 10.) The water of Loch Katrine represented the uncontaminated Highlands, set amidst the idyllic and picturesque scenery, and for Glaswegians, the loch

was therefore saturated with Romantic imagery, as the water supply was perceived as restoring nature's balance to a fragmented society.¹⁶⁶

The inauguration ceremony was one of the most elaborate ever staged by the City Council, and the ceremony was awash with symbolism and endorsements of Scott's particular vision of Scotland. A guard of honour from the 42nd and 79th Highlanders met the royal party at Callander railway station, and on arrival of the train a 'characteristic Celtic reception was accorded to the Queen by Lord and Lady Willoughby de Eresby'. The latter was designated 'Lady of the Lake' for the occasion, and travelled by barge rowed by nine men dressed in the Drummond tartan. The steamer that the royal party sailed on was named the '*Rob Roy*'. Further allusions were made to Walter Scott's connection with the area when it was regretted that the royal couple did not have the opportunity to see 'to any advantage the mountain and lake scenery of the Romantic district'.¹⁶⁷ This was considered all the more lamentable as 'Her Majesty and Prince Albert were not only ardently appreciative of such scenery, but also of Scott's glowing descriptions and interpretations of it'.¹⁶⁸ Scott's influence on the identity of Scotland was in evidence with the presence of the Atholl Highlanders, and members of the Glasgow Celtic Society, all in full Highland dress. In a sense his work with the pageantry surrounding the visit of George IV in 1822 ensured that such displays of Highland pomp and tradition should accompany all such important ceremonies.

The royal opening of the waterworks attracted much public interest, and several railway companies scheduled special services in order to transport members of the public to the ceremony. The Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway organised a special train, which carried passengers to Callander, where they could then take their places in a covered stand built expressly 'for the convenience of persons wishing to see Her Majesty arrive and depart from that place'.¹⁶⁹ Callander itself was bedecked in the Highland manner; a triumphal arch was erected and decorated in 'glittering claymores' and elegant designs 'wrought with Highland and Celtic implements of warfare'.¹⁷⁰ This implementation of Highland emblems and costumes certainly recalls the royal visit of 1822 which was stage-managed by Scott, and his legacy appears to have greatly influenced the pageantry of this ceremonial occasion. The Trossachs area was closely allied with Scott in the imagination of many Victorians, and the Glasgow city councillors were obviously aware of this, and emphasised the connection. This indicates the manner in which Scott's image of Scotland was adopted within the country, and characterised the identity of Scotland.

Figure 10.



T & R Annan, *Queen Victoria at Loch Katrine*, 1859.

This photograph is of Queen Victoria at the inauguration ceremony for the Glasgow waterworks at Loch Katrine. The Trossachs and Loch Katrine represented the uncontaminated Highlands, set amidst the idyllic and picturesque scenery, and for Glaswegians, the loch was therefore saturated with the romantic imagery promoted by McCulloch's depiction of the landscape. In composition of this photograph is interesting in that the photographer has captured the crowd at the scene with their heads bowed in prayer. He has also focused on the wheel to open the pipes, which emphasised the reason for the ceremony, and the purity of the associations of Loch Katrine.

The Queen revisited the area later and recorded that in fulfilling ‘an eminently utilitarian mission in the district’; the city councillors of Glasgow had ‘not disfigured the landscape’. It was speculated that Sir Walter himself, ‘in whose graphic descriptions Her Majesty revelled on this sojourn at Invertrossachs’ would have been willing:

To endorse Her Majesty’s testimony that in laying hands on fair Loch Katrine, the descendants of his prosaic magisterial hero had shown tender solicitude that nature’s charms should not suffer. The poet and the artist haunt its sylvan recesses of yore, and grudge not to Glasgow and its municipal rulers one drop of the clear, cool, copious stream...¹⁷¹

Indeed, given Walter Scott’s attitude towards the union of history and progress, he would probably have heartily approved of the Glasgow water scheme. It represented the combination of the symbols of ancient Scotland - the traditions and customs that he promoted, and the innovative and improving impulse, which would ameliorate conditions within the urban environment.

The National Icon: The Scott Monument, Edinburgh.

Scott became a pivotal figure in Scotland, and his death in 1832 and the subsequent deliberation with respect to an appropriate monument compelled the Scots to consider and reflect upon their national identity. Scott was seen as such an important figure that when it became clear he was dying, his son in law, J G Lockhart asked the artist Sir William Allan to record scenes at Abbotsford. While this may seem a macabre occupation, it nevertheless underscores the significance of the author to the country. The funeral itself was also the subject for painterly depiction. The cortege for the funeral on the 26 September 1832 was said to have been over one mile in length, and people all along the route wore black as a mark of respect as they watched the procession wind its way from Abbotsford to Dryburgh Abbey. Captain J E Alexander of the 42nd Royal Highlanders was an eyewitness to the procession, and he recorded his impressions in pen and ink several months after the event.¹⁷² (See figure 11.) The pomp and circumstance, which surrounded the death and the subsequent funeral, are interesting as they illustrate something of the esteem in which his contemporaries held Scott. Four months after the death of Scott, Alexander Campbell recorded in the *Millennial Harbinger* that:

Sir Walter Scott, the star that beamed with such effulgence in the heavens of romance, has vanished from the gaze of mortals. The lovers of poetry and fiction

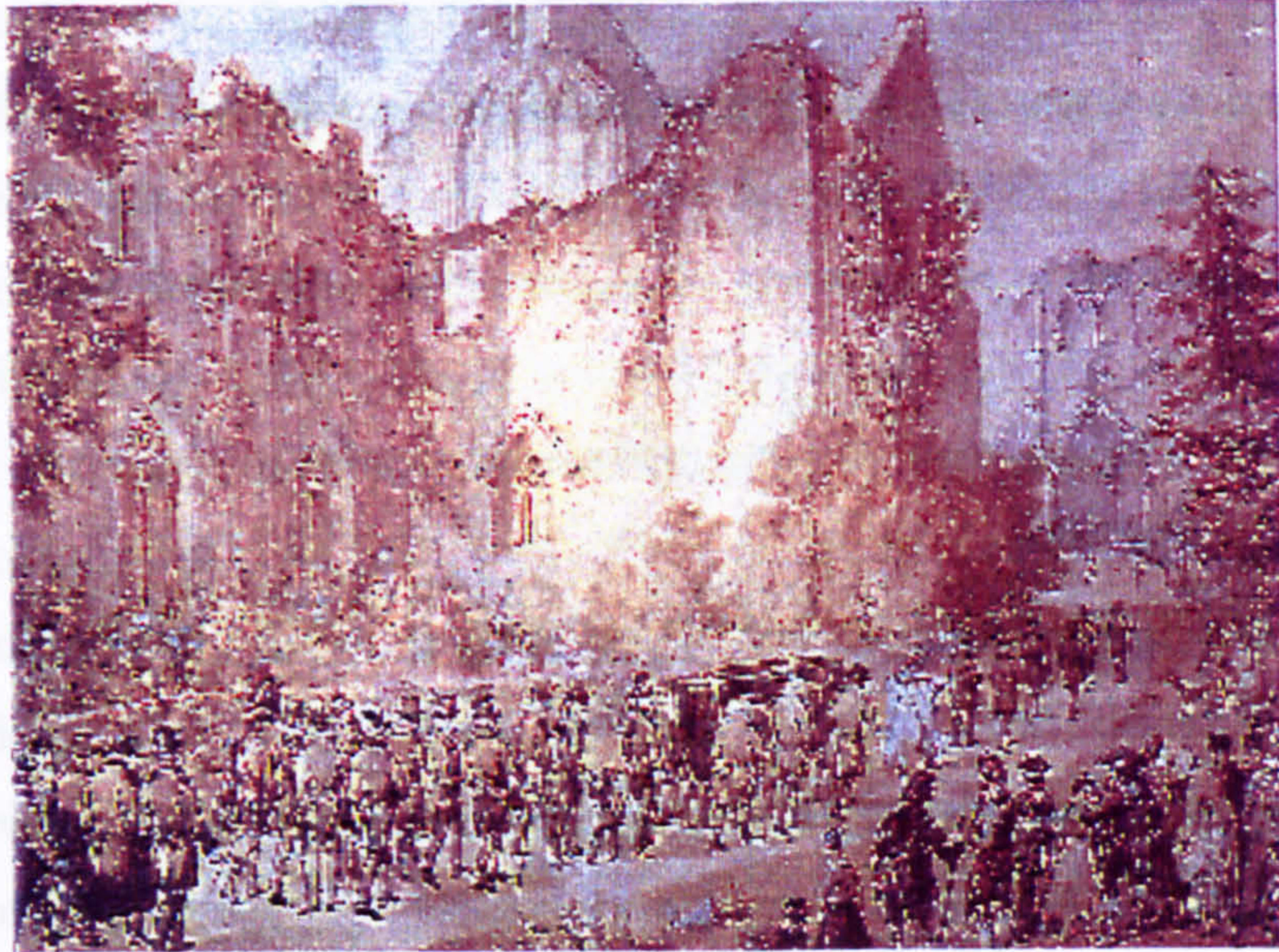
are in deep mourning; and all the votaries of *Waverley* are clothed in sadness. The fall of a monarch, from the giddy heights of his ambition; or the demise of some mighty chief, who guided the destinies of nations, could not call forth such a display of sorrow, as the exit of this most accomplished story-teller. The genius, the admirable genius of the author of fifty tales of fashion, dwells upon the tongues of all the young Misses and Masters, who riot upon the delicious products of imagination. The veteran maids and the ruthless odd fellows, who frequent enchanted fields and castles, exclaim, that the immortal author of a hundred romantic visions has 'paid the debt of nature,' and that mortal eyes shall never see his like again.¹⁷³

This effusive praise can also be seen in the flattery and glorification of obituaries, which appeared at the time. Biographies of Scott tend to emphasise the authoritative interpretations of literary criticism, whereas obituaries concentrate on the topical, consequently permitting a sharper awareness of the significance of the individual within society and an idea as to the position which they have within the framework of national identity. Many of the motifs which were manipulated in the discourse surrounding the commemoration of Scott had a precedent - that of Robert Burns - particularly the egalitarian concept of the common man. From the highborn aristocrat to the lowly pauper, employing both Romantic and conventional notions, they shaped the festivities, which centred on the celebration of the lives of Scotland's best-known literary sons.

A study of the obituaries of Scott presents a present-day reading of his biography and achievements. Such study is often employed by historians and biographers to determine contemporary opinions of their subject.¹⁷⁴ Furthermore Scott's obituaries seldom contradict one another. This concurrence and unanimity with regard to the standing which this person held within society is notable - for while an eulogy may be honest it is rarely critical or disparaging, there is a tendency to focus upon the singular achievements of the individual and their impact on others. This can be seen in the case of the *Caledonian Mercury* which concentrated unconditionally on Scott as the scrupulous and devoted custodian of Scottish heritage:

[Scott] boldly struck into a new path, and awakening the dying cadence of those strains which had gladdened Scotland's elder time, as well as evoking all that is most grand, gorgeous and romantic in the past history or traditions of a long history singularly rich in recollections of heroic daring or chivalric adventure, he at once introduced to us a new and unexplained region in the realm of fiction,

Figure 11.



Funeral of Sir Walter Scott

Captain James Edward Alexander

c.1832.

The cortege for the funeral of Scott was said to have been over a mile in length, and people all along the route wore black as they watched the Laird of Abbotsford make his final journey to Dryburgh Abbey. J E Alexander was an eyewitness to the event and several months later sketched the scene.

and imported to the creations, or rather reproductions of his genius the inexpressible charm of a glorious and indestructible nationality.¹⁷⁵

One of the motifs employed in the obituaries is that which couples Scott with Scotland - as representative of the essence of the Scottish nation. Journals and the press accentuated the portrayal of Scott as both conservator and architect of the Scottish national identity.

In a comparable vein, the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, in the first instance gave an account of Scott's biographical details before embarking at length upon what appears to be the principal intention of the obituary - that is, to testify to the magnitude of the debt owed to Scott for the part he performed in the preservation of the tradition and customs of the Scottish nation:

But the merit of these great works, great as they may be, are not their only recommendation to Scotsmen - They no doubt contain just and deep views of human nature; the most lively exhibition of manners and character; the most striking and discriminated portraits of individuals, descriptions of scenery glowing and poetical, and the author, also, passing over past ages, has with a boundless power of invention brought up to our view the living image of our ancient manners, faintly shadowed out in the broken traditions of the times.... *He has given permanence in his immortal works to the fading images of the olden times, and had completed a gallery of portraits essentially Scottish, on which we daily gaze with still increasing adoration and pleasure.*¹⁷⁶ [My emphasis]

The prose exercised by both these papers may be effusive, but it surely packs a punch, and the point is crystal-clear. As far as they are concerned there is no doubt as to the association between Walter Scott and the preservation of the national character of Scotland. The validity of this contention is further encouraged by the obituary in the *Glasgow Herald*:

Scotland is glorious in the annals of patriotism, as the birthplace of Wallace and Bruce. She is now equally glorious in the annals of literature, as the country of Sir Walter Scott.... Our hills, our valleys, our history, and our manners are consecrated in his immortal pages... in fact the benefits which Sir Walter Scott has conferred, and will continue to confer, although in ashes, on Scotland, are incalculable. Never more, while the world lasts, can we be a land unrenowned. In the political scale of nations we may rise, or we may fall. In his pages, we are a glorious people, and a favoured spot forever! Cervantes has done much for Spain, and Shakespeare for England, but not a tithe of what Sir Walter Scott has accomplished for us. In each of these great writers we find localities sanctified

by their genius, in their respective countries, but that of Scott pervades every corner of his native land.¹⁷⁷

This clearly raises the issue of Scott's regional affinity— his association with particular locales such as the Borders and the Highlands. It also stresses that Scott was connected to the whole of Scotland – the themes of patriotism and glory in Scottish history, of which Scott was so fond, are now used as evidence of his indelible association with the country. As Cervantes is indisputably coupled with Spain, and William Shakespeare with England, the link between Scott and Scotland was perceived to be immutable. The success of Scott in embellishing the image of Scotland and in celebrating the romantic days of yore was well documented by those who compiled his obituaries. It also raises the issue of regional identity once again. Regional identities were a very powerful concept; the associations between heroes and the locale were consistently emphasised. Scott is the obvious model in this – for example, the automatic response of many visitors to the Trossachs was to recollect his poetry. The idea that his work should have *sanctified* a particular area or region is significant. It indicates the contemporary perception of his far-reaching influence, and the sense of pride in Scotland by association with Scott.

It was not long until a tangible monument to this literary hero was proposed. Early in October 1832, not many days following Scott's death, a gathering of 'Friends and Admirers' was held in Edinburgh, in the Grand Assembly Rooms, at which it was determined that a committee should be set up, comprised of 'Noblemen and Gentlemen' who would contemplate 'the best means of testifying by some public and permanent mark, their respect for his memory'. *The Scotsman* reported that the engagement saw one of the largest assemblies of gentlemen, and 'the most conspicuous in terms of rank and talent which ever assembled in Edinburgh'.¹⁷⁸ This was a comprehensive assemblage of all the well-thought-of and estimable men of authority, where they all came together to accommodate a collective motive: to eulogise and honour a national celebrity.

In the event, two committees were established, one in London and the other in Edinburgh, to reflect on the construction of a public monument to Scott's memory in Edinburgh. Notices were issued throughout England, Scotland, Ireland and the colonies, promoting the establishment of local committees for the receipt of subscriptions. The controversy over the design of the Edinburgh memorial, like the jury's debate over the choice of design for the new Parliament buildings in London, reflects the nineteenth-century taste. The effort to decide upon an appropriate design commenced in 1833, and

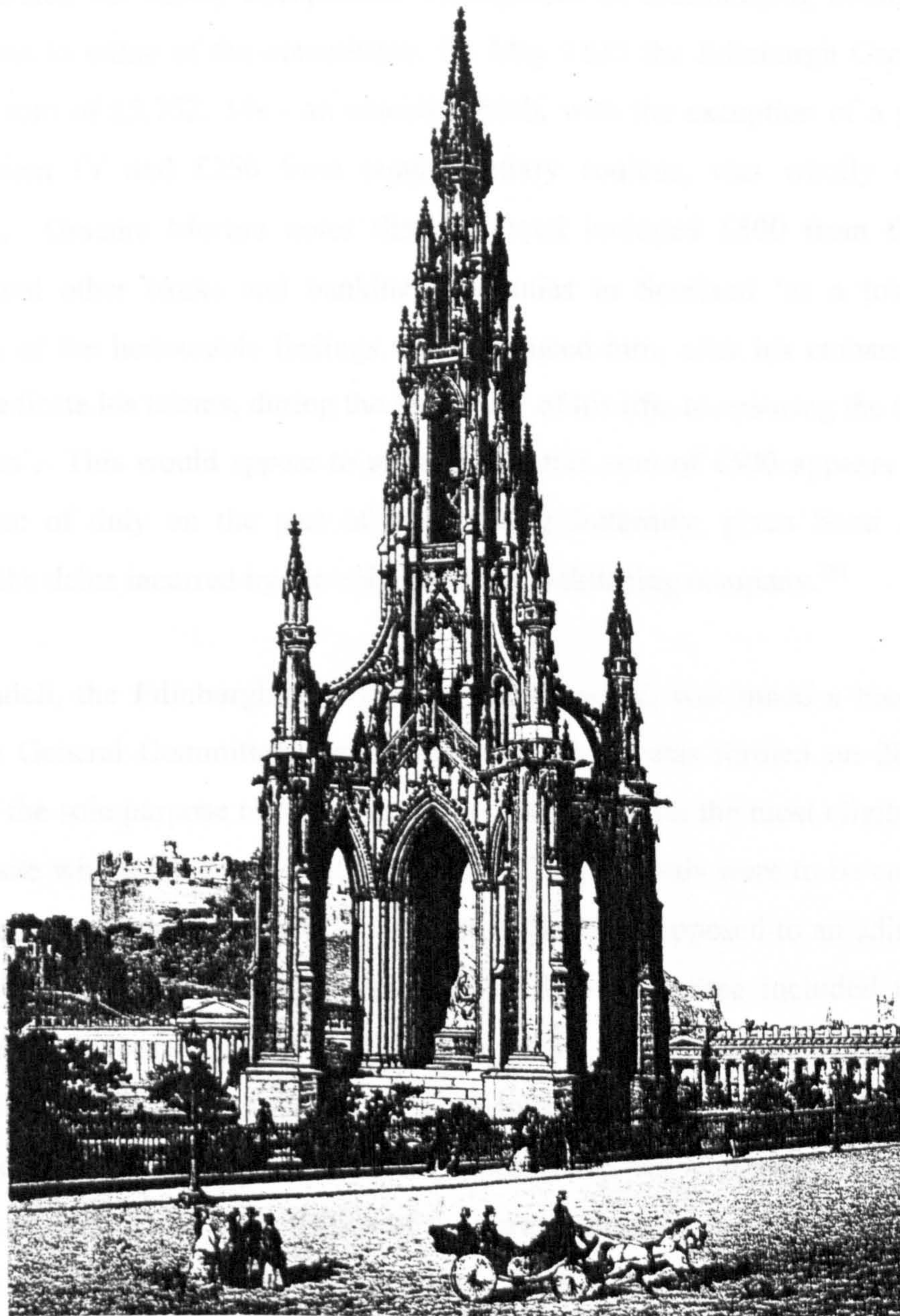
was only resolved in 1838, when George Meikle Kemp was selected to construct the monument in the Gothic revival style, which now embellishes Princes Street Gardens in Edinburgh. The choice of Kemp's design for the monument emphasised the medieval influence in architecture during the period. Although Kemp had entered the competition under a pseudonym, his 'masterly medieval' design was steeped in old Scotland.¹⁷⁹ Kemp had previously designed restorations or completions for Glasgow Cathedral, Melrose Abbey and Roslin Chapel in addition to plans for several churches. He had also prepared a volume of drawings, unfinished at the time of his death, which were intended to provide an illustrated description of the subject of ancient Scottish architecture.

As a result of their petitions, the committees in Edinburgh and London promptly raised substantial funds. Despite this, the London branch of the committee, which had originally pledged its resources to foster the construction of an Edinburgh monument, altered their plans and resolved that its accumulated endowment fund should be utilised for an alternative purpose - that is, to alleviate the financial predicament of the Scott family, who were still bearing the considerable affliction of the debts which had been incurred by Sir Walter. This was reference to the debts that Scott had assumed upon the collapse of his publishers Bannatyne and Company in 1826. By the time of his death he had paid off some £70,000, and an outstanding £59,000 was yielded by a variety of insurance policies which had been established by Scott. However this left a paltry legacy for his close family. Part of the intention of the London Committee was to raise funds to ensure that Abbotsford remained in the hands of the Scott family. This was, in their judgement, the most germane commemoration. The subtext of this transformation in intention seems to be that they, the London Committee, felt it was not seemly for donations from England to contribute towards the construction of a monument in Edinburgh, which was considered to be effectively a Scottish cause. *The Scotsman* reported in December that,

It is thought no memorial can be more appropriate to his name as the permanent maintenance of the house which his residence has rendered classical, and the preservation of the library and collection of national antiquities, which his admirable taste selected, and which his genius made available to works that are in every hand, and have carried the glory of English literature through every civilised region of the earth.¹⁸⁰

Notwithstanding frequent endeavours to refresh the London Committee's concern in the appeal for the Edinburgh memorial, the London group prevailed in their resolve to make use of their money to discharge the debts. The discordant missions of the two bodies had

Figure 12.



The Scott Monument, Princes Street, Edinburgh, c.1850.

Designed by George Meikle Kemp.

This particular engraving of the Scott Monument is interesting as Edinburgh Castle, the Royal Academy and the National Gallery are all visible in the background. This helps to place the Monument in its architectural context, and shows that the Monument is a significant part of the Edinburgh skyline.

the unfortunate, but hardly unexpected, consequence of discouraging additional public contributions to either of the committees. By May 1835 the Edinburgh Committee had raised the sum of £5,752. 14s - an amount which, with the exception of a gift of £300 from William IV and £250 from supplementary sources, was wholly collected in Edinburgh. Graeme Morton notes that this total included £500 from the Bank of Scotland and other banks and banking companies in Scotland 'as a token of their admiration of the honourable feelings which induced him, after his embarrassments of 1826, to dedicate his talents, during the remainder of his life, to ensuring the full payment of his debts'. This would appear to suggest that this sum of £500 appears to signify a moral sense of duty on the part of the banking fraternity, given Scott managed to discharge the debts incurred by the collapse of his publishing company.¹⁸¹

Robert Cadell, the Edinburgh publisher of Scott's work, was made a member of the Edinburgh General Committee's sub-committee, which was formed on 28 November 1833 with the sole purpose of reporting to the Committee on the most eligible plans and proposed site within the city for the memorial. The proposals were to be confined to an architectural monument incorporating a statue of Scott, as opposed to an edifice that was exclusively sculptural. Other members of the Sub-Committee included the Duke of Buccleuch, the Earl of Elgin and the Earl of Rosebery, the artist William Allan and James Skene. They addressed applications to various distinguished artists and architects soliciting designs and also suggestions for appropriate sites within the city of Edinburgh for the monument. Upon examination of the various designs that had been tendered, this sub-committee discovered that they could not reach an accord on the ultimate design, principally with regard to the style in which the memorial should be modelled. In fact unanimity was never attained, and the sub-committee eventually split into two conflicting camps, one which fancied a Gothic cross design, and the other fixed upon an Obelisk.

Into this contentious atmosphere came the artist Turner, who had had a working relationship with Walter Scott, and had long admired his work. It is fitting that the artist whom Scott had invited to capture the pageantry and theatricality of the royal visit in 1822 should be involved in the creation of a memorial to Scott. Although Turner's primary association was with the London branch of the Monument Committee, he soon switched his allegiance to the Edinburgh outpost when the London body opted to use its funds for a purpose other than the construction of a monument. Turner was persuaded that the only style of monument appropriate for commemorating Scott would be an

Obelisk, and it seems he was influential in changing the opinions of some of the others members of the sub-committee. His idea for the memorial Obelisk was that it should be of judiciously imposing proportions, and it seems conceivable that he outlined his own conception of the type of memorial with sketches.¹⁸²

In any event, by 1835 the sub-committee had narrowed its choices to two alternatives. The first was an Obelisk designed by the architect WH Playfair, in the Egyptian style, of commanding size, at least 200 feet high and supported by a granite base 44 feet high. The estimated cost of this design was £5,500 and the site proposed was the West End of George Street, by the east boundary of Charlotte Square. Second was the design submitted by Thomas Rickman of a Gothic cross, 85 feet high (or one hundred if desired), built of Craigleith stone rising from a granite base, comprising a colossal statue of Sir Walter Scott. The site proposed for this edifice was the same as that for the Obelisk, but the predicted cost was only £4,000, including £500 for the statue, although this price could increase to £5,000 if the dimensions of the building were enlarged. The Committee eventually opted for the Gothic structure, citing as their reasoning -

That Sir Walter's own predilections in favour of the Gothic structures are well known to have been strong, having often expressed his wonder that, in raising monuments to the memory of illustrious Britons, we should confine ourselves to copying the styles of Rome, Greece and Egypt, to the neglect of that grand and more appropriate architecture of which our forefathers have left us such admirable specimens. He has been frequently heard to express his conviction, that, in sublimity, no effort of art could surpass a fine Gothic structure, that it was congenial to our country, our climate, our feelings, and our historical associations; that it could strike a chord in our minds to which the imitations of a foreign style, however elaborate, could never approach.¹⁸³

In making this decision, the committee was consciously promoting the existence of a national tradition in architecture, and this is important with respect to the idea of the construction of a national identity in Scotland, and to the interpretation of the monument by the public. Their reaction to the edifice would be all the more proud if they could associate the magnificent style of the imposing building with the prominent Scottish writer - and one who was considered to have been custodian of Scottish heritage, tradition and values. In this manner, it was judged befitting a man of Scott's standing that he should be remembered with a Monument in the traditional Gothic, the 'native' style of Scotland. Scott's personal predilection for the Gothic style is amply documented in the reconstruction of Abbotsford. From lowly beginnings as a small farmhouse, Scott

embellished the manor house in what he advocated as an old Scottish baronial style - which incorporated many elements of the Gothic style.

While many members of the committee preferred the Gothic cross-conceived of by Rickman, there was a vociferous minority, led by Cadell, who regularly asserted their partiality for the Obelisk. It was noted within the Sub-committee's report published in 1835, that:

An obelisk of commanding size was strongly recommended as the only suitable monument for the purpose, by that eminent artist MR TURNER, whose opinion in the matters of taste is deserving of the greatest weight.¹⁸⁴

Some members of the General Committee, who were antagonistic toward the notion of an Obelisk, did not respond kindly to the part of the report which highlighted the considered opinions of Turner. One member could not desist from expressing his opinion on the presumed interference from Turner:

A Monument in this Country, erected to a Native of this Country, with its adjuncts or ornaments, ought to be an edifice which tells at once what it is - An Egyptian Obelisk gives no such information. The decoration of the City from without, is manifestly what has operated upon the minds of the two eminent painters, whose opinions were imparted at the Meeting and the Obelisk as they state it may no doubt form a very pre-eminent and distinguished decoration, but it does not disclose to the spectator that it is monumental, until near approach enables you to see the relievos and read the inscription...¹⁸⁵

Another member also responded to this interference, recording his condemnation:

I can hardly doubt that you are against the monstrous obelisk... which would be as high as the eaves of the George Street houses, throwing the adjacent houses into utter insignificance or appearing in itself a hugely disproportion'd erection - some stress is laid on the opinion of Artists, more I confess than I think it is worth, I mean Painters & Turner in particular as stated by Cadell... to have recommended such an obelisk as *the only* suitable monument to Sir Walter Scott.¹⁸⁶

Renewed endeavours were made to arrive at a mutually satisfying solution, and further competitions were devised for the submission of more designs. Finally, in April 1838, a gathering of the General Committee decided upon the ultimate design for the monument, although even at this meeting there was some consternation among the committee members regarding the decision. However, the debate had raged for several years, and

presumably the patience of all those concerned was running out. The selected design was that of George Meikle Kemp, who had entered the competition under the alias John Morvo, for a Gothic cross, based upon Antwerp Cathedral, and containing a sculptural likeness of the author. This sculptural effigy of Scott was the duty of Sir John Steell. He had entered the 1838 competition for the monument, and although his submission of a seated group of *Sir Walter and his Dog* could not be awarded a prize, as it was not in itself a monument, it drew much praise in the public debate. (See figure 13.) The desire of the subscribers committee to see a monument that incorporated both architecture and sculptural elements enabled them to couple Steell's carving with the Gothic structure of George Meikle Kemp. With the east end of Princes Street ultimately chosen as the site - by virtue of its central location and the support of residents and shopkeepers, arrangements were made for construction to begin in earnest.

The 1838 competition for the Walter Scott monument was Steell's first appraisal in an international field, although he was well known as a sculptural artist in Scotland before this important commission. Indeed, such was Steell's reputation that a Burns pastiche was sung in his name at the St Luke's Club artists dinner in Edinburgh in 1833:

O come forth, gentle Steell, let thy chisel ne'er rush,
But from forms yet unveiled, hew each soul casting crush,
And come to our feast - let thine own classic bust,
Finely cut by the hand of St Luke, boy,
Fill its niche in the nave of St Luke's,
And boldly yet the song shall rise
For sculpture Steell, and a' that,
Like thought, the marble lasts for ages,
Nae time can ever thaw that;
For a' that and a' that
Bucephalus and a' that
The boy fishing in the burn
I wish Canova saw that.¹⁸⁷

Benedict Read asserts that the statue of Walter Scott by Steell, which is the centrepiece to the Scott Monument, was probably the first marble statue ever commissioned in Scotland from a native artist.¹⁸⁸ Steell became the first Scot to execute a monumental figure of national importance, and his career blossomed as a result of the publicity. His studio grew as an effect of his increasing commissions, and in order to cast the monumental figures himself, he constructed Scotland's first bronze foundry. By the 1840s his studio

Figure 13.



John Steell, *Sir Walter Scott*, 1840 – 46.

Steell entered this sculptural design *Sir Walter and his Dog* in 1838 design competition for the Scott Monument, and it was the subject of much admiration. Thus the committee decided upon a monument which incorporated both architectural and sculptural elements which enabled them to couple Steell's carving with the towering Gothic structure designed by the architect G M Kemp.

was struggling to fulfil the commissions of statues of *Queen Victoria*, *Sir Walter Scott*, *Professor James Blair*, the *Countess of Elgin* (for Calcutta), and *Dr. Chalmers*. The selection of Steell as the sculptor for the statue of Walter Scott signifies an important alteration in artistic circles in Scotland. Prior to the appointment of Steell, the majority of sculptural commissions were undertaken by artists from south of the border, but the selection of Steell gave much needed encouragement to Scottish artists and also served to raise the reputation of Scottish art in the estimation of the public, and more importantly, the patrons of the arts.

The construction of the monument extended from 1840 until 1844, and little reference was made to the affair until it was recognised that there were insufficient funds to complete construction. Thus the subscription was reopened, and the shadow of the unfinished National Monument of the Calton Hill loomed over the enterprise. It was felt that an incomplete memorial to Scott would highlight the deficiencies of the nation, and would be an indelible reproach to the country. The rhetoric of the earlier solicitation for donations was therefore revived, and the first resolution passed by the Committee to hasten the accumulation of subscriptions asserted that the erection of the monument ought to arouse and inspire the ardent and impassioned psyche of every Scotsman. It appears as though the final recourse for the Committee was to expound the sense of national loyalty, love of country and patriotic spirit. Much of the capital was raised by way of a series of receptions and assemblies, under the designation of Waverley Balls, some in Edinburgh and others in London. Beginning in Edinburgh 1844, the first of a series of three Waverley Balls was staged to raise money for the smaller sculptures and carvings of literary and historical figures which were to be added to the Scott monument, and also funds for landscaping the grounds surrounding the monument itself. The London Waverley Ball revelled in the patronage of Prince Albert, while other distinguished and acclaimed men such as Charles Dickens, the Duke of Sutherland, Marquis of Northampton, and the Earl of Dalhousie, served as stewards for the occasion. These splendid and theatrical events included the presentation of *tableaux vivants* or costumed scenes taken from Scott's poetry and novels.¹⁸⁹ These *tableaux vivants* represented key episodes from Scott's literary works, which were perceived as representative of cultural identity and national pride. Several celebrated Scottish actors participated in the Edinburgh ball of April 1845, which raised over £400. To put this sum in context, it would be the equivalent of £20,000 today. The 1846 Waverley Ball was also the occasion for the public exhibition of the models for the sculptural figures which were

intended to adorn the towers of the Scott Monument. These figures included great Scottish heroes such as William Wallace and King Robert the Bruce.¹⁹⁰

The construction of the memorial composition was at last finished in October 1844, and inaugurated in August 1846, once again on the anniversary of the birth of Scott. The foundation stone had been laid on 15 August 1840, and lodged by the side of this was a glass receptacle accommodating an assortment of contemporaneous papers and currency. This ceremony in 1840 was presided over by Lord Jeffrey, and conducted with the full Masonic honours of Scotland, with the invitation to the event displaying the fusion of Scottish and Masonic insignia. Graeme Morton has noted that the Masonic invitation to the ceremony illustrates this combination of Scottish and Masonic symbols, with representations of Scott. The symbols of chivalric writing, the armour, the harp, bible and flags proclaiming *Marmion* and *Veritas Vincit*, are there alongside the lion rampant standard, wild thistles and a crest of unicorns. He also comments that the ceremony was concluded with a seven-gun salute and a rendition of *Rule Britannia*. This last had not taken on its twentieth-century connotations of English chauvinism, and therefore did not raise any uncertainty as it rounded off the day of Scottish national introspection.¹⁹¹ This rendition of *Rule Britannia* is intriguing, as it was James Thomson who penned the words. He was also considered to be a great Scottish poet – as Duncan Macmillan comments, even before Burns was held in such esteem, the members of the Cape Club in Edinburgh celebrated James Thomson's birthday.¹⁹² Evidently they considered Thomson as the national bard, before Burns replaced him in this position. That Thomson's song was chosen as part of the commemoration of Scott is interesting in that it indicates continuity in the celebration of cultural heroes. Hugh Miller observed that the day of the ceremony was pleasant, and that the pageant itself was imposing. As a sign of respect to the occasion, all business was suspended, and shops were closed. In a remark which prompted memories of George IV's visit to Edinburgh in 1822, the affair stage-managed by Scott, Miller also commented that the entire spectacle was one which Scott himself could have improved upon.¹⁹³ Nevertheless, the effect of the exhibition of patriotic pride and formal pageantry was imposing and plainly illustrated the influence that Scott had exercised over the mind of the nation.

The unveiling of the Monument and statue in 1846 was also held amidst great public celebrations, which echoed the earlier festivities and pageantry that had surrounded the laying of the foundation stone six years before. The pomp and ceremony employed on this occasion included a civic and Masonic procession. The appearance and involvement

of the Masons in this ceremonial occasion is not surprising – Walter Scott was himself a member, as was the architect of his Monument, Meikle Kemp. In addition, the Grand Lodge of Freemasons was a traditional affiliate in the ceremonies associated with public buildings. Their presence on such occasions lent an atmosphere of historical custom and can be seen as an expression of national culture. While there was an undeniable element of socialising inherent in such events, there was the additional, yet significant, factor of a continuation of cultural impulse and the promotion of Scottish heritage.

This procession advanced from the High School to the Monument, where the colossal statue of Scott was unveiled to the public amid the cheers of the assembled crowd, martial music, and the fusillade of cannons from the battlements of Edinburgh castle. The public reception of the monument was so popular, and the Royal Society for the Promotion of Fine Art in Scotland was so delighted with Steell's public triumph that they commissioned one hundred copies to be fashioned in Copeland porcelain.¹⁹⁴ Lord Glenlyon, the Grand Master Mason of Scotland said of the occasion that it was 'a splendid monument' which would stand for 'future generations as a memorial to that illustrious poet and novelist'. He continued that:

No words of mine can express the feelings of pride and pleasure with which I have presided at this most interesting national ceremonial, - feelings which, I have no doubt, are fully shared by the many thousands I now see around me.¹⁹⁵

Certainly the crowds who visited the Monument were said to 'gaze in rapt admiration on its beautiful proportions, superb embellishments,' and on the grandeur of the statue of the Wizard of the North, the man who had 'infused a nobler, warmer glow of patriotic ardour into the breast of every true Scotsman.'¹⁹⁶ His countrymen, with the full barrage of Scottish insignia and symbolism had effectively commemorated Walter Scott. As the man who had rekindled popular interest in Scottish history, it was only fitting that the monument to his memory should be decorated with figures from the past.¹⁹⁷ Alongside the characters from his novels and poems, the niches of the monument were filled with representations of other great Scotsmen, and so the monument became a symbol of Scottish national heritage and pride, and a focus for the iconography of Scottish identity.

Architectural influence: Abbotsford.

The monument to Scott in Edinburgh was not the only means of memorialising and perpetuating the reputation of Scott. Images and associations can vary over time, and in

Figure 14.



Sir Edwin Landseer, *A Scene at Abbotsford*, exhibited 1827.

Landseer painted *A Scene at Abbotsford* at the country home of Sir Walter Scott. The large dog, Scott's wolf greyhound Maida, died shortly after Landseer finished the picture. The scene epitomises Scott in a sense – the armour, dogs and assorted accoutrements attest to his various interests, and illuminate the image he wished to project of himself as the archetypal Scottish country Laird.

the case of Walter Scott there was a distinct sense of Scott the man, and Scott in the environment. Although his influence over the perceptions of the Scottish landscape have already been discussed, some mention should also be made of the cult of Abbotsford, which effectively turned the family home of Scott into a shrine to his memory. Lockhart claimed in his *Life of Scott* that: 'Abbotsford, after his own immortal works, is the best monument of its founder.'¹⁹⁸ The attraction of Abbotsford as the home of Walter Scott was akin to the appointment of Burns' cottage as a tourist attraction for visitors to Ayrshire. Victorians displayed a fascination with walking in the footsteps of these great men, and seeing their surroundings as they imagined these literary giants to have perceived them. As has been mentioned previously in this section, there was some discussion after the death of Scott pertaining to the collection of funds to ensure that Abbotsford remained in the hands of the Scott family. There was some thought given to the financial situation of the Scott family who were still shouldering the debts assumed by Scott when his publishing company collapsed in 1826. The effect of the debts was that the family was left a paltry legacy, and there was some anxiety that the family would be unable to keep possession of the family home at Abbotsford. The London branch of the Memorial Committee was especially preoccupied with this design, although the subtext to this aim appears to be concern with the propriety of English donations to the Memorial fund being utilised in the construction of a Scottish monument. *The Scotsman* reported in December 1832 that there was no more appropriate memorial to Scott than the permanent preservation of the house, and the conservation of the library and multitude of national antiquities, which he had accumulated over the years.¹⁹⁹ Indeed, the house was preserved as something of a shrine to Scott; one visitor commented that Scott's study was maintained just as it had been when Scott composed his novels there, and that:

Branching off the study, and hardly as large as a small ship's cabin, there is a sort of cabinet in which, in a glass case, one can see Sir Walter's last summer suit, which is preserved here in much the same way as the star-covered coat of Lord Nelson which he wore when the fatal bullet hit him from the crow's nest of the *Redoubtable*.²⁰⁰

Even during the lifetime of Scott Abbotsford had become a favoured attraction for many a visitor, whether invited or not. At Abbotsford Scott had founded a quasi-rural idyll where he could emulate the lifestyle of the landed gentry, and the house was the effective prototype for the Scots baronial style. The estate was purchased in 1811, and grew over time, and with considerable investment, to a substantial estate. The style of the house

evolved over several years, the main reconstruction of the new house beginning in 1818. As part of his influence in creating this new image of Scotland, Scott played an important role in setting down precise 'national qualities' in architecture. The original intention was an English vicarage style as Scott attempted to give substance to his abstract antiquarian notions. However, Scott's vision altered over time as he began to 'Scotify' the design, ending up with what he described as:

A kind of Conundrum Castle to be sure, and I have great pleasure in it, for while it pleases the fantastic person in the stile [sic] and manner of its architecture and decoration, it has all the comforts of a commodious habitation.²⁰¹

In a sense, Scott was creating a memorial to what he saw as ancient Scottish architecture and design; while his writing played a key role in the international evolution of Romanticism, the influence Scott exerted on the development of Romanticism was not purely literary. He made a crucial impact through the construction of his own famous retreat in the Borders.²⁰² One aspect of the Romantic and Gothic revival was dynastic, and the great Gothic house at Abbotsford was Scott's claim to stability, a kind of assumed antiquity to impart to his descendants. The interior of Abbotsford had many Gothic revival features, and the exterior decorations celebrated specifically Scottish architectural features such as crow stepped gables. The entrance hall to Abbotsford was arranged to accommodate a display of ancient artefacts that Scott had collected. (See figure 14.) These included pieces belonging to historical figures - Rob Roy's dirk and Claverhouse's pistol. The panelling in the main hall originally came from the Auld Kirk in Dunfermline. This display in the hall is significant- the hall was the first point of contact for visitors to the house - and as such it was of great importance. It should be imposing and indicative of the social standing of the householder; it was a room for show, indicative of the status and nobility of the owner's family. There were other antiquarian features also on display elsewhere in the house, which further reflect Scott's overwhelming interest in Scottish history and culture. In 1817 Scott had witnessed the destruction of the old Tolbooth Prison in Edinburgh and the Magistrates of the city gave him the door to the prison. This architectural feature was incorporated into the building at Abbotsford. Theodore Fontane, a French traveller who visited Scotland and later published his account of the tour, made the pilgrimage to Abbotsford where he commented on the installation of the Tolbooth artefacts. He noted that if unaware of the story behind the ornamentation, they seemed out of place and left no favourable impression behind. However:

Figure 15.



Entrance Hall at Abbotsford.

Scott had a vast collection of arms and armour which accumulated over the years and indicated his abiding interest in the history of Scotland. This collection came to include items which had belonged to historical figures, such as Rob Roy's dirk, and the sword which was presented to the Duke of Montrose by Charles I. The panelling in the entrance hall also reflects Scott's antiquarian interests – it came from Dunfermline Auld Kirk.

The stone portal and the wooden door of the old Tolbooth Prison that has now been destroyed, seem in themselves curious enough, but when you know that the Tolbooth Prison is merely the prosaic name for what we all know under 'The Heart of Midlothian'... then the whole matter appears in a different light and we cannot avoid the feeling that there was something intelligent and kind in the action of the Edinburgh City Fathers, when they contributed these two objects as though they had been bricks, or perhaps reliefs, to be used in the decoration of the home.²⁰³

Other historical building blocks were also utilised in the construction of the house, including parts of the Mercat Cross in Edinburgh, and some stones taken from a Roman camp. These also raised comment from Fontane, who claimed: 'You need to have a whole host of stories and anecdotes constantly in mind if you are not to find these rather clumsy jokes clumsier than they actually are'.²⁰⁴

Nathaniel Hawthorne was also a visitor to Scott's home, and his impressions of the house, both exterior and interior decoration, give some idea of Scott's historical perceptions:

The house, which is more compact, and of considerably less extent than I anticipated, stands in full view from the road, and at only a short distance from it, lower down towards the river. Its aspect disappointed me; but so does everything. It is but a villa, after all; no castle, nor even a large manor-house, and very unsatisfactory when you consider it in that light. Indeed, it impressed me, not as a real house, intended for the home of human beings, - a house to die in or be born in, - but as a plaything, - something in the same category as Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill.²⁰⁵

The architecture, which Strawberry Hill was supposed to represent, did appeal to the English for sentimental reasons. They believed that such architectural style was rooted in respect for the traditions and customs associated with the hospitable old mansion houses of their forefathers. They understood that the formal splendour of the house of Renaissance design was not a native growth; rather was characteristic of a style which had been imported without regard for native traditions and design. The older Gothic architecture, on the other hand, conformed to the image of the English past and was symbolic of heritage. This argument also applies to the construction of Gothic revival houses in Scotland, such as Abbotsford, and the application of Scottish 'Baronial' elements in their construction. Hawthorne and his companions toured the house:

Every inch of the walls is covered with claymores, targets, and other weapons and armour, or old-time curiosities, tastefully arranged, many of which, no doubt, have a history attached to them, - or had, in Sir Walter's own mind.²⁰⁶

This description depicts Scott as a man caught up with the Romanticism, Medievalism, and extravagant perceptions of his country and its history, a man who was not averse to embellishing reality for the sake of a better story. This side to Scott was certainly evident in his narrative prose and poetry, and also in his endeavours in the lavish preparation for the visit of King George IV in 1822.

Abbotsford has been described as a microcosm of the age, and Carlyle claimed that 'Walter Scott was one of the most gifted of the world, whom his admirers call the most gifted, must kill himself that he may be a country gentleman, the founder of a race of Scottish lairds.'[sic]²⁰⁷ Abbotsford was Scotland's most influential contribution to the movement of Romantic 'troubadour' houses that swept across Europe in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and Eastlake commented that 'It would be difficult to overrate the influence which Scott's poetry has had on both sides of the Tweed in encouraging a national taste for medieval architecture'.²⁰⁸ The first phase of building, under the direction of William Atkinson, adopted a broadly Jacobean manner with Scottish Renaissance detailing. As with his work at Scone Place, Atkinson was put to work designing the interiors, including carpets, curtains and new furniture using medieval detail on a basic classical framework.²⁰⁹ Even with the engagement of architects, Scott was still the mastermind behind the finished house, and the overall effect was one which represented a fusion of the Scottish Baronial and Tudor Gothic style with elements of pure fantasy and the Romantic imagination.

Externally the completed building was complex, with some explicitly Baronial features – including a Fyvie-type archway flanked by crow-stepped towers on the river façade. Internally the decorative scheme was intended to give the house a more evocative, serious and 'old' and 'national' atmosphere. This was accomplished in two ways – firstly through the incorporation of actual ancient fragments and pieces of furniture – effectively signalling the beginning of antique collecting in Scotland. Secondly modern surfaces were treated to look old. This signals the beginning of the nineteenth-century concern for 'artistic oldness' in interiors. Scott 'desired that it should all be done in imitation of oak, not like woodwork newly fitted up, but to resemble the old oak carvings as much as possible... to appear weather-beaten and faded, as if it had stood untouched for years'.²¹⁰

Figure 16.



JMW Turner, *Rhymers Glen*, 1831.

The vignette depicts an area of woodland on the Abbotsford estate much loved by Scott for its picturesque appearance. Preliminary sketches for this painting were made by Turner during his visit to the Borders in August 1831, while he was making preparations for illustrations to Cadell's edition of Scott's *Works*. Scott died the following year, and the finished picture, showing Scott's walking stick on the bench by the stream, is a tribute to Scott's continuing influence on Turner's own perceptions of the landscape.

Through his writing, and by example, Scott encouraged aristocrats and Scottish gentlemen to build castles and cram their halls with weapons and armour; and so glamorised the Highland Clans and the Jacobites that he virtually created the tourist industry of the Highlands and immersed the entirety of Scotland in a deluge of tartan. Abbotsford also serves as an example of Scott's own attitude toward the history of his country. As a child he loved the historic tales of chivalry and romance, and his novels are imbued with a sentimental assessment of history. In his writing he combined the nostalgic, antiquarian and folkloristic with the enlightened and progressive. This view is reflected in the construction of his own home – a compromise between two extremes, where the nostalgic, 'traditional' architecture is combined with commercial and technological advancement.

This emphasises Scott's attempts to marry the old and the new, and to create harmony in the synthesis of the traditional and the innovative and produce a sense of familiarity within the contemporary world. Indeed, David Daiches maintains that it is possible to make a thoroughly convincing case for Scott as a rational believer in progress who looked forward to the gradual shaking off of all the superstitions and past cruelties as history moved into the modern world. Daiches points to a letter from Scott to his younger son as evidence of this belief²¹¹: on 21 November 1821 Scott wrote:

Our ancestors lodged in caves and wigwams where we construct palaces for the rich and comfortable dwellings for the poor. And why is this but because our eye is enabled to look back upon the past to improve on our ancestors improvements and to avoid their errors. This can only be done by studying history and comparing it with passing events.²¹²

This emphasises a vehement belief in historical progress, which is reflected in Scott's approach toward Scottish history and culture, and indeed to the construction and decoration of his own home.

Abbotsford had a huge influence on the architectural development of the nation. The espousal of this peculiarly Scottish Gothic style is part of the whole Romantic revival encouraged by Scott's influence over the imagination of the country. While the Ossian controversy had transformed the idea of Scotland from a land of inaccessible savages ill disposed to civilisation, to a nation of Dark Age poetic heroes imbued with primitive culture, architecture became an adjunct to the Picturesque interpretation of the scenery. English Gothic architecture effectively fused with Scottish Jacobean in the revival of the Baronial style. Copybook picturesqueness became fashionable, all the more so after Scott

embraced the Baronial in his own home. McKean notes that Scott himself regarded revivalism as a serious issue, pointing to the discussion in *The Pirate* of the Earl's Palace in Kirkwall to uphold this argument:

[the palace] as the model of a Gothic mansion, provided architects would be contented rather to imitate what is really beautiful in that species of building, than to make a medley of the caprices of the order, confounding the military, ecclesiastical and domestic styles of all ages at random with the additional fantasies and combinations of their own devices.²¹³

Nevertheless, the vogue for Baronial mansions did not immediately take off. Indeed, McKean suggests that the death of Kemp, the architect of the Scott Monument in Edinburgh, may have been the impetus behind the rehabilitation of Scottish architectural styles.²¹⁴ Kemp's architecture was saturated with the motifs of ancient Scotland. Kemp's personal interest in this area is emphasised by his planned comprehensive history of ancient Scottish architecture; after his death the English antiquarian Robert William Billings was engaged to complete Kemp's work in this field. The resultant volumes emphasised link between architecture and antiquarian ideals. The focus on interior decorative detail was of particular interest for architects like Burn who were seeking to compose picturesque interiors to match their elaborately detailed exteriors.

McKean notes that the architects William Burn and David Bryce brought Billings to Scotland to actualise Kemp's undertaking. Billings' four volume publication *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland* appeared between 1845 – 1852, and they effectively became patternbooks for a new generation of Scottish lairds intent upon building their own versions of 'ancient' Scottish houses.²¹⁵ Among the 1000-plus subscribers were those who ran or owned Scotland, and over 200 architects. The book could not have failed to make an impact on architectural style: a legitimate Scottish voice had been discovered. Billings believed he had unearthed a distinct national architecture, and devised the term 'Baronial' to describe them. The increasing popularity of architectural and archaeological publications widened public knowledge and aided in the revival of all historical styles. Thus, *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland* followed in tradition of topographical publications; they had specific architectural purpose and soon established as the bible of the Baronial revival. (See figure 18.)

By the middle decades of the century, the confidence and power of Scottish-British imperial culture subtly altered the significance of the national elements in architecture –

driving out the doubts felt by Scott and the Romantics about the relationship between Scottish nationality and the forces of modernity – now both could be expressed together.²¹⁶ In architecture, this was manifested through the picturesque and extravagant Scottish Baronial style. This was best expressed in the construction of country houses built for the ruling classes of urban Scotland, especially to the designs of Bryce, who combined Scottish and French elements in an eclectic synthesis of the different branches of northern European Renaissance sources. This reflects the relationship between architecture and function; mid-century architects contrived to affiance style with function and thus the classical style was preferred for urban offices, but the idea of a banker or entrepreneur returning to a romantically turreted house in the country was not seen as anomalous.²¹⁷ In contrast to the regionally varied expression of Classical architecture, the Baronial style was relatively homogenous across the country. It was a part of the northern European movement of the revision of the Picturesque. Italianate styles were rejected in favour of more accurate ‘national’ styles. For such a movement, new ‘national’ types of source materials were needed – a need which was ably and promptly met by the publication of Billings’s series of volumes on vernacular Scottish architectural models.

This picturesque national modernity in architecture attracted both the established aristocracy and the newly rich. Petzsch suggests that the Victorian age is characterised by a profusion architectural styles which marked a departure from the formal rules of the Georgian period and architecture became predominantly the expression of individual architects.²¹⁸ The Ossianic and Scott-inspired vision of Scotland had become steadily more allied with the architectural images of castellated lineage. Mid-nineteenth-century Baronial works were commissioned by the Duke of Atholl (in alterations to Blair Castle in 1869 – 76), and by the Glasgow chemical manufacturer Charles Tennant (The Glen, 1855 – 60).²¹⁹ The desire to imitate the monarchy was just as much a factor in this development, particularly after the rebuilding of Balmoral in the 1850s. The *Building Chronicle* cited Balmoral as the consummate example of this style:

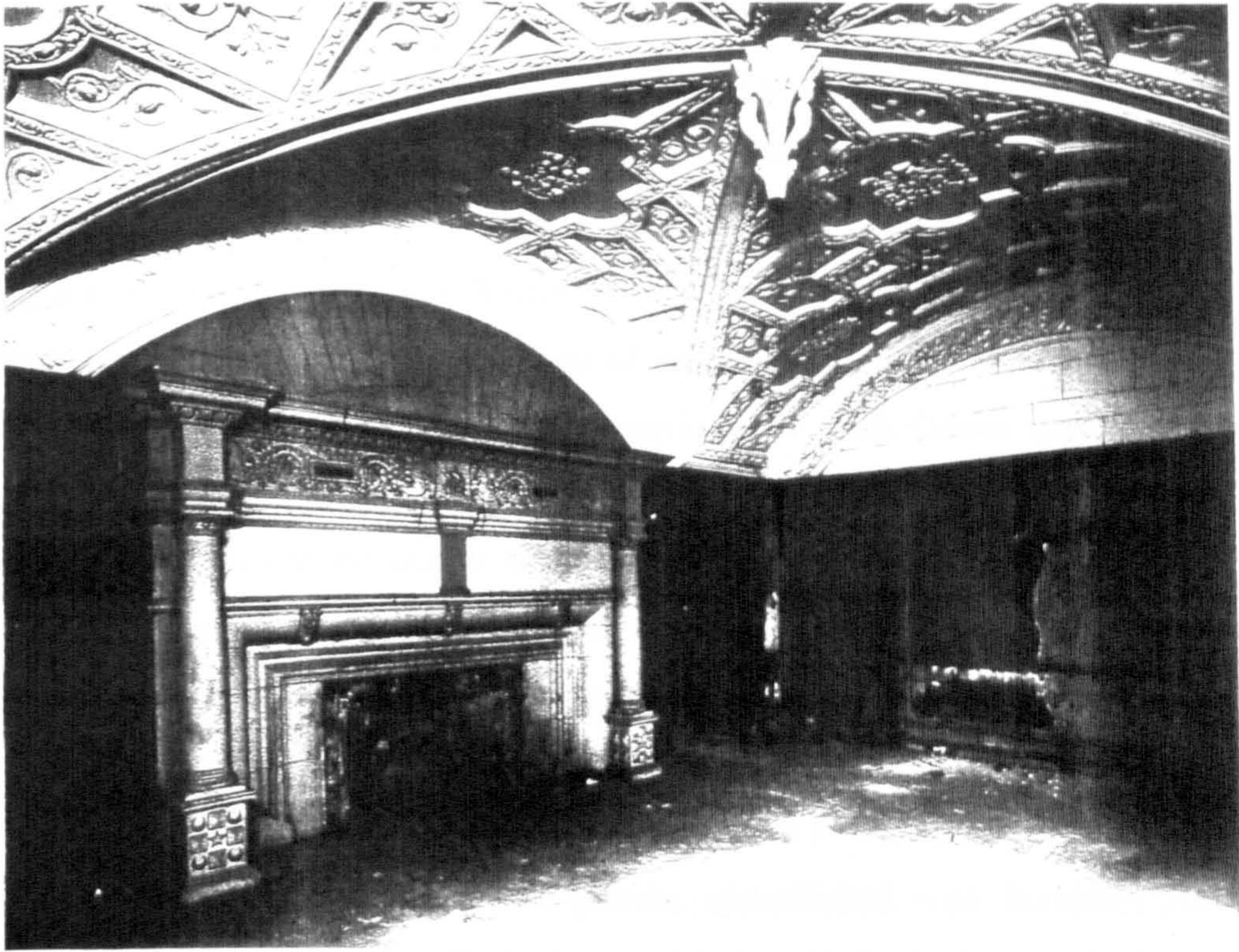
Now, in North Britain, we have old Scottish, thanks to Burn and Billings ‘baronial antiquities’, taking its place, as par excellence, the style for nine-tenths of our domestic buildings. And oh! What oddities are being perpetrated in its name. The grim bastion towers of Caerlaverock and Craigmillar are being revived in the retreats of peaceable country gentlemen. Heavy battlements surround their doorways and loopholes command it; to sweep off marauders should they prefer that means of access to lifting the sash of the larder window.²²⁰

Indeed, as Morris indicates, by the late nineteenth century, the new middle-class suburbs were filled with villas and superior tenements decorated with stone thistles, saltires and baronial turrets.²²¹ Adornments such as these on buildings are essentially examples of banal nationalism, symbols of Scottish identity employed in such a manner as to be incorporated into daily life.

The pivotal figure in this confident mid-nineteenth-century expression of the 'national' style was David Bryce whose dynamic and highly decorative Baronial style evolved during the 1840s. His decisive commission came with the reconstruction of Balfour Castle in Orkney. Here, Colonel David Balfour, heir to a fortune amassed in India, commissioned Bryce to enlarge (indeed, submerge) what had been a 'neat little villa' beneath a massive battlement and crow-stepped block of public rooms.²²² One other notable example of Bryce's Baronial style is that of Fettes College in Edinburgh (1862), which has been described as an overblown Scottish-Baronial exercise; romantic, exotic and unrestrained.²²³ Bryce's series of large country houses exemplified the capacity of modern eclectic modernity to adapt familiar old motifs to new uses, and to combine them with completely new features such as gas lighting and plate glass.

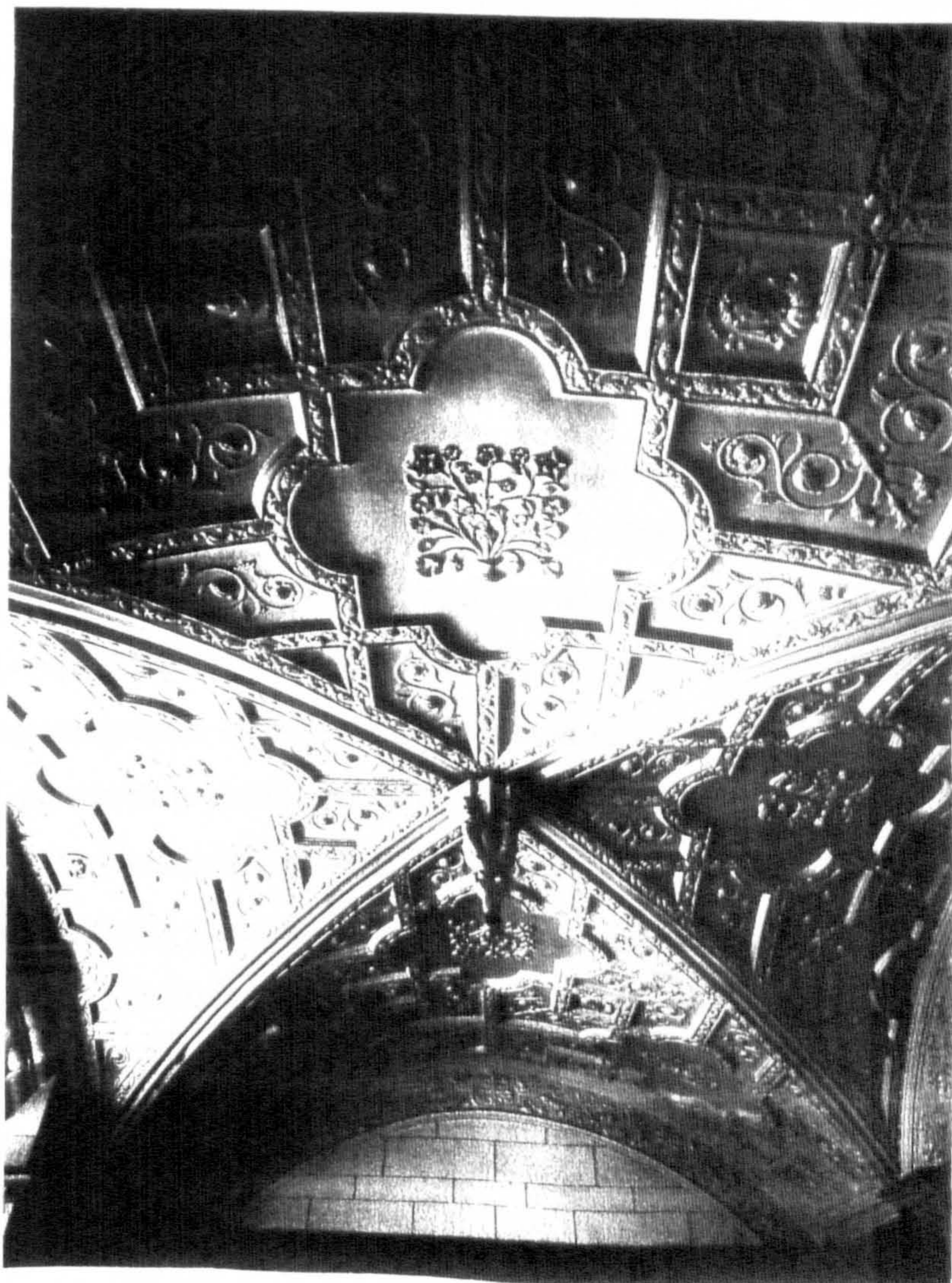
Bryce's Baronial houses exerted a wide influence, especially through the work of his pupils such as Charles Kinnear and J T Rothead – a body of architecture, which, like Bryce's own domestic oeuvre, spanned the whole country, without regard for geographical distinctions. However, the mid-century's requirement for more national styles posed a problem for designers of interiors of the Scottish Baronial houses. The Adam formula of castellated exterior and classical interior would no longer do, and there were no accurate records of original Scottish renaissance interiors in their complete state.²²⁴ In response to this, a new Baronial eclectic interior was synthesised. The basic architectural shell was treated in a massive, even primitive manner, including unpainted walls, fireplaces and pitch pine timberboard, crowned by seventeenth-century style plaster ceilings. Ornamental richness on the walls was provided not only by heraldic decoration, as in the Scottish Renaissance 'originals', but also by a further range of conventionalised symbols of landed power and national affiliation, including displays of tartan, weaponry and stuffed animal heads. The reception of Queen Victoria at Taymouth in 1842 had provided a starting point for these Baronial-troubadour spectacles, and these colourfully 'national' features were combined with fittings of uninhibited modernity.

Figure 17.



The Dining Room, 23 Park Circus, Glasgow, (1990).

These photographs show the extraordinary barrel vaulted ceiling of the dining room, which was a replica of the ceilings of Craigievar Castle, Aberdeenshire.



The fashion for the Baronial extended to the interiors of buildings which were not overtly Baronial in their exterior appearance. One example of this would be the buildings of the Park area of Glasgow in the 1850s. This is now recognised as one of the most spectacular civic planning schemes in Britain, echoing the lay out of Bath a century earlier.²²⁵ These buildings were both Italian and French in inspiration, and their elaborate interiors formed fitting homes for a generation of Victorian merchants and industrialists. The interior of 23 Park Circus exemplifies the marriage of the European exterior architecture with the national Baronial style of the interior decoration. 23 Park Circus was the property of John Inglis, a partner in the shipbuilding firm of A & J Inglis.²²⁶ One room which immediately stands out for notice is the ground floor dining room. The most striking feature of this room is the extraordinary barrel vaulted ceiling, copied from the ceilings of Craigievar Castle, Aberdeenshire. Craigievar was considered to be a supreme example of the Scottish tower house, and a perfect fusion of fantasy and realism in architectural style, with an equally magnificent interior.²²⁷ (See figure 18.) The vaulted ceiling of the Great Hall at Craigievar consists of raised panels, embellished with heraldry, foliage and decorative pendants, and this effect was emulated at 23 Park Circus. Inglis must have believed such an impressive feature to be an excellent asset to his interior decorative scheme, and it subtly emphasised the link between his home and that of an ancient Scottish Baron. This exemplifies the trend for the fashion-oriented consumption that articulated the ambitions of middle-ranking consumers in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²²⁸ This Baronial style is further exercised in the great stone fireplace of the dining room, which covers the entire width of the wall, and in the actual furnishings of the room.²²⁹ (See figure 17.) Notably Inglis owned paintings by Robert Herdman, one of the pupils of Robert Scott Lauder, which emphasises his interest in the Scottish style, both in terms of architecture and painting.²³⁰

By the mid-nineteenth century the Scottish Baronial style was spreading from its country house redoubt to public buildings and other urban contexts, again largely at the hands of Bryce's pupils. From the 1850s it began to be associated with projects for national monuments, replacing the classical and overt Gothicism of earlier structures. The confident imposing scale of the Baronial seemed to reflect the bullishness of the culture of imperial partnership combined with the historical associations of ancient cultural Scotland.²³¹ The Scottish Baronial, or vernacular, style with the emphasis on local building materials and traditional craftsmanship, also owed something to the Arts and Crafts movement. Dunbar examines the persistence of the Baronial style in architecture, and claims that the continued evolution of this architecture, with crow-stepped gables,

pedimented dormers and angle turrets reached a climax in the work of Charles Rennie Mackintosh and Robert Lorimer.²³²

The influence of Abbotsford was remarkable – and not only in architectural terms. While Scott's literary work had promoted Scotland as an international tourist attraction, Abbotsford itself became a part of that tourist circuit. Visitors to the house were commonplace; it was not uncommon at this time for visitors to turn up uninvited to country houses, expecting to see around the interior, or simply to wander around the grounds.²³³ Scott's *Journal* for 5 September 1830 recorded that amongst his many callers at Abbotsford: 'We have had the usual number of travelling counts and Countesses, Yankees, male and female, and a Yankee Doodle-*Dandy* into the bargain, a smart young Virginia man.'²³⁴ On the same theme, Carlyle commented it was not unusual for as many as sixteen parties to descend upon Abbotsford in one day:

That Abbotsford became infested to a great degree with tourists, wonder-hunters, and all that fatal species of people, may be supposed. Solitary Ettrick saw itself populous: all paths were beaten with feet and hooves of an endless miscellany of pilgrims.²³⁵

Indeed, after Scott's death (the house was opened to the public the year following Sir Walter's death) Abbotsford quickly became a literary and historical shrine. 'There was no literary shrine ever so bepilgrimed' claimed Carlyle.²³⁶ Abbotsford thus became a focus for tourists, attracting considerable numbers to see the house and its many antiquarian curios, and to inspect the grounds. Abbotsford continued to hold allure for tourists in Scotland, attracting a steady number of visitors throughout the 1830 - 1890 period. Notably, by the mid-1870s over 2000 Americans alone were visiting Abbotsford per year – an astonishing number that serves to highlight Scott's tremendous influence at home and abroad.²³⁷ By the 1850s Abbotsford was open to the public six days a week, from 10am till 6pm during the summer, with more restricted times during the rest of the year. It was not until the 1880s that the Scott family decided to close the house to the public entirely from the end of October until the beginning of March.

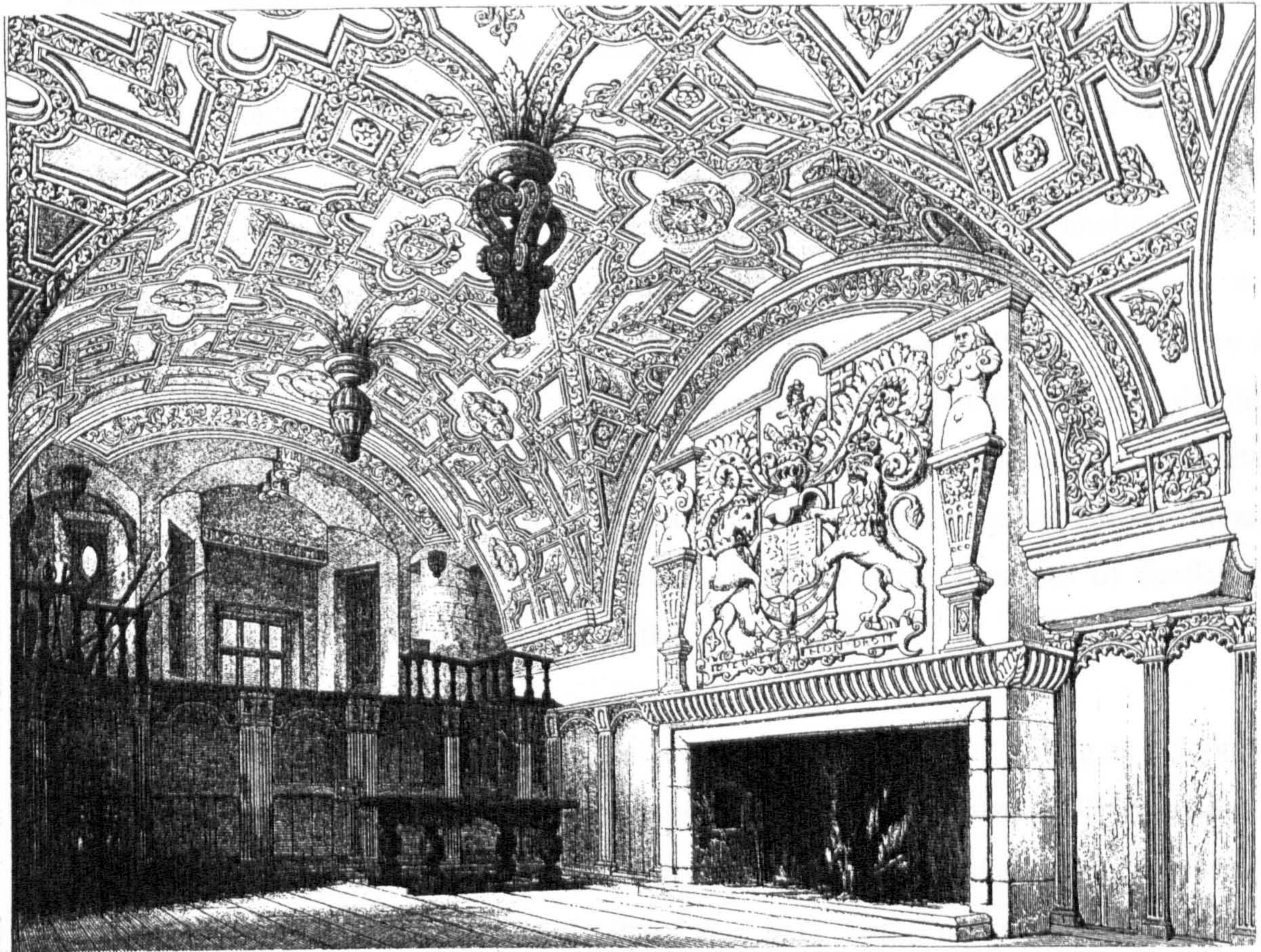
The growing commercialisation of tourism, and by implied association, culture and heritage, is also inferred by the fact that the family decided to institute a fixed charge for admission. This charge was introduced from the later 1870s. The entry fee was levied at 1 shilling per head, or 2/6d per party of six. Beforehand visitors were left to their own sense of obligation and attention to their guidebooks. The family employed guides in the 1850s, and until the 1870s their reward for services was at the discretion of the individual

visitor; in the 1870s the family decided to pay the guides from the receipts for admission.²³⁸ Undoubtedly tourists intent on visiting Abbotsford came armed with their prior knowledge of Scott's literary work, and in this sense Abbotsford was a shrine to Walter Scott and his impact on the literary world. The Scott family themselves never saw the need to publicise the house - in a way the foundations for Abbotsford as a literary and historical shrine had already been laid by Walter Scott himself through his novels and poetry. However this is not to say that the house did not benefit from any promotion whatsoever. Notably, in 1844 Fox Talbot photographed the house for a book entitled *Sun Pictures in Scotland* – only the second photographic book ever to be published. This volume was dedicated to subjects associated with Scott and his novels.²³⁹ The vast majority of guidebooks relating to the area included a mention of the house, and the North British Railway company showed shrewd business acumen in naming the Edinburgh - Carlisle line the 'Waverley', with the implicit association of Scott's literary work. Indeed, the railway historian J. H. Thomas described the naming of the Waverley line in 1862 as a 'stroke of genius'.²⁴⁰ The steady numbers of visitors to Abbotsford, and its continued appearance in guidebooks shows that the allure of Scott remained for many tourists. The house was, in every sense, a monument to the man himself, and indeed a monument to Scottish culture and heritage.

Fontane considered his visit to Abbotsford to be something of a pilgrimage, again underlining the status of Scott at home and abroad; his literary reputation was such that it encouraged visitors to seek out his home. Fontane later described his emotion on leaving Abbotsford, recalling that:

I took my departure from the 'Romance in Stone and Mortar' without experiencing any particular uplifting of my spirit and certainly without feeling any enthusiasm; even so I look back with pleasure to that quiet, grey day. The drive to Abbotsford was a pilgrimage, a duty which I had fulfilled, a step to which my heart had urged me. What fame should Scotland have. Had it not been for this same Walter Scott? [sic] He collected songs of his country, and has immortalised its history with his writing. I now experience a full pure satisfaction at having wandered through that strange house with its gables and tiles, that house which was also the creation of his poetic genius and which, though it may lag far behind the other creations of his spirit, will always remain the place where this miracle tree of the Romantic movement put forth its fairest and above all healthiest blossoms. ²⁴¹

Figure 18.



Drawn by R.W. Billings

Engraved by G.B. Suttell

G W Billings, The Hall at Craigievar Castle, (n.d.)

This illustration shows the hall at Craigievar Castle. Craigievar was regarded to as the consummate model of the Scottish tower house. The vaulted ceiling of the Great Hall at Craigievar consists of raised panels, embellished with heraldry, foliage and decorative pendants, and this effect was emulated at 23 Park Circus.

Conclusion

The nineteenth-century representation of Walter Scott by his fellow Scots was influenced by their perceptions of Scottish, and British, society. Their awareness of nationalism was governed by their position within the Empire, and as such, Scott was a Scottish symbol born of a society which was secure within the heart of the Union. As Graeme Morton points out, in much of the commonly cited commentary on Scott, the analysis of the author has been assumed without regard for all the evidence, and as a result the interpretation is simply that of a symbol of Scotland. Morton suggests that this version is too simplistic, as the rhetoric of commemoration indicates. He identifies four distinct versions, which determine the boundaries of the contemporary understanding of Walter Scott. These four themes are: Scott the 'genius author'; Scott as a great British literary figure; Scott as the universal man; and Scott as both the great chronicler of Scotland's past and the writer who instigated pride in the Scottish nation.²⁴²

Taking this into account, there is a simpler explanation for Scott's standing as a Scottish icon, and one that was governed by contemporary judgement. Hugh Miller questioned what Scott had done for his country to deserve the 'gorgeous' monument in Edinburgh. In answering his own query he summarised that Scott had done more than any other literary man in interesting Europe in the national character of Scotland. In a comparison with Shakespeare, Scott was considered to have inspired more fascination for his native land. Miller saw the consequence of this European celebrity as the inevitable promotion of native character:

Sir Walter presented his countryman to the world. Wherever his writings are known, a Scotsman can be no mere abstraction; and in both these respects has the novelist and poet deserved well of his country. Within the country itself, too, his great nationality, like that of Burns, has had a decidedly favourable effect.²⁴³

Scott, in the opinion of Miller, was a true patriot, and as such deserved his place in Scottish iconography. 'A people cannot survive without the national spirit, except as slaves. The man who adds to the vigour of feeling.... deserves well of his country - and who can doubt that Sir Walter has done so?'²⁴⁴ Therefore it was Scott's patriotic ardour, his love of Scotland and his contribution to the reputation of the nation, which assured him of his position in the cultural heritage and patriotic symbolism of nineteenth-century Scotland.

- ¹ K Iwazumi, *The Union of 1707 in Scottish Historiography*, University of St Andrews, unpublished thesis, 1996, p.3.
- ² A Marr, *The Battle for Scotland*, Penguin, (London, 1992), pp. 26 –27.
- ³ JR Gold & MM Gold, *Imagining Scotland: Tradition, Representation & Promotion in Scottish Tourism Since 1750*, (Aldershot, 1995), p.64.
- ⁴ JH Raleigh, 'What Scott meant to the Victorians', in *Victorian Studies*, Vol. VII, 1963-1964, pp. 7 - 34.
- ⁵ DGM Cunningham, *Scott-land: The Role of his Native Landscape in the Historical Novels of Sir Walter Scott*, (University of Glasgow Thesis, 1996), p.10. See also J Miller, *Die Romantische Landschaft bei Walter Scott*, (Munster University Thesis, 1936); MC Boatwright, 'Demonology in the Novels of Sir Walter Scott: A Study in Regionalism', in *University of Texas Studies in English*, Vol. 13, (1934), and IP Mckeeham, 'Some Observations on the Vocabulary of Landscape Description Among the Early Romanticists', in *Elizabethan Studies and Other Essays in Honor of George F Reynolds*, (Boulder, 1945).
- ⁶ PH Scott, *Walter Scott and Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1981), p.4.
- ⁷ J O Hayden, *The Romantic Reviewers 1802 – 1824*, (London, 1967), pp. 124 – 134.
- ⁸ T Carlyle, 'Memoirs of the Life of Scott', in *Miscellaneous and Critical Essays*, (London, 1839), pp. 280-290.
- ⁹ *Ibid*, p.334.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid*, p.342.
- ¹¹ M Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*, (1883; Oxford, 1996), p.467.
- ¹² *Ibid*, pp. 465 – 470.
- ¹³ D Daiches, 'Sir Walter Scott and History', in *Etudes Anglaises*, Volume 24, 1971, p.474.
- ¹⁴ Gold & Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, p. 60.
- ¹⁵ JA Smith, 'Scott and the Idea of Scotland, (part 2)', in the *Edinburgh University Journal*, Volume 21, 1963-63, p.290.
- ¹⁶ Henry, Lord Cockburn, *Memorials of his Time*, (Edinburgh, 1856), p.211.
- ¹⁷ *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 21 September 1832.
- ¹⁸ JE Spingarn (ed), *Goethe's Literary Essays*, (Oxford, 1921), p.216.
- ¹⁹ W Donaldson, 'Popular literature - the press, the people, and the vernacular revival', D Gifford (ed), *The History of Scottish Literature, Volume 3, Nineteenth Century*, (Aberdeen, 1988), pp. 203 – 215.
- ²⁰ *Poetical scrap book: a selection of poems for recitation*, (Dalkeith, n.d.); *Watty's Travels to Carslile [sic]*, (n.p., 1826).
- ²¹ Donaldson, 'Popular literature', pp. 203 – 215.
- ²² D Daiches, 'Sir Walter Scott and History', p.459.
- ²³ Cockburn, *Memorials*, p.211.
- ²⁴ JH Raleigh, 'What Scott meant', pp. 7 - 34.
- ²⁵ JH Paterson, 'The Novelist and his Region: Scotland through the eyes of Sir Walter Scott', in *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Vol. 80, 1965, pp. 146 - 152.
- ²⁶ W Scrope, *Days and Nights of Salmon Fishing in the Tweed*, (London, 1843), p.103.
- ²⁷ *Ibid*, p.103.
- ²⁸ Gilpin, *Observations on the Highlands of Scotland* (London, 1789), p.50.
- ²⁹ J Holloway & L Errington, *The Discovery of Scotland: The Appreciation of Scottish Scenery through Two Centuries of Painting*, (Edinburgh, 1978), pp. 91- 92.
- ³⁰ JG Lockhart, *The Life of Sir Walter Scott*, (Edinburgh, 1893), pp. 353 – 354.
- ³¹ E Grant, *Memoirs of a Highland Lady*, (1898; Edinburgh, 1950), pp. 112 – 113.
- ³² Lord Cockburn, *Circuit Journeys*, (Edinburgh, 1888), pp. 55 – 56.
- ³³ RP Gillies, *Memoirs of a Literary Veteran*, (London, 1851), pp. 30- 31.
- ³⁴ D Daiches, *Sir Walter Scott and his World*, (London, 1971), pp. 81 – 83.
- ³⁵ Scott's novels sold at between 21 shillings and 31 shillings and sixpence, when the customary price was between fifteen and eighteen shillings. Similarly, his poems cost two guineas when the two volume edition of Wordsworth's *Poems* (1807) cost eleven shillings. R D Altick, *The English Common Reader*, (Chicago, 1957), p.262.
- ³⁶ E Burt, *Burt's Letters from the North of Scotland*, (first edition London, 1754; reprinted Edinburgh, 1998).
- ³⁷ See further discussion in section on Highlands.
- ³⁸ JG Lockhart, *Memoirs of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, Vol.II., pp. 118 -119.

- ³⁹ Robert Cadell, quoted in G Measom, *The Official Illustrated Guide to the Lancaster....* (London, 1859), p.133.
- ⁴⁰ G. Gilfillan, 'Memoir and Critical Dissertation', in W. Scott, *The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott*, (Edinburgh, 1857), Vol.I., xxxi.
- ⁴¹ Ibid, p.xxxi.
- ⁴² JE Bowman, *The Highlands and Islands: a Nineteenth Century Tour*, (Gloucester, 1986), p.3.
- ⁴³ Ibid, p.81.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid, p.81.
- ⁴⁵ W Scott, preface to 'The Lay of the Last Minstrel', in *The Poetical Works*.
- ⁴⁶ W Scott, preface to *Waverley* (1829; London, 1994) p.7.
- ⁴⁷ Ibid, pp. 7-8.
- ⁴⁸ William Gilpin, (1724 – 1804), a connoisseur, schoolmaster and country parson whose appreciation and criticism of landscape made him a central figure in the Picturesque movement. He travelled widely in Britain between 1769 and 1774, and he judged landscapes by aesthetic standards derived largely from his knowledge of landscape paintings and engravings. His publications such as *Observations, relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, made in the year 1772, on several parts of England* (1786), encouraged the appreciation of British landscape and helped encourage the 'Picturesque Tour'.
- ⁴⁹ M Allentuck, 'Scott and the Picturesque: Afforestation and History', in A Bell (ed.), *Scott Bicentenary Essays*, Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh, 1973, p.189.
- ⁵⁰ W Scott, Introduction to *The Monastery*, (Edinburgh, 1871 edition), p.11.
- ⁵¹ *Quarterly Review*, Vol.3, May 1810.
- ⁵² Ibid.
- ⁵³ Nelson and Son's *Guide to The Trossachs*, (Edinburgh, 1857), no pagination
- ⁵⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵⁵ Sarah Murray, author of the *Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland*, (London 1799).
- ⁵⁶ James Skene, *A Series of Sketches of the Existing Localities Alluded to in the Waverley Novels*, (Edinburgh, 1830).
- ⁵⁷ W Scott, preface to *Waverley*, pp. 6-7.
- ⁵⁸ Cockburn, *Memorials*, p.211
- ⁵⁹ HJC Grierson, *Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, (London, 1933) Vol.I., p.324.
- ⁶⁰ *Edinburgh Review*, November 1814.
- ⁶¹ JH Raleigh, 'What Scott meant', pp. 7 – 34.
- ⁶² JA Smith, 'Idea of Scotland, (part 2)', p.290.
- ⁶³ Ibid, pp. 290 – 291.
- ⁶⁴ Ibid, p.292.
- ⁶⁵ W Scott, *The Lord of the Isles*, in *The Poetical Works*, pp. 353 – 358.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid, Canto III, XIV.
- ⁶⁷ Gold & Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, p.69.
- ⁶⁸ Thomas Hearne (1744 – 1806) trained as an engraver and worked for three years in the Leeward Islands before establishing himself in London as a topographical and picturesque watercolourist. He specialised in antiquities and views of country seats, and collaborated with William Byrne on an influential series of views entitled *The Antiquities of Great Britain* (1777).
- ⁶⁹ Joseph Farington (1747 – 1821). His reputation rests upon his topographical pen, ink and wash drawings, the result of many sketching tours, although he also painted landscapes in oils.
- ⁷⁰ D Macmillan, 'Creating Scotland: Turner and Scott', *The Lancet*, Feb 26, 2000.
- ⁷¹ J Burnet, *The Progress of a Painter in the Nineteenth Century*, (London, 1854), Vol.I., pp. 102 – 103.
- ⁷² W Scott, *The Lord of the Isles*; see also G Finley, *Turner in the National Gallery of Scotland, Catalogue of the Vaughan Bequest*, (London, 1993), p.77.
- ⁷³ Turner, McCulloch, Allan & Roberts, *Scotland Delineated in a Series of Views*, Vols. I & II, 1846, dedication.
- ⁷⁴ Advertisement in the *Art Union*, 1847. The engravings and prints were offered in a range of styles; the higher priced pictures were hand-tinted.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid, Ch. IV.
- ⁷⁶ W Scott, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, in *The Poetical Works*, Canto VI. Stanza 2.
- ⁷⁷ D Wilkie to Perry Nursey, 5 November 1817, quoted in Macmillan, *Scottish Painting*, p.151.

⁷⁸ Macmillan, *Scottish Painting*, p.151.

⁷⁹ John Thompson of Duddingston (1778 – 1840) was hugely popular in his time, and evidently had some difficulty in keeping up with the demand for his paintings. The son of an Ayrshire minister, Thompson had studied for the ministry in Glasgow and Edinburgh, maintaining his artistic practice in his spare time. He was on friendly terms with Walter Scott, an association that prospered when Scott secured Thompson the parish of Duddingston on the outskirts of Edinburgh. P Harris & J Halsby, *The Dictionary of Scottish Painters, 1600 – 1960*, (Canongate, Edinburgh, 1990), p.215.

⁸⁰ W Scott, in a letter, 14th February 1818, in Grierson, *Letters*, pp. 277-278.

⁸¹ E Walker, *Scott's Fiction and the Picturesque: Romantic Reassessment* (Salzburg, 1982), p 34.

⁸² W Scott, *The Bride of Lammermoor*, (London, 1893), p.98.

⁸³ L Errington (ed.), *Scotland's Pictures*, (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 49 – 50.

⁸⁴ WD McKay, *The Scottish School of Painting*, (London, 1906), pp. 196 – 199.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ L Errington (ed), *Scotland's Pictures: The National Collection of Scottish Art*, (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 48 - 49.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ McKay, *The Scottish School*, p. 205.

⁸⁹ B Bell, 'The Nineteenth Century', in B Findlay (ed.) *A History of Scottish Theatre*, (Polygon, Edinburgh 1998), p.143.

⁹⁰ HA White, *Sir Walter Scott's Novels on the Stage*, (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1927), pp. 4-5.

⁹¹ D Mackenzie, *Scotland's First National Theatre*, (Edinburgh, 1963), pp. 23 – 25.

⁹² Bell, 'The Nineteenth Century', p.143.

⁹³ A Cameron, 'Scottish drama in the nineteenth century'; D Gifford (ed), *The History of Scottish Literature*, (Aberdeen, 1988), Volume 3, pp. 429 – 431.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ C Craig, 'Scott's Staging of the Nation'; *Studies in Romanticism*, 40, 2001, p. 13.

⁹⁶ B Bell, 'The Nineteenth Century', p.143

⁹⁷ W Ferguson, *Scotland 1689 to the Present*, (Edinburgh, 1987), p.317

⁹⁸ Cameron, 'Scottish drama', p. 434.

⁹⁹ Ibid, pp. 429 – 435.

¹⁰⁰ W Scott in a letter to Joanna Baillie, 30 March 1810; Grierson (ed), *Letters*, Vol. 2, pp. 318 – 321.

¹⁰¹ JC Dibdin, *Annals of the Edinburgh Stage* (Edinburgh, 1888), p.288.

¹⁰² D Mackenzie, *Scotland's First National Theatre*, (Edinburgh, 1963), p. 32.

¹⁰³ Ibid, p.30.

¹⁰⁴ B Bell, 'Murray to McGrath', in A Cameron & A Scullion (eds), *Scottish Popular Theatre and Entertainment – Historical and Critical Approaches to Theatre and Film in Scotland*, (Glasgow, 1996), p.6.

¹⁰⁵ *Edinburgh Dramatic Review*, Volume 3, March 1825, p. 449.

¹⁰⁶ B Bell, 'Murray to McGrath', p.8.

¹⁰⁷ For further discussion of this theme, see Chapter Three.

¹⁰⁸ Bell: 'The Nineteenth Century', pp. 149 - 152.

¹⁰⁹ B Peter, *Scotland's Splendid Theatres, Architecture and Social History from the Reformation to the Present Day*, (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 66 – 67.

¹¹⁰ W Baynham, *The Glasgow Stage*, (Glasgow, 1892), p.104.

¹¹¹ Motley Books Ltd, *Theatre Royal Edinburgh: A Collection of 401 Playbills 1819 – 1829*, (Southampton, 1988), playbill # 59.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Baynham, *The Glasgow Stage*, p.51.

¹¹⁴ Bell, 'The Nineteenth Century', pp. 149 - 152.

¹¹⁵ Peter, *Scotland's Splendid Theatres*, pp. 62 – 64.

¹¹⁶ Harris & Halsby, *The Dictionary of Scottish Painters 1600 – 1960*.

¹¹⁷ Seven views were depicted in this moving panorama, including scenes of Edinburgh, Taymouth and Stirling Castles. See Bell, 'The Nineteenth Century', p. 150.

¹¹⁸ *The Glasgow Herald*, in W Gilchrist, *The Late Edmund Glover, Esq., Lessee and Manager of the Theatre-Royal and Princes Theatre Glasgow and Proprietor and Manager of the Theatre-Royal, Greenock: Notices and Testimonials*, (Glasgow, 1860), p. 9.

¹¹⁹ *The Glasgow Sentinel* in *ibid*, pp. 21 – 22.

¹²⁰ Baynham, *The Glasgow Stage*, p.210.

¹²¹ Bell, 'The Nineteenth Century', pp. 149 - 152.

¹²² *Ibid*, p. 148.

¹²³ D Daiches, *Glasgow*, (London 1982), pp. 203 – 204.

¹²⁴ S Au, *Ballet and Modern Dance*, (London, 1988), pp. 48 – 51.

¹²⁵ *Ibid*, p.50.

¹²⁶ I Guest, *The Romantic Ballet in Paris*, (London, 1966), p.117.

¹²⁷ Sir Leslie Stephen, quoted in the *Cornhill Magazine*, 1871, from the *O! Caledonia* Exhibition, SNPG, May – October 1999.

¹²⁸ A Macreadie, *Full Account of King George IV's Visit to Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1838), p.44

¹²⁹ Lockhart, *Life of Scott*, Ch12.

¹³⁰ Iwazumi, *The Union of 1707*, p. 35.

¹³¹ W Scott, in a letter to J W Croker, 7th February 1818, Grierson, *Letters*, p.74.

¹³² *Ibid*, p.75.

¹³³ Cockburn, *Memorials*, p.300

¹³⁴ Lockhart, *Life of Scott*, pp. 33 –34.

¹³⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 34 – 35.

¹³⁶ *The Scotsman*, 19 February 1819.

¹³⁷ Mackenzie, *Scotland's First National Theatre*, p.23.

¹³⁸ J Mayne, 'George the Fourth and A' That', in Macreadie, *Full Account*, p.55.

¹³⁹ W Scott, *Hints Addressed to the People of Edinburgh and Others, in Prospect of his Majesty's Visit*, (Edinburgh, 1822), p.18.

¹⁴⁰ BC Skinner, 'Scott as Pageant-Maker – the Royal Visit of 1822', in Bell, *Scott Bicentennial Essays*, p.229.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, p.230.

¹⁴² In *Waverley* Scott compared Fergus and Flora MacIvor to the actor-managers of the Edinburgh Theatre Royal William Murray and Mrs Henry Siddons; 'Flora Mac-Ivor bore a most striking resemblance to her brother Fergus; so much so, that they might have played Viola and Sebastian with the same exquisite effect produced by the appearance of Mrs Henry Siddons and her brother Mr William Murray, in these characters'. Scott, *Waverley*, (1814: London, 1994), p.175.

¹⁴³ S Arata, 'Scott's Pageants: The Example of *Kenilworth*'; *Studies in Romanticism*, 40, 2001, pp. 105 – 106.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 99, 106.

¹⁴⁵ Most notably the actress Harriet Siddons who counselled on fashion and style, and David Stewart of Garth, who was responsible for the highland element.

¹⁴⁶ W Scott, in a letter to Lieutenant Walter Scott, August 1822, in Grierson, *Letters*, p.226.

¹⁴⁷ W Scott, *Hints*, p.12.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p.16.

¹⁴⁹ The publication of this pamphlet was echoed in 1844 when a brochure, priced at 6d, was published to accompany the festivities of the Burns Festival in Ayr. See *Festival in honour of the memory of our National Poet, Robert Burns*, (1844). In a similar manner to Scott's *Hints*, this volume included a section entitled *A Word Anent Frivolity* - a list of behavioural dos and don'ts:

We have already expressed our disapprobation of anything approaching frivolity. Whatever amusements are fixed upon, they should be in keeping with the national character of the *fete*, and calculated to maintain the mental as well as the moral dignity of the occasion.

The inclusion of such a segment suggests that the organisers of the fete were intent upon the grand nature of the occasion - as an exemplary illustration of the high esteem in which the Scottish bard was held. While at face value the inclusion of a guide to manners appears designed to weed out the less desirable elements of society, it also puts the Festival on a higher social ground. The inference is clear - that the celebrations surrounding the Burns Festival were considered to be an equivalent to a royal occasion. This imparts a comprehensive awareness of contemporary perceptions of the importance of the National Bard and the festivities designed to celebrate the occasion of the visit of his sons to Alloway.

- ¹⁵⁰ JI Robertson, *The First Highlander*, (East Linton, 1998), p.140.
- ¹⁵¹ W Scott, in a letter to William Laidlaw, August 1822, in Grierson, *Letters*, p. 218.
- ¹⁵² Macreadie, *Full Account*, p.42.
- ¹⁵³ Gold & Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, p.73.
- ¹⁵⁴ W Scott, *Hints addressed to the inhabitants of Edinburgh*, (Edinburgh, 1822), p. 6.
- ¹⁵⁵ T Carlyle, in Gold & Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, p.73.
- ¹⁵⁶ Lockhart, *Life of Scott*, Vol. IV, p.32.
- ¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p.33.
- ¹⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p.46.
- ¹⁵⁹ A Cunningham, *The Life of Sir David Wilkie*, (Edinburgh, 1843), Vol.2, pp. 83-83.
- ¹⁶⁰ *Ibid*, Vol.2, p. 86.
- ¹⁶¹ C Hesketh, *Tartans*, (London, 1961), p.108.
- ¹⁶² G Finley, *Turner and George the Fourth in Edinburgh*, (Tate Gallery, in association with Edinburgh U.P, 1981), p.38.
- ¹⁶³ *King George the Fourth's Entrance to his Palace of Holyrood House, the 15th of August 1822; Review of the Exhibition of the Works of the Late Sir David Wilkie, R.A. in the British Institution, Art Union, 1842.*
- ¹⁶⁴ Skinner, 'Scott as Pageant Maker', p.235.
- ¹⁶⁵ *Glasgow Herald*, 1 January 1819, quoted by I Maver, 'Glasgow's Civic Government', in WH Fraser & I Maver, (eds.), *Glasgow, Volume II: 1830 to 1912*, (Manchester, 1996), p.454.
- ¹⁶⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 454 – 455. See also I Maver, 'Children and the Quest for Purity in the Nineteenth Century Scottish City', *Pedagogica Historica*, 33, 1997, pp. 810 – 811.
- ¹⁶⁷ 'The Queen's Visit to Loch Katrine to Open the Water-Works', in *Her Majesty Queen Victoria, In Memoriam*, (Glasgow, 1901), p.57.
- ¹⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p.57.
- ¹⁶⁹ Advertisement for the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway, in the *Glasgow Herald*, 10 October 1859.
- ¹⁷⁰ *Glasgow Herald*, 15 October 1859.
- ¹⁷¹ *Queen Victoria, In Memoriam*, p.63.
- ¹⁷² *Scott's Death at Abbotsford*, by Sir William Allan (1832), and *The Funeral of Sir Walter Scott*, Captain (later General) JE Alexander, (1832-33). See figure 11.
- ¹⁷³ A Campbell, 'Sir Walter Scott', in *The Millennial Harbinger*, Vol. 4, January 1833, (reprint Bethany, Virginia, 1976), pp. 26-28.
- ¹⁷⁴ For example, see LJ Beltran de Heredia, *Robert Burns, the Burns Cult and Scottish Popular Culture*, M.Phil thesis, University of Glasgow, 1998, and G Morton, *Unionist Nationalism: The Historical Construction of Scottish National Identity, Edinburgh 1830 - 1860*, Ph.D. thesis: Edinburgh University, 1993.
- ¹⁷⁵ *The Caledonian Mercury*, 24 September 1832.
- ¹⁷⁶ *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 21 September 1832.
- ¹⁷⁷ *The Glasgow Herald*, 24 September 1832.
- ¹⁷⁸ *The Scotsman*, 6 October 1832.
- ¹⁷⁹ C McKean, 'The Scottishness of Scottish Architecture', in PH Scott, *Scotland: A Concise Cultural History*, (Edinburgh, 1993), p.242.
- ¹⁸⁰ *The Scotsman*, 1 December 1832.
- ¹⁸¹ G Morton, *Unionist Nationalism*, (East Linton, 1999), p.167.
- ¹⁸² Finley, *Landscapes of Memory*, pp. 232 –235.
- ¹⁸³ *Report of the Proceedings of the Sub-Committee*, appointed to procure designs for the monument to Sir Walter Scott, (1833).
- ¹⁸⁴ Finley, *Landscapes of Memory*, p.235.
- ¹⁸⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 235- 236.
- ¹⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p. 236.
- ¹⁸⁷ F Pearson, 'Sir John Steel and the Idea of a Native School of Sculpture in Scotland', in F Pearson (ed), *Virtue and Vision, Sculpture and Scotland 1540 - 1990*, (Edinburgh, 1991), pp. 73-75.
- ¹⁸⁸ B Read, *Victorian Sculpture*, p.116.
- ¹⁸⁹ The Ball held at the beginning of April 1845 raised £1000, and included the staging of six *tableaux vivants*. The scenes depicted were:
1. Prince Charles Edward in the Cave, after the painting by Thomas Duncan.

2. Balfour of Burleigh and Henry Morton in the Cave.
3. The Glen Maiden after the painting by Robert Scott Lauder.
4. A Scene from *The Betrothed* - The Lady taking the place of the Soldier on guard.
5. The Last Minstrel striking his harp to the last lay.
6. The Statue of Sir Walter Scott.

The fifth in this series of *tableaux vivants* - the depiction of the Last Minstrel was performed by the well-known Irish harpist, Patrick Byrne.

See *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the Scott Monument*, (Edinburgh, 1854), p.11, and *O! Caledonia: Sir Walter Scott and the Creation of Scotland*, exhibition in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, (May - October 1999).

¹⁹⁰ *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the Scott Monument*, (Edinburgh, 1854), p.11.

¹⁹¹ Morton, *Unionist Nationalism*, pp. 169-170.

¹⁹² D Macmillan, 'Here Stand our Cultural Heroes', in JM Fladmark, (ed.) *Cultural Tourism: papers presented at the Robert Gordon University Heritage Convention 1994*, (London 1994), pp. 77 -78.

¹⁹³ H Miller, 'The Scott Monument', (1846), in G Rosie (ed.), *Hugh Miller: Outrage and Order*, (Edinburgh, 1981), pp. 144-147.

¹⁹⁴ Pearson, *Virtue and Vision*, pp. 74 -75.

¹⁹⁵ Lord Glenlyon's speech, as quoted in the *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the Scott Monument*, pp. 11-12.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 15-16.

In 1860 the entrance charge for visitors to the Gallery within the Scott Monument was levied at twopence. Information from *Oliver and Boyd's Scottish Tourist*, p.48. The Guide to the Monument itself cost three-halfpence in 1854.

¹⁹⁷ These figures included statues of Wallace, Bruce, James I, James V, Mary, Queen of Scots, David Lindsay of the Mount, Dandie Dinmont, Meg Dods and Jeanie Deans alongside Scottish poets such as James Hogg, Robert Burns, Robert Tannahill and Lord Byron.

¹⁹⁸ Lockhart, *Life of Scott*, Ch.18.

¹⁹⁹ *The Scotsman*, 1 December 1832

²⁰⁰ T Fontane, *Across the Tweed, A Tour of Mid-Victorian Scotland*, (1860; translation Letchworth 1965), p.201.

²⁰¹ W Scott, 7 January 1825, in WEK Anderson (ed.), *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott*, (Oxford, 1972), p.411

²⁰² MacInnes et al, *Building a Nation: The Story of Scotland's Architecture*, Canongate, Edinburgh (1999), pp. 74 - 76.

²⁰³ Fontane, *Across the Tweed*, p.199.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p.199.

²⁰⁵ N Hawthorne, *Passages from the English Notebooks*, (Boston, 1871) Vol.II., pp. 46 -53.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p.53.

²⁰⁷ Carlyle, *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. IV., p.331.

²⁰⁸ CL Eastlake, *A History of the Gothic Revival*, edited by JM Crook (1870; Leicester, 1970), p.115.

²⁰⁹ M Glendenning, R MacInnes, & A MacKechnie, *A History of Scottish Architecture from the Renaissance to the Present Day*, (Edinburgh, 1996), pp. 238 - 240.

²¹⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 238 - 240.

²¹¹ Daiches, 'Sir Walter Scott and History', p.464.

²¹² W Scott, letter to his son, 21 November 1821, in Grierson, *Letters*, pp. 34.

²¹³ McKean, 'The Scottishness of Scottish Architecture', p.242.

²¹⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 242 - 243.

²¹⁵ *Ibid*.

²¹⁶ Glendenning et al, *History of Scottish Architecture*, pp. 276 - 285.

²¹⁷ McKean, 'The Scottishness of Scottish Architecture', p. 244.

²¹⁸ H Petzsch, *Architecture in Scotland*, (London, 1974), pp. 105 - 118.

²¹⁹ Glendenning et al, *A History of Scottish Architecture*, pp. 276 - 285.

²²⁰ McKean, 'The Scottishness of Scottish Architecture', p.244

²²¹ RJ Morris, 'Victorian Values in Scotland and England', in TC Smout (ed), *Victorian Values: A Joint Symposium of the Royal Society of Edinburgh and the British Academy, December 1990*, (Oxford, 1992), p.38.

²²² Glendenning et al, *History of Scottish Architecture*, pp. 276 – 285.

²²³ F Sinclair, *Scotstyle: 150 Years of Scottish Architecture*, (Edinburgh, 1984), p.35.

²²⁴ This was evident in the decoration of Mary Queen of Scots suite of rooms within Holyrood Palace. There the rooms had been redecorated in the seventeenth century, although popular opinion was that the rooms remained in their original condition. For further discussion of this point, see chapter 3.

²²⁵ F Worsdall, *The Victorian City*, (Glasgow, 1988), p.81.

²²⁶ John Inglis was born in 1819 in Anderston, at the heart of the shipbuilding area of the city, and apprenticed to the firm of Tod and Macgregor. In 1847 he founded an engineering works in Anderston, along with his brother Anthony, and in 1862 they acquired ground at Pointhouse, on the banks of the Kelvin. Here they began to build ships, and the company of A & J Inglis was to flourish well into the nineteenth century. In 1919 the company became part of Harland and Wolff, but in the century between 1862 and 1919, 500 ships were built by A & J Inglis.

²²⁷ S Forman, *Scottish Country Houses*, (Glasgow, 1967), pp. 126 – 128.

²²⁸ For further discussion of this development, see S Nenadic, 'Middle-Rank Consumers and Domestic Culture in Edinburgh and Glasgow 1720 – 1840'; *Past and Present*, 145, 1994, pp. 122 – 125.

²²⁹ The interior of 23 Park Circus is further discussed in TJ Harrison, *23 Park Circus, A Reconstruction of the Interior When Owned and Occupied by Mr John Inglis, Esq.*, (unpublished paper, University of Glasgow, 1995).

²³⁰ See the *Sederunt Book of Mr John Inglis*. For examples of Herdman's work, see figures 48, 49 and 50.

²³¹ See discussion of the National Wallace Monument, chapter 3.

²³² JG Dunbar, *The Architecture of Scotland*, (London, 1966), pp. 158 – 167.

²³³ An example of this is apparent in Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, when Elizabeth Bennett accompanies her Aunt and Uncle Gardiner to visit Pemberley, Mr. Darcy's country estate. On applying to see the place, the trio are given a tour of the public rooms of the house. See Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, (1813), Chapter XLIII.

²³⁴ W Scott, 5 September 1830, in Anderson (ed.), *Journal*, p.610.

²³⁵ Carlyle, *Miscellaneous Essays*, p.324.

²³⁶ *Ibid*, p.324.

²³⁷ For figures relating to the number of visitors to Abbotsford in the 1830 – 1890 period, see Appendix 1: Tourism.

²³⁸ A. Durie, 'Tourism in Victorian Scotland: The Case of Abbotsford', in *Scottish Social and Economic History Review*, Vol. 12, 1992, pp. 44-45.

²³⁹ MacInnes, *Building a Nation*, pp. 74 – 76.

²⁴⁰ Durie, 'Tourism in Victorian Scotland', p. 51.

²⁴¹ Fontane, *Across the Tweed*, p.204.

²⁴² Morton, *Unionist Nationalism*, p.171.

²⁴³ Miller, 'The Scott Monument', pp. 144-149.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 144 -149.

Chapter Two

The Highlands: Artists, tourists and royalty

The overriding theme of this chapter is the tourist image of Scotland, with particular reference to the landscape and the character of the Highlanders, as visitors to the region perceived them and as they were portrayed by artists. As Devine comments, it is one of the ironies of modern Scottish history that many of the most potent symbols of identity have come from the Scottish Highlands. To the rest of the world today Scotland seems to be a Highland country, with few significant changes. The 'land of the mountain and the flood' adorns countless tourist posters, and the familiar and distinctive symbols of Scottish identity, the kilt, bagpipes and tartan, are all of Highland origin.¹ Accordingly, this discussion focuses on the historical perceptions of this region and the changing vision of the area. It also encompasses an analysis of the development of tourism and the increasing marketability of Scottish identity in its Highland guise.

The depiction of landscape by artists serves to represent a distinctive Scottish identity. The predominant image of the Highlands was often derived from pictorial representations of the area, and descriptions of the landscape often relied on art terms to describe and quantify the scene. Indeed, Smout significantly asserts that 'the Highlands began as a canvas on which the outsider could perceive little clearly, and the little that was clear was not desirable'.² Artists' renditions of scenic beauties and the 'rules' and theories of art interpretation invoked and influenced a new perception of the region. While original paintings may have been outwith the reach of the ordinary Scot, the developments within printing and the proliferation of etchings and lithographs made the image of the Scottish landscape more widely available. It also allowed for an emotional reaction to the country as at the turn of the nineteenth century landscape painting in Scotland offered artists an escape from the conformity and constrictions of formal commissions and an opportunity to delve into a world of personal expression and sentiment. Don Mitchell asserts that, 'this issue of national identity through landscape is of no little importance', and so representations of the landscape through art are part of the ideological framing of culture and heritage.³ Landscape itself, as a physical entity, is perhaps an insufficient reason for

the development of a maturing sense of identity and the elaboration of the concept of culture as a form of heritage. Heritage is an elusive concept, although generally it is a sense of sentimental yearning, rather than the need to understand, which makes heritage alluring. As David Lowenthal aptly puts it: 'If the past is a foreign country, then nostalgia has made it the foreign country with the healthiest tourist trade of all.'⁴

A substantial body of historiography exists on the theme of the adoption of Highland attributes for Scottish cultural identity. The majority of writers have chosen to concentrate on the transformation in perceptions of the Highlanders from an apparently bloodthirsty insurgent faction to patriotic defenders of the British Empire between 1746 and 1815.⁵ The end of the Napoleonic Wars marked the final metamorphosis of public perceptions of Highland symbols from a proscribed position in the middle of the eighteenth century, to an exalted and distinguished situation. While not wishing to recover old ground, this section must focus upon the adoption of the Highlands as an emblem for identity and culture because it is integral to the overriding issues of perceptions of Scotland in the nineteenth century. While the alterations of the attitudes toward the Highland region are remarkable, they are part of a wider picture, and one which is representative of the nature of contemporary nineteenth-century understanding of identity and heritage. By creating an overwhelmingly Romantic Highland image, the industrialised Lowlands were virtually ignored. For this reason the appropriation of Highland culture and costume, as an element of cultural identity, is important. It forms a part of the nineteenth-century preoccupation with the exotic and glorious past, evident in the Eglinton Tournament and the fascination with Medievalism and ancient society. It is also significant in terms of economic development and the commercialisation of culture. The bogus tartan caricature, as Withers has described it, which came to distinguish the Highlands, and indeed the whole of Scotland, bore no resemblance to the clearances and famines which affected Highland society in the nineteenth century.⁶ Its creators and adherents were happy to embrace tartan artefacts as emblematic of the country, and in doing so, they largely ignored the increasingly industrialised, Lowland society.

The stereotypes of the Highlands and their inhabitants were firmly established in the nineteenth century, particularly in the field of art. David Wilkie criticised English painters for failing to comprehend the distinctions within Scotland and the intricacies and implications of the Highland costume. Wilkie's biographer, Cunningham, claimed that Wilkie desired to represent the race of Highlanders 'by mind rather than by costume', and recollected his descriptions 'in a mood betwixt mirth and lamentation' of the manner in

which English artists chose to characterise ‘the ancient people of Scotland’.⁷ Wilkie believed that only a Scottish artist could sympathetically and accurately depict the Highlanders, and criticised the hackneyed characterisation of his English counterparts:

First, he said, they took a man with gloomy brows and high cheekbones, put a chequered kilt on him, a bonnet plentifully plumed on his brow, hung a claymore at his side, put a snuff-mull in his hand, threw a plaid over the whole – and there was a Highlandman – of English, but not of Scottish manufacture.... An English artist dressed his Scotchman in a sort of imaginary tartan which never existed, and sent him out to herd amongst Lowlanders, to whom he appeared as a foreigners; claimed by no clan, and rejected by Highland and Lowland both.⁸

The correct characterisation of the Highlander, in Wilkie’s opinion, was more dignified and based on glorious tradition and ancient history:

The true Highlander is much of a gentleman; silent and reserved among strangers, one who lives in a world of his own, which he has peopled with the memories of his ancestors; and out of the creations of a poetic imagination chooses his companions, for perhaps no human being lives so much in the past. With him, every stream of his native hills has a voice; and every breeze which sweeps his wild mountains a tongue which speaks of the past. His language, his manners, his customs, his associations, are all different from the rest of the island; his literature has come to him on the truth of tradition, his poetry, his history, his superstition, are all oral; in his humblest degree he is a martial shepherd, ready to fancy an affront; in his highest rank he is a high-souled prince, affable, generous, and true to his word as the heather is to his mountains, with nothing mean or sordid in his nature.⁹

Wilkie’s model for the ‘typical’ Highlander was embraced by many in the nineteenth century as it harmonised with the Romantic idealisation of the Highlands. The primary emphasis was firmly on the heroic past, ancient customs and traditions and the sublime and melancholic landscape of the region. Wilkie, and others, saw the Highlanders as the last outpost of an ancient civilisation, whose culture and habits were untouched by modernisation and entrenched in the past. They provided a vast contrast with the urban and industrial world, and as such were idealised and celebrated. Yet not all chose to adopt the romanticised image and dissension did exist in attitudes towards the Highlands and the inhabitants of that region.

Krisztina Fenyő’s analysis of the Highlands shows the contradictions of the popular images of the Highlands. While there was a distinctly Romantic approach to the scenery

and history of the region, at the same time many perceived the Highlands as a region with very negative associations, and regarded the Highlanders with scorn.¹⁰ Fenyö employs newspapers and other periodicals of the mid-nineteenth century to evaluate the range of Scottish public opinion in terms of the lowland perceptions of the Highlands and the Clearances during the Famine years of 1845-1855. These sources indicate that during the Famine years up to the Crimean War the most popular Lowland attitude towards the Highlanders was one of contempt. They forthrightly judged the Highlanders to be an inferior and often useless race, and the battle which sympathetic journalists fought against this majority view shows clearly these journalists' disillusionment at what they saw at the time as a hopeless struggle. As Fenyö also indicates, at the same time there were those who saw the Highlands through rose-coloured glasses, as this region increasingly became a playground for aristocrats, a Romantic destination for tourists and a popular motif for pre-Celtic-twilight poets and novelists. Fenyö indicates that the overwhelmingly contemptuous perceptions of the Highlands were perfectly capable of coexisting with the Romantic vision of the region and its inhabitants, indeed the opposing views often ran in parallel columns of the same newspaper.¹¹ But whether it was sympathy, contempt or romance, these three sides to Lowland public opinion had one mutual element; they all saw the Highlanders as a fundamentally different race. This chapter is primarily concerned with the positive and Romantic image of the Highlands and the Highlanders in the nineteenth century; the Highlands which were depicted by artists of the age and by the Romantic tourists. This is essentially an examination from the viewpoint of consumerism, and so projected images of the Highlands are essentially positive.

Historical perceptions of the Highlands.

Any discussion of the development of the Highlands as an emblem of Scottish identity must take into account the fluid perceptions of the region within Scotland. It was in the later Middle Ages that the concept of the Highlands first developed, when the Highlander - Lowlander divisions, which were to become such a significant and constant theme in Scottish history, initially became discernible. At the opening of the fourteenth century the geographical separation of the 'Highland line' scarcely provided grounds for a substantial partition. The distinguishing characteristics of the Highlands in later years - language, culture and social organisation - were not so manifest as they were to

Figure 19.



Joseph Mallord William Turner, *The March of the Highlanders*, 1836.

This concentrated, but detailed, view of Edinburgh from Calton Hill was composed as an illustration for Fisher's *Illustrations to the Waverley Novels*, (1836-7). Turner based this picture on material which he had gathered during his earlier visits to Scotland, particularly those in 1801 and 1822. Surprisingly, Walter Scott, complained of Turner's tendency to incorporate illustrations of Highlanders in every Scottish scene.

become.¹² Yet despite these apparent similarities, by 1400 circumstances had altered, and a consciousness of the explicit disparities between Highlanders and Lowlanders was burgeoning. The conceptual separation of the Highlands and Islands from the Lowlands was partly a response to identify that region of Scotland that did not conform in linguistic, cultural and social terms. This distinctive sensation of a definite contrariety was sustained by travellers who espoused the view that the Highlands were, although inhabited, a dismal and arid land.

Before the '45 few travelled to the Highlands, a situation which arose from a general fear of the unknown land and the savage inhabitants, ignorance, and, on a more practical level, the difficulty involved in trekking around the Scottish mountains. One notable effect of Culloden was that it focused an enormous torrent of attention on the Highlands. The fascination felt by the public is manifest in the conspicuous deluge of publications concerning the rebellion which surfaced without delay in the aftermath of the 1745 Jacobite rising. The *Scots Magazine* also furnished considerable coverage of the rebellion. In July 1746 one correspondent anticipated the prompt correction of:

Those miserable wretches who have been the rod of God's anger to chastise us for our sins; I mean the banditti that harbour in most of the Highlands of Scotland, that nursery of rapine and violence, where rebellion is always hatching, and brooding her cursed offspring.¹³

This view of the Highlands in the aftermath of the rebellion is neither surprising nor unique, and the political elite was concerned with the conception of expedient measures and instituting new policies for the Highlands. For the most part the Highlanders were not held in high esteem, regardless of whether or not they had participated in the Jacobite rebellion. One document sent to the Duke of Newcastle, 'one of His Majesty's Principall Secretary's of State', indicated the belief that the source of Jacobite support lay in the character and lifestyle of the Highlanders:

...Another great inducement & motive to the growth of disaffection & Clanship in the Highlands is the idleness of the people, who not being brought up to mechanical trades or other occupations loiter away their time in dancing.... And their idle habits will never be removed, till once agriculture and manufacture are established & encouraged amongst them.¹⁴

In a similar vein, William Crosse, a Sheriff of Lanarkshire and Professor of Law at Glasgow University, addressed his *Essay*, dated 1748, to Lieutenant General Bland,

Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in Scotland. Crosse appreciated the differences between the Highlands and Lowlands, and considered the Gaels to be a completely different race, claiming that at the time of the Act of Union

Two different nations, though under one king and Government, possess'd the Kingdom of Scotland; the descendants of the Saxons who had conquer'd England occupy'd the Low Country, and the descendants of the Ancient Gauls possess'd the high and mountainous parts.... But certain it is that these two kinds of people are now as different from one another as if they were Antipodes.¹⁵

As with the anonymous letter to the Duke of Newcastle, Crosse communicated his assessment of the idleness, and particularly the dishonesty, of the Highlanders.

Now if the robbing Trade be spoil'd, these two parts must of necessity come down to the Low countrys, change their Manners, Language and Garb, and in a little time, instead of being employ'd in raising rebellions, will become good subjects and profitable members of society... This then is the Plan, to secure the country by a military force (& it is not to be done otherways) against rapine & violence, and by the same force to put the laws in execution... The meaning and end of the plan, is no other than, to establish a power in the country superior to that of the Chiefs... Then and no sooner is the cohesion between them, which lately made so terrible an appearance; absolutely dissolved.¹⁶ [Original emphasis]

Thus, Crosse's strategy for civilising the Highlands was simple, based as it was on his theory that the population of the region was three times too large for the uncomplicated task of tending to the cattle, and that the superfluous two parts of the populace were therefore engaged in robbery.

As with most of these pamphlets, there was a distinct pro-Hanoverian sentiment, exhibiting no compassion for the Pretender or his proponents. Given this bias, it is surprising that there also was a demand for tales relating to the Young Pretender's evasion of the King's forces, and his eventual escape. These stories even had the mandatory heroine in the character of Flora Macdonald. The most accepted and repeatedly printed essay was *Ascanius or the Young Adventurer* (1746). This, an anonymous pamphlet, was reputedly in circulation at the Court at Versailles before it was eventually published.¹⁷ Leah Leneman points to another pamphlet in a similar vein, *Alexis or the Young Adventurer, a Novel*, which was published in 1747, and imitated a classical-heroic style, which supplemented the gallant and fanciful stories that were beginning to surround Charles Edward Stuart and his crusade.¹⁸

A favourite songwriter was Lady Caroline Nairne, who was of Jacobite descent. Her family had been exiled in the aftermath of the Jacobite rebellion, and her views on the topic were extravagantly coloured by this heritage. Her passionate songs were considerably enhanced by her attachment to the Jacobite phenomenon, and her lyrics show a surfeit of emotional and effusive allegory. These gained enduring status outwith the vicinity of the Highlands as exaggerated sentiment and myths replaced the real contentions of the Jacobite cause. One of Lady Nairne's most prominent songs, *Will ye no come back again?*, is a frank entreaty for the restoration of Charles Edward Stuart.

Wi' Hieland bonnets on their heads,
And claymores bright and clear,
They came to fight for Scotland's right,
And the young Chevalier,

They've left their bonnie Hieland hills,
Their wives and bairnies dear,
To draw the sword for Scotland's Lord,
The young Chevalier.¹⁹

Songs like this, *Charlie is my Darling*, and *My Bonnie Hieland Laddie* assisted the transformation of the Jacobite prince to Bonnie Prince Charlie. They stressed the significance of the role of the loyal and brave Highland clans in fighting for the Jacobite cause. Notably, J.G. Kohl said in 1844, 'although these songs have no longer so real and practical a significance as those of Moore in Ireland, they still have a great poetical and even ethnological value.'²⁰ This observation encapsulates the assumption that the Highlanders were a race of noble savages, and could be regarded as an anthropological oddity - the last outpost of an antiquated society. Smout highlights the contradictory perception of the Highlands in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; while the contemporary Highlanders were viewed with contempt, there was a simultaneous romanticised and idealised image of the Highlanders.²¹

So, it can be said that the cult of the '45 and the notion of the 'Glorious Defeat' had begun. Pittock notes that the sentimentalisation of Jacobite ideology depoliticised it, and this process obscured the original purpose of Jacobitism. In his view the creation of an ideologically neutral and sentimental history encapsulated the Romantic illusion of Scotland, and the history of Jacobitism, this sense of high drama, played an indispensable part in the mythologising of the Scottish past and the history of the Highlands.²² Thus the

comforting glow of politically impotent Jacobite chivalry was cast over the eighteenth century, concealing the real controversies of that century out of the glamour of a factitious Romanticism. The romanticisation of the Jacobite Risings, and the creation of a 'fairy-tale of the children of the mist, a dream of Gaelic heroes rather than the symbols of a major European power struggle was ratified during the early-nineteenth century.²³ But the Victorians applied this romanticisation to the Highlands as a whole, regarding the region as a fairy-tale land of mist and mountains, redolent of an ancient culture and the contemporary archetype of the Romantic landscape.

One of the important forerunners to the Romantic movement in Scotland was James Macpherson, whose work prepared the ground for Romanticism in connection with the Scottish Highlands with the publication of his 'translations' of Gaelic epic poetry. Macpherson was a man of the Enlightenment, trained at Aberdeen University for the ministry where he became interested in the origins of society and human conduct. On the other hand, he was a Gaelic-speaking Highlander whose clan had been supporters of the Jacobites during the '45. Thus his early life was an introduction to cultural contradiction, and at the time he wrote *Ossian* in the 1760s, his own Highland culture was being punitively dismembered in the wake of the Jacobite rebellions. As Fiona Stafford has said, Macpherson believed that the only way to understand the Celts was through a study of contemporary Scottish Highlanders, whom he regarded as a rare example of a race which had survived uncorrupted by outside influences since the third century.²⁴ What Macpherson succeeded in communicating was a response to his own ideological fragmentation at a time when Europe was beginning to fragment ideologically.²⁵ As a result, Macpherson laid the foundations for Scott and others who were later to be so successful in embellishing these 'Highland themes'.

The publication of *Ossian* caused great literary controversy. Indeed, it is fair to say that the dispute in time became more famous than the poetry itself. Hugh Cheape has stated that an ambience of contemporary enthusiasm for *Ossian* was clouded by a growing critical reaction which questioned the origins and composition of the literary epic. However, if, following literary fashion, we feel compelled to denounce *Ossian* as a forgery, we will underrate or overlook the marked and enduring influence of *Ossian* and James Macpherson on Scottish or British culture and on European and North American culture during the last two centuries.²⁶ The matter began when Macpherson met the writer and dramatist John Home in 1759, and claimed to have in his possession a quantity of ancient Gaelic poetry. Home asked to see them, and Macpherson eventually agreed to

Figure 20.



Alexander Runciman (after), Ossian's Hall, Penicuik House.

The main drawing room at Penicuik House became known as Ossian's Hall, and this engraving of the completed interior gives some idea of the scale of Runciman's decorative scheme.

furnish Home with a deciphered copy of the original poetry. Despite Macpherson's initial reticence, he produced the translation of a poem concerning the *Death of Oscar* for Home within "a day or two". Excited and impressed by the work, Home showed the poetry to Dr Hugh Blair, the highly respected Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres at Edinburgh University, who was to become one of Macpherson's chief sponsors and defenders.

With encouragement from Blair, Macpherson was persuaded to publish *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* *Fragments of Ancient Poetry, collected in the Highlands of Scotland* anonymously in 1759. In spite of a preface written by Blair, the poems supposedly by the ancient Gaelic bard Ossian eventually proved to be fraudulent. But that was not before the whole of literary Europe had been captivated by what it thought was an authentic, primitive, Caledonian muse. The initial volume sold so well that a second edition was produced before the end of the year, and the success of the *Fragments* provided Macpherson with the means to make two tours of the Highlands with the purpose of collecting further comparable manuscripts and Ossianic compositions. Accordingly he assembled the heroic poem *Fingal* in 1761, and the third and final Ossianic product, *Temora*, was issued two years later. From the outset the veracity of Macpherson's rendition of the poems of *Ossian* was called into question, and it fell to Hugh Blair to submit a vindication, which he did with his *Dissertation* in 1763.²⁷ His contention was that the poems substantiated the physical existence of Gaelic epic narrative amidst an otherwise uncouth and unrefined culture. He endeavoured to corroborate his position by including an accompanying selection of documents endorsing his opinion, and in support of their authenticity.

With this in mind, Blair applied to his celebrated friend David Hume, the celebrated freethinker of the Scottish Enlightenment, for his opinion as to the variety of testimony and nature of evidence to be attached. Hume did not moderate his position, and, writing from London in September 1763 informed Blair that:

I live in a place where I frequently have the pleasure of hearing justice done to your dissertation, but never heard it mentioned in a company, where some person or other did not express his doubts with regard to the authenticity of the poems which are its subject, and I often hear them totally rejected, with disdain and indignation, as a palpable and most impudent forgery. This opinion has become very prevalent among the men of letters in London; and I can foresee,

that in a few years, the poems, if they continue to stand on their present footing, will be thrown aside, and will fall into final oblivion.²⁸

Although Hume declared that, as a Scot, he had personal reasons for believing the authenticity of the poems, 'more than it is possible for any Englishman of letters to have', he told Blair in no uncertain terms his reasons against it:

The absurd pride and caprice of Macpherson himself, who scorns, as he pretends, to satisfy any body that doubts his veracity, has tended much to confirm this general scepticism.²⁹

He elaborated on this position, saying that:

Nobody questions that there are traditional poems in that part of the country, where the names Ossian and Fingal, and Oscar and.... Gaul, are mentioned in every stanza. The only doubt is, whether these poems have any farther resemblance to the poems published by Macpherson... The preservation of such a long and such connected poems, by oral tradition alone, during the course of fourteen centuries, is so much out of the ordinary course of human affairs, that it requires the strongest reasons to make us believe it.³⁰

Those who doubted the integrity of Macpherson's purity in his version of *Ossian* were legitimate in their assertion that the poems were not the literal translation of ancient ballads. Nevertheless, their more generalised cynicism stemmed from the conviction that such an unsophisticated culture as that of the Scottish Highlands could not possess, nor produce, a tradition of heroic ballads.

This controversy surrounding the authenticity of *Ossian* reached its pinnacle in the 1760s and 1770s - a time when no dignified and self-assured man of letters in Europe was without a copy of the poems or a theory on the subject. This state of affairs persisted past the end of the century, and the idea of *Ossian* continued to influence writers, artists and tourists throughout the nineteenth century. Although the majority dismissed the poems as the product of a modern imagination, many essays were published endorsing both sides of the debate. The most impartial of these was produced by the Highland Society of Scotland in 1805, a report based upon meticulous and painstaking investigation. The prelude to the report stated the aims as:

To employ the influence of the society, and the extensive communications which it possesses with every part of the Highlands, in collecting what materials or information it was still practicable to collect, regarding the authenticity and nature of the poems ascribed to Ossian, and particularly of that celebrated collection published by Mr James Macpherson.³¹

During the course of the inquiry, the Committee mentioned that they had foreseen that some difficulties must arise owing to the change of manners in the Highlands, 'where habits of industry have now superseded the amusement of listening to the legendary narrative or heroic ballad.'³² But this promotion of the changing face of Gaeldom aside, the Report concluded that:

The Committee presumes it may assume as undisputed, that a traditional history of a great hero or chief, called *Fion*, *Fion na Gael*, or, as it is modernized, *Fingal*, exists, and has immemorially existed in the Highlands and islands of Scotland.³³

Notwithstanding these conclusions of the Highland Society, no one objected to the motifs and themes of the Ossianic poetry - the escapades and adventures of fanciful and mythical men of distinguished valour. These acts, as described by Macpherson, are awash with allegory, noble savagery, courage, and legendary bravery. Notably, all characteristics which were to become the emblems of the Romantic movement.

In due course a wider European Ossianism took hold, opening the Highlands to a wider audience; Napoleon carried a copy of *Ossian* with him on his campaigns, and the impact of *Ossian* reverberated not only in the literary world. Among artists it was manifested in the works of Girodet and Ingres. Stafford notes that the vogue for *Ossian* spread across Europe, and that *Poems* were published in Germany, Switzerland, France, and Spain.³⁴ Macpherson's poems firmly incorporated the Highlands into the Romantic Picturesque archetype, and established the region as an inimitable backdrop for fanciful and quixotic tales. The conflict which surrounded Macpherson's *Ossian* encouraged tourists to visit Scotland – it was to some extent the incentive which motivated Dr Johnson's tour. Paul Baines refers to this development of 'Ossianic Touring' during the period 1760 – 1830, noting that the process of dissemination was enhanced not only by the immense popularity of the poems, which took them across Europe and America, but also by the burgeoning tourist industry. In effect, *Ossian* acted as both incentive and conduit; a reason for going and the summation of what you would find.³⁵

Scottish artists, too, chose themes from Ossianic legend as the basis for their work. The most famous of these is the decorative scheme at Penicuik House, undertaken by Alexander Runciman. Runciman chose to interpret the *Ossian* scheme in an imaginative manner befitting the tradition of the Romantic and Sublime. For his part, Runciman had no doubts on the authenticity of the poems, and he enthusiastically embraced an Ossianic theme for Penicuik House. Runciman's work at Penicuik House, the home of Sir James

Clerk, turned out to be the greatest large-scale painted decoration in the eighteenth century. Unfortunately, this epic manifestation of High Art was destroyed by fire at the end of the nineteenth century, although preparatory drawings, etchings and photographs survive to give an impression of the finished decoration. (See figure 20.) The only comparable enterprise south of the border was completed by Runciman's friend and contemporary, James Barry, for the Society of Arts in London in the 1780s. This mural scheme, *The Progress of Human Culture* (1777 – 84), revealed Barry's version of Elysium, presided over by Homer, Milton, and Chaucer, of course, Ossian. Runciman's Ossianic vision was an effective counterpart to Gavin Hamilton's *Iliad*-inspired series of paintings. Runciman, a contemporary of Hamilton, conceived of a primitive ideal in Gaelic culture – a development described by Hugh Cheape as a validation of Scottish culture in the post-Union period emancipated from the influences of ancient and modern Rome.³⁶

Runciman's *Ossian* paintings did not follow a single narrative; Macpherson's *Ossian* is a series of self-contained tales and so Runciman organised the space of the room as a metaphor of the poet's imagination. The main drawing room at Penicuik House became known as Ossian's Hall, with the central roundel of the ceiling painted with an image of Ossian himself playing his harp. Twelve separate scenes representing events from Ossian's songs were depicted in the coving, while in the four river gods were drawn in the spandrels surrounding the central oval, embodying the four major rivers of Scotland. These four gods, the Clyde, the Tweed, the Tay and the Spey, were each set in atmospheric landscape; which in the case of the Clyde and the Tay appeared to represent actual scenery. These massive figures, reminiscent of Michelangelo, and show a deliberate fusion of monumental figures with a Romantic rendering of the actual landscape of Scotland. The entire decorative scheme at Penicuik House was intended to make a dramatic impact, reproducing the spontaneous, primitive freedom that it was felt could be recognised in the poetry of *Ossian*.³⁷

In addition to the sumptuous decoration of *Ossian's Hall*, Runciman assumed responsibility for the decoration of one of the house's staircases, choosing as his theme the life of St Margaret. That Runciman extended his Ossianic scheme to incorporate scenes from the life of an actual historical figure indicates his intention that the murals within Penicuik House would be an exercise in monumental history painting. Various elements of the decorative compositions show Runciman aspiring to the spirit of Baroque art and abandoning the strict conventions of neo-classicism. As Macmillan adroitly

Figure 21.



William Stewart Watson, *The Wounded Jacobite*, 1835.

This depiction of an injured Jacobite soldier in the aftermath of the battle at Culloden is characteristic of Romanticism, and reflects the interest in recent Scottish history. The scene is sensationalised, with the eponymous hero lying in the foreground, tenderly attended by two visibly emotional women. It is a sentimental depiction of a fictionalised scene, but which illustrates the rekindled interest in the Jacobite rebellions.

notes, Runciman's interpretation of Ossian corresponds with Hugh Blair's, with the emphasis firmly on the expressive quality of the primitive poetry.³⁸ Furthermore there is the notion that the Ossianic poems represented a tradition untouched by alien values, which still existed within Scotland. The significance of the Ossianic impact on Scottish art is that Runciman initiated the process of Celtic revival in art which later evolved to its most mature manifestation in the work of Patrick Geddes and Charles Rennie Mackintosh.

The interest in the Highlands was not confined to the polite and well-read society who had debated the authenticity of *Ossian* so heatedly and which was to account for much of Scott's audience. There was in addition a more popular element. One noteworthy theme was presenting the Gaels and their Jacobite sympathies with a commendatory spirit, an embellishment that could only have been feasible at the end of the eighteenth century when the political substance of Jacobitism was defunct. Indeed, in 1836, not even a hundred years after Culloden, Lord Teignmouth wrote that 'the events of 1745 have become a tale of olden time'.³⁹ He was also aware of the romance associated with the Jacobites, remarking that the music and poetry of Scotland had been enlisted on the side of the young hero struggling to recover his throne, and that in some Highland homes the designation of 'Pretender' was still considered sacrilege if applied to Charles Edward.⁴⁰ He further commented that:

Honour, generosity, loyalty, fidelity, all the elements of that chivalry, the decline of which aroused the indignant eloquence of Burke, are indissolubly attached to the glory and defeat of this extraordinary adventurer, though the character of the Pretender was unworthy of his cause, supposing it just, and the conduct of his followers exhibited an extravagant mixture of noble and degrading motives. The error of the highlanders, in joining the Pretender, was chiefly of judgement... there was at the heart's core of the Highlanders, notwithstanding the base alloy with which purer motives were corrupted, a principle of loyalty.⁴¹

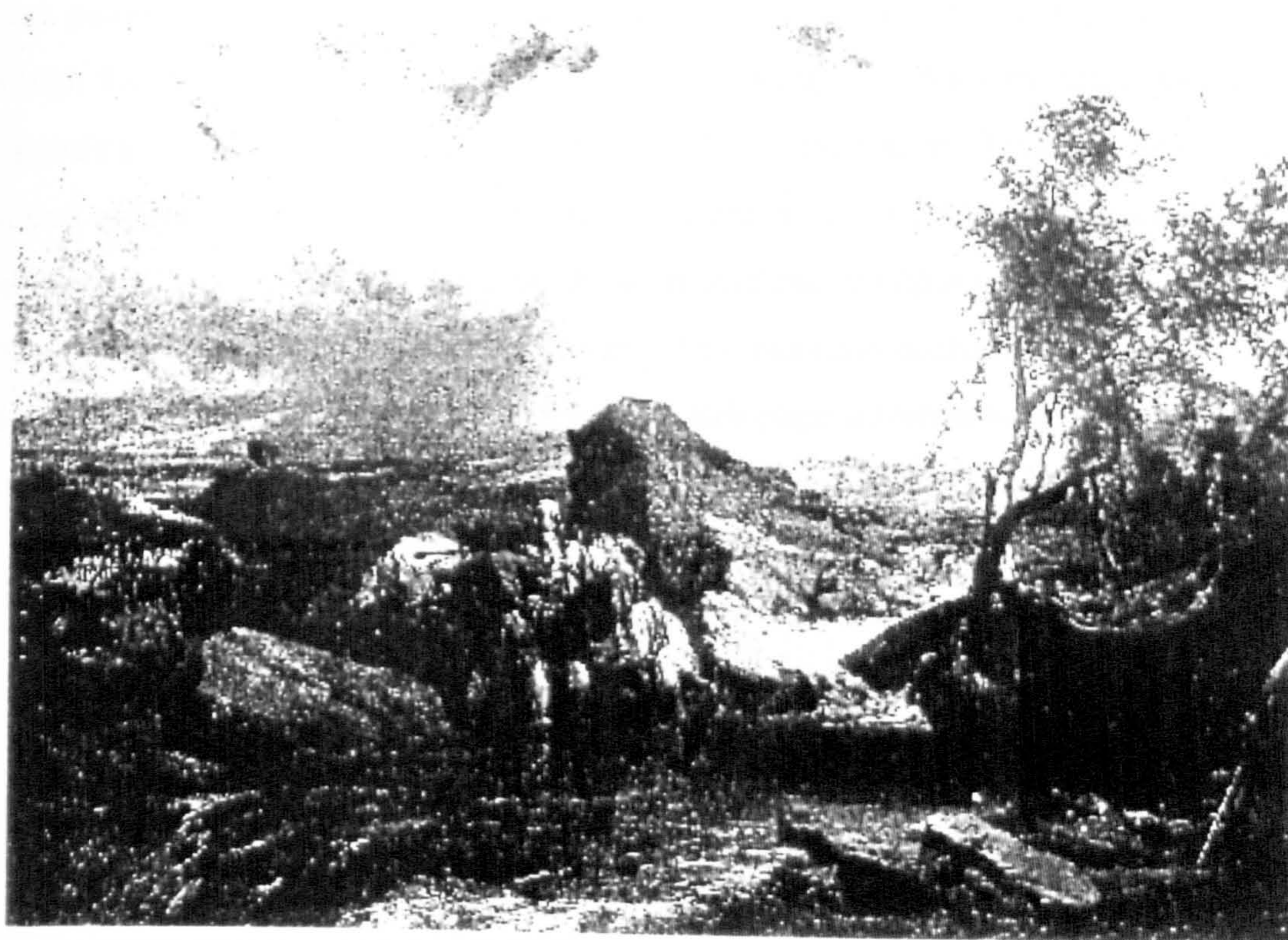
Similarly, in 1844 Kohl had cause to remark that the traveller in Scotland could not fail to be frequently reminded of 'bonnie Prince Charlie', in whose appearance 'shone the last gleam of Scottish independence.'⁴²

The Jacobite adventures were embellished with romance, which is also evident in paintings of Jacobite subjects. The popular and abiding image of Bonnie Price Charlie is that of a figure dressed in tartan. Robin Nicholson notes that this tartan-clad, and usually be-kilted individual has assumed a central place in the abiding mythologies of Scottish

history, and moreover, has become something of a metaphor for the Jacobite Prince and his aspirations.⁴³ While much of this tartan iconography has its origins in the nineteenth century, an element was rooted in contemporary promotion of the Prince as a specifically Highland Scottish saviour, and the association of tartan as the true cloth of the loyal and patriotic Highlander. Ironically those opposing his cause produced the first artistic manifestations of Charles in tartan. Nicholson points to a print produced in 1745 by the Edinburgh engraver Richard Cooper, offering a reward for his capture, and intended to equate Charles with the established image of highland treachery and duplicity. However, by conspicuously wearing tartan in the first few months of the Jacobite campaign, and directing his followers to do likewise, Charles ensured that the Highland costume was quickly and irrevocably associated with his iconography. Nicholson states that the widespread portrayal of Charles Edward Stuart in the years after 1745 was a self-sustaining process with no apparent outside motivation.⁴⁴ Indeed, it was permanently established as part of the visual iconography of the Prince and the Jacobite by the onset of the nineteenth century.

Later depictions of the Jacobites such as William Stewart Watson's *The Wounded Jacobite* (1835) and McCulloch's *After Culloden* (n.d.) both display a sentimental view of the vanquished Jacobites. (See figures 21 and 22.) Notably Watson, an Edinburgh painter of historical subjects, was later to become a member of the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights, and was one of the co-signatories of a petition presented to the Earl of Kinnoul.⁴⁵ The Watson picture is extraordinarily Romantic: a portrait of a dying Jacobite Highlander which is obviously designed to appeal to the emotions of the spectator. In this picture the vanquished hero is painted in full Highland costume, reinforcing the place of tartan within the accepted iconography of Jacobitism. The same applies to the costumes of the three Highlanders in McCulloch's painting. However, by contrast, in McCulloch's depiction of a scene after the battle in 1746, the nominal title seems almost secondary to considerations of the landscape. The three figures in the central foreground are almost insignificant against the backdrop of the dramatic scenery, an element which is recurrent in the majority of McCulloch's work. Such descriptions reflected the changing perceptions of the Highlands and their inhabitants. Indeed, the failure of the Jacobite rebellions made a greater impact, a fact which Kohl was aware of when he commented that 'since he (Bonnie Prince Charlie) never became King, a softer and tenderer feeling lingers around his memory, than around that of any actual sovereign'.⁴⁶ In this way the Highlanders, who were previously perceived as savage barbarians, became the earnest and bold champions of the Scottish

Figure 22.



Horatio McCulloch, *After Culloden*, (n.d.).

In contrast to Watson's *The Wounded Jacobite* (see figure -), this depiction of a scene after the battle of Culloden is less theatrical, and reflects McCulloch's primary interest in the Scottish landscape. The three figures in the central foreground of the painting are almost insignificant in comparison with the rugged landscape in which they are pictured. McCulloch's attention to the minute details of the environment and the geological precision with which he depicted the mountainous scenery of *Glencoe* and *Loch Katrine* are once again documented.

nation, and the extravagant romance of the Stuart myths was carried over into the nineteenth century.

Other painters also opted for Jacobite subjects as a means of expressing Scottish history through the artistic medium. Thomas Duncan was a pupil of William Allan, and his style of painting also owed a great deal to Wilkie. He trained at the Trustees Academy, and painted subjects from Scottish literature and from Scottish history, particularly the '45 Rebellion. Duncan's *Prince Charles Edward and the Highlanders entering Edinburgh after the Battle of Prestonpans*, was exhibited to immense acclaim at the RA exhibition 1840, and further celebrated in 1845 with a full-page advertisement in the *Art Union* extolling the virtues of both the painting and engraving.

We review this print with more than ordinary pleasure. It is a high class work. The subject Scottish, the artist Scottish, we owe its multiplication to Scottish enterprise. The theme treated is one of the few incidents to which adherents of the Stuarts can look back without aching hearts; after the triumph of Prestonpans the young Chevalier – Price or Pretender, as may be – enjoyed a brief sunshine; he basked in it too long and was ruined. The picture before us now commemorates almost his single moment of glory; it was preceded and succeeded by terrible heartburnings, disappointments, and terrible apprehensions of the future. Entering Edinburgh, however, on 21st of September, 1745, no thought was given to the past or future that could mar the hilarity of the young hero of one fight, and his excited and enthusiastic followers.⁴⁷

Every aspect of the composition was seen to have some interesting feature. Although it was recognised that the actual event may not have been scrupulously accurate, the painting was judged to be of exceedingly high merit, while the subject was considered Romantic in the extreme; in all, a fine example of history painting.⁴⁸ The *Art Union* also commented on the Scottish implications of the subject, recognising the historical importance of the event:

We know the Scottish people are divided upon the issue. A century, however, had rubbed down all asperities. Scotchmen will no longer make the question 'Prince or Pretender' cause of mortal quarrel; and even the Sovereign of the House of Hanover (whom God may preserve) will drink to the memory of an unfortunate and unhappy scion of a race of sovereigns long since at rest. There will, consequently, no prejudice to prevent this print from attaining, in Scotland, the popularity to which it is earnestly entitled, and which will, we trust, largely

recompense the liberal publisher, who, by the issue of this work, has contibuted to confer honour on his country.⁴⁹

This emphasises the changing perceptions of the Highlanders, and the Romantic light in which they were now seen, and it is perhaps notable that this painting appeared in 1840, before the onset of the famine in the Highlands. In art historical terms, Duncan owed a great deal to Wilkie's style in the composition and technique of his painting, and the debt to *The Entrance of George IV to Holyroodhouse* is conspicuous. Again, the indisputable influence of Wilkie is apparent in Duncan's next painting, *Prince Charles Edward asleep in a cave* (1843). In this composition, the Prince lies outstretched on the floor of a cave, dramatically illuminated only by the dying embers of a fire. Flora Macdonald sits by his head, motioning to a group of tartan-clad supporters who are moving to stand guard outside. These two compositions show the contrasts in the career of the Prince – in the first he is the triumphant hero riding at the head of a throng of enthusiastic supporters, whereas the second painting depicts him as a hounded fugitive, with his faithful Highlanders keeping watch by his side.

A further painting, of *The Death of John Brown of Priesthill* (1845), commemorates the murdered Covenanter as he lies prone with mourners lingering over his body. Thackeray reviewed this painting as part of his critique for *Fraser's Magazine* of the 1845 RA Exhibition, and commented that there was a common characteristic among Scottish painters – 'The Scotch artists have a tragic taste' – and he defended this assertion with the further example of Alexander Johnstone's *Highland Lament*:

A Highland piper comes running forward playing some wild lament on his dismal instrument; the women follow after wailing and sad; the mournful procession winds over a dismal moor.⁵⁰

Robert Scott Lauder was also subjected to criticism by Thackeray for his *Claverhouse ordering Morton to Execution*, and indeed, this seems to be a valid point as many Scottish artist opted for subjects of high drama and melancholic grandeur, which was apparent not only in history painting, but also depictions of the Scottish landscape and Highland scenery.

One conspicuously Romantic late-Victorian view of Scotland's Jacobite past is the painting by John Pettie of *Bonnie Prince Charlie entering the Ballroom at Holyrood*.⁵¹ (See figure 23.) This painting shows how the vibrant painterly skill of Pettie combined form and content to achieve an atmospheric and dramatic composition. Hardie adroitly comments that it is extremely unlikely that such a historical reconstruction will ever be as

Figure 23.



John Pettie, *Bonnie Prince Charlie entering the Ballroom at Holyrood*, 1892.

This painting of the Young Pretender is clearly illustrative of the late-Victorian romanticised view of Scotland's Jacobite past. It has a distinct air of drama, emphasised by the composition and the dramatic use of lighting to highlight the figure of the Prince in the foreground.

Interestingly, the arrangement of this painting bears some comparison to Landseer's *Monarch of the Glen* (see frontispiece). In both compositions the central figure is placed firmly in the foreground, with hazy configuration of the background, creating a triangular effect. The grandeur and nobility in the posture of the central figures also share similarities.

thrilling today as it was for the Victorians. This is a Romantic late-Victorian view of Scotland's Jacobite past, and the style and content of the picture is reminiscent of Raeburn's portrait of *MacDonnell of Glengarry*, (1812). (See figure 8.) The fundamental purpose of Pettie's rapidly executed brushwork and warm colour is to enhance the brilliancy and animation of the subject. Yet, observes Hardie, for all his painterliness, drama was inherent in the subject rather than the treatment. He further explains that to today's audience, Hollywood has added motion and a cast of thousands, on which there is no going back; but Pettie was a talented proto-film-director who had a good eye for cinematic essential; camera angle, lighting, make-up and wardrobe.⁵² The depiction of the Prince in full Highland dress was considered a pre-requisite of the portrait, since by then the Stuart appropriation of the 'national' dress for Scotland was not considered a threat. Indeed, when George V acquired the painting in 1916, he was merely confirming that his family had now re-appropriated both the Stuart and Scottish identities into their own imperial iconography⁵³, thus reinforcing the notion of tartan as an indisputable part of Scottish identity and culture. *Bonnie Prince Charlie* can be viewed as the culmination of over a hundred years of sympathetic embellishment of the Jacobites' image, and fits clearly into the context of a Romantic Scotland. Therefore it may be recognised that the ascendant and controlling image of Scottish identity was amplified, mutable, and beguilingly romanticised.

Initial tourist impressions

By the repeal of the Proscription Act in 1783, the structure of Highland society had altered so considerably in the intervening period that many of the old traditions and customs had disappeared. Smout notes that around the middle of the eighteenth century, the outsider began to invest the Highlands with interest. Even if it was barbarous, it appeared to contain anthropological or natural curiosities worth seeing.⁵⁴ One of the first notable tourists to the area was Samuel Johnson, perhaps the most famous man of letters in Britain by the time of his tour to the Highlands. His reputation had been established by the great *Dictionary* (1755) and numerous other works of poetry, biography and criticism. Martin Martin's *Description of the Western Isles* (1703), was directly responsible for Johnson's tour in 1773, in which he anticipated the exposure to an age-old culture, untouched by modern manners. He came to observe the untamed, patriarchal society

which he believed existed in the Highlands. His travelling companion, James Boswell, explained the reasoning behind this tour:

Martin's Account of those islands has impressed us with a notion that we might there contemplate a system of life almost totally different from what we had been accustomed to see; and, to find simplicity and wildness, and all the circumstances of remote time or place.⁵⁵

This appears to uphold the view that the early tourists regarded themselves as braving the howling wilderness in pursuit of antiquarian or anthropological knowledge.⁵⁶

The idea of the noble savage was certainly popularised by the Empire-building and colonisation which was underway at the time, and by books such as Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719). Undoubtedly it was the desire to encounter these noble savages which prompted their excursion to the Highlands, but with regard to this objective, Johnson discovered that he was too late:

There was perhaps no change of manners so quick, so great, and so general, as that which has operated in the Highlands, by the last conquest and the subsequent laws. We came thither to see what we expected, a people of peculiar appearance, and a system of antiquated life.⁵⁷

Correspondingly, the theorists of the Scottish Enlightenment were developing a regard for the methodical consideration of mankind and the evolution of human civilisation and culture. Furthermore the Native American Indian tribes must have provided some parallel, particularly for Anne Grant of Laggan whose perspective of the Highlanders was undeniably coloured by her experiences as a young woman when her family lived among the Mohawk in America.⁵⁸ Enlightenment thinkers such as Adam Smith put forward the contention that there was a systematic organisation to evolution and that mankind advanced from one stage to another. Thus there was a natural progression from hunting to farming to commerce, a development that was mirrored by the transition from unrefined, coarse behaviour to cultured and civilised manners. These concepts influenced the popular conception of the Highlands, and directly manipulated the emerging consciousness of the region as a surviving example of the Scottish past.

Although Johnson desired to observe the undisturbed civilisation of the Highlands, and what he encountered was not as expected, he did comment on the isolation of the region from the rest of the 'civilised world', and how this condition influenced the character of the Gaels.

Thus every Highlander can talk of his ancestors, and recount the outrages which they suffered from the wicked inhabitants of the next valley. Such are the effects of habitation among the mountains, and such were the qualities of the Highlanders, while their rocks secluded them from the rest of mankind, and kept them an unaltered and discriminated race. They are now losing their distinction, and hastening to mingle with the general community.⁵⁹

One of the many ironies of Scottish history is that the age that witnessed the gradual decay of the Highland clan structure at the same time created an interest in the cultural heritage and history of the area and in tartans. Notably, for Johnson the Highlander was a figure of genuine interest, but for later tourists Highlanders were mere decoration, harmoniously co-existing in the landscape, and a reminder of the historical associations of the region. This perception evolved in the nineteenth century into an attitude of conspicuous contempt for contemporary Highlanders, an attitude which co-existed with a seemingly contradictory reverence for the imagined past of the Jacobites.⁶⁰

The reaction of the public to the travels of Johnson and Boswell in Scotland is interesting. In 1775 Johnson wrote to Boswell, 'Mrs Thrale was so entertained with your journal that, she almost read herself blind', while Gilbert White offered an illustrative appraisal: 'It is quite a sentimental journey, divested of all natural history and antiquities, but full of good sense, and new and peculiar reflections.'⁶¹ Subsequently, Hester Piozzi (previously Mrs Thrale) furnished an example of a conversation between Johnson and a 'friend of that nation'. On being asked what his view on Scotland was, Johnson replied:

That it is a very vile country to be sure Sir;

Well Sir! Replies the other somewhat mortified, God made it.

Certainly he did (answers Mr Johnson again); but we must always remember that he made it for Scotchmen, and comparisons are odious Mr S ___, but God made hell.⁶²

Piozzi concluded that Johnson's hatred of the Scotch was well known. Indeed, the Rev. Donald MacNichol, an eminent Gaelic scholar and antiquary, was prompted to write *Remarks on Dr Samuel Johnson's Journey to the Hebrides* (1779), a severe and somewhat contemptuous criticism of Samuel Johnson's *Tour*.⁶³ Many subsequent tourists to Scotland were directly motivated by the journal of Johnson. They came with the intention of disproving his considerations, or alternatively, with the aim of upholding them. In this, it could be argued that in some manner, despite his negative views on the country, Johnson actually encouraged visitors.

Johnson's sojourn in the Hebrides was always controversial - the news of his trip was greeted with derision by the Scottish press of the day, who anticipated a barrage of anti-Scots and Jacobite propaganda to follow. These were legitimate worries in view of the fact that for thirty years after the '45 politics dominated all thoughts of the Highlands. For many, the Jacobite defeat at Culloden marked a turning point, not only for Gaeldom, but also for the whole of Scotland. Thomas Pennant visited the scene of the battle in 1769, expressing the view that uniform assimilation into the British system was a judicious alternative to diversity. He noted in his *Tour of Scotland* that he had 'passed over *Culloden Moor*, the place that *North Britain* owes its present prosperity to, by the victory of April 16, 1746', and asked that 'a veil be flung over a few of the excesses consequential of a day, productive of so much benefit to the united kingdoms.'⁶⁴ Lord Teignmouth's comments on the Young Pretender offer a similar picture. Teignmouth commented on the ennoblement of many Highland names which were associated with the 'rebellious campaigns' of the Jacobites, and noted that 'trophies and relics, swords and snuff-boxes, are handed down to posterity, in proof of the distinguished valour of those who fought in them, and of the favour of the exiled prince'.⁶⁵

As opposed to the rational Saxon, the Celts were thought to be primarily a people of imagination and emotion, and were often portrayed as an idyllic and colourful peasantry.⁶⁶ However, above all, it was their environment which drew the most attention. For the Romantics, the Highlands of Scotland represented the archetype for the Sublime landscape, a region of captivating and dramatic scenery. Mirroring this redemption of the Gaelic civilisation, the content of travellers' accounts accentuated the conception of the scenery of the Highlands as an enchanting and enigmatic locale, a distinct progression from the preoccupations of preceding commentators who commonly accepted the habitual idleness and crudeness of the Highlanders. Other than the overwhelming appetite for the 'noble savage' in the guise of the everyday Highlander, of equal popularity was the search for the picturesque; areas which were generally considered to be wild and untouched, but charming; areas which were judged to be favourable for experiencing true emotion. The Romantic ideal gave grounds for the reconsideration of many areas; in particular, Switzerland, Wales and Scotland, which shared wild mountain scenery, gained favour as centres of tourism in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Travellers' accounts show a fresh recognition of the Highland region as an area of noteworthy natural grandeur, and locations which had at one time been regarded as dreary and desolate now summoned sightseers well disposed to encounter the unspoiled and picturesque. Even Samuel Johnson unwittingly contributed to the romanticised perception

of the area when he commented on the dramatic shift from wild scenery to magnificent hospitality to be found in the Highlands:

The fictions of the *Gothick* romances were not so remote from credibility as they are now thought. In the full prevalence of the feudal institution, when violence desolated the world, and every baron lived in a fortress, forests and castles were regularly succeeded by each other, and the adventurer might very suddenly pass from the gloom of the woods, or the ruggedness of moors, to seats of plenty, gaiety, and magnificence. Whatever is imagined in the wildest tale, if giants, dragons, and enchantment might be accepted, would be felt by him, who, wandering in the mountains without a guide.... should be carried amidst his terror and uncertainty, to the hospitality and elegance of Raasay or *Dunvegan*.⁶⁷

The revolution on terms of taste and the rise of the theories of the Picturesque and Sublime promoted the belief that the Highlands, although a wilderness, contained elements which the trained eye might distinguish as beautiful. Essentially these early tourists considered themselves connoisseurs of the landscape; they were well versed in the theories of the Sublime and beautiful and able to impose their interpretation upon the Scottish landscape. It was an elite perception of the region, popular among the well-read upper-classes, aware of the ideals of Gilpin and Burke.⁶⁸

Thereafter, men and women of taste toured the Highlands in search of the Picturesque. Testimony to the improving status of the Highlands in the fashionable world is to be found in the letters of Mrs Alison Cockburn. She was reputed to maintain the rank in the society of Edinburgh which French women of talents usually do in that of Paris, while her parlour was the scene for the gathering of distinguished and accomplished individuals, among them David Hume, John Home and Lord Monboddo.⁶⁹ In one letter to David Hume, dated September 1765, she wrote:

I am just returned from a Highland expedition, and was much delighted with the magnificence of nature in her awful simplicity. These mountains, and torrents, and rocks, would almost convince one that it was some being of infinite power that had created them. Plain corn countries look as if man had made them; but I defy all mankind put together to make anything like the pass of Gilicranky [sic].⁷⁰

The theories of the 'Sublime' were further invested with a Scottish dimension by the poems of *Ossian*. Hugh Blair, an Edinburgh University professor, enthusiastically promoted the poems in his 1764 *Critical Dissertation on the poems of Ossian, the son of Fingal*. Malcolm Andrews indicates that by the 1790s Dr Johnson's tour was of little

Figure 24.



John Pettie, *Disbanded*, 1877.

Like his tutor Robert Scott Lauder, Pettie was renowned for his paintings of events from Scottish history, often related to the works of Walter Scott. Pettie, particularly in his Scottish themes, succeeded in integrating a semblance of courageous and confident heroism with a pervasive sense of melancholia that is remarkably faithful to the mood of Walter Scott's writing. In this painting he shows a disbanded Jacobite soldier, complete with looted Hanoverian equipment in his backpack. This is possibly Pettie's best rendition of Scott's pervasive mood of heroic defeat.

importance as a precedent for the tourist to the Scottish Highlands. Picturesque taste and the *Ossian* cult had usurped his authority.⁷¹ Smout suggests that while the Ossianic descriptions of the landscape and Highland scenery may sound shallow and ridiculously melodramatic to modern ears, in 1760 they were infused with the thrill of the authentic and appeared naïvely archaic.⁷² Blair was unquestionably enchanted with the poems, and his endorsement of the Sublime events and characters set within a harmoniously dramatic landscape indicate the widespread acceptance of the ideals of the Picturesque and Sublime.

Another fashionable lady who visited the Highlands was Sarah Murray, the widow of the Earl of Dunmore, and author of *A Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland* (1799). This account of her tour was said by Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus to have made her 'quite celebrated.'⁷³ Leyden had the good fortune to meet with Sarah Murray at Loch Katrine, and noted that:

She conducted us to Murray Point, named from herself, the discover; whence we had an enchanting view of part of the Trossachs and of the greater part of the Lake, the precipice of the Den of the Ghost, and the Peak of Rutting or Stui-a-choin.⁷⁴

Murray claimed to have seen the country more extensively than any other traveller, journeying with only a maid and a driver, and can be credited with bringing Loch Katrine to the attention of the public. She described the area thus:

The awfulness, the solemnity, and the sublimity, of the scene at the ford, and by Loch Catherine [sic], is beyond, far beyond description, either of pen or pencil! Nothing but the eye can convey to the mind such scenery: - well may it be called Loc-a-chravy, [sic] the Lake of the field of devotion.⁷⁵

Despite this extravagant proclamation that the area was beyond the descriptive powers of pen and pencil, many tried, and Callander, Loch Katrine, and the Trossachs, as the gateway to the Highlands, was a favourite attraction for visitors, and remains so today.

Robert Heron wrote a guidebook to Scotland in 1799, and from his description, his enthusiasm for the Trossachs is unmistakable: 'every object that can affect the mind with ideas of the rude grandeur and sublimity of Nature, seems here assembled; and no traveller of taste can view this scene without delight and astonishment.'⁷⁶ John Leyden also commented upon the picturesque beauty of the area:

At the upper end of the lake the Trossachs present themselves, a cluster of wonderful rocks which shut up the defile of Loch Ketterin [sic]. They display a

most astonishing and savage mixture of gray precipices huddled together in awful confusion, projecting with bare and woody points, intermingling with and surmounting each other, wedging into each other's sides, and patched in the most fantastic manner by brown heath finely contrasted with the verdure of the trees. The precipices are dreadfully rent and torn. The gloom and the silence of the place cause every footfall to be echoed far and wide. As we wound silently through this confusion of beauty and horror, we soon heard the sounds of the waves dying away on the rocks.⁷⁷

The interesting point of these accounts in particular is that they all predate the publication of Walter Scott's *The Lady of the Lake*, which suggests that the Trossachs were already acknowledged as an area of picturesque beauty, and that Scott's poem merely brought the area to the attention of a wider audience. Others were equally delighted with the area, among them the novelist James Hogg, and Dorothy Wordsworth.⁷⁸

Dorothy Wordsworth toured Scotland in 1803 with her brother William and Samuel Taylor Coleridge. She was patently captivated by the Trossachs, and at times appears to consider the Highlands less as an area where people lived, but as a worthy subject matter for artists and poets. Be that as it may, she was overwhelming in her appreciation of the beauty of the locale, and enthused:

It was an entire solitude; and all that we beheld was the perfection of loveliness [sic] and beauty. We had been through many solitary places since we came to Scotland, but this place differed as much from any we had seen before, as if there had been nothing in common between them; no thought of dreariness or desolation found entrance here; yet nothing was to be seen but water, wood, rocks, and heather, and the bare mountains above. We saw the mountains by glimpses as the clouds passed by them, and were not disposed to regret, with our boatman, that it was not a fine day, for the near objects were not concealed from us, but softened by being seen through the mists...The heather was indeed the most luxuriant I ever saw; it was so tall that a child of ten years old struggling through it would often have been buried head and shoulders, and the exquisite beauty of the colour, near or at a distance, seen under the trees, is not to be conceived⁷⁹

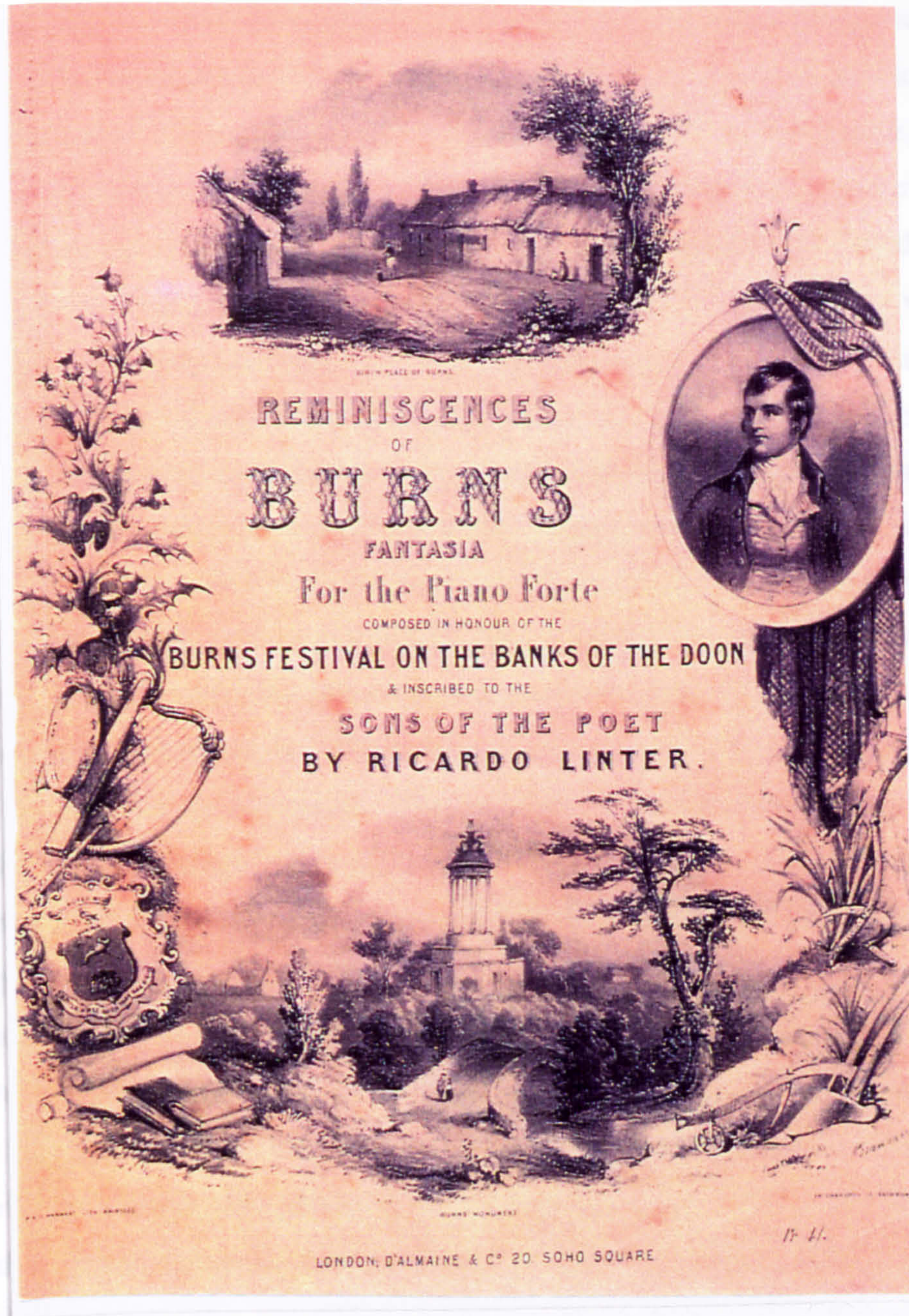
Such vivid descriptions were not limited to tourists, but also espoused by those who lived in the Highlands. The perception of the Highlands as a Picturesque and Romantic locale was not simply espoused by 'outsiders', but also by the Scots themselves. While the initial discovery of Scotland may have been due to English-led tourists applying the

theories of the Sublime and Picturesque to the Highland landscape, it was soon adopted and promoted by native Scots. Anne Grant of Laggan, inspired by an Ossianic vision of Scotland, wrote enthusiastically of:

The Utopian scenes and Arcadian virtues of my Alpine regions.... When I describe particular glens and sylvan scenes as possessed of wild and singular beauties, - when I impute to the natives tenderness of sentiment, ardour, of genius, and gentleness of manners beyond their equals in other countries, - every one that knows anything of them must know that these have always characterized them.⁸⁰

This passage certainly verifies the metamorphosis of both the character of the Highlanders and the perceived image of the country in which they lived. The artist David Wilkie in a speech echoed this idealisation of the Highlands as an Arcadian archetype in 1827. At a dinner given in his honour, Wilkie claimed that Scotland 'has converted the mountain glen and green bank into a new Arcadia, resounding with poetry and music'.⁸¹ Such a comparison also provides a link between the ancient world of Rome, Renaissance Italy and the contemporary Highlands, since Arcadia was a pastoral paradise ruled by the god Pan, and inhabited by gentle shepherds and shepherdesses, nymphs and satyrs. The spirit of classical Arcadia was essentially an idealised rural retreat, a place of escape from reality and from the complexity of urban life; therefore the inference inherent in this comparison is that the Highlands also provided an escape and a retreat from reality. This sense of a link with the ancient world was mirrored in a song sheet issued on the occasion of the 1844 Burns Festival in Ayr. In the language of Renaissance art, various symbols were employed to refer to ancient myths and legends, and the cover for the Burns sheet music also utilises these same emblems to infer greater meaning. (See figure 25.) This is apparent in the depiction of the harp and the lyre, which were used to symbolise Terpsichore, the Muse of dancing and song, and Erato, the Muse of lyric poetry respectively. The plough and the scythe, while immediately signifying Burns' humble roots, also indicate a classical analogy. The plough was emblematic of the Silver Age of Man, while the scythe served to represent Time and death. This would appear to infer a connection with the death of Burns at a relatively early age, and the idea of a life cut short. The vignette at the bottom of the title-page depicts the Burns Monument in Ayr, and again this recalls the classical tradition. The neo-classical architecture of the monument set within the landscape is a style reminiscent of Claudian landscapes which were so favoured by connoisseurs of the Picturesque, and this further emphasises the idea of Scotland as a Romantic land with an ancient culture comparable to that of ancient Rome and Greece.

Figure 25.



Ricardo Linter, *Reminiscences of Burns – Fantasia for the Piano-Forte*, 1844

This cover illustration for Victorian sheet music was produced for the Burns Festival on the Banks of the Doon in 1844. The images illustrated are all associated with Burns and Scotland – from the depiction of Burns Cottage above the heading to the portrait of Burns draped in tartan, reinforcing the idea of Burns as a Scottish hero. Interestingly the thistle is again deployed as an emblem of Burns – thistles were carried during the procession at the Festival, and were received with enthusiasm by the spectators at the event. Another notable feature of this illustrated cover is the employment of the language of Renaissance art, which serves to suggest a connection between the ancient classical world and Scotland.

Undeniably these accounts show that the Scottish Highlands were becoming increasingly popular as a destination for tourists, particularly those in search of the Picturesque, at the turn of the century. Murray occasionally met other sightseers on her travels, and it is apparent that the tourist onslaught had begun. Hogg, Heron, Wordsworth and others such as John Leyden and Thomas Garnett published accounts of their tours, but these were surely not the only visitors to Scotland at this time.⁸² Others must also have visited the country, but the published accounts remain the best known. Furthermore, the fact that most of the accounts indicate that the travellers essentially followed the same basic route is confirmation that tourism in Scotland was already becoming reasonably conventional. Scotland remained a popular tourist destination throughout the nineteenth century as visitors flocked to see what Kohl described as a 'country so diversified and so interesting in its picturesque beauty, and so delightfully indented by the sea'.⁸³ Travel was made a less laborious business with the various developments in steam travel and the expanding network of railways and canals. All the tourist activity gradually led to changes within the local economy in the Highlands. For example, in the Trossachs, where there had previously only been rough tracks and modest villages, the arrival of such numbers of visitors meant a new demand for transport and accommodation. As noted in the preceding section, the publication of Scott's *Lady of the Lake* in 1810 further stimulated the interest of visitors to the area. As a direct result of this association, roads were developed between Callander, Aberfoyle and Loch Katrine, which made it possible to run a regular stagecoach service from Stirling into the heart of the Trossachs. The westward spread of the railways also provided quicker transport for even greater numbers of interested travellers, and hotels and inns prospered in the surrounding areas.

The period from the middle to the end of the nineteenth century saw the construction of many of the hotels in the Highlands, a development that coincided with the expansion of the railway system north from Glasgow and Edinburgh. The first half of the century had witnessed the development of the paddle steamer: Smout notes that the advent of the sea-going paddle steamer operating up the inner firths of the West Highlands was the first revolutionary improvement in tourist access to the Highlands. When Mendelsson and his friend Carl Kingemann made their Romantic tour in 1829, they found in Glasgow some seventy steamboats.⁸⁴ The construction of hotels is often linked with the opening of the railway at that specific location. Butler comments that the Highland railways were largely responsible for opening up a picturesque and interesting portion of Scotland and in attracting many thousands of tourists annually to famous places and districts. The

extension of the railway network allowed for convenient and comfortable access to many areas, which were previously only reached by several days journey by stagecoach over inferior roads.⁸⁵ Measom commented that Edinburgh was now (in 1859) within eleven hours of London. He claimed that a revolution had occurred in terms of time and space, the full consequences of which no one could predict.

All those social influences which result from frequent intercourse between town and town, or between state and state – all that follows on interchange of thought or interchange of produce – will now be presented to us more rapidly, by the iron roads of the north, than at any former period.⁸⁶

Furthermore, the tourist industry depends on the ease of access, and the convenience of the railways was obviously advantageous to the development of the tourist trade within the Highlands of Scotland. In the nineteenth century railways were innovative, and their influence on the organisation and patterning of everyday life grew as the networks consolidated. Journeys that were previously virtually impossible now became practical propositions provided that the destination was near a railway line.⁸⁷

Thomas Cook realised the immediate appeal of the railway lay not in its social consequences, nor even its economic ones, profound though these were. It lay in the sheer novelty and excitement of the sensation, and by the 1840s railways and their promotion had become something of 'a fashion and a frenzy'.⁸⁸ Cook's achievement was to associate himself with the spirit of the age; he represented the evolution of tourism in Britain and his organised excursions were a startling novelty for the Victorians. Scotland proved to be the making of Cook, and he extolled the virtues of the country:

The lovely attractions of the verdant landscape, the majestic grandeur of the towering mountain, the music of the rill and the chorus of the rolling flood, the spicy nature of Flora's bower and the reviving inhalations of nature's universal garden.⁸⁹

In promoting Scotland he had an ally in Queen Victoria, and Cook was quick to make the most of the royal association, claiming that 'our Good Queen... leads the way in Excursion trips and countenances them by her Royal example'. It was due to such regal influence, the natural attractions of the lochs and glens, and to improved communications and transport that Cook made Scotland the primary tourist destination for Victorians. Indeed, Cook declared that Scotland 'almost imperceptibly transformed me from a cheap Excursion conductor to a Tourist Organiser and Manager'.⁹⁰

His first Scottish tour was in the summer of 1846, and further tours were organised in 1847. By the mid-1850s, more than four thousand people had travelled to Scotland under his auspices.⁹¹ His central value was to provide special tickets and to map out circular routes; he supplied handbooks and cut through the confusion, which arose as a result of the vicissitudes of transport companies. Cook also accompanied several large parties of tourists every year, usually to Scotland. A typical programme of Cook's Scottish tours was still enough of a novelty in 1853 to merit the attention of *Chamber's Edinburgh Journal*. This publication reported that the tourists followed a regulated and well-planned route, which took them around the main Scottish sights. They spent their first night within the capital before setting off on their tour of the country:

They start off by the North British Railway to Melrose, have a peep at the Abbey, then go by the next train to St Boswell's, then walk to Dryburgh, and back to Edinburgh the same evening. Friday next arrives, and with it a busy day's work, for which long daylight and fine weather are needed. A special train starts betimes from Edinburgh to Glasgow, and an hour is then left to enable the Britons to get snugly on board a steamer at the Broomielaw; they start down the Clyde to Bowling, then take the little railway to Balloch, then steam up Loch Lomond to Tarbert, next walk over to Arrochar, at the head of Loch Long, and then steam down Loch Long to the Clyde and Glasgow: '100 miles sailing, railing, and walking through the most enchanting scenery in Scotland, all for 4s.' – so says the programme.⁹²

Cook's tourists also visited Skye, where 'each tourist was requested to read, before he starts, *The Lord of the Isles*, to prepare him for what he is about to see'⁹³. This once again stresses the importance of Walter Scott in creating a universal understanding of Scotland. By 1860 Cook had conveyed some 50,000 tourists to Scotland and had, as a modern historian writes 'completed the work of Scott'.⁹⁴ He had received numerous marks of esteem for his services to tourism in Scotland, and more significantly, had stimulated the development of an array of services for the tourist. He had made Cook's cheap rail tickets available to all tourists and given them a new flexibility in travel arrangements.

These developments are proof of the growing tourist industry in Scotland, as entrepreneurs capitalised on the commercial appeal that Scotland held for so many. Even the steamers were romantically characterised - the *Rob Roy* and the *Sir Walter Scott* cruised on Loch Katrine, while another *Rob Roy* sailed from Glasgow to Inverness in 1838, and the *Helen Macgregor* journeyed between Glasgow and Oban, with occasional trips to Glencoe 'when a sufficient company offers'.⁹⁵ The names of these sailing vessels

again accentuates the connection between Walter Scott and the development of the tourist industry in Scotland, as discussed in the previous section. The nineteenth century not only saw the progression of an Industrial Revolution that brought about economic, cultural and structural changes but also a 'Leisure Revolution'.⁹⁶ Combined with the ethos of productivity and a new moral role of virtue, the assertive middle-class sought to organise new leisure activities of their own. Leisure for this class had to be not only respectable but also beneficial: good both for the soul and for the country as a whole. Leisure and recreation above all had to be rational. Bailey argues that 'the mid-nineteenth-century Victorian middle-class has been suspicious of the moral temptations of a beckoning leisure world, but had learned to assimilate it to their culture by devising suitably brisk and purposeful recreations,' supported by an army of rambles and hikers.⁹⁷ One of the main attractions of the Highlands for those from cities and towns was the opportunity they afforded for isolation and solitary contemplation.

Scotland and the Highlands gained a reputation as a place where nature had not yet been polished over by civilised society, and could therefore be seen as a land of adventure. There, one could delight in a more healthy life, unfettered by the refinements of Victorian society. This would appear to be a theme of the age – the desire for an experience which would give meaning to their vaporous lives.⁹⁸ There are several examples of this – the Arts and Crafts movement, championed by John Ruskin and William Morris, and the appeal of Medievalism, as seen in the recreation of chivalrous extravaganzas such as the Eglinton Tournament.⁹⁹ The intellectual and historical association of Scott's novels coupled with the robust pursuits of the Highlands proved to be a winning combination. Where Scotland was once derided for its backwardness, it was now regarded as a marvellously Romantic destination. Thomas Cook claimed that Scott 'gave a sentiment to Scotland as a tourist country', and Cook himself endeavoured to 'foster and develop that sentiment'.¹⁰⁰

The development of the tourist industry also affected other areas of commercial activity. The nineteenth-century fashion for the Scottish landscape in painting can be pragmatically seen as the commercialisation of the scenery, and by consequence, of Scotland. It would be incorrect to view this development as distinctly unique to Scotland, as it is reflected in the artistic trends in other countries, in particular Germany, Wales and the English Lake District, but nevertheless it is an important consideration as part of the heritage industry of Scotland. There exists a long cultural tradition of Scottish art which has been inherited, and which has been immersed in the formation of current ideas of

what should be looked at. While it is not possible to escape this pervasive influence, it is enlightening. This developing heritage gives rise to questions such as when did people begin to consider the scenery of Scotland worthy of attention, what did they search for, and where in Scotland did they discover it?

Artists' Impressions: scenery and landscape

Again the hand of Sir Walter Scott appears to be implicated in this movement of appreciation of Scottish scenery, as we have seen, but he was only a part of an entire cultural predisposition that did much to stimulate an aesthetic interest in nature. Men such as Dr. T Garnett expounded the medically beneficial effects of the scenery, and the idea that the contemplation of landscape could be inspirational was important in relation to its effect on attitudes toward landscape painting.¹⁰¹ As with the advent of tourism within Scotland, the Napoleonic wars aided the development of the high esteem with which British artists came to regard their native landscape. With Britain and France at war, and travel to the continent virtually halted, attention was turned within, and interest sparked in what was on offer within Britain. Travel guides proliferated; many illustrated by artists, published to meet the growing demand. One in particular did much to arouse an interest in the aesthetic appeal of nature. The travel tours of William Gilpin, published in the 1780s, trained the traveller to acknowledge and admire scenery and landscape in terms of art, an idea that formed the basis of his aesthetic doctrine of the Picturesque. Scotland was considered to be one of the most engaging parts of Britain, and was believed to possess an abundance of Picturesque potential. This was considered to be the case because of the ample diversity of features on offer - ranging from the gentle hillsides of the Border country to the dramatic and forbidding peaks of the Highland mountains.

Gilpin's theories on art owe something to the work of Edmund Burke. In 1757 he published his *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*, which had a considerable impact on the artistic world. In making a direct connection between the Scottish landscape and the Picturesque, Gilpin published his *Scotch Tour* in 1789 with the accompaniment of descriptions and aquatint plates of the Scottish landscape. This did much to increase the swelling demand for books and views,

Figure 26.



Alexander Nasmyth, *West Loch Tarbert, Looking North*, c. 1802.

Alexander Nasmyth, who has been described as the father of Scottish landscape painting, bridges the gap between two stylistic eras in Scottish art - uniting the Italianate ideal of Claude with the genesis of nineteenth-century Romanticism. This painting of Loch Tarbert illustrates how true to nature Nasmyth was in his approach to the depiction of weather and light conditions: creating an atmospheric vision of the landscape.

Therefore, Gilpin believed that the knowledge of history and historical associations were essential to any appreciation of landscape, and so culture and tradition were inextricably linked to the ideal of the Picturesque and the enjoyment of the scenery of landscape. The idea that association with the historical or literary past could enhance a natural beauty spot gained ground as the eighteenth century drew to a close. Archibald Alison's *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste* (1790) further developed the connection between the landscape and the viewer. In Alison's view, the painter's role was to

thus bolstering the strong and broadly based interest in Scotland which was swiftly blossoming. For many artists and writers at the end of the eighteenth century, the vastness and violence of nature inspired awe and terror, which was described as the experience of the 'Sublime'. It was the opportunity to express these emotions through landscape painting which attracted many to the mountains of Britain and the Continent, and to paint the savage, elemental forces of nature which could be seen in storms and mountainous seas. The Highlands, with bleak hills and a general air of foreboding especially attracted attention from overseas visitors, and to those versed in the doctrine of the Picturesque, recalled the dark and premonitory paintings of Salvator Rosa and Gaspard Dughet.¹⁰² Indeed, Smout notes that many of the early tourists had a generalised and indiscriminate view of the scenery, looking to the paintings of Claude, Poussin and Rosa as models for what to look for. Men held Claude glasses – frames with tinted glass – to view the scenery to give it appropriate tones, a development which was true all over England and Wales as well as Scotland.¹⁰³ Walter Scott also utilised artistic examples as models for descriptions of scenery – in *Waverley* the hero finds Flora gazing on a waterfall, 'like one of those lovely forms which decorate the landscapes of Poussin.'¹⁰⁴

As a result many English artists visited Scotland, with the specific intention of sketching the picturesque countryside for private patrons, commissioned illustrations, or simply in the belief that there existed a potential market for paintings of the Scottish landscape. However, landscape was not considered to be the sole attraction in Scotland. Gilpin believed that the history of the country added enormously to the aesthetic appeal and evaluation of the landscape.

The constant quarrels between the Scotch and the English which were generally decided in Scotland have made it a fertile scene of military events; to which several have been added by rebellions since the union. In fact, you can hardly ascend any elevated ground, without turning your eye over the scene of some memorable action.¹⁰⁵

Therefore, Gilpin believed that the knowledge of history and historical associations were essential to any appreciation of landscape, and so culture and tradition were indubitably linked to the ideal of the Picturesque and the cognisance of the beauties of landscape. The idea that association with the historical or literary past could enhance a natural beauty spot gained ground as the eighteenth century drew to a close. Archibald Alison's *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste* (1790) further developed the connection between the landscape and the nation. In Alison's view the painter's role was to

associate nature and culture; he writes of the ability of the mind to confer on external objects:

A character which does not belong to them; and even with the rudest or common appearances of nature, to connect feelings of nobler or a more interesting kind, than any that the mere influences of matter can ever convey.¹⁰⁶

An awareness of and a respect for the past grew during the last decades of the eighteenth century. The publications of men such as Francis Grose and Thomas Pennant and the poetry of Ossian stimulated an interest in Scottish history, which was only to be fully satiated by the writings of Walter Scott. In 1830 Sir Walter Scott echoed these sentiments of the Picturesque when he linked the ideas of tradition, culture and landscape in writing that 'every valley has its battle, and every stream its song'.¹⁰⁷ The literary, historical and pictorial associations connected with Scottish scenery as a general rule stimulated the attractions of Scotland, and had the additional effect of heightening the patriotic passion and enthusiasm of Scott, and assuredly stirring the curiosity of artists and visitors to the country.

Unsurprisingly, artists did not look only to writers for their inspiration. They were also motivated by the work of other painters. Salvator Rosa, the great Romantic landscape painter, touched the imagination of the generation of painters who were active in the 1760s and 1770s. Rosa had effectively created a new vision of the landscape, one which was sympathetically responsive to the Picturesque effects of nature. There was still a tendency to ignore landscape painting as a lesser genre in art, but this gradually changed over the nineteenth century. John Eagles wrote in 1848 that the landscape painter was equal in terms of artistic genius to the history painter. He emphasised the link between art and poetry of association:

I care not for art that is not creative, that does not construct poetry. From all that is most soft and tender, to all that is most great and rugged, from the sweet to the awful and sublime, there is in all art, whether it be of landscape, or historical.¹⁰⁸

Thus, art was viewed as a language of poetry; it had illustrative power that encouraged reminiscences and memories of bygone glory. Romanticism helped break down the hierarchy of artistic genres, and as a general rule, artistic value was measured in terms of individual subjectivity and creativity.

Scottish artists were also influenced by the new Romantic light which altered perceptions of the scenery, although in Scotland, landscape as a vital art came late. The stricter canons of classicism that had held sway over art suppressed the development of the landscape

composition. The ideals which had inspired Claude and Gaspar Poussin withered under the stricter artistic canons of the ensuing century, and the naturalistic tendencies of the later eighteenth century signalled the beginnings of a more expansive movement, a response to long-accepted theories in many different directions. John Thompson's poetic work *The Seasons* (1729) signalled the beginning of the Picturesque perception of the Scottish landscape, but his poetry was several decades ahead of pictorial imagery. It was not until the late 1760s that artists were able to couple Thompson's refreshing vision of nature with their Italianate concept of the landscape. Alexander Nasmyth bridges the gap between the two stylistic eras, and has been described as the father of Scottish landscape painting, uniting the Italianate ideal of Claude with the genesis of nineteenth-century Romanticism.¹⁰⁹ In a letter to Nasmyth from Seville in April 1828, Wilkie wrote:

To you whose taste has drawn so much from Italy, and whose genius has made Scotland the theme as well as the school of landscape painting, all that nature presents here would be uninteresting. The elegance and beauty with which you have so often illustrated our Highlands and our Lowlands would be thrown away upon the arid wastes of Spain.¹¹⁰

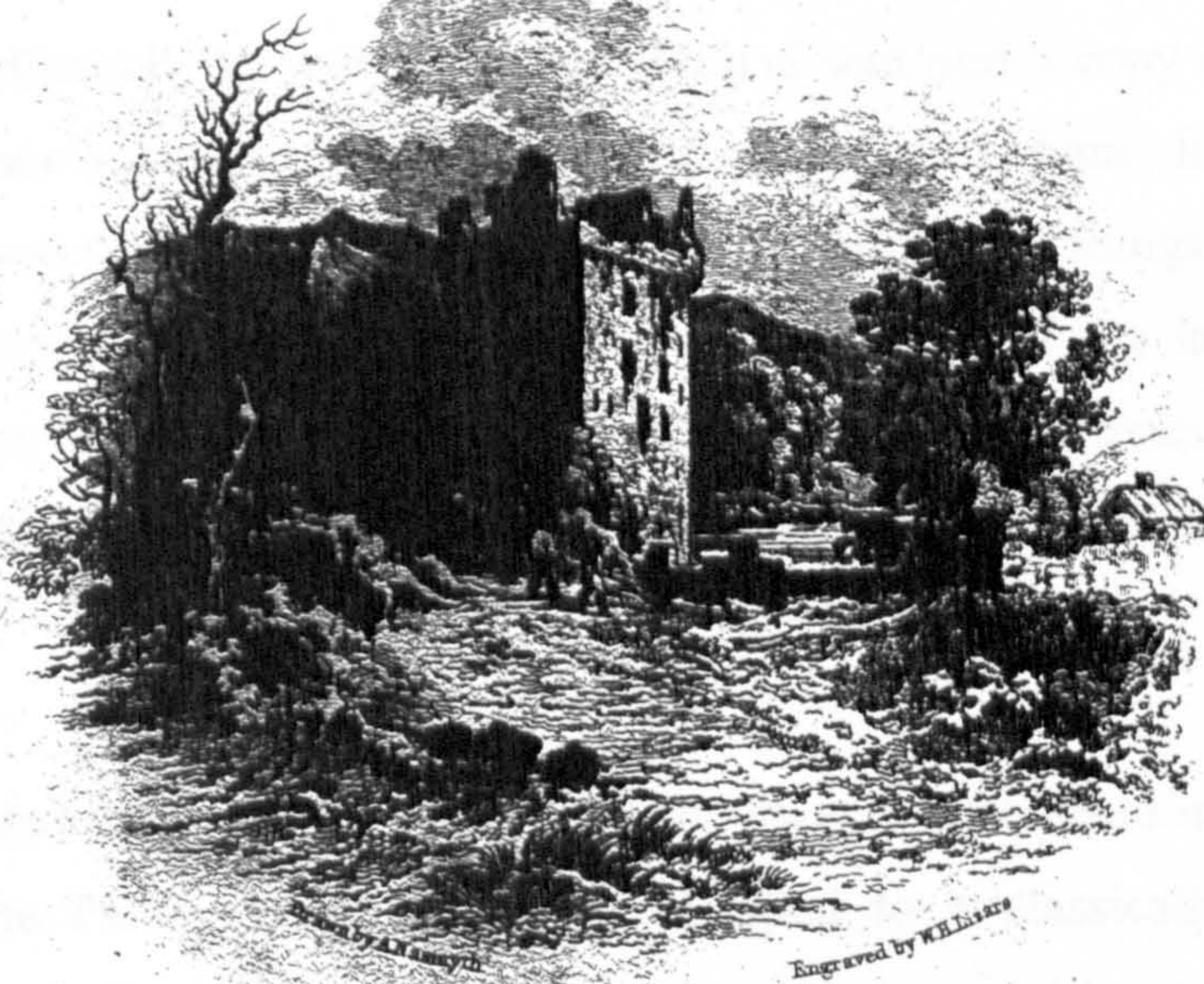
Originally a portrait-painter, Nasmyth gave this up in favour of landscape and scene-painting which included the stock scenery for Glasgow's Theatre Royal, and the scenery for *The Heart of Midlothian* in the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh. Nasmyth's work also shows the influence of literature, and testifies to the intrinsic connection between literature, history and art in Scotland. Nasmyth was a close friend of Robert Burns, and the two often explored the landscape together. In August 1784 Burns wrote of his ambitions as a poet, but places this in the context of the landscape which he saw as incorporating the history of the country:

However I am pleased with the works of our Scotch poets, particularly the excellent Ramsay, and the still more excellent Ferguson, yet I am hurt to see other places in Scotland, their towns, rivers, woods, haughs etc, immortalized... while my dear native country, the ancient bailleries of Carrick, Kyle and Cunningham, famous both in ancient and modern times for a gallant and warlike race of inhabitants; a country where civil, and particularly religious liberty have ever found their first support, and their last asylum; a country the birthplace of many famous philosophers, soldiers, and statesmen, and the scene of many important events in Scottish history, particularly a great of the actions of the glorious Wallace, the Saviour of his country; yet we have never had a Scottish

Figure 27.

THE
POETICAL WORKS
OF
SIR WALTER SCOTT, BARONET.

VOL. I.
MINSTRELSY



EDINBURGH;

PRINTED FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO. EDINBURGH;
LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN; J. MURRAY;
AND HURST, ROBINSON, AND CO. LONDON.

1821.

Alexander Nasmyth,

Title page for Walter Scott's *The Poetical Works, Volume I*, c1821.

Nasmyth's later career involved extensive illustrative work for Walter Scott, such as this vignette for *The Poetical Works*. However, his gentle interpretation of the landscape did not really meet with Scott's Romantic requirements.

poet of any eminence, to make the fertile banks of Irvine, the romantic woodlands and sequestered scenes on Ayr, and the heathy mountainous source and winding sweep of the Doun, emulate the Tay, Forth, Ettrick, Tweed, etc. ¹¹¹

Nasmyth's approach to the landscape was very similar to Burns', and the poet's narration of his expedition to the Highlands indicates an awareness of the theories of the Picturesque, describing the journey progress through landscapes which recalled the Sublime paintings of Salvator Rosa to the milder, gentler landscape of Claude.¹¹²

There was also an emphatic interest in a landscape of association, where the fundamental grandeur of the scenery grows in consequence by virtue of historical incidents connected to that vicinity. Archibald Alison's *Essays on Taste* (1790) enhanced the affinity between the landscape and the nation. Alison was a close friend of Walter Scott and the artist Raeburn, and additionally he met Burns in 1780 and sent him a copy of his book upon publication. Alison's premise, which followed the theories of Hume, Reid and Raeburn, was that beauty was to be found in association, particularly those things which are linked to episodes of patriotism. Thus, the charm and sublimity of the landscape is often elevated by what has transpired there; 'in every country the scenes which have the deepest effect... are those which have become sacred by the memory of ancient virtue or ancient glory.'¹¹³

Nasmyth facilitated the portrayal of the actual landscape of Scotland in accordance with the ideals of the Picturesque. He was committed to a classically formed vision; influenced by the Italian landscapes of Claude, and he favoured locales in Scotland that lent themselves to this ideal.¹¹⁴ His earlier landscapes show the distinct influence of Claude and another Scottish artist, Jacob More, who also favoured Italianate scenes. However, precise comparisons with Claude are deceptive; Williams and Brown indicate that while Nasmyth was inclined to select views which were Claudian, when it came to the specifics of the painting he was scrupulously accurate.¹¹⁵ He did not attempt to reproduce the golden glow of Claudian landscapes; rather, as Irwin aptly states, he captured the pink-tinged atmosphere of the Western Highlands that fleetingly dyes the mountains a luminous purple at certain times of the day.¹¹⁶

Castle Huntly and the Tay (1800), by Nasmyth, is a flawless example of his approach to landscape. Painted on a large canvas, the landscape opens out from the shadows of the tress. The tall castle is placed in the middle distance, with the Tay and the hills of Fife in the distance. The formality of the composition imparts a sense of harmony and

permanence to an actual scene. Often architecture is the principle focus of his work, and the positioning of this is the whole basis of his composition. The consequence of this is a human-centred painting - with signs of human life, even if no figures are actually present - based on practical analysis of the scene: a characteristic which led to his supplementary employment as a landscape consultant. Nasmyth's paintings show man at the centre of the landscape, but nature is not passive; he customarily portrayed an aspect of human habitation with an expanse of water and distant hills. This is the realm of untamed nature, presented in a serene and harmonious light. His finest landscapes date from this period, and further examples are the group of four paintings in the vicinity of Stonefield Castle in Argyllshire (c.1801-2). Macmillan notes that at first glance these paintings appear to belong to the class of country-house pictures, since they represent the landscape owned by the Campbells of Stonefield, the family who commissioned the set of paintings. However, Macmillan suggests that these paintings are actually representative of the old Highland relationship to the land, just at the moment that it was vanishing under the onslaught of modern ideas of property.¹¹⁷

These views of Tarbert are each taken looking towards a different point of the compass, and reveal how true to nature Nasmyth was in his handling of weather and light conditions. The view of *West Loch Tarbert looking North* (1802) is suffused with the pink tinged atmosphere mentioned by Irwin, which casts a purplish tint on the hills. (See figure 26.) Nasmyth has efficiently employed Claudian technique in painting the lush foliage of one of the trees in the foreground, which is perceived as heavy and solid against the sky, while the smaller tree is seen as delicate, its leaves illuminated, thus blurring the transition between the foreground and the distance. This painting has been described as the ancestor of countless views of the spacious beauty of the west Highlands, but it has not been often surpassed.¹¹⁸

In addition to his pastoral scenes, Nasmyth ventured into the field of urban landscape - an unsurprising move in light of his association with landscape architecture. He was, in common with all the most creative figures of the Enlightenment, essentially an urban creature. His paintings of Edinburgh, *Edinburgh from Calton Hill* (1825), and the companion piece *Princes Street with the Commencement of the Building of the Royal Institution* (1825), are examples of extraordinary urban analysis. The former bases its composition looking into the city from Calton Hill, while the latter looks east from Princes Street to the slopes of Arthur's Seat. In each composition the inter-connection of the medievalism of the Old Town and the elegance of the New Town is manifest.

Figure 28.



Horatio McCulloch, *Glencoe*, 1864.

For McCulloch, the historical associations of the Pass of Glencoe were a bonus; the scene and its historical implications were incorporated with the artist's unmistakably Romantic assessment of the Scottish Highlands. There is unquestionably something sentimental about McCulloch's interpretation of this scene, and his devotion to nature is evident. There is also an element of drama in the composition, apparent in the gleaming light coming from behind the mountains, the various colours of heather and the alert deer in the foreground can be regarded as the theatricality of nature.

Nasmyth's compositions reveal a judicious, eighteenth-century survey of the transformation of Edinburgh, a city which is by virtue of topography a naturally Romantic town.¹¹⁹ The *Princes Street* painting also incorporates the construction of the new Royal Institution building, reflecting Nasmyth's personal appreciation for the first purpose-built art facility. In a similar manner, his stage designs for the *Heart of Midlothian* (1820) also mirror this interest in chronicling the evolving cityscape and substantiating the idea of the city with an artistic and literary style in its own right – a natural progression of the theories of association. Nasmyth had witnessed the demolition of the old Tollbooth in the company of Walter Scott, and the set which he later painted respond to his interpretation of the historical texture of the living city, an element that is so important in the novel.

Nasmyth's later career involved extensive illustrative work for Walter Scott, but his amiable vision did not really meet with Scott's Romantic needs. (See figure 27.) On occasion he endeavoured to depict a more explicitly Romantic interpretation, but he was ill at ease within that medium. Nevertheless, he was recognised by his contemporaries as having made a significant contribution to the genre of landscape painting in Scotland and indeed, to having nationalistically raised the profile of the Scottish scene. Wilkie, in a letter to Nasmyth's widow described him as:

One of my earliest professional friends, whose art I at all times admired, and whose society and conversation were perhaps the most agreeable of any friend I ever met with. He was the founder of the landscape painting in Scotland, and by his taste and talents took the lead for many years in the patriotic aim of enriching his native land with representations of her Romantic scenery. As the friend and contemporary of Allan Ramsay, of Gavin Hamilton, and the Runcimans, Mr Nasmyth may be the last remaining link that united the present with the early school of Scottish art.¹²⁰

Nasmyth's closest successor in terms of rural and urban imagery was John Knox. Macdonald observes that Knox responded to Walter Scott's literary geography of Scotland in a manner respectful of the Claudian tradition of Nasmyth.¹²¹ This is clearly evident in *Landscape with Tourists at Loch Katrine* (1820), a faithful visual commentary on the growing popularity of the Trossachs as a direct result of the publication of the *Lady of the Lake*. The painting is clearly a response to the popularity of Scott's *Lady of the Lake*, and the area is shown to be a focus for visitors with the primary elements of the tourist industry already in place – even down to the piper who stands in the foreground. Nasmyth's influence is still visible in Knox's depiction of the *Trongate, Glasgow* (1826).

Hardie comments that these views of Glasgow, peopled with many small figures, make him seem a kind of Glasgow Carlevaris.¹²² Over time Knox moved on from his original stance and his later compositions were depictions of panoramic views from the top of Ben Lomond. The panoramic perspective chosen by Knox was considered delightful. In John Burnet's *The Progress of a Painter in the Nineteenth Century* (1854) the author records:

'Space', said Wilkie, 'is a delicious quality to give a picture – the eye delights in looking into unrestrained expanse. The frame obstructs it in looking to the right or left, but aerial perspective enables the spectator to gratify this vision with the greatest expanse of distance. He is pleased when everything seems to keep its relative distance from the eye.'¹²³

These paintings of *Ben Lomond* observe the expanse of the peaks of the western Highlands, and they opened the way for the further development of the Highlands as a visual spectacle.¹²⁴ Indeed, Horatio McCulloch continued his artistic education with the study of easel painting under Knox in Glasgow, and this association undoubtedly influenced the Picturesque composition of his early work.

According to Halsby and Harris, McCulloch and Landseer together created the Victorian image of the Scottish Highlands, and McCulloch himself was largely responsible for the popularity of Scottish landscape paintings.¹²⁵ That both Landseer, an English artist, and the native-born McCulloch chose to paint the Scottish scenery underlines the predominance of the image of Scotland at this time. Both were hugely successful painters, and sold paintings in Scotland and England. While the popularity of the Highlands can be seen as English led demand for consuming Romantic Scotland, the romanticised artists' image of Scotland was certainly devoured within Scotland. The advent of the Scottish Academy had heralded various changes within the structure of the art field in Scotland – the professionalisation and individualisation of art, and the increased possibility of native artists to remain in Scotland and 'live by ones own brush'.¹²⁶ The appearance of the annual public exhibitions of modern art at the RSA in Edinburgh and the West of Scotland Academy in Glasgow procured the attention of the middle-class art market. As Lang noted, the artist can work for the culture of the upper strata of society until the culture of his own class becomes conscious and demanding.¹²⁷ Artists tended to paint what they knew would sell at exhibitions, and what they could sell was landscape painting, broadly in the Romantic / realist idiom.¹²⁸ While the art of any period tends to serve the ideological interests of the ruling class, the increased number of consumers within the nineteenth-century art market reflected the desires of a larger

Figure 29.



Horatio McCulloch, *Loch Katrine*, 1866.

This is perhaps the definitive illustration of the setting for Walter Scott's *The Lady of the Lake*. The tranquillity of the scene produces a sense of timelessness and serenity that belies its popularity with tourists, indeed, no human presence intrudes to break the spell. Loch Katrine had attained an almost mythical status among Romantic artists, and McCulloch capitalised on Scott's description of the Loch to create the ultimate Romantic landscape.

McCulloch was born in Glasgow in 1801, and moved to Edinburgh in 1820. He was originally apprenticed as a house painter, but obtained lessons with the artist Knox

proportion of society. The subject matter of the paintings is significant, as essentially the purchase of a painting is akin to the purchase of the subject depicted. The popularity of Scottish landscape scenes within the Scottish art market also argues against any sense of false consciousness within this arena. It implies a value judgement; if the purchase of the painting is comparable to the purchase of the scenery illustrated, then by owning the landscape painting, the patron effectively owned not only the image of the landscape, but that particular fragment of Scottish culture and heritage.

This was effectively the beginning of the native tradition of landscape painting, which reached its peak in the mid-nineteenth century. The idealised and Romantic view of the Highlands, which ultimately became synonymous with the world's image of Scotland as a whole, is best depicted in the paintings of Horatio McCulloch. His work can be viewed as the purest artistic expression of patriotic pride. Williams and Brown have said that the patriotic pride expressed in the writing of Burns and Scott, which some historians have explained as a late blooming cultural compensation for the political castration of Scotland by the Act of Union, initially found a painterly outlet in the work of the first generation of the Scottish School of artists.¹²⁹ These works include Raeburn's portraits and Wilkie's genre subjects, but it is in the paintings of McCulloch that it reaches its highest point.

Horatio McCulloch undoubtedly inherited Thompson's mantle as the premier landscape painter of Scotland, and he spent fifty years devoted to the study of the Scottish scenery. Much of McCulloch's contemporary popularity was based on his portrayal of the Highlands and the adaptation of scenes revealed in Scott's *Lady of the Lake* and *The Lord of the Isles*. As early as 1833 he exhibited works which were entitled *Loch Lomond*, *Head of Loch Fyne*, and *Ben Cruachan, Argyllshire*, indicating that by this time he had already established his particular interest in the Highland landscape. McCulloch's early pictures show the influence of Thompson, but as his style matured he exaggerated his characteristic approach to painting, delineating the Highland landscape and embedding his vision of Scotland within the Victorian consciousness. McCulloch had a discerning appreciation for the more obvious characteristics of the Highland landscape – the boulder-strewn slopes of the mountains, the shadowed forms of hills and the restless effects of the atmospheric conditions – and all are familiar in his canvases.

McCulloch was born in Glasgow in 1805, and named in memory of Horatio Nelson. He was originally apprenticed to a house painter, but attended lessons with the artist Knox

and spent a period of time in Cumnock, decorating snuffboxes. He was influenced by the work of the Rev. John Thompson, whose Romantic vision of Scotland, expressed in exuberant brushwork, encouraged McCulloch's move away from classical compositions towards a more free style of painting and a keener interest in nature. It was also Thompson, with his close friendship with Turner and Walter Scott, who stimulated McCulloch's awareness of the historical associations of landscape. McCulloch's paintings were unencumbered by academic tradition; he painted fresh breezy watercolours, which were later translated into larger compositions, losing none of the vitality and freshness of the original sketch. His landscapes were very popular in Scotland, and were often engraved and sold in great numbers. In some respects, McCulloch had a progressive approach, particularly in the dissemination of his subjects, but in other matters he remained a distinctly mid-century painter, especially in his use of colour and choice of subject.

McCulloch came to be admired by his peers as the pre-eminent national painter, and it is his conception and understanding of the Highlands which, even a century after his demise, is still the epitome of Scotland in the mind of the general public. The *Art Journal* described him as 'the Magnus Apollo of the Northern Landscape artists'.¹³⁰ McCulloch painted a vision of an unspoilt terrain, generally with no indication of human habitation or intrusion, accentuating all the peculiarities and traits which served to differentiate the Highland landscape from that of other mountainous or alpine countries. The overwhelming mood of these paintings is that of the new Romantic appreciation for the Scottish Highlands. Moreover, it is his importance as an artist of his age that is most significant in the context of this thesis. His celebrity as a painter and the manner in which he painted his subjects reflect the Victorian preoccupation with the Highlands, and indeed the commercial value of the scenery in terms of landscape painting. McCulloch effectively established a formula for Highland landscapes, which absorbed the influences of Walter Scott, Turner, and earlier Scottish painters such as Wilkie.

He effectively depicted the new Romantic appreciation of the landscape, shaping the iconography of the Scottish Highland scenery, replete with familiar motifs and characteristic subjects, in a sense continuing the traditions of Poussin and Claude in their interpretations of 'classical' landscapes. McCulloch was conscious of the sense of nostalgic continuity within the landscape and created an elegiac ambience within his compositions. His style was one of precise observation combined with a free handling of paint which created a strong sense of light and atmosphere. McCulloch was a popular

Figure 30.



Horatio McCulloch, *Inverlochy Castle*, 1857.

Inverlochy Castle was a picturesque ruin, much loved by painters such as McCulloch as it appealed to the Romantic notions of ruined castles with an elaborate history. It featured in Scott's *Legend of Montrose*, and was illustrated by James Skene in his 1829 publication *A Series of Sketched of Existing Locations Alluded to in the Waverley Novels*. The painting itself is typical of McCulloch's work, showing his handling of atmospheric elements and the timeless quality of the finished work.

painter, and his contemporaries were effusive in their praise of his work, considering him to be a painter of epic landscapes which epitomised the Scottish scenery. In 1843 the *Art Union* reviewed the West of Scotland Academy exhibition, which was held in Glasgow, and noted that the majority of paintings sold were by native artists.¹³¹ The main subjects of the works were Scottish landscapes and paintings of Scottish history, among them McCulloch's *Sunset on the Clyde* and *Moonlight*. This certainly seems to point to the popularity of Scottish paintings by Scottish artists during the nineteenth century. The following year McCulloch contributed several paintings to the RSA annual exhibition in Edinburgh, all of which were singled out for praise by the *Art Union*:

Loch Aud – Sunset is a lovely picture, redolent of golden sunshine; the scenery, in itself delightful, is here enhanced by the judicious management of the peculiarities. *A Dream of the Highlands...* is another beauty; it aims, and successfully aims, at giving, in a condensed form, the general features of the Highland scenery, and in this light, claims for itself a place in the epic rank of landscape.¹³²

Another painting, *Moonlight*, which had been sold the previous year at the West of Scotland exhibition and was included in the RSA exhibition, was also subject to the approval of the critics:

[*Moonlight*] is a very fine picture, beautifully imbued with the feeling and the repose of moonlight; the composition, also, is admirable; there is a rich vein of fine poetry in the treatment, as well as the conception, of this delightful subject; it is one of the best specimens of the artist, and excels anything he has in the present exhibition.¹³³

Today McCulloch's paintings are undergoing something of a renaissance in popularity, and it is not difficult to understand the reasons for McCulloch's distinction and fame as a Victorian landscape painter. The *Art Journal* recorded their impression that 'His mountain subjects are in general well chosen, and his power of hand in transcribing them on canvas, is very masterly'; they further noted that he was 'equally at home upon the Highland loch, or in the old Caledonian forest'.¹³⁴ In the April exhibition of the RSA, the *Art Journal* reviewer selected McCulloch's *Highland Stronghold* for particular praise, emphasising the exceptional illustrative qualities of this immense force in colour:

Painted under a breezy, showery effect, which is so intensely true to nature as to be almost an illusion. The eye watches to see the storm-charged masses roll down the mountain slopes, and the ear listens to catch the whistling of the wind as it prostrates the ferns and tosses about the dwarfed and scanty-foliaged trees,

and the hiss and roar of the waves as they cleave themselves into spray on the rock which juts into the water from the natural mound on which the old grey fortress is perishing. On the left is a fine luminous sky, with warm buoyant clouds, lighting up the distant hills, but developing its influence more strongly in the sparkling water.¹³⁵

This vivid description of the painting conjures up images of melodramatic and vigorous theatrical effects employed by McCulloch in his intense interpretation of the melancholic and Romantic Highland landscape.

McCulloch's painting of *Misty Corries – Haunts of the Red Deer* (1847) is another highly Romantic interpretation of mountainous scenery. It was exhibited in the Royal Scottish Academy in Edinburgh in 1847, and aroused an enthusiastic review in *The Scotsman*:

Here is the very poetry of the pencil... High and vigorous is the thought of the entire subject, and it is embodied in one of the noblest specimens of broad and massy handling that ever hung on the walls of the Academy.¹³⁶

Similarly, McCulloch's depiction of *Glencoe* (1864) has a sentimental character, a feature that is emphasised by a comparison with Turner's atmospheric rendition of the same theme. (See figure 28.) The overwhelming effect of the painting is one of theatricality, yet McCulloch is undeniably true to nature in his style of painting, and so it must be concluded that the subject matter itself, the Highland landscape, lends itself to dramatic interpretation. McCulloch accentuates the dappling effect of sunlight breaking through the clouds, the colour of the heather and the damp swirling mists. The addition of the deer in the foreground of the picture is a reminder of the work of Landseer and his influence in popularising the Highlands. The original sketch for the painting placed a flock of sheep in the foreground, and their later replacement with the deer is perhaps an intentional commentary on the actual replacement of sheep with deer in many Highland glens.¹³⁷ The associations of the Highland Pass with the massacre of the MacDonalds at the hand of the Campbells in 1692 were a bonus for McCulloch - the scene and its historical undertone dovetailed flawlessly with the artist's infinite Romantic view of the region. (See also figure 30.)

Of all McCulloch's paintings, it is *Glencoe* that has survived as a popular image. The picture has been on public view almost without interruption since it entered the Glasgow City Collection in 1901. It has been lent to numerous exhibitions and has been frequently reproduced in a variety of forms. A compelling representation of Scotland's most famous glen, this view was already well known by the 1860s, but the critics were not entirely

happy with the colouring of the painting when it was first exhibited. A previous painting of the same subject was sent to London for exhibition in the 1840s, and this fared better with the critics. The *Art Union* commented:

The famous Glen is here brought forward under the aspect of a dark and menacing sky, which communicates to the rocks and precipices a grandeur well beseeming their character. It is a painting somewhat peculiar in style, but original, and of unprecedented merit.¹³⁸

McCulloch's painting of *Loch Katrine* (1866), completed two years after the composition of *Glencoe*, is an even more sentimental and Romantic image than this earlier work. It was impossible for cultured Victorians to see Loch Katrine without recalling Scott's famous poem, and many were impressed with the influence of Scott on the nation. (See figure 29.) Alexander Smith, a friend of McCulloch claimed in *A Summer in Skye*, (1865) that 'Scotland is Scott-land. He is the light in which it is seen.'¹³⁹ Smith also wrote of McCulloch's painting of *Loch Katrine* that; 'as a view of Highland scenery we have never seen its equal; and no man but McCulloch could have produced it.'¹⁴⁰ Nearly fifty years after the publication of Scott's poem *The Lady of the Lake*, this location had achieved a legendary status among Romantic artists. Turner had depicted the scene in his series of illustrations for Scott's *Poetical Works*, and McCulloch presumably drew some stimulus from Turner's work. However, McCulloch exploited Scott's portrayal of the area as a secluded haven to its fullest extent, and the resulting painting appears to be the definitive view of the setting for Scott's poem. The painting has a photographic quality to it - the crisp clear air is almost tangible, and no human presence is detectable. Again McCulloch's devotion to nature is clearly visible and he has painted the rocky surface of Ben Venue with a remarkable accuracy.

These last two paintings are powerful renditions of vast landscapes untouched by humankind. His work does not have the extravagant and whimsical nature of some other landscape artists, but it was frequently praised for its 'natural qualities'. As Irwin notes, McCulloch did not study nature from a scientific standpoint, as many of his contemporaries did. Alexander Fraser, a friend of McCulloch's clarified his approach toward nature: 'for him objects of sight were to be studied only as they were objects of taste - food for the imagination, or as they appealed to his sense of beauty or grandeur.'¹⁴¹ This is evident in McCulloch's handling of landscape subjects - he did not paint scenes exactly as they were; in *Glencoe* he exaggerated the precipitous nature of the mountains and narrowed the bottom of the valley so as to make the mountains rise more

Figure 31.



Sir Edwin Landseer, *A Highlander with his dogs*, (n.d.)

Landseer's initial success was as a painter of wee dogs, and in a sense this study represents a transitional period in his work. While he remains true to his roots in depicting small dogs, he also illustrates his burgeoning interest in Highland culture.

steeply. The sky, clearing after a storm, contrasts sharply with the sombre foreground, which heightens the nature theatricality. In *Loch Katrine*, he upholds the myth of 'uncontamination',¹⁴² the impressive view shows no indication of visitors or steamboats – his subject, then, is really the *Lady of the Lake*, rather than the Victorian tourist Mecca in the Trossachs.

This idea of a depopulated image of the Highlands is significant. There was an element of elitism inherent in this development, the idea that the Highlands were exclusive precisely because of their remoteness. John MacCulloch repeatedly toured Scotland between 1811 and 1821, recording his travels in a four volume guidebook *The Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland*.¹⁴³ He was enthralled by the imposing, wild scenery of Scotland, and of Loch Coruisk in particular. He wrote to Walter Scott that, 'I suspect that the knowledge of this place is limited to half a dozen persons exclusive of yourself and me'.¹⁴⁴ The implication of this statement is that at least part of the attraction of, and fashion for, the landscape was its exclusivity. Smout echoes this development of the connoisseur-tourist, noting that for something to be both *à la mode* and truly Sublime it should also be very exclusive, and Loch Coruisk fitted this description on both counts.¹⁴⁵ The notion of visiting a remote and uninhabited place appealed to the Victorians' Romantic sense of drama. This perception of the Highlands is confirmed by the artists' vision of the landscape as a barren and ultimately unpeopled milieu. The Highland vision of grand scenery and magic beauty was sustainable precisely because of the depopulation. As Fenyö aptly indicates, had the Highlands been covered in townships and people, it would have been difficult to sustain the vision of a mysterious and wild land.¹⁴⁶ So it would seem that the depopulation of the Highlands through encouragement of the Clearances actually served to enhance the uninhabited barren image of the region – and although this development appears incongruous, it actually worked symbiotically. The barren landscapes essentially provided grand solitude and a dramatic contrast for urban lowlanders escaping from the colourless industrialisation of the city. Notably, the majority of paintings that did portray contemporary Highlanders chose to emphasise the heroic - the sympathetic and Romantic aspects.

The second influential artist is Sir Edwin Landseer. It is ironic that the most celebrated painting of a Scottish subject is by an Englishman, and is without question one of the most renowned paintings in British art. It has been incessantly duplicated on almost every conceivable medium, from tea towels to biscuit tins and whisky labels, and there was a time when no self respecting middle-class drawing room in the country was lacking

a reproduction of the magnificent stag, the *Monarch of the Glen* (1851). (See frontispiece) Landseer was possibly the best known painter of his era, his name was a household word and his paintings were widely recognised. His vision of Scotland, therefore, impressed its stamp deeply on the popular mind. Landseer's depictions of the Highland landscapes are very much in keeping with the Romantic tradition: vast uninhabited vistas displaying the intensity and overwhelming composition of nature.

Landseer's first visit to Scotland was in 1824 when he accompanied the artist C R Leslie who was hoping to paint a portrait of Walter Scott. Upon their arrival in Scotland the pair decided to see something of the country for themselves and so embarked upon a tour. They visited the various sites on the well-trodden tourist trail - travelling from Glasgow to Loch Lomond and Loch Katrine, across to Loch Earn. (See figure 32.) It was in St Fillans that they first came across the traditional Highland games, and it appears that Landseer was captivated. Indeed, the whole experience of Scotland enthralled him, and he found the scenery more beautiful than he had imagined. He was also looking forward to meeting with Sir Walter Scott, who in turn was to become an enthusiast of Landseer's work. As with Turner before him, Landseer was commissioned to prepare illustrations to accompany Scott's work - in this case the Abbotsford editions of the *Waverley* novels. Scott was later to say that he found Landseer to be 'one of the most striking masters of the modern school', but *The Times* was to take this a stage further, describing Landseer as the 'Walter Scott of painting'. This theme was taken up by other journals of the time, in particular the *Daily News*:

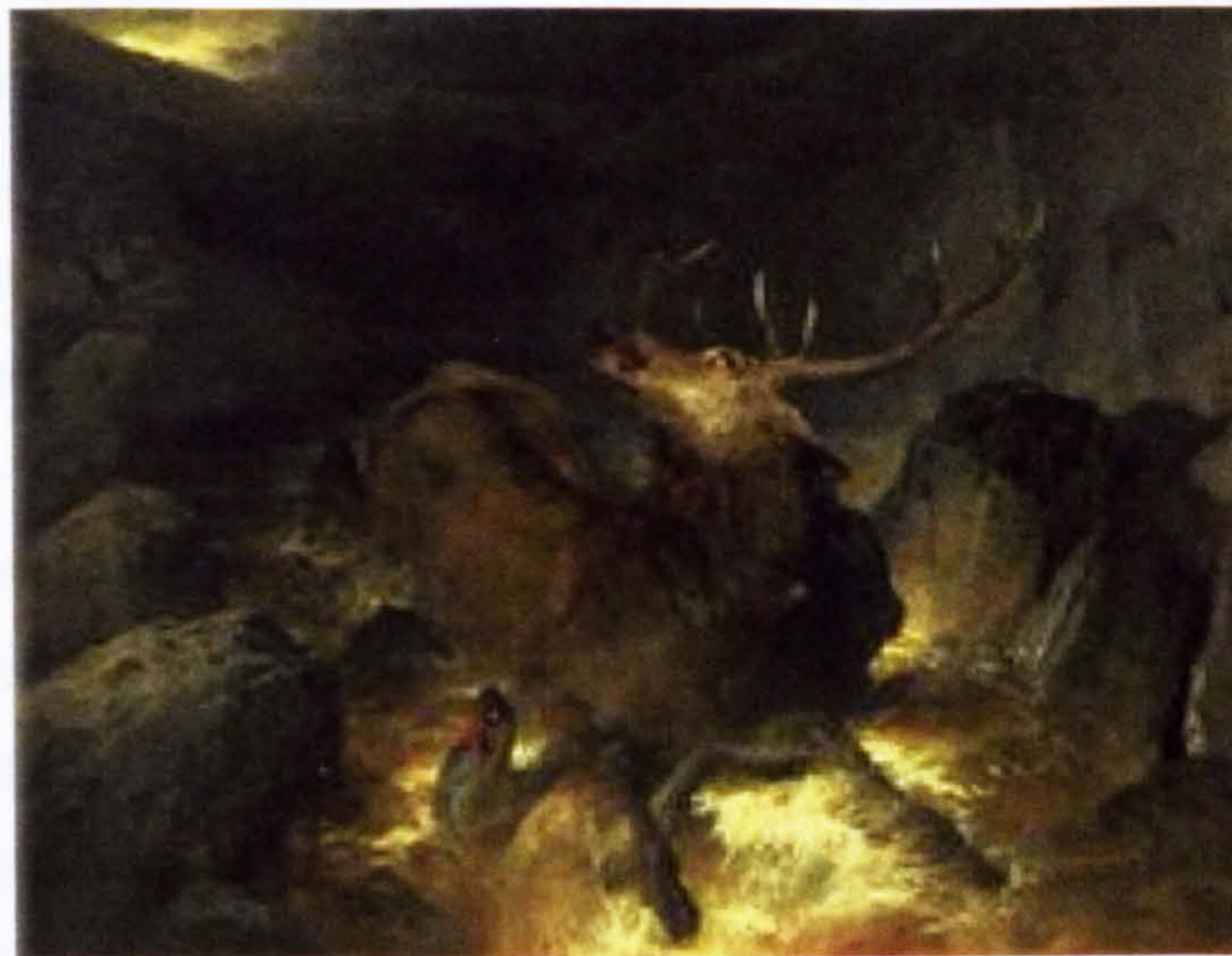
His method of composition was very similar to Scott's, except on the part of the early rising of the latter. Landseer went to bed and rose very late - coming down to breakfast at noon; but he had been composing perhaps for hours... His conception once complete, nothing could exceed the rapidity of his execution (which was) quite as marvellous as Scott's.¹⁴⁷

Landseer later remarked that he had spent the best years of his life in Scotland, and as one might expect from the man who painted the *Monarch of the Glen*, his most eager hope in first visiting Scotland was to see the red deer in their natural habitat. From the mid-1820s he actively cultivated the acquaintance of the great Highland families. For example, during September 1824 Landseer spent a few days with the Duke of Atholl to secure some sketches and studies of deer, a visit that was repeated in the following year. Landseer later spent much of his time in Scotland in the company of the Duchess of Bedford, who had leased land from the Duke of Gordon in Invereshie in Badenoch.¹⁴⁸

Figure 32.



Sir Edwin Landseer, *Loch Avon and the Cairngorm Mountains*, c.1833.



Sir Edwin Landseer, *Deer and Deerhounds in a Mountain Torrent (The Hunted Stag)*, 1832.

Landseer's vision of Scotland made a deep impression on the Victorian conscious. He painted over one hundred small landscape sketches, apparently for his own enjoyment rather than as material for his animal pictures. Most date from his early visits to Scotland between 1825 – 1835. His compositions of Highland landscapes are very much in keeping with the Romantic tradition: vast uninhabited prospects showing the sublimity of nature, and they reveal a fresh and direct response, especially to the mountain scenery. However, his paintings of animals in a Highland setting epitomised the attributes most admired by Victorians: the wild, unconstrained and bold majesty of the animal. Far from condemning the exploits of deerstalkers, Landseer honoured their endeavours, stressing the heroic machismo of the business, and depicted them in a heroic and dramatic style.

Artistically, Landseer found a new lease of life in the Highlands - as a young artist in London he was rapidly procuring a reputation as a painter of lap dogs and little else, whereas the Highlands gave him a new direction and stimulus. (See figure 31.) Campbell Lennie, his biographer, has suggested that Landseer's future career was conceivably that of a painter of wee dogs, as he was already beset by wealthy ladies waxing lyrical over the attributes of their pets and imploring him to paint them. Lennie declares that in this sense his discovery of the Highlands was effectively a reaffirmation of his masculinity.¹⁴⁹ The animals, which Landseer painted in a Highland setting, epitomised the qualities most admired by Victorians: the wild, independent and brave nobility enshrined in *The Monarch of the Glen*. Anthropomorphism not only achieved an instantaneous and unsophisticated emotional response, but can also be read as a more complex symbolic expression – containing an analogy of the Romantic Victorian ideal of the Noble Savage. Even so, his initial paintings of Highland scenes remain influenced by the idea that great art was only possible if it had a historical setting - and here he was perhaps influenced by the landscapes of Poussin, an ideal which was already associated with the rendering of landscape painting within Scotland. One early critic observed that 'Scotland taught him his true power - it freed his imagination: it braced up his loose ability and refined his mind: it developed his latent poetry: it completed his education.'¹⁵⁰ Certainly the Scottish scene seems to have had a beneficial effect on his career - in 1826, when aged only 24, Landseer was elected as an Associate of the Royal Academy. The composition that clinched this matter was the *Hunting of Chevy Chase* - a painting that clearly showed the influence of Walter Scott and the old border ballads. Indeed, Landseer had seen similar pictures hanging at Abbotsford, and was obviously impressed by their impressive size and the heroic themes.

Far from criticising the exploits of deerstalkers, Landseer glorified their endeavours, emphasising the heroic machismo of the affair, and portrayed them in as epic a style as possible. This lends support to Lennie's opinion about Landseer's quest to reaffirm his masculinity. It also underlines the idea of the connection between the landscape and national character. In 1848 the art critic John Eagles commented that

We have been a nation of country-gentlemen – fond of field sports; and this, our national character, has had much to do with our taste in art. Hence nothing answers so well as horses and dogs.¹⁵¹

If Eagles had added deer to his list of subjects, it would not have appeared out of place, so popular was the depiction of these animals in landscape painting. One of the paintings that perpetuated Landseer's name was the *Stag at Bay* (1846). This painting was

originally commissioned by the Marquess of Breadalbane, and was much desired by Victorian collectors. Indeed, one offered £10,000 for it, although the subsequent owner, Lady Pringle, claimed that no sum of money would ever induce her to part with Landseer's masterpiece. The *Stag at Bay* and the *Monarch of the Glen* were Landseer's two most celebrated and renowned paintings; they appealed to the national sporting instinct, with overtones of the vast Scottish baronial estates, and a royal, if not medieval, way of life. Landseer was aware of the psychology of it all, and in a letter to the Earl of Ellesmere in 1837 he noted:

There is something about the toil and trouble, the wild weather and the savage scenery that makes butchers of us all. Who does not glory in the death of a fine stag? on the spot – when in truth he ought to be ashamed of the assassination. I quite agree with your Lordship that there are many people one could shoot with greater pleasure and greater justice. Still, with all my respect for the animal's inoffensive character – my love of him *as a subject for the pencil* gets the better of such tenderness – a creature always picturesque and *never* ungraceful is too great a property to sacrifice to common feelings of humanity.¹⁵²

Landseer never intended to arouse sympathy for the stag, rather he saw the Scottish Highlands as a large game reserve where he could study the animals in their natural habitat. Nevertheless, many of the reviewers responded to the depiction of the stag as a noble victim of the brutality of an apparently civilised society:

Landseer... again astonishes by the marvels of his manipulation, dashing in more truth and nature with one bold sweep of his brush than some minute artist will produce (or, perchance, prevent) with a score or two. What tale of sorrow is written in the countenance of the *Stag at Bay*! It is the perfection of brute-eloquence, which calls on the most unfeeling of hunters to sympathise. Then with what vigour does the strong hair grow from the back of the dog! The dark watery sky, all pregnant with rain, hangs in gloomy accompaniment to the expression of animal grief. One may almost hear the drops of rain begin to patter upon the water in the background, so lowly, blackly and intensely does the weight of vapour press down upon it.¹⁵³

Landseer succeeds in emphasising the vigour and potential of the animal, while glorifying the actions of the hunters, and creates a sense of timelessness; a moment caught forever on canvas. He focused on the heroic pathos of the scene, utilising a romantic/sentimental and naturalistic technique which emphasised the savagery of nature.

Landseer differed from his English contemporaries by 'playing the Scottish card', emphasising the importance of the Scottish dimension and creating a world where animals were the focus, not people. The popularity of Landseer as an artist illustrates the fashion for Scottish scenery at this time - and in a way his magnificent portrayals of the landscape reflects the growing commercial interest in all things Scottish. Landseer found much of his inspiration in the Highland shepherds, crofters and drovers, viewing them in a Romantic light and mirroring the ideals of the Picturesque and Sublime, he saw them as nature's aristocrats. By his mid-thirties he had acquired a clientele which made him the envy of any British artist. Among his patrons he included the Gordon, Abercorn and Russell families, the Duke of Bedford, the Duke of Aberdeen, the Duke of Argyll, the Duke of Atholl and the Duke of Devonshire. He had also attracted the attention of Sir Walter Scott, Wellington and Lord Melbourne. *The Illicit Still* (1829), commissioned by the Duke of Wellington and exhibited at the Royal Academy, was the forerunner of a series of intimate Scottish scenes featuring a variety of Highland worthies, but it is his series of paintings featuring deer for which he is most remembered.

Landseer also gained royal approval - during their first journey around Scotland, Victoria and Albert purchased *The Sanctuary* (1842), a painting by Landseer, in which the royal carriage leads a party of wild birds and other wildlife. Adrienne Munich suggests that this painting may serve as a comment on Victoria and Albert's use of Balmoral, with its loyal servants, humble crofters and distance from the Chartists.¹⁵⁴ Another painting, *Deer Drive: Glen Orchy* (1847), was also purchased by Queen Victoria. The most famous of Landseer's stag paintings, the culmination of his series of stag and sporting paintings, the *Monarch of the Glen*, has a more chequered history. In 1850 Landseer was commissioned to paint three panels to decorate the new Palace of Westminster and the House of Lords Refreshment Room, and the fee was set at £1500. In the event, the painting was never installed as the House of Commons refused to agree to the expenditure, and the *Monarch* sold for a mere 350 guineas to Lord Londesborough. It subsequently passed through the hands of two other collectors before being sold in 1916 to the Dewar's distilling family for almost fifteen times the original price.¹⁵⁵ In terms of artistic criticism this painting is undoubtedly one of Landseer's greatest triumphs, in which the majestic stag is seen as a proud and untamed creature, against a backdrop of dramatic shrouded peaks. The *Monarch of the Glen* has a primeval quality to it and the low viewpoint emphasises the animal's jubilant freedom. Yet this odd perspective, where the spectator looks up to the stag, also reflects the ideal viewpoint of a sportsman,

Figure 33.



Peter Graham, *A Spate in the Highlands*, 1866.

Graham was one of a number of artists who flourished as a result of concentrating on the wilder aspects of the Scottish landscape. The unspecific title of the painting – he does not identify the precise location – suggests that the real subject is the overall mood of the landscape. Thus the mood conjured up by the depiction of the wildness and power of nature is all-important, and precisely meets with the Romantic image of Scotland which was so beloved by the Victorians.

looking above the heart. Indeed, although couched in the terms of an animal or sporting painting, this composition has all the timelessness and eminence of a history painting.

The high prices fetched by Landseer's paintings - *Braemar* was sold for £4,200 in 1868 - reflect his reputation and popularity as a Victorian artist, but the subject matter is also important as this emphasises the commercial aspect to the Highland landscape. From the late eighteenth century the Highlands were becoming popular as a destination for artists, and as a consequence paintings of Highland landscapes and subjects were also finding favour. The notoriety of the *Monarch of the Glen*, and the popularity of reproductions are testament to this development. The Landseer exhibition in the Royal Academy attracted over 105,000 visitors in 1874, and raised some £6,000 through sales of catalogues.

While the continuing popularity of Sir Walter Scott's novels contributed greatly to the interest in the past and the Victorian fascination with Scottish history and landscape, the paintings of Edwin Landseer are fundamental to this perception of Scotland. In a way the influence of Queen Victoria was also a factor in this, as her patronage of Landseer was obviously a consideration in his popularity, but this appears to be a part and parcel of her affection for the Highlands in general. Landseer's depictions of the Highlands were ultimately for a predominantly English audience, but the vogue for depicting the Scottish landscape was not limited to English artists, nor were sales of Scottish landscape subjects limited to English collectors and connoisseurs. Native-born Scottish painters also got in on the act, as has been seen with the work of Thompson and McCulloch. Artists such as Peter Graham built upon the well – established appetite for Scottish mountain and moorland landscapes of the post-McCulloch era. The expansive landscapes depicted by Graham promoted the developing stereotype of Scotland, emphasising the Romantic and Sublime qualities of the land of 'the mountain and the flood'.

While McCulloch had been the trailblazer in the portrayal of extravagantly melancholy aspects of the Scottish scene, the subsequent generation embellished his ideas with swirling mists, rivers in spate and cattle emerging from the shadow. As Irwin aptly declares, if the sun shines at all, it is usually on a rain soaked landscape. Thus, the later Victorian image of the Highlands is one of extraordinary sobriety, accentuating the primeval gloom in the Romantic encapsulation of the landscape.¹⁵⁶ Scott's influence was still apparent, as noted in the titles of Peter Graham's *The mist wreath hath the mountain crest, / The stag his lair, the crue her nest* (1889) and *Caledonia Stern and Wild*.

Graham was the son of an accountant, and trained at the Trustee's Academy in Edinburgh under the tutelage of Robert Scott Lauder. While his early pictures are often figure studies, a visit to Deeside in the autumn of 1859 turned his attention to the potential of landscape painting. His success at the Royal Academy exhibition of 1866 led to a commission from Queen Victoria for a painting of *Bowman's Pass: Balmoral Forest* (1868), showing a large clearing inhabited by only a few deer against the dramatic backdrop of mountains. Between the 1860s and the 1880s Graham produced his best work, reaping the benefits of a successful career that continued past the turn of the century. He established his home and studio in London, but continued to make return trips to Scotland to sketch the landscape.

Graham's painting of *A Spate in the Highlands* (1866) successfully stormed the Royal Academy on its exhibition in 1866, and was critically acclaimed for its power and dramatic force. (See figure 33.) *The Athenaeum* recorded that it was so popular with the public that it was 'constantly fronted by a crowd of persons'.¹⁵⁷ The mist shrouded glen, with the churning river in spate was clearly meant to appeal to the Romantic images of the Highlands. The scene was aptly described in *The Times*, and the art critic continued:

Desolation, the power of the storm, and the struggle of the elements are the leading ideas of this picture, which is of the finest order of literal workmanship; if, indeed, it be not fairly entitled to be called ideal, by virtue of the subordination of parts to the whole and the predominance throughout of a prevailing sentiment. Everybody can understand why we describe Mr Mason's landscapes as idealized. Where there is so little of impressiveness or beauty in the mere details of subjects which yet affect us so powerfully, we cannot doubt that their strong hold of the mind and the memory must be due to something peculiar and indescribable in the mind of the painter. But Mr Graham's subject is stern and soul-subduing enough to account for all we feel before it.¹⁵⁸

The expansive landscapes of Graham promoted the stereotype image of Scotland as Scott's land of mountain and flood, and he built upon the well-established appetite for Scottish moorland and mountain landscapes. The *Spate in the Highlands* which had been so triumphantly exhibited in the RA produced such an astounding reaction that *O'er moor and moss. 'When in the crimson cloud of eve the lingering light decays'* (1867) proved something of an anti-climax. The *London Illustrated News* expressed

disappointment in its review, but nevertheless admired the atmosphere and form of Graham's landscape composition;

The slaty shadowed clouds, the deep purple hills and the scattered pines which stand, black as mutes against the greenish sky. The effect is almost weirdly sombre.¹⁵⁹

Indeed, the coloration of the painting reflects Graham's status as a pupil of Robert Scott Lauder at the Trustee's Academy. The colours of the sky are reminiscent of the sunsets favoured by Lauder as the backdrop to his religious subjects. However, the painting also exhibits originality in handling; by selecting this sort of melancholic subject, Graham's composition and subject precedes (and perhaps influenced) Millais, who turned to such Scottish themes in the 1870s, beginning with *Chill October*, which was painted three years after the exhibition of *O'er moor and moss*.¹⁶⁰

Graham was one of the most popular painters of heroic Highland landscapes. Contemporary praise of Graham's work was often exaggerated and indiscriminating: one critic extolled his virtues in 1873, describing him as 'one of the most thoroughly accomplished landscape painters the world has ever seen.' Furthermore, such praise is reflected in his significant financial success: W Matthews Gilbert noted that a waiting list was in operation, and Graham's studio only ever contained the picture on which the artist was working at that time.¹⁶¹ This point is also echoed by Irwin, who observed that his studios were frequently empty because he had no painters awaiting a purchaser, and the dealer Sir William Agnew kept a waiting list for his paintings.¹⁶²

Graham's work was also well received outwith Scotland; his success was such that it enabled him to settle in London in the 1860s, where, presumably, he was closer to his clients. He also owned a country house in Buckinghamshire, where, according to Gilbert, he kept half a dozen Highland cattle in a paddock adjacent to the house, 'which, as occasion required did duty as artists models'.¹⁶³ Later, in 1908, the art historian J E Pythian commented that so great was the influence of Graham in shaping perceptions of the Scottish scenery, that often it was taken for granted that the landscapes of Scotland looked exactly like one of his paintings. Indeed, one could almost assume that they had visited the scenes depicted by Graham as they were so widespread in their exhibition:

His vigorous, realistic pictures of the moors and glens of the Scottish Highlands, and the shaggy cattle that inhabit them, and of the haunts of the wild fowl upon the rockbound northern coasts, have become familiar, even to the man in the street through the reproductions so often exhibited in the print-sellers' windows.

Figure 34.



Joseph Denovan Adam, *Cattle*, 1878.

Adam's interest in depicting Highland cattle was to dominate his later paintings, although the influences of his early career are still visible in these compositions. He regularly toured Scotland on sketching holidays, which resulted in a number of romantic Highland landscape paintings in the style popularised by McCulloch.

Grey misty skies, with, perhaps, fitful gleams of sunlight breaking through the clouds, and lighting up the otherwise cold green grass, grey rock, or grey-green sea, have been painted by him with minor variations year after year until we have been ready to take them as looked at.¹⁶⁴

Many of his works were engraved, and sold in large numbers throughout the both Britain and the Empire, emphasising the popularity of his vision of the Scottish Highlands. His paintings and engravings epitomised the late Victorian image of Scotland, and he triumphantly captured the solemnity and majestic nature of the Highland mountains and moors.

Another native painter was Joseph Denovan Adam, a Glasgow-born artist who became renowned for his landscape and still life paintings. In a similar vein to Landseer, Adams became distinguished for his animal subject matter - his specific interest was in depicting Highland cattle, a concern which came to dominate his later work. (See figure 34.) A review of an exhibition of his work in 1890 demonstrates the enormous popularity of his subject matter:

Beasts in Bond Street! Sheep in the Salon!... Mr Denovan Adam has given us the opportunity of seeing a superb collection of Scottish Highland Cattle. Mountain, Meadow, Moss and Moor have all been laid under contribution. The result is that we have the chance of studying these hornymental animals without being tossed, and staring at them without being gored.¹⁶⁵

Critics of the time compared his work to that of Landseer; his animal portraits having a similar appeal, and obviously fulfilling a market demand.

Edwin Landseer had begun painting in the Scottish Highlands as early as 1824. Thus by the time Queen Victoria came to the throne in 1837, he had already executed a collection of pictures of Highland subject matter. Indeed, it was the united efficacy of the prose and poetry of Sir Walter Scott and these depictions of the Highland landscapes which initially inspired Victoria's inclination to tour the northerly region of her kingdom. The growing interest in the area received two powerful stimuli - the great popularity of the work of Walter Scott, and the purchase of the Balmoral estates in 1852 by Queen Victoria.

Into the Past: tourists, history and culture

The effect of this purchase and the journeys of the Royal Family around the Highlands and Islands in subsequent years were of immense significance to the area. The gesture gave social approval to the idea of a summer estate in the Highlands, and the numbers of visitors multiplied steadily from this time, as did the purchasing of estates. To some extent, the role of Balmoral was similar to that of Brighton during the Regency period. It set the pattern for the highest social group in the country, whose actions were emulated by all those who could afford to do so. It is no coincidence that the period from the middle to the end of the nineteenth century saw the construction of the majority of hotels in the Highlands. This development harmonised with the expansion of the railway system north from Edinburgh and Glasgow, and the subsequent growth in the numbers of tourists who annually travelled north of the border to experience the visual delights of Scotland for themselves.

By 1872 Scotland was an established tourist destination. One publication of this date, dedicated to the work of Horatio McCulloch, commented on the annual influx of tourists to the country:

As regularly now as blossoms appear in spring, and fruit comes in autumn, does a summer tide of visitors pour itself along out Scottish straths and glens. The beautiful Trossachs; the queenly Lomond, with her wooded isles; the dusky forests of Braemar; and the savage slopes of Cairngorm, once the haunt only of the red deer and the ptarmigan, now yearly swarm with visitors. The habit has become universal, among our Southern neighbours, off escaping once a year from the prose of life to something of its poetry, in the land of the mountain and the flood.¹⁶⁶

The likening of the Highland holiday to a form of escape is a notable one, and the use of the 'prose of life' in comparison with the Highland 'poetry' is equally telling. It implies something of the romance of the Highlands which was instilled in the public perception of Scotland. The country was seen as a retreat from the prosaic and spiritless nature of industrialised modern society. The inclusion of this description of tourism within a book dedicated to the landscape artist McCulloch is significant as it acknowledged the connection between his melodramatic and highly Romantic descriptions of the Highland scenery and the perceptions of the tourists themselves.

The Highland holiday was part of a process that made leisure a form of private property. The fairs and holy days of traditional British society, both urban and rural, were forms of recreation, which were public in orientation, an event that involved the extended community. Additionally, since they often involved some forms of trade or production, they represented a type of leisure which was not completely disassociated from work. However, a new form of holiday emerged which was quite different - the holidaymakers removed themselves from their usual environment. As Womack indicates, in this way, the vacation became a turning away from society, rather than an expression of it, towards fantasy and nature, and the Highlands could be adapted to either of these themes.¹⁶⁷ Edwin Landseer spent a good deal of time in Scotland - one of the main attractions being the presence of Georgiana, Duchess of Bedford. The Duchess had leased land from the Duke of Gordon and created a family retreat in Invereshie in Badenoch. There she constructed her own Highland paradise, a village of bothies amid wild and beautiful scenery, as Lt.-Colonel Crealock, the deerstalking writer, described it.¹⁶⁸ In a similar vein, Scott described the Highland retreat as satisfying the Duchess's 'passion for heather'.¹⁶⁹ This emphasises the success of the Highlands as a favoured destination for the aristocracy and the trend-setters of society, and also underlines the elite perceptions of the region as a Romantic and escapist destination. The formation of this Highland romance can be seen to date from the defeat of the Jacobite clans at Culloden in 1746, it can also be regarded as complete by 1810 and the publication of Scott's *Lady of the Lake*. This publication both depended upon, and confirmed the cultural conception of the Highlands as a Romantic country. With this in mind, it is also possible to say that Queen Victoria contributed to the perpetuation of this myth as the author of Highland sentimentality.

Queen Victoria kept a journal from the age of thirteen, when her mother, the Duchess of Kent, gave her a diary in which she might record a holiday in North Wales.¹⁷⁰ This was a common practice amongst educated Victorians. From this point on, Victoria made daily entries in her journal until her death in 1901. The early entries are typical of any thirteen-year-old girl - a description of her daily life, although from the first she excelled in describing the scenery and creating an interest in commonplace occurrences. In later years the focus of the diary shifted in emphasis, particularly after Victoria became Queen in 1837.¹⁷¹ However, in 1842 the Queen and her husband went to Scotland for the first of many visits, and her diaries indicate an abiding enthusiasm for the country. The publication of Victoria's *Journals* added considerably to public interest in Scotland. The decision to publish these essentially private diaries was taken at the recommendation of

Figure 35.



Sir William Allan, *The Visit of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert to Hawthornden*, 1844.

In September 1842 Queen Victoria wrote in her *Highland Journal* that:
From Rosslyn we then drove to Hawthornden, which is also beautifully situated at a great height above the river. To our great surprise we found an immense crowd of people there, who must have run over from Rosslyn to meet us.*

* D Duff (ed), *Queen Victoria's Highland Journals*, p.37.

Sir Arthur Phelps. Victoria had shown him extracts on one of his visits to Balmoral, mentioning that she wanted to privately distribute copies of the book for family and close friends. Phelps put forward the claim that her subjects would like to know how she passed her time in her Highland home, and that the private publication of her journals would eventually reach the press, but in less controlled manner.¹⁷² The result was a complete account of the Queen's impressions of the Highlands, published in two volumes covering the time from her first visit to Scotland to the time of Albert's death in 1861, and the second volume encapsulated the period from 1862 until 1882. The *Journals* were enthusiastically received by the upper-classes, and in essence they helped to create a template for the consumption of the wilds of Highland Scotland. Furthermore, with the extension of the railways, these locations in the Highlands became more accessible than before by the publication of the first volume of the *Journals*.

Victoria and Albert were so delighted with Scotland that they decided to build a home there, and consulted the royal doctor, Sir James Clark, as to the best possible site. Deeside was eventually decided upon, and it was suggested that Balmoral Castle near Ballater would be ideal for the Royal Party. When the couple first arrived in Deeside in 1848, Victoria wrote in her diary that:

The view from here, looking towards the beautiful hills surrounding the house, is charming.... It was so calm, and so solitary, it did one good to as one gazed around; and the pure mountain air was most refreshing. All seemed to breathe freedom and peace, and to make one forget the world and its sad turmoils.¹⁷³

Balmoral had originally been the Highland home of Sir Robert Gordon, who had been the British Ambassador in Vienna. Prince Albert took the lease of the castle in 1848, and the following year work began on rebuilding the castle; it was finally completed and occupied in 1855.

The publication of the *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, Victoria's memoirs of her time in Scotland, disseminated news of the couple's Scottish vacations to an international audience, thereby reflecting the character of life allied with royal pastimes rather than with sovereign obligations.¹⁷⁴ Victoria assembled a Highland landscape as distilled by Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and more immediately through the work of Scott and Landseer. Like many visitors to Scotland, Victoria was influenced by the work of Scott, and there are many comments on his work throughout the diaries. The first mention is while the Royal party were in Edinburgh: 'Heriot's Hospital, a beautiful old building, founded, in the time of James, by a goldsmith and jeweller, whom Sir

Walter Scott has made famous in his *The Fortunes of Nigel*.¹⁷⁵ The references to Scott are fairly frequent throughout the *Journals*, usually in regard to a place or a person connected with one of Scott's poems or novels. On occasion the scenery in Scotland would inspire Victoria to recite some poetry:

The moon rose, and was beautifully reflected on the lake, which with its steep green hills, looked lovely. To add to the beauty, poetry and wildness of the scene, Coutts played in the boat.... giving an occasional shout when he played a reel. It reminded me of Sir Walter Scott's lines in *The Lady of the Lake*;

Ever as on they bore, more loud,
And louder rung the pibroch proud.
At first the sound, by distance tame,
Mellow'd the waters came,
And lingering long by cape and bay,
Wail'd every harsher note away.¹⁷⁶

Victoria also invoked Landseer for inspiration and elucidation. In 1850 she declared: 'the scene at this beautiful spot was exciting and picturesque in the extreme. I wished for Landseer's pencil'¹⁷⁷, and later commented, 'Then we came upon a most lovely spot – the scene of all Landseer's glory.'¹⁷⁸ The combination of Scott and Landseer opened up Scotland for the tourist. Scott's tremendous appeal produced a market for Scotland, subduing its customs for escalating numbers of zealous customers. Some argue that the effect of opening up the Scottish market was to violate the very ethnicity of the Scots to their own conquerors. The royal invasion of Scotland transpired at a time when a section of Scottish society was proclaiming the distinctions of Scottish character and culture. Magazines such as *Blackwood's* and *Fraser's* published articles recapitulating the finer points of the Scottish character in addition to descriptions of national folklore and tradition.¹⁷⁹

The royal residence in Scotland established the Highlands as a fashionable destination for holidaymakers, and the effect of the Victorian age on Scotland is at once simple and complex. Although many of the accoutrements of pageantry, which contributed to the interpretation of Scotland as both picturesque and archaic, were in place before the coronation of Victoria, it was in the ensuing years that this became a pattern for Scottish identity. Nostalgia was the keynote of Victoria's reign, and her partiality for Scotland had far-reaching consequences, for it was in this country that an essentially escapist interpretation of history predominated, encouraging the more resplendent and vivid versions of Scottish history. Victoria sought to bring together Hanoverian and Stuart

loyalties, and an atmosphere was contrived in which they could become one.¹⁸⁰ Cook was also aware of this trend, and he acknowledged that English visitors often found the Scots to be 'as strange to them as the inhabitants of foreign climes'. This sentiment underscores the notion that his Scottish tours were not mere journeys in space, but also in time, as he convincingly tapped a vein of nostalgia.

One of the most intriguing aspects of Scottish history was that it did not seem as removed as in other countries. Post-Culloden Scotland was the gateway to an ancient social system, a fact that was not lost on many eighteenth-century tourists, as discussed above. A major motive behind many of these excursions was the urge to observe the Highland clan system. Beriah Botfield declared in the preamble to his 1830 account:

The Highlands of Scotland are moreover at the present moment one of the most interesting portions of the United Kingdom, as exhibiting a people in the state of transition from the primitive system of patriarchal government to the influence of constitutional liberty, and not yet fully incorporated with the existing order of things.¹⁸¹

In general eighteenth-century travellers were disappointed in their hopes of observing the primitive culture of the Highlanders, although many were impressed with the manner in which modern society and government had subdued the region.

In the eighteenth century there was a universal appetite to bring to light the remaining relics of traditional life prior to its assimilation with modern society. As Gildea notes, by the end of the eighteenth century there was a pan-European discovery of folk culture, and interest in the Highland way of life is one example of this.¹⁸² Such sentiments were nurtured in the nineteenth century, and there seems to be a certain amount of ambiguity with regard to the effects of industrialisation and the encroachment of urban life. This was also part of the fascination with antiquarianism, chivalry and feudal society that induced the staging of the Eglinton Tournament in 1839. While there was pride in the achievements of the Industrial Revolution, there was also an unequivocal feeling of remorse at the destruction of old habits and customs. Such attitudes echoed the tourists' assessment of the Highland landscape. In a sense, this bemoaning the effects of industrialisation on the old way of life is reminiscent of the fear of assimilation with England at the expense of Scottish native customs. As will be shown, the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights was concerned with such manifestations, evident in the overriding feeling that in many ways Scotland was losing its distinctive characteristics and idiosyncrasies as assimilation with southerly neighbours

became more apparent. There was no dispute within the discourse of this Association that there were differences and peculiarities between the Scots and the English, but it called to the attention of the public that these very idiosyncrasies and distinctive characteristics should be maintained to promote the identity of the nation.

Henry Cockburn too was concerned with the assimilation of Scotland with England, regretting the decline in the use of 'our picturesque and delightful language'. While a hundred years earlier James Boswell had also predicted and lamented the demise of the Scots tongue, this seems to be a constant threat to the destruction of an aspect of the Scots character. The presence of a national language and literature was also an important component in the Romantic model for nationhood. Cockburn wrote in his *Journal*:

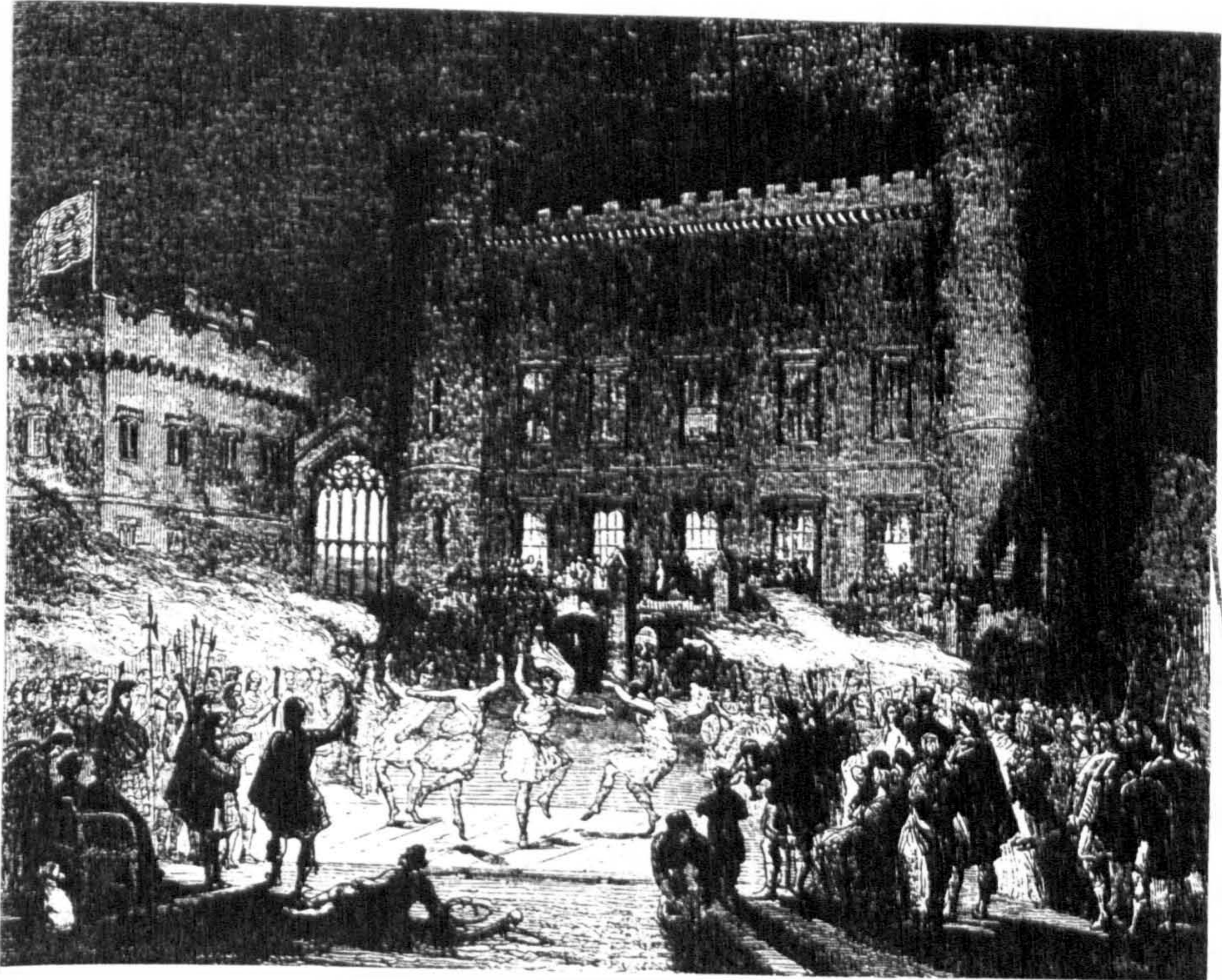
There are more English words, and less of the Scotch accent and idiom. This is the necessary consequence of the increased habit of reading English books, and of listening to English discourse, and of greatly increased English intercourse.¹⁸³

Other commentators also made reference to this theme; George Measom recorded that contact between the English tourists and Scotland was transpiring too rapidly for lovers of the Picturesque. The consequence of this was that the distinctive features of Scotland were dwindling, replaced by the uniform façade of modern society.¹⁸⁴

The responsibility of the vogue for Romantic interpretation and the work of Scott in the fascination for Gaelic culture is not in dispute, and the accounts of travellers often show that the manners and customs of the Gaels were of particular interest. Visitors to the Highlands were often perplexed and captivated by the unfamiliar and peculiar traditions and appearance of the inhabitants of that region. Certainly, from the way that they reported their encounters with the Highlanders, one would imagine that they were indeed a race of noble savages. Although Victoria's attachment to the Highlands did a great deal to recommend and promote Scotland in the public sentience, her personal partiality was but a part of a wider enthusiasm that had begun many years before.¹⁸⁵ Scotland had gradually metamorphosed into a preferred tourist destination, gaining in popularity and fashion as escalating numbers of visitors arrived in abundance. This reflects the perception of Scotland in the wider world, not simply within that country.

When Victoria and Albert visited Taymouth Castle in 1842 during their first visit to Scotland, an impressive reception committee ushered them in. A guard of Highlanders met them at the gate. While at the entrance to the castle a further assembly of Highlanders, pipers and men from the 92nd Highland regiment, bedecked in either the

Figure 36.



The Highland Dancing, c.1842.

This scene depicts the evening entertainment at Taymouth Castle when Victoria and Albert visited in 1842. The spectacle was described by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder:

After several reels by the men of the Highland corps, the Hon, Fox Maule, and some of the officers, filled the platform for one reel, and performed it with great spirit, energy and grace, eliciting in a marked manner the smiles and approbation of her Majesty, and loud cheers from the surrounding Highlanders.*

* Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, *Memorial of the Royal Progress in Scotland*, p.309.

Campbell or the Menzies tartan accompanied Lord Breadalbane, also in full Highland dress, in gathering to greet the Queen and her consort. Victoria described the scene in her *Journal*:

The firing of guns, the cheering of the great crowd, the picturesqueness of the dresses, the beauty of the surrounding country, with its rich background of wooded hills, altogether formed one of the finest scenes imaginable. It seemed as if a great chieftain in olden feudal times was receiving his sovereign. It was princely and Romantic.¹⁸⁶

Undoubtedly this was Breadalbane's intention in staging the welcoming committee, and it has overtones of the theatricality of the 1839 Tournament that recreated the society of the medieval age.

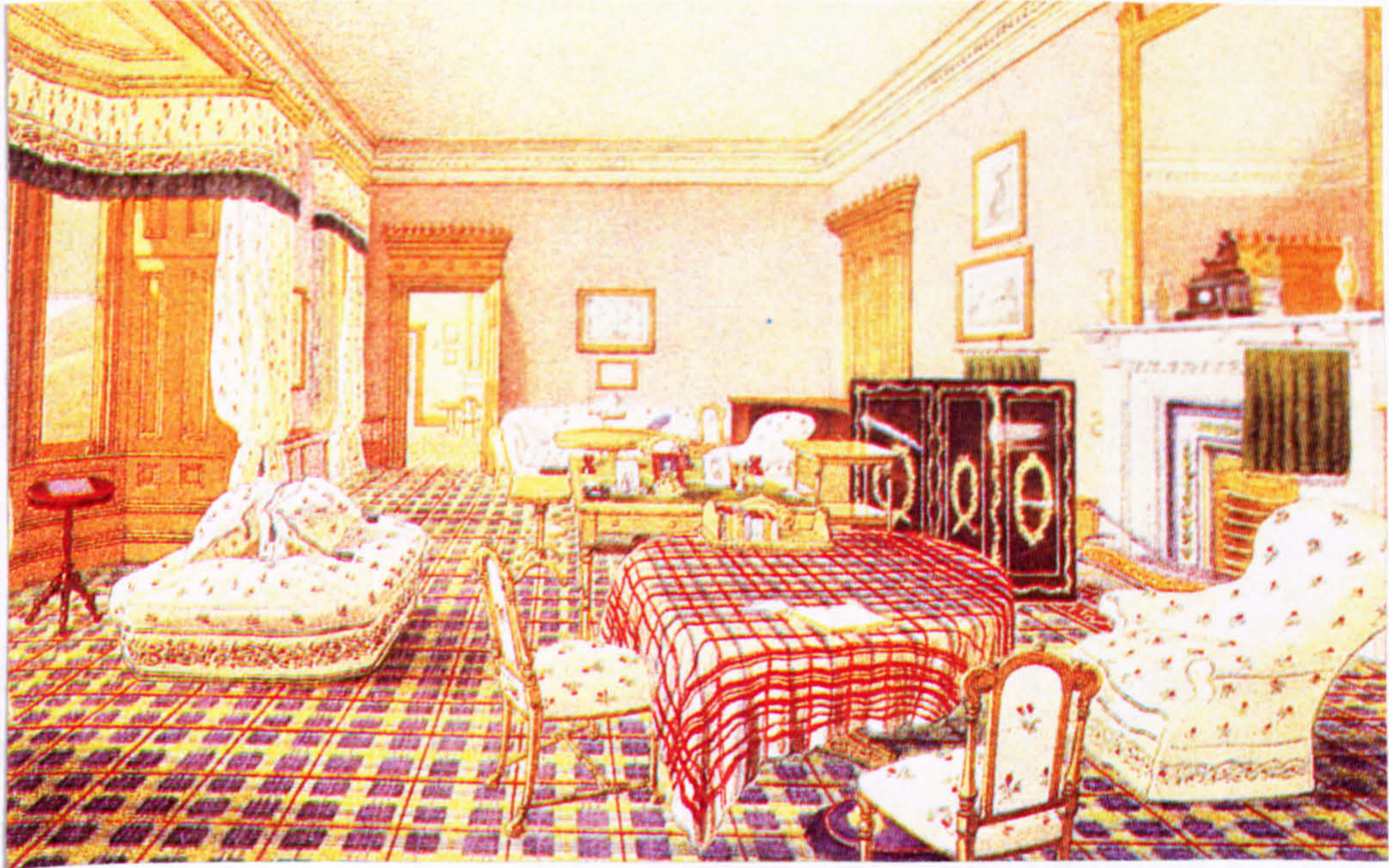
Taymouth Castle was well suited to fulfil its role in the Highland spectacular because it has been the object of lavish expenditure from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Until then, successive Earls had been at pains to classicise their ancient stronghold, but under the influence of the Picturesque taste the modernised castle was regarded as unworthy of its Romantic setting among the mountains at the head of Loch Tay. The first Marquess had employed the London architect William Atkinson and the Elliots to embellish the design with elaborate Gothic features.¹⁸⁷ In 1834 James Gillespie Graham, the leading exponent of the Gothic style in Scotland, was employed by the second Marquess to complete the rebuilding of the interior. Taymouth Castle had huge Romantic appeal. Gillespie's mastery of the Gothic style in the archaeological detailing owed much to Pugin, who was employed to advise and assist Gillespie in the interior alterations.¹⁸⁸ The success of the interiors owed much to the incorporating of actual antique fragments, as Scott had done in the refashioning of the interior of Abbotsford. The ancient character of the interior was additionally emphasised by ornate and intricate carving and the use of unpainted stone in the chimney-piece, as opposed to the more traditional use of marble. The Picturesque interest of the castle and grounds was further enhanced by the construction of a Gothic archway, which was built in 1838 by James Smith, an estate worker.¹⁸⁹ These improvements to Taymouth Castle indicate the wider awareness and popularity of the cult of the Picturesque, and the notion of improving or altering the architecture of buildings to create a more sympathetic and Romantic environment.

There was a decided tendency in nineteenth-century Scotland, among both native Scots and tourists, to evoke the resplendent and distinguished past of the country, particularly in preference to the far more mundane present. Alongside the claims of the wild scenery

and the determined interest in sites of literary distinction, many tourists were attracted to Scotland because of her history. Certainly for many tourists it was as if time had stood still in Scotland, and they were able to convince themselves that a trip to Scotland was essentially a journey into the past. They believed that life in Scotland went on in its traditional fashion, as it had for hundreds of years. Alexander Smith declared in 1865 that in Skye: 'You turn your back on the present, and walk into antiquity.'¹⁹⁰ The Victorians appeared to be intoxicated with the idea of antiquity. They immersed themselves in history - for not only did they study the past, but the popular culture was also affected by this fascination with days of yore. The character of architectural design was rooted in historical styles, and even statues of politicians were calculated to insinuate the demeanour of classical statesmen. The favoured eras of the Victorians were the classical age and Medieval Britain - even the British Empire did not escape a comparison with that of Rome. The past was continually referred to and recreated in popular culture, perhaps indicative of something that was missing from life in the nineteenth century. Lowenthal has considered the modern age's fascination with the past, and has suggested that this prominence of the past satisfies aspirations. History serves to make sense of, and indeed, validates, the present, and it produces a sense of identity. This critique seems legitimate in the instance of the Victorians. According to Lowenthal, in matters of science and manufacture, Britain was the prototype of innovative self-confidence, boldly leaving the past behind, but in the arts, politics and religion they adhered to history, sometimes almost in desperation.¹⁹¹ A multitude of travel writers recorded their belief that historical association added to the desirability and significance of the landscape. A characteristic comment was that: 'The pleasures of a holiday are greatly enhanced if we are acquainted with the history and legends that time has woven around the neighbourhood, through which we wander.'¹⁹² Scotland luxuriated in a profusion of locations with historical association, as is ably demonstrated by the abundance of sites associated with Wallace.¹⁹³ Gilpin was one who remarked upon this elaboration, and concluded that although there was some question as to the accuracy of all these claims, 'These traditional anecdotes, whether true or false, add grandeur to a scene.'¹⁹⁴

Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus provides an impression of the lives of the Highland gentry in the early nineteenth century with her *Memoirs*. Although these were originally intended only for the scrutiny of her family as a private collection of anecdotes and history, the first public edition appeared in 1898, edited by her niece, Lady Strachey, and proved to be so popular that it was reprinted four times within the year. Her descriptions

Figure 37.



Vincent Brooks, *Queen Victoria's Sitting Room at Balmoral Castle, 1857.*

Grand Victorian rooms invited lavish use of material – chintz, velvets and silks were all favourites, and patterned chintz and tartan fabrics were introduced to Balmoral in 1855. This lithograph illustrates their use within the interior of Balmoral – the chair coverings and curtains are made from thistle-patterned chintz, while the carpet is clearly a tartan design. This reflects the Queen's attachment to Scotland, and the desire to recreate a 'typical' Scottish interior within the 'traditional' Baronial castle.

of their 'Highland Home' reflect the prevalent approach of the Highland aristocracy towards their land; dedicated to improvements, but maintaining a discerning affection for their Highland ancestry:

Such was our Highland home; objects of interest all around us. Little princes and princesses in our Duchus, where the old feudal feelings get paraded in all their deep intensity. And the face of nature so beautiful - rivers, lakes, burnies, fields, banks, braes, moors, woods, mountains, heather, the dark forest, wild animals, wild flowers, wild fruits; the picturesque inhabitants, the legends of our race, fairy tales, the raids of the Clans, haunted spots, the cairns of the murdered - all and every thing that could touch the imagination, there abounded and acted as a charm on the children of the Chieftain who was so adored; for my father was the father of his people, loved for himself as well as for his name. ¹⁹⁵

This passage from her recollections suggest that a strong Romantic susceptibility was present in her affection for the Highlands, specifically in her retrospective description of the old feudal feelings and the relationship betwixt her family and the tenants on the estate. This idea of the Highlanders as children who had to be taken care surely has its roots in the image of Clanship which, although scorned and vilified after the '45, had begun to attract much the same Romantic sentiment attached to other aspects of Highland life. Ideas such as this were very much in vogue in the nineteenth century, particularly with the image of the Victorian patriarch as head of the family, and with all the charitable, patronising and improving impulses which accompanied the solicitude of the evangelical inclination.

Anne Grant of Laggan also expressed her views on the 'common people' of the Highlands, of whom she was 'excessively fond' – 'the lower class of Highlanders excel all other low classes being possessed of a superior degree of both fancy and feeling.'¹⁹⁶ She had a markedly Romantic conception of the Highlands and the Gaelic people, a view which appeared both benevolent and supercilious, as she harboured no reservations regarding her own rational and cerebral supremacy. This was expressed in her disparaging comments on the sensitivity and sophistication of the Highlanders, as she regaled a friend with tales of second sight and susceptibility. One story related to the recent death of a woman from a fever:

Yet every one insisted that her death was caused by grief for the loss of her brother. Another young creature, who has languished all this winter with similar complaints, is pronounced to be dying of love, though no mortal can say of whom. Thus primitive and Romantic are the notions of our mountaineers. ¹⁹⁷

According to Sir John Cameron, these quaint notions of second sight were still espoused by the Highlanders, much to the amusement of the rest of the world, in the 1870s:

When I was a lad, the Laird's mother was in Shernany [sic] for her health, drinking the waters in that place, and one night her daughter - that's the Laird's sister who lives in Canna - was putting off her clothes, and she saw her mother as plain as that stone at the foot of the bed. 'O God!' says she, 'my mother!' Well they took note of the day and hour, and soon after a letter came that her mother died at the same time in Shernany.... There's a good deal in these things, M'Farlane, I do believe! ¹⁹⁸

Cameron returned to this subject again later in the book:

Tag, who was fond of the subject, introduced second sight. 'Well, gentlemen,' says M'Finchern, a handsome man from across the loch, 'You may laugh, but I'll tell you what *I know*. My brother was factor for a lady whose son was in India, and one day when ha called, he found her in great distress. She had had a dream that she saw her son wounded in the breast. My brother took note of it at the time, and news came that the young man was killed that very day at Ferozschawe, in India.... Think of that! ¹⁹⁹

These extracts reflect the manner in which the general public regarded the Highlander, with all their charming and curious superstitions - an impression which emphasised all the notions of the noble savage and antiquated culture, and which exists in many other cultures today. Thus the Highlands were regarded as an anthropological curiosity, and the Gaels were viewed as a charming and untouched example of archaic culture. This perception of the Highlands fits with the appeal of Medievalism in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Medievalism was a reaction to the problems arising from the industrial revolution, but it was also a direct response to the impact of the French Revolution and to the threat of rebellion that haunted the post-Napoleonic period. A return to the Middle Ages thus became a way of reorganising man into a closely-knit and organic structure that could engage his emotions and loyalties in a wealth of traditions and customs. Thus, the idealised image of the Highland Clans could easily be adapted to the archetype of feudal society, and was an appropriate subject for the Medievalist revival.

However, this romanticised and sympathetic view of the Highlanders had a counterpart in an equally contemptuous view. As Fenyö has shown, in the nineteenth century there were three distinct attitudes to the Highlanders, characterised by contempt, sympathy and

romance. These views were simultaneously present in public opinion, often running in parallel columns of the same newspaper. Fenyö aptly states that while the romanticisation of the Highlands was persistent and considerable, by far the most prevalent and strongly expressed view was that of contempt.²⁰⁰ Despite this trend, the romanticisation of the Highlands endured, and was often strangely mixed with the other two attitudes. Romantic notions of the Highlands did not form a separate group; rather they permeated and coloured the contemptuous and sympathetic perceptions. Notably, those papers which were particularly contemptuous of the Highlanders were still prone to Romanticise the historical Highlands; the land of tartan, the Braemar gatherings and the glorified Jacobite past.²⁰¹ These sympathetic journals principally endorsed the landscape of the Highlands, emphasising and promulgating the artists' interpretation of the depopulated and melodramatic landscapes, with majestic and desolate scenery. They created an idyllic image of the Highlands, unaware of any irony and inconsistency with the contemporary situation of the Highlanders themselves. Essentially the Romantic perception of the Scottish Highlander was a more auspicious and aesthetically pleasing motif than the realities of Highland destitution and poverty.

This interest in the ancient Highland way of life is one example of the pan-European fascination with folk culture. 'Highlandism', and the fascination with the ancient culture of the region became more fashionable in the 1840s, especially in London. Fenyö cites the example of the annual 'Scottish Fete' which was a virtual revelry of Highlandism under the direction of the Scottish Society of London. This fete included an archery competition, a 'Scottish national sports and pastimes' competition, Highland flings, sword dances and bagpipe bands in abundance.²⁰² This was a pageant designed to promote the 'fine Highland race', and expounded the romanticised perception of the Highlands and the ancient culture. Sentiments such as these echoed the tourists' assessment of the Highland landscape. As a result, there was an emphasis on the distinctive attributes of Scotland's traditional Highland culture. This appears to be an attempt to maintain the illusion that Scotland was a country where time had stood still, for the benefit of the native population as much as for the tourist contingent. For the Scots themselves, an awareness of history enhanced communal and national identity. There are parallels between personal and national identity – and groups which lack a sense of their own past can be likened to individuals who know nothing of their own parents. Identification with a national past, in the words of Lowenthal, often serves as an assurance of worth against subjugation.²⁰³ In the same way that the nineteenth-century Irish unearthed traditional forms to disprove English slurs that they were uncivilised

Figure 38.



Franz Xavier Winterhalter,

Albert Edward, Prince of Wales with Prince Alfred,

(detail), 1849.

The importance of royal endorsement for tartan should not be disregarded, and can be judged as a significant factor in its popularity. During Victoria's reign, tartan achieved international acclaim and clothing and interior décor reflected the domestic life of the Royal Family's retreat in the Highlands.

savages; as the Welsh chroniclers decried the loss of Welsh history as justification for the eclipse of Welsh power and the corruption of the native tongue, so too the Scots focused on history as a means of emphasising their national identity. The extraordinary difference in this focus on history was that the Scots concentrated on the Highlands as the centrepiece of their heritage. In essence a modern interpretation was placed on ancient traditions in Scotland, as clan culture ultimately became dissociated from its original social meaning and took on a life of its own. Thus, by the mid-nineteenth century peculiarities such as the kilt and tartan became emblematic of Scotland, with utterly different connotations to their previous incarnation.

Commercialised culture: the royal seal of approval

Revived as a symbol of Scotland by Sir Walter Scott for the 1822 visit of George IV, tartan has never looked back, although it had attracted the attention of many visitors to Scotland before this date. In 1784, Faujas De Saint Fond noted with delight that on his arrival in Dalmealy:

We saw some fifteen highlanders in front of the door. All of them in the same remarkable garb... what is quite certain is that the modern descendants of the ancient Caledonians are attached to this form of dress, which reminds them of their ancient valour and independence, that the English government, having repeatedly attempted to induce them to lay aside, have never been able to succeed.²⁰⁴

The naming of clan and family patterns was given a huge boost in the years immediately prior to George IV's royal visit to Edinburgh in 1822. Companies such as that of William Wilson in Bannockburn had cornered the growing market for tartan in southern Scotland and elsewhere, and especially for the lucrative supply of cloth to the military and the increasing number of Highland Regiments. Wilson started to name some of their patterns after towns and districts in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Towards the end of the century the use of family names for tartans became apparent and this practice increased over the next fifty years and in 1819 Wilson's compiled their in-house reference manual the *Key Pattern Book*. A name linking the tartan to a particular place or person heightened the appeal of the material, and names such as Sir Walter Scott and Flora Macdonald began to appear in pattern books with increasing frequency from 1815.²⁰⁵ In a sense tartan was beginning to need a name in order to be a tartan, which led 'tartan' to be

synonymous with 'clan tartan'. This idea was exemplified when Sir Walter Scott urged the Scots to turn out 'plaided and plumed' in their true tartans to meet their King in 1822. This led James Logan to complain in his 1831 book, *The Scottish Gael, or Celtic Manners as preserved among the Highlanders*, that this appeal had:

combined to excite much curiosity among all classes, to ascertain the particular tartans and badges they were entitled to wear. This creditable feeling undoubtedly led to a result different from what might have been expected: fanciful varieties of tartan and badges were passed off as genuine.²⁰⁶

During the 1822 visit, guides were produced for those chieftains and other men of standing so that they should appear as befitted the social class to which they belonged, and David Stewart's publication of the *Sketches of the Character, Manners and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland* included a section on the 'Highland Garb', which emphasised the distinct patterns associated with particular 'clans, tribes, families and districts'.²⁰⁷ Tartan was thus legitimised as a manifestation of Scottish identity and heritage, as noted above by Faujas de Saint Fond, was already associated with the ancient valour and glorious history of the Highlands. James Scarlett suggests that this elevation of tartan into something of almost mystic significance coupled with the requirements of Victorian society, established tartan as a status symbol:

There were those who made it known that only Scots or those of Scottish descent might wear the kilt and that no-one could sport a clan tartan unless related in some way to the clan. This was just what was needed to put the tartan cult on a firm footing. The unattainable is naturally sought after, so people began to want to be of Scottish descent in order to wear tartan, which thereby became a sort of status-symbol.²⁰⁸

As the nineteenth century progressed, not only did the whole tartan 'clan' myth become established, but also the precise style and accoutrements required for any specific occasion became defined by the arbiters of fashion, to the extent that few dared jeopardise their position in society by disobeying the rules of etiquette.

Tartan was thus given fresh impetus during the reign of Queen Victoria. It was during this time that many of the myths surrounding tartan and Highland dress were established, and were subsequently codified over the next 50 years. Victoria's love of all things Scottish is well known and this led to what has been described as the 'cult of Balmorality' named after her Highland home, Balmoral Castle.²⁰⁹ Balmoral itself was an unrestrained

Figure 39.



Thomas Faed, *The Last of the Clan*, 1865.

In this melancholy commentary on the Highland Clearances, Faed visibly appreciates the emotion of this subject; every expression contributes to the pathos of the occasion.

interpretation of the Scots Baronial style, and parts of the interior, particularly the Queen's own suite, were draped in tartan. (See figure 37.) The bright red and green of the Royal Stewart and the Hunting Stewart respectively were used for carpeting, while Dress Stewart was utilised in soft furnishings.

Murray Pittock argues that from this point tartan steadily declined to the status of designer accessory, with a host of different and largely factitious setts available to distinguish one as a member of a socially noble or ancient family: part of the heritized environment of kitsch, which gave a sense of belonging often bereft of the history its display was intended to celebrate.²¹⁰ Tartan certainly contributed to the commercialisation of Highland culture, and was of especial interest to tourists. Kohl commented that on his visit to Glasgow:

I visited the greatest warehouse of manufactured goods in the town, that of the brothers Campbell, who employ no fewer than 200 clerks in their establishment. (The largest warehouses in Paris do not boast of employing more than a hundred clerks.) Of all the goods sold there, none interested me more than the Scottish checked cloth, or 'Tartan' as it is called.... The tartans derive a peculiar interest from the fact, that every thread still runs as it ran centuries ago, and that there is still interwoven with it all of the dearest memories, traditions, and patriotic emotions of its wearers.²¹¹

The enormous enthusiasm for tartan in turn encouraged books, which endeavoured to clarify the history of tartan. Conspicuous among these were *The Scottish Gael* by James Logan, and the Sobieski Stuart's *Vestiarium Scoticum* (1842) and the associated publication, *The Costume of the Clans* (1845). John Sobieski and Charles Allan Hay purported to be the illegitimate grandsons of Prince Charles Edward Stuart by the Polish Countess Maria Sobieska and later became known as the Sobieski Stuarts. They claimed that they had been left a sixteenth-century manuscript, the *Douay Manuscript*, giving details of many original but previously unknown clan tartans including those long lost by non-Highland families. Although this was soon denounced as a forgery, the revelations of the Sobieski brothers must have been a great encouragement to the tartan trade, providing 75 hitherto unknown tartans of undisputed origin and, showing for the first time, lowland tartans. Clearly the cult of tartan was not only growing in popularity, but that tartan was no longer exclusively Highland - it had become Scottish. This was apparent in James Robertson's discussion of the subject, where he declared that 'the national dress is now admired and encouraged'.²¹² The fascination with tartan continued undiminished throughout the nineteenth century, and in 1886 James Grant, the historical

novelist (and founder member of the NAVSR) was induced to write *The Tartans of the Clans of Scotland*:

to meet a rapidly increasing demand, both at home and abroad, for a high class work on 'the Tartans of Scotland'. Several good works have already been published on the subject, but they are now rarely to be met with, and can only be purchased at long intervals, and at greatly enhanced prices.²¹³

Artists were well aware of this fascination for tartan, and their landscapes often depicted a token kilted figure. They also played a part in illustrating the many histories of tartan that proliferated. The artist Ronald Robert McIan collaborated with James Logan to produce *The Clans of the Scottish Highlands*, which was published in two volumes between 1845 and 1847. This publication elaborated Logan's earlier history of tartan, embellishing the myth of clan tartans and providing fictions as compelling as any facts.²¹⁴ It was also extremely expensive, selling for 30 guineas when first published, which echoes James Grant's above assertion. The *Art Union* made note of the publication of this work, commenting that it was 'very charming' and adding that the authenticity of the work was enhanced by the fact it had been produced by a 'veritable Highlander'.²¹⁵ While the descriptions of the history of tartan may not have been strictly accurate, the illustrations, which accompanied the text, were striking. McIan's depictions of the various clansmen were theatrical in their approach, but also indicated his awareness of contemporary events. Again the *Art Union* picked up on this theme, remarking that:

M'Ian has very skilfully contrived to give great variety to this theme. All wear the tartan; but each is pictured with some particular application to his peculiar clan... The work is interesting in a very high degree, and will become more valuable still as time removes other traces of the gallant men who long kept their ancient habits in spite of all oppressive laws and bitter persecution.²¹⁶

The illustration for the *Clan MacAlister* depicted the meditative figure of a clansman contemplating his imminent departure to Canada. This predates Thomas Faed's emotive execution of *The Last of the Clan* (1865), but is in a similar vein, and indicates that there was some attempt at depicting the political reality of the Highland landscape at this time. (See figure 39.)

In this painting Faed appears to appreciate the poignancy of the subject - a group of contemporary Highlanders on the Scottish shore after the departure of their clansmen for a new life abroad. This ingeniously painted, sad commentary on the Highland Clearances was accompanied by a narrative upon its exhibition at the Royal Academy in 1865:

Figure 40.



Kenneth MacLeay, *Archibald Mackintosh and Alexander Mackintosh*, 1867.

Queen Victoria appointed MacLeay to undertake a comprehensive illustrated survey of the Scottish clans. The drawings served a double purpose as they were both highly decorative studies of ethnological interest and as an unequalled record of contemporary tartan costumes.

When the steamer had slowly backed out, and John MacAlpine had thrown off the hawser, we began to feel that our once powerful clan was now represented by a feeble old man and his grand-daughter; who, together with some outlying kith-and-kin, myself among the number, owned not a single blade of grass in the glen that was once our own.²¹⁷

Every gesture and expression within these painting serves to enhance the pathos and sentiment of this occasion, and with pictures of this character, Faed touched the social conscience. Another example of this elegiac and emotive characterisation of the Clearances can be seen in McCulloch's *My Heart's in the Highlands* (1860). This is one of McCulloch's more interesting paintings and he originally intended this composition to be called *An Emigrant's Dream of his Highland Home*. This was one of five compositions painted expressly for an illustrated edition of the songs of Robert Burns and was commissioned by the Royal Association for the Promotion of Fine Arts in Scotland. The intended title of the painting is significant – it relates clearly to the outward perception of Scotland, particularly by those who had a highly nostalgic view of the country. The scene itself is given no name to indicate its geographical location – it is suggestive of a generic Highland landscape, the ubiquitous interpretation of a fanciful inland Highland loch and mountains. It appears to typify the Highland scenery, featuring all the necessary accoutrements of the Scottish landscape: the picturesque hills in the far distance, richly wooded, with rocky promontories and intervening grassy slopes. The lower ranges on the far side of the loch are enlivened with farmhouses and patches of cultivated land. In the centre of the composition is the square tower of an ancient fortress, the stylised depiction suggestive of baronial and ancient architecture, while in the foreground a herd of deer is shown, the stag looking out at the spectator. The effects of light and shadowing create a unified aspect, a dreamlike and unreal quality which emphasises the original title of the painting. The location could be anywhere, and it is designed to appeal, and conform to a nostalgic and Romantic 'dream' of the Highland landscape.

The two volumes of *The Clans of the Scottish Highlands* were conceived as a sociological compendium of Highland costume, and attracted the attention of the Queen. Subsequently, Queen Victoria commissioned Kenneth MacLeay to complete a pictorial survey of the principal Scottish clans. Thus, between 1865 and 1869, MacLeay travelled all over Scotland in search of suitable sitters, and the resultant watercolours conformed to the Queen's stipulation that they should be closely observed portraits of representative, but specific, individuals. The drawings served a twofold purpose - as highly decorative

studies of considerable ethnological importance and as an unequalled record of contemporary tartan costumes. (See figure 40.) Helen Smailes asserts that they also characterise MacLeay's achievement in integrating pure landscape with portraiture.²¹⁸ Notably, publication of *The Highlanders of Scotland* (1870) coincided with a period of mass emigration from the Highlands, but the preface to the volume omitted any reference to such events, suggesting again the generalised focus on the more romanticised perception of the Highlands, at the expense of reality. As a result, MacLeay's illustrations lacked the historicism and theatricality, and the sense of political awareness, which had characterised McIan's earlier portrayal of the Highlanders.

The significance of royal endorsement for tartan should not be underestimated, and can be considered to be one of the significant factors in its popularity. Under Victoria tartan achieved international renown, and clothing and interior décor reflected the domestic life of the Royal Family's retreat in the Highlands. The Romantic imagination, besieged by the realities of industrial society, yearned for a vision of primitive character, and tartan proliferated. The combination of the tourists' enchantment with the Highland landscape, history and tartan combined to create a demand for souvenirs. While today the manufacture of boxes and other domestic items decorated with tartan designs may be considered to be slightly kitsch or tacky, the huge market for these products in the nineteenth century cannot be ignored. Mauchline ware, the range of very decorative Scottish Souvenir-ware is now considered to be very collectable. In 2001, a Mauchline ware book of Burns' poems and songs, transfer printed with a portrait of Burns on front board dating from 1868, had a sale estimate of £200-300. Similarly, another Mauchline ware book, featuring Scott's *The Lady of the Lake*, with an original oil painting on wood of Loch Katrine on front board, and transfer printed on rear board in McLean tartan with gilt thistles in corners, dating from 1848, had an estimate of £300-400.²¹⁹ (See figure 41.) The development of the Scottish trade in Tartanware reflects the Victorian passion for keepsakes of places that they visited on holiday, and also underlines the commercial aspects of the growth of tourism within the Highlands of Scotland.

There was a Romantic attachment to Scotland, and one of the consequences of the popularisation and romanticisation of the Scottish landscape and Highland culture was the proliferation of visual media which depicted the landscape. In addition to the fine art books, illustrated copies of Burns and Scott and guide books, it followed that there would also be a demand for Scottish souvenirs. This demand was met partly by an industry which flourished in Mauchline, Ayrshire, and in other small villages and towns. This

Figure 41.



A selection of Mauchline ware

The above illustration shows a Mauchline ware book of *The Lady of the Lake*, by Sir Walter Scott. This edition of *The Lady of the Lake*, features an original oil painting on wood of Loch Katrine on front board, and the rear board is printed in McLean tartan with gilt thistles in the corners. There is also another Mauchline ware book featuring Steele's sculpture of *Scott and Maida* on the front cover.

was the making of Mauchline ware; useful small objects constructed in wood, and decorated with views of notable buildings, pretty landscapes, holiday resorts and last, but by no means least, tartans. An active export trade was soon created, and souvenirs were also made for places in England and Wales, the Continent, Australia, India and the United States. The sale of Souvenir-ware within the Empire suggests that the products were popular among Scots emigrants, the manufacturers taking advantage of an obvious market among those who nurtured the ideal of a romanticised Scotland. Emigration, a theme often depicted by Thomas Faed and Erskine Nicol, designated a further potential market for paintings of Scottish subjects, indeed, the Royal Association for the Promotion of the Fine Arts in Scotland had members in Canada and Australia by 1847, and by 1861 there were 300 honorary secretaries throughout the Empire. This nostalgic view of Scotland was echoed in the popularity of Burns throughout the Empire and America, and also in the donations given to memorial funds for the commemoration of Scottish icons.²²⁰ Scottish culture was deemed highly marketable, and the commercial avenues of this trade were fully explored. For Scots, tourists and expatriates alike, Scotland was a commodity, and the unique selling point was heritage.

The origins of this manufacturing industry have their roots in the early nineteenth century, and developed partly by accident and partly through necessity. Snuff boxes were very popular and over fifty separate manufactures existed, primarily based in Ayrshire. The declining demand for snuff boxes necessitated the need to diversify, and among the first of the new products were tea caddies. Over the course of the next century the Smiths and their contemporaries produced literally thousands of articles in several different finishes and styles, selling in virtually every popular location in Scotland. By the mid-nineteenth century the industry had reached its zenith, and virtually anything which could be produced in wood, was comparatively small and useful made its way into the product range.

One firm dominated the market for souvenirs - W and A Smith of Mauchline, who also had factories established in Birmingham for a time. The Smith brothers were adventurous, enterprising, and inventive in their field. They were constantly devising new processes of manufacture, and so outlived their competitors. They reached their peak in the mid-1860s, when probably half of all the souvenirs manufactured came from the factories of the Smiths. It was the Smith's domination of this industry that has led the vast range of Souvenir-ware to become known by the generic name of Mauchline-ware. During the early years of the nineteenth century the Smith partnership had competitors in

Cumnock, Auchinleck and Catrine. Cumnock in particular was the base for several firms engaged in making snuff boxes. The *Commercial Dictionary for Scotland* in 1825 records six businesses under the heading of Merchants and Tradesmen - Buchanan, a painter, William Crawford - original maker, Crichton & Co., David Crichton, William Gibson, Alexander Lammie and James Mitchell. The Dictionary states that the business was flourishing in the area: 'Here those beautiful articles, known by the name of Scotch snuff boxes, were first made; which business continues to form a valuable branch of manufacture'.²²¹ However the majority of these firms put too much emphasis on the manufacture of snuff boxes, and failed to diversify when the demand dropped off.

The *New Statistical Account* makes reference to this branch of manufacturing industry. The Rev. James Chrystal of Auchinleck commented that boxmaking was a common employment in the area, although the most significant centre for the industry was at Mauchline. Surprisingly the minister of the parish of Mauchline made little reference to this burgeoning industry. He merely stated that there was an extensive manufactory of wooden snuff-boxes, and that sixty people were involved in the business. He did however suggest that any visitor to the area may enjoy an excursion to the factory and would be well rewarded by the experience, as they would have the opportunity of seeing many fine example of the art.²²²

By contrast, with his counterpart in Mauchline, the minister of Old Cumnock emphasised the manufacture of snuff-boxes and other Souvenir-ware within his parish. He explained the manufacturing process in greater detail, defining the various stages involved, and the length of time that each stage took.

One set of artists make the boxes, another paint those beautiful designs that embellish the lids, while women and children are employed in varnishing and polishing them. The process of varnishing a single box takes from three to six weeks. Spirit varnish takes three weeks, and requires thirty coats; while copal varnish, which is now mostly used, takes six weeks and requires about fifteen coats to complete the process. When the process of varnishing is finished, the surface is polished with ground flint; and then the box is ready for the market.²²³

Bannatyne waxed lyrical on the subject, claiming that Cumnock had long been renowned for the ingenious and beautiful manufacture of wooden snuff-boxes for over thirty years.

The high quality, hand decorated snuff boxes and tea caddies were of course very costly, and were soon challenged by other, more inexpensive products. The makers were

therefore confronted with the inevitability of widening their range of products and concurrently economising with regard to their modes of production. The minister of Old Cumnock referred to the designs which embellished the Souvenir-ware:

A system of chequering has now almost superseded the painting of the boxes. It is done by very ingenious and nicely adjusted machines, that are worked by boys; and is much less expensive than painting. Ingenuity creates endless and ever increasing varieties of cheques, and many of them are most beautiful in point of pattern and figure, as well as the most exquisite delicacy in point of colour.²²⁴

This pertains to the appearance of tartan designs upon the boxes, a general design that was coming increasingly into vogue. Scottish views were frequently to be found adorning the surfaces of these items, especially views of Burns country. Other popular images included Edinburgh, Stirling, Dunkeld, and various stately homes. There was also a predilection for Souvenir-ware which had Romantic associations - for example, some souvenirs were fabricated from wood felled at Flodden Field, Birnham Wood, and the Banks of the Doon - although it is likely that much of this was simply a sales pitch.²²⁵ It is highly unlikely that enough trees grew on the Banks of the Doon to supply all the timber necessary for such a huge output of souvenirs.

As was mentioned by one of the chroniclers of the *Statistical Account*, artists were employed to paint designs upon the boxes, and their number included some painters who were to become renowned figures in Scottish art. The most eminent among these men were Daniel Macnee, William Leighton Leitch and Horatio McCulloch.²²⁶ The boxes produced were of a high quality, and were skilfully decorated, featuring fine hand painted scenes. In *The History of Old Cumnock*, the Rev. Warrick noted that: 'It was only to be expected that the high wages received by the miniature painters would attract young men with artistic skill from other parts of the country'. He made further note of the subsequent fame of some of the artists employed within the souvenir industry:

Three artists were here for a time, who afterwards rose to great fame... The first of them was destined to reach the highest place of honour in the world of Scottish art. His name was Daniel Macnee. At the age of nineteen, he came to Cumnock as an apprentice in Adam Crichton's boxwork, but he did not remain long.²²⁷

Daniel Macnee was born in Fintry in Stirlingshire, and attended art classes in Glasgow where he met Leitch and McCulloch. After a short period painting snuff boxes he moved to Edinburgh where he made his career as a portraitist. He was eventually elected President of the Royal Scottish Academy in 1876. Warrick also refers to the Cumnock careers of McCulloch and Leitch -

The second distinguished artist, who worked in Cumnock, was Horatio M'Culloch, so deservedly noted for his Highland landscapes. No reminiscences of his stay, however, seems to linger in the town. The fact only is certain that he served here for some time, trying his 'prentice han' in one of our local boxworks. The third was William Leighton Leitch, who became a water-colour painter of the greatest eminence. His stay in Cumnock is still remembered by old residents.²²⁸

The involvement of such artists, albeit at the beginning of their artistic careers, is significant. The subject matter for the souvenir ware may have had some influence in the choice of later compositions, and would certainly have increased their awareness of the image of Scottish cultural identity and heritage, and the marketability of the Scottish landscape.

James Chrystal, the minister of Auchinleck also made note of the designs imprinted, as opposed to hand painted, on the boxes and other ornamental or souvenir items.

Many of the paintings are transferred from prints, others are regularly done with the brush; but the most common device at present in vogue is an imitation of tartan, and other checks, which is done by a small machine.²²⁹

This is an obvious reference to the growing fashion for tartan-ware. This represents the first big break in the souvenir industry, and by 1820 a wide range of objects were readily available. This, along with the equally prevalent transfer-ware, is true Souvenir-ware.

Tartan-ware was also an extremely popular finish, reflecting the prevailing trend for all things associated with the Highlands of Scotland, no matter that the main manufacturers of the product were situated in the Lowlands. In the early 1820s the Smith brothers in Mauchline designed a machine which was capable of weaving tartan designs directly onto paper, whereas previously tartan and plaid decor had been applied directly to the wooden surface, a practice which involved great skill, time and patience. The machine employed a series of pens using different inks, which resulted in an accurate representation of the so-called authentic tartan designs. The manufacturers stamped the name of the tartan on each individual product, with the obvious exception of the smallest pieces such as cufflinks and buttons. Tartan exemplified the souvenir range; it was a tremendously popular finish, in Scotland and in other countries. (See figure 43.) The Smiths took the accuracy of their work very seriously indeed, and published a version of

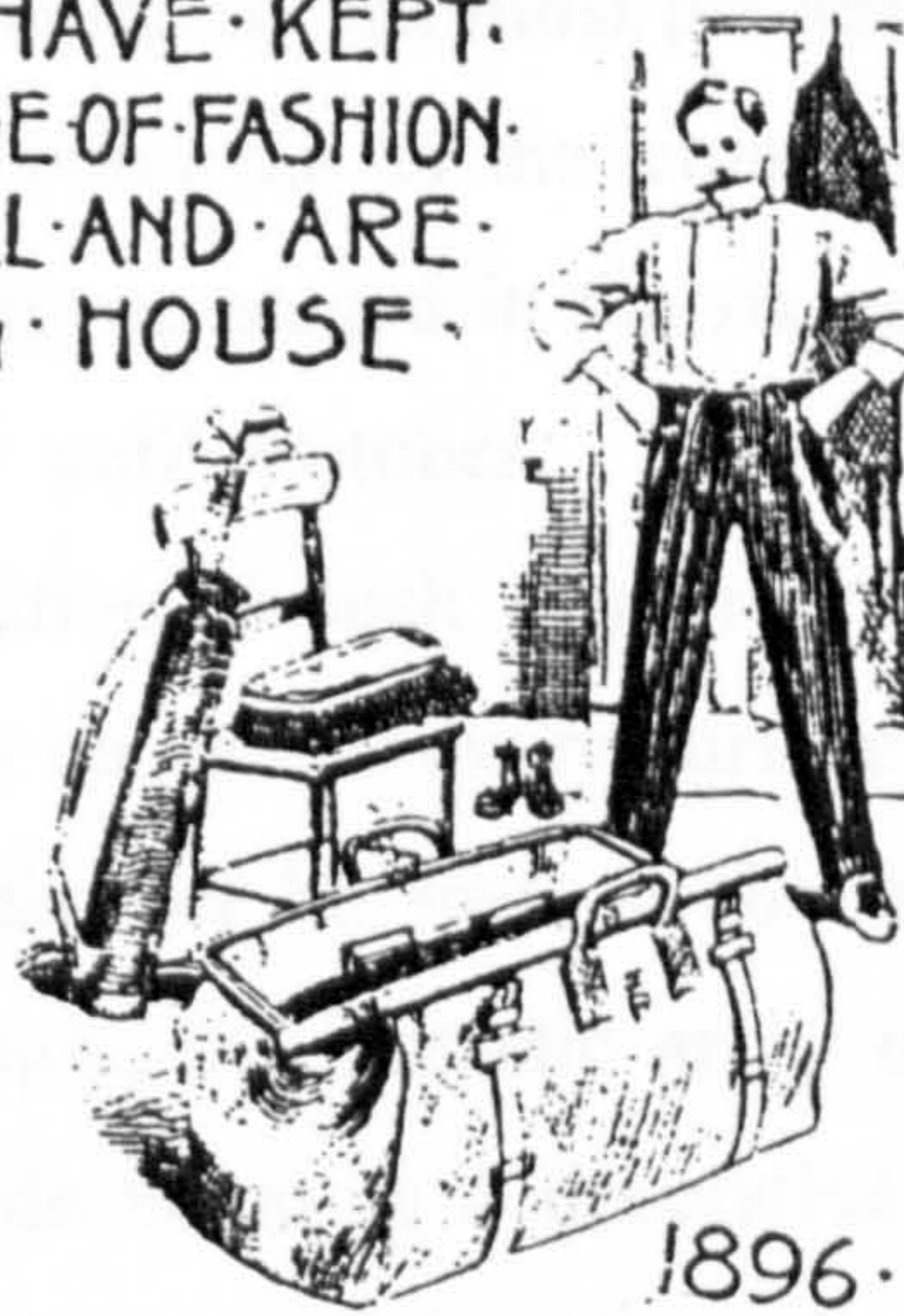
Figure 42.



1796.

THREE YEARS AFTER THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE POET BURNS DEATH MESS^{RS} LECKIE GRAHAM & CO ESTABLISHED BUSINESS DURING THE INTERVENING YEARS ENDING NOW IN THE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY THEY HAVE KEPT PACE WITH THE CHANGE OF FASHION AND MODES OF TRAVEL AND ARE STILL THE LEADING HOUSE FOR SADDLERY HARNESS TRUNKS PORTMANTEAUS BAGS AND ALL KINDS OF

TRAVELLING REQUISITES UMBRELLAS WATERPROOFS AND SPORTING PARAPHERNALIA AT 116 UNION ST GLASGOW NEXT DOOR TO THE OFFICES OF THE NORTH BRITISH DAILY MAIL



1896.

BURNS CENTENARY.



Burns Centenary marks an epoch in the Science of Pharmacy, as well as in the History of Scottish Song. Something approaching a Revolution has taken place in this Important Branch of Medical Science since our National Bard was laid to rest one hundred years ago. What is Universally admitted to be the Best Nerve Tonic that has come to the front is Nervetonine, a Medicine which completely renovates the Debilitated Nervous structure, while it gives tone and strength to the whole System, and is a Positive Cure for Neuralgia, Rheumatism, Lumbago, Threatened Paralysis, &c. For further Particulars see Thompson's "Concise Guide to Health," free from 17 Gordon Street, Glasgow. Nervetonine is sold in bottles, 1/9, 2/9, and 4/6. Post, 2d extra.

From Best Chemists and Proprietor,
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Sole Proprietor of Thompson's Celebrated Corn Plaster, which is a Marvellous Comfort for the Feet, and a certain Cure for Corns, Bunions, &c.

Packets 1s. 1½d. each, Post Free.

BEWARE OF WORTHLESS IMITATIONS.

Advertisements from the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, *Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition*, Glasgow 1896.

the *Tartans of the Clans and Families of Scotland*, consisting of an index of 69 authentic tartans and a sample illustration of each. This was one of few books published by the Smiths, although tartan covered boards were used by other publishers for works of Walter Scott and Robert Burns. (See figure 41)

The connection between Burns and tartan-ware is interesting, if only for the sense of association between Ayrshire and Burns, and the fact that Ayrshire was the centre of manufacture for such items. Burns and Scott were certainly the most predominant figures associated with the proliferation of souvenirs, a fact borne out by the remarkable collection of objects available. In 1896, a centenary exhibition was staged in the six galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of Fine Arts from July until October. There were literally thousands of articles on display, and the proliferation of such memorabilia emphasises Burns' status as a Scottish icon. His face appears on almost every surface imaginable - echoing the Victorian desire for souvenirs. This can be seen in the bust of Burns incorporated in Wedgwood-ware and more strikingly, the fantastic array of Mauchline-ware. In a sense, the utilisation of Burns alongside tartan as a decorative accessory to souvenirs was akin to a 'trademark' for Scotland. Burns, as with tartan, was perceived as representative of an element of Scottish culture, and universally recognised as such.

One such item was a snuff box, painted in tartan, with a picture on the lid of 'Burns and Highland Mary', another an album of Robert Burns in a Stuart tartan covered case, and a third, a needle book with one cover a view of Burns cottage and the other a representation of the poet's seal.²³⁰ It is interesting comment that Burns, who was most definitely a symbol of patriotism and national identity should be so inextricably entwined with that other distinct symbol of Scottishness - tartan. This further substantiates the position of the poet as symbol of Scottish identity, but also prompts the thought that the distinguishing, characteristic images of national identity were also being employed to commercial advantage. This element of commercialism caught up in the celebrations of the poet's life is also discernible in the *Proceedings of the Public Meeting*, which was held in St Andrews Halls in Glasgow, on 21 July 1896. This assembly was presided over by the Earl of Rosebery, but the most engaging aspect of the publication of the proceedings is the advertisement on the back page relating to the marketing of the *Robbie Burns Famed Old Highland Whisky*.²³¹ This again reflects the use of Burns as a trademark for Scottish-brand goods, and underlines the commercial aspects of cultural iconography. (See figure 42.)

From their initial concern with the production of snuff boxes, tea caddies and cigar cases, the manufacturers of Scottish Souvenir-ware certainly rose to the challenge of diversifying their product range. A steadily decreasing number of snuff-boxes were constructed alongside an ever increasing range of needlework, stationary domestic and cosmetic cases, jewellery and other items for personal decoration. The scope of articles was enormous - boxes of all shapes and sizes, egg cups, letter racks, paper knives, needlework containers for pins and ribbons, tape measures, crochet hooks, spectacle cases, book covers, photograph frames and so forth. Some designs reflect the customs and needs of the prospective consumers - visiting card cases, snuff boxes, parasol handles. The vogue for these kitsch trivialities was so prevalent that even the Queen owned a tartan-ware version of a handbag.

The Scottish home market became saturated with examples of transfer-ware, souvenirs that were decorated with a view associated with the place of purchase. Illustrations included the Burns Monument in Ayr, the Scott Monument in Edinburgh, Alloway Kirk, the Wallace Monument - all associated with the iconographical heroes of Scotland. Designs were also produced to commemorate particular events, major exhibitions and royal occasions - for example, the 1861 exhibition in Glasgow, the 1886 Edinburgh Exhibition and the Silver Jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1887. The popularity of souvenirs associated with events or Scottish heroes reflects the growing significance of cultural tourism, which is again echoed in the created of monuments and museums dedicated to national icons. The Burns museum within the Edinburgh monument contained various pieces of mementoes and relics. These included such items as the sword-cane which Burns carried as an excise-man, the stool he sat upon while correcting proofs in Creech's printing office, a painting, *Tam o' Shanter*, by James Drummond, and a selection of letters between the poet and various members of his immediate family.²³² The idea of a gallery or museum within a monument was a popular one at this time. The Wallace monument on the Abbey Craig boasted the addition of an apartment for the purpose of displaying Wallace-related memorabilia and the Scott Monument in Edinburgh's Princes Street incorporated galleries for the display of relics and other articles associated with Scott. This suggests that the monuments were designed as more than mere memorials to icons - they were expected to be the focus of attention from visitors, and as such had to provide an additional form of entertainment and education. Entrance fees were charged for access to the galleries within both the Scott and the Wallace monuments, which implies that there was a commercial aspect to the endeavour, in the form of cultural tourism. The monuments also served to enhance the environment, and

Figure 43.



Selection of Tartanware napkin rings.

Tartanware experienced explosive growth following Queen Victoria's ascension to the throne in 1837 and her subsequent popularising of all things Scottish. In addition to being prevalent as souvenirs, Tartanware was also extensively used in the kitchens, sewing rooms, and offices of the time. The most popular items included thread dispensers and organisers, thimble holders, egg cups, napkin rings, letter openers, pen trays, stamp boxes, and whisky glass coasters.

were symbolic of both the past and the present, a development which is further discussed in the following chapter.

Conclusion

The Highlands became the symbol of cultural identity for both Scots and outsiders. The peripheral nature of the Highlands to the British economy allowed Scots to assert their distinctive culture: the geographical regionalisation of culture, literally marked by boundaries. Historians are divided on the issue of Highlandism. Charles Withers referred to the 'bogus tartan caricature', which bore no resemblance to the clearances and famines which affected Highland society in the nineteenth century.²³³ Similarly, Hugh Trevor-Roper asserts that the central emblems of Scottish tradition are evasions of real history – yet since these symbols became a part of how people lived and celebrated their history, they become a part of history.²³⁴ The Highlands appeared to symbolise the whole of Scotland for many in the Victorian world, and certainly those seeking a visual image of Scotland discovered a land identical to that which was portrayed in literature.

The images of the Highlands came from a variety of sources, both within and outwith Scotland. The initial 'discovery' of Scotland, as seen through the eyes of the Picturesque-tourist appears to have been English-led, but Scots quickly adopted this vision of the Highlands. Walter Scott played a crucial role in the establishment of the Romantic image of the Scottish Highlands, and this image endured throughout the nineteenth century. In 1886 JG Barbour's *Unique Traditions Chiefly of the West and South of Scotland* made specific reference to the Highlands, noting that:

There be lingering there at the present period a thousand and one Romantic tales and traditions, which have been handed down for five hundred years, and which will likely be as dear to the grandson descendants of the present generation.²³⁵

Scotland was thus characterised as a Romantic land, replete with ancient traditions, culture and legends, and the spirit of historic association enlivened the perception of the country. It was a country of picturesque castles, lochs, and towering majestic mountains luxuriously covered in heather. It was also a land where the monstrous hand of industrialisation was barely discernible, and where the overwhelming forces of nature were predominant. Essentially, Scotland was a country where the tourist could journey

into the past, forgetting the realities of urban life, and immerse themselves in the Romantic imagination. The literature, art and travellers' accounts appear to form a symbiotic relationship, working together to create a universal image of Scotland as a whole.

Scotland's landscape, fascinating culture and vivid history made the country a virtual paradise for artists. Both professional and amateur artists found in Scotland a subject meriting their skill and imagination. Artistic representations influenced, and in turn were affected by, popular conceptions of Scotland. Most Victorians, even non-tourists, had some idea of what Scotland looked like, and the depictions of the country in art were yet another inducement to travel north of the border. Visitors, however, were principally concerned with the Sublime environment and captivating history, and hence landscape painting fulfilled the more substantial function in moulding their perceptions. The consequence of this was that by the mid-nineteenth century, tourists came to expect nothing less than the immaculate and picturesque depiction of the country. Landscape painting also played another role: that of depicting national identity, and creating a homogenous environment for Scottish culture and heritage.

The romanticised artists' image of Scotland was certainly devoured within Scotland. As has been noted, the arrival of the Scottish Academy ushered in various changes within Scottish art – the increased professionalisation of art, and the increased possibility of native artists to remain in Scotland and make a living from the depiction of Scottish scenery. Indeed, McCulloch's *Loch An Eilan* was chosen as the subject of an engraving by the Royal Association for the Promotion of Fine Arts in 1837, the committee judged that this painting warranted selection because:

The recommendation this year was, that a work should be selected from the landscape department, which had long flourished in Scotland, and it would have been strange to him [the secretary of the selection committee] if it had not done so in a country such as this —a country the fit nurse of poetical imaginations – the land of the mountain and the flood; a land which contains within itself all the features of loneliness, of majesty, and sublimity; a land whose grandeur and beauty, both in the Lowlands and Highlands, has been increased by the increase of knowledge, and the progress of art, the useful arts themselves having shed additional beauty and grandeur on the beautiful and Sublime features of nature.²³⁶

The presentation of the annual public exhibitions of contemporary art at the RSA and the West of Scotland Academy drew the attention of the emergent middle-class consumers.

Artists tended to paint what they knew would sell at exhibitions, and what they could sell was landscape painting. McCulloch typifies this development, and he energetically illustrated the new Romantic recognition of the landscape, shaping the iconography of the Scottish Highland scenery. McCulloch was a popular artist, evident in both the sale of his work and in and the contemporary praise of his work. The expansive landscapes of Graham, the successor to McCulloch, further promoted the stereotyped image of Scotland as Scott's land of mountain and flood, and he built upon the well-established appetite for Scottish moorland and mountain landscapes.

The combination of the images found in art and literature played a crucial role in bolstering the advance of tourism within Scotland. Landscape painters were not the only ones interested in what Scotland had to offer – as evidenced by the proliferation of illustrations of scenes from Scottish history. Not only did visitors to Scotland enjoy sketching the scenery; they were often inclined to regard real-life scenes as if they were something from an artist's imagination. As with Victoria, who was a reasonably talented artist, many tourists depicted their experiences in Scotland as if they were describing a painting. Certainly for many tourists it was as if time had stood still in Scotland, and they were able to convince themselves that a trip to Scotland was essentially a journey into the past. For many Scots, the Highlands came to represent an escape from the coarseness of contemporary urban life, and the overwhelming perception of the Highland region was one of Sublime Romanticism; a dramatic contrast with the industrialised Lowland city. This perception of the Highlands conforms to the interest in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in antiquarianism and the fascination with the country's past, a feature which will be further examined in the following chapter.

¹ TM Devine, *Clanship to Crofters War: the social transformation of the Scottish Highlands*, (Manchester, 1994), p.84.

² C Smout, 'Tours in the Scottish Highlands from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries', *Northern Scotland*, 5, 1983, p.99.

³ D Mitchell, *Cultural Geography: A Critical Introduction*, (Oxford, 2000), p.119.

⁴ D Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, (Cambridge, 1985), p.4.

⁵ P Womack, *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands*, (London, 1989); RD Clyde, *From Rebel to Hero: the Image of the Highlander 1745 – 1830*, (East Linton, 1995); CWJ Withers, 'The Historical Creation of the Scottish Highlands', in Donnachie & Whatley, (eds) *The Manufacture of Scottish History*, (Edinburgh, 1992).

⁶ Withers, 'The Historical Creation', p. 158.

⁷ A Cunningham, *The Life of Sir David Wilkie*, (London, 1843), Vol. 3, p.503.

⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 503 – 504.

⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 503 – 505.

- ¹⁰ K Fenyö, *Contempt, sympathy and romance: Lowland perceptions of the Highlands and the clearances during the famine years, 1845-1855*, (East Linton, 2000).
- ¹¹ Ibid, p.1.
- ¹² A Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*, (Edinburgh, 1991), pp. 199 –200.
- ¹³ *Scots Magazine*, Vol. 8, (1746), pp. 313 –314.
- ¹⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁷ R Griffiths, *Ascanius or the Young Adventurer*, (n.p., c.1746/1747).
- ¹⁸ L Leneman, 'A New Role for a Lost Cause: Lowland romanticisation of the Jacobite Highlander', in Leneman (ed), *Perspective in Scottish Social History*, (Aberdeen, 1988), p.111.
- ¹⁹ C Rogers, *Life and Songs of Baroness Nairne*, (Edinburgh, 1905), p.204.
- ²⁰ JG Kohl, *Scotland*, (London, 1844), p.53.
- ²¹ C Smout, 'Tours in the Scottish Highlands', p.105. For further elucidation of this theme, see also Fenyö, *Contempt, Sympathy and Romance*.
- ²² MGH Pittock, *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans*, (Edinburgh, 1995), p.5.
- ²³ MGH Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish Identity 1638 to the present*, (London, 1991), p.101.
- ²⁴ F Stafford, *The Sublime Savage: A Study of James Macpherson and The Poems of Ossian*, (Edinburgh, 1988), p.151.
- ²⁵ M Macdonald, *Scottish Art*, (London, 2000), pp. 71- 72.
- ²⁶ H Cheape, 'The Culture and Material Culture of Ossian 1760 – 1900', *Scotlands*, 4, 1997, p. 1.
- ²⁷ H Blair, *A Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian, Son of Fingal*, (London, 1763)
- ²⁸ H Mackenzie, *Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1805), pp. 4 - 6.
- ²⁹ Ibid, pp. 4-5.
- ³⁰ Ibid, pp. 4-5.
- ³¹ Mackenzie, *Report*, p.1.
- ³² Ibid, p.12.
- ³³ Ibid, p. 15.
- ³⁴ In 1763 Abbe Cesarotti translated *Fingal* into Italian, and this was followed by translations in Russian, Danish, Bohemian, Polish and Hungarian. See Stafford, *The Sublime Savage*, pp. 167-169.
- ³⁵ P Baines, 'Ossianic Geographies: Fingalian Figures on the Scottish Tour 1760 – 1830', *Scotlands*, 4, 1997, p. 45. For further discussion of the impact of Ossianic touring, see also M Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape, Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760 – 1800*, (Aldershot, 1989), chapter 8.
- ³⁶ Cheape, 'The Culture and Material Culture of Ossian', p.9.
- ³⁷ D Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland; the Golden Age*, (Oxford, 1986), p. 56.
- ³⁸ Ibid, pp. 52 –54.
- ³⁹ Lord Teignmouth, *Sketches of the Coasts and Islands of Scotland*, (London, 1836), Vol.I, p. 93.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 113.
- ⁴¹ Ibid, pp. 113 - 114.
- ⁴² Kohl, *Scotland*, p.53.
- ⁴³ R Nicholson, 'The tartan portraits of Prince Charles Edward Stewart: identity and iconography', *British Journal for Eighteenth Century Studies*, 21, 1998, p.145.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid, pp. 149 –151.
- ⁴⁵ See Chapter Three for more information on this.
- ⁴⁶ Nicholson, 'The tartan portraits', p.53.
- ⁴⁷ Thomas Duncan, RSA, *Prince Charles Edward and the Highlanders entering Edinburgh after the Battle of Prestonpans*; *Art Union* advertisement, April, 1845.
- ⁴⁸ Ibid.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid.
- ⁵⁰ Macmillan, *Scottish Art*, p.186.
- ⁵¹ See discussion of this painting in the previous section on Sir Walter Scott.
- ⁵² W Hardie, *Scottish Painting*, (London, 1980), pp. 50 – 51.
- ⁵³ Nicholson, 'The tartan portraits', p.160.
- ⁵⁴ Smout, 'Tours in the Scottish Highlands', p.100.

- ⁵⁵ J Boswell, *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, (Oxford, 1924), p.167.
- ⁵⁶ Smout points to the tours of men such as Bishop Pococke, Thomas Pennant and Dr Johnson. See Smout, 'Tours in the Scottish Highlands', p.101.
- ⁵⁷ S Johnson, *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, (Oxford, 1924), p.51.
- ⁵⁸ A Grant, *Letters*, (Edinburgh, 1845), Vol.1, Introduction.
- ⁵⁹ Johnson, *Journey*, p.42.
- ⁶⁰ Fenyö, *Contempt, Sympathy and Romance*. See also Smout, 'Tours in the Scottish Highlands', p.105.
- ⁶¹ Quoted in P Rogers (ed.), *Johnson and Boswell in Scotland*, (Cambridge, 1993), p.xi.
- ⁶² H Piozzi, *Anecdotes of the Late Samuel Johnson Lld*, (London, 1974), p.118.
- ⁶³ D MacNichol, *Remarks on Dr Samuel Johnson's Journey to the Hebrides; in which are contained, Observations on the Antiquities, Language, Genius, and Manners of the Highlanders of Scotland* (London, 1799) 8 volumes.
- ⁶⁴ T Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland*, (Warrington, 1774, 3rd edition), pp. 158 - 160.
- ⁶⁵ Teignmouth, *Sketches*, Vol.I., p.113.
- ⁶⁶ Fenyö, *Contempt, Sympathy and Romance*, p.7.
- ⁶⁷ Johnson, *Journey*, p.69.
- ⁶⁸ E Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*, (1757; Oxford, 1990)
- ⁶⁹ A Cockburn, *Letters and Memoir of Her Own Life*, (Edinburgh, 1900), introduction.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p.45.
- ⁷¹ M Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, (Aldershot, 1989), p. 198.
- ⁷² Smout, 'Tours in the Scottish Highlands', p.102.
- ⁷³ E Grant, *Memoirs of a Highland Lady*, (Edinburgh, 1988), Vol.I., p.138.
- ⁷⁴ J Leyden, *Tour in the Highlands and Western Islands in 1800*, (Edinburgh, 1903) p.16.
- ⁷⁵ S Murray, *Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland*, (Hawick, 1982), p.35.
- ⁷⁶ R Heron, *Scotland Delineated*, (1799 edition, 1975 reprint), p.158.
- ⁷⁷ Leyden, *Tour*, pp. 14 -15.
- ⁷⁸ D Wordsworth, *Recollections of a Tour made in Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1981), pp.98 - 100.
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 98 - 100.
- ⁸⁰ Grant, *Letters*, Vol.II., p.221.
- ⁸¹ D Wilkie in a speech given at a Public Dinner in his honour in Rome, 16 January 1827; in A Cunningham, *The Life of Sir David Wilkie*, (London, 1843), Vol. 2, pp. 386 - 387.
- ⁸² See Hogg, *Tour*; R Heron, *Scotland Delineated*; Leyden, *Tour*; and Garnett, *Observations on a tour through the Highlands and part of the Western Isles of Scotland*, (London, 1800).
- ⁸³ Kohl, *Scotland*, p.3.
- ⁸⁴ Smout, 'Tours in the Scottish Highlands', p.112.
- ⁸⁵ RH Butler, 'The Development of the Tourist Industry in the Highlands and Islands in the Nineteenth Century', in *Scottish Tradition*, (1975), p.73.
- ⁸⁶ Measom, *Official Illustrated Guide*, pp. 131 -132.
- ⁸⁷ Gold & Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, p.86.
- ⁸⁸ P Brandon, *Thomas Cook*, (London, 1991), p.16.
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p.38.
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid*.
- ⁹¹ L Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours: A History of Leisure Travel, 1750 - 1915*, (London, 1997), p. 143.
- ⁹² Brandon, *Thomas Cook*, p.48, quotation from *Chamber's Edinburgh Journal*, 1853.
- ⁹³ *Ibid*, p.49.
- ⁹⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 53 - 54.
- ⁹⁵ *The Steam and Inland Navigation of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1838).
- ⁹⁶ SH Clark, *The Development of Leisure in Britain, 1700-1850*, <http://landow.stg.brown.edu/victorian/history/leisure1.html>
- ⁹⁷ PC Bailey, 'Leisure, Culture and the Historian' in *Leisure Studies* 8 (1989). E-journal, <http://journals.tandf.co.uk/>
- ⁹⁸ Haldane, *Imagining Scotland*, pp. 231 - 232.
- ⁹⁹ The Arts and Crafts Movement flourished between 1870 and 1900. The Eglinton Tournament was held in 1839. The Eglinton Tournament is discussed in further detail in the following chapter.

¹⁰⁰ Brandon, *Thomas Cook*, p.38.

¹⁰¹ Garnett, *Observations*, Vol.II.

¹⁰² Salvator Rosa (1615 - 73) was an Italian painter, poet, engraver and musician noted chiefly for his flamboyant and dramatic style of landscape painting in opposition to the classical style of Poussin and Claude Lorraine. Apart from turbulent battle scenes, his fame lies mainly in his somewhat theatrical landscapes peopled by saints and bandits. The subjects, the dramatic lighting and the wild natural settings of these works started a vogue in the 18th century for 'Sublime' and 'Picturesque' landscapes.

Gaspard Dughet, also known as Gaspard Poussin, (1615 - 75), a French painter, brother in law and pupil to Nicolas Poussin, he became a leading landscape artist of the classical idiom, using figures and architectural features in a classically balanced setting. Nicolas Poussin, his master, was the leading exponent of landscape painting within Europe - and his work became the prototype for the academic history picture.

¹⁰³ Smout, 'Tours in the Scottish Highlands', p.102,

¹⁰⁴ W Scott, *Waverley*, (1814; London, 1994), p.183.

¹⁰⁵ W Gilpin, *Observations relative to Picturesque Beauty made in the year 1776*, (London, 1789), p.84.

¹⁰⁶ A Alison, *Essays on Taste*, (Edinburgh, 1790), Vol.II, pp. 421 -422.

¹⁰⁷ Quoted in Finley, *Landscapes of Memory*, pp. 21-26.

¹⁰⁸ J Eagles, 'Subjects for Painters. A Letter to Eusebius', *Blackwood's Magazine*, Volume 63, 1848, pp. 176 - 192.

¹⁰⁹ David Wilkie paid this tribute in a toast to Nasmyth, which appears in the thinly veiled biography of the artist James Burnet, written by his brother, John. J Burnet, *The Progress of a Painter in the Nineteenth Century*, (London, 1854), Vol.I., p. 210. See also Irwin, *Scottish Painters*, p. 138; M Macdonald, *Scottish Art*, (London, 2000), pp. 77 - 79.

¹¹⁰ David Wilkie to Alexander Nasmyth, 23 April 1828, in Cunningham, *The Life of Sir David Wilkie*, Vol.2, p.520.

¹¹¹ R Burns, *The First Commonplace Book 1783 - 1785*, August 1784, in A Bold (ed), *Rhymer Rab: An Anthology of Poems and Prose by Robert Burns*, (London, 1993), pp. 242-243.

¹¹² Irwin, *Scottish Painters*, p. 141.

¹¹³ Alison, *Essays on Taste*, Vol.II, pp. 421 -422.

¹¹⁴ Nasymth was committed to synthesise the Italianate classical ideal within the Scottish landscape, and to fulfil this vision he designed and built a classical temple (St Bernard's Well) on the banks of the Water of Leith which he dedicated to the Goddess Hygeia. In addition to this, he designed a picturesque ruin and devised the plan for a castellated lighthouse with Gothic windows for the Duke of Argyll; while in 1806 he was commissioned to create a bridge for the grounds of Lord Breadalbane's estate at Taymouth. He was also invited to select a suitably picturesque site for the new home of Sir James Hall, before the project had even been discussed with the architect. This goes to establish Nasymth's reputation as an arbiter of the Picturesque taste in Scotland.

¹¹⁵ Williams & Brown, *The Bigger Picture*, (London, 1993), p.127.

¹¹⁶ Irwin, *Scottish Painters*, p.140.

¹¹⁷ Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland, the Golden Age*, (Oxford, 1986), pp. 144 - 145.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, p.145.

¹¹⁹ Williams & Brown, *The Bigger Picture*, p.129.

¹²⁰ D Wilkie in a letter to Mrs Nasmyth, 13 April 1840, in Cunningham, *The Life of Sir David Wilkie*, Vol.3, pp. 279-280.

¹²¹ Macdonald, *Scottish Art*, p.83.

¹²² Hardie, *Scottish Painting*, p.22.

¹²³ J Burnet, *The Progress of a Painter in the Nineteenth Century*, Vol.II., p. 66. Burnet notes later (Vol.II., p. 92) that the definition of aerial perspective is when the interposition of the atmosphere renders objects less strong and distinct

¹²⁴ Macdonald, *Scottish Art*, p.83.

¹²⁵ J Halsby & P Harris, *The Dictionary of Scottish Painters*, pp. 127 - 128.

¹²⁶ N Prior, 'Edinburgh, Romanticism and the National Gallery of Scotland', *Urban History*, 22, 1995, pp. 208 - 209.

¹²⁷ PH Lang, 'Music and court in the eighteenth-century', in P Fritz & D Williams (eds), *City and Society in the Eighteenth Century*, (Edinburgh, 1973), p.151.

¹²⁸ N Prior, 'Edinburgh, Romanticism and the National Gallery of Scotland', p. 213.

- ¹²⁹ Williams & Brown, *The Bigger Picture*, p.136
- ¹³⁰ Review of the 1849 RSA Exhibition, *The Art Journal*, 1849.
- ¹³¹ Review of the West of Scotland Academy exhibition in Glasgow, 1843, in the *Art Union*, 1843.
- ¹³² *Loch Aud – Sunset*, and *A Dream of the Highlands*; Review of the RSA exhibition, 1844, Edinburgh, in the *Art Union*, 1844. The critics also commended McCulloch's painting *Loch Fad*.
- ¹³³ *Moonlight*; Review of the RSA exhibition, 1844, Edinburgh, in the *Art Union*, 1844.
- ¹³⁴ H McCulloch, *Highland Stronghold*; in the Review of the 1849 RSA Exhibition, *The Art Journal*, 1849.
- ¹³⁵ Ibid.
- ¹³⁶ *The Scotsman*, as in S Smith, *Horatio McCulloch*, exhibition catalogue, (Glasgow, 1988), p.70
- ¹³⁷ S Smith, *Horatio McCulloch*, pp. 88 –89.
- ¹³⁸ Ibid, p.89.
- ¹³⁹ A Smith, *A Summer in Skye*, (London, 1865) pp.11.
- ¹⁴⁰ Smith, *Horatio McCulloch*, pp. 92-93.
- ¹⁴¹ Ibid, pp. 92-93.
- ¹⁴² Holloway & Errington, *The Discovery of Scotland*, p.112.
- ¹⁴³ J MacCulloch, *The Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland*, (London, 1824), 4 Vols.
- ¹⁴⁴ Ibid, Vol. III, p.476.
- ¹⁴⁵ Smout, 'Tours in the Scottish Highlands', p.109.
- ¹⁴⁶ Fenyö, *Contempt, Sympathy and Romance*, p.7.
- ¹⁴⁷ Lennie, *Landseer, the Victorian Paragon*, pp. 34 -50
- ¹⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 36.
- ¹⁴⁹ Ibid, pp. 34 -50
- ¹⁵⁰ Ibid, pp. 34 -50
- ¹⁵¹ Eagles, 'A Letter to Eusebius', pp. 176 – 192.
- ¹⁵² Landseer's letter to Earl of Ellesmere, reproduced in catalogue of the *Landseer exhibition*, Royal Academy, 1961, p.152.
- ¹⁵³ *The Times*, 6 May 1846.
- ¹⁵⁴ A Munich, *Queen Victoria's Secrets*,(New York, 1996), p.44.
- ¹⁵⁵ *The Monarch of the Glen* was sold in 1884 for the sum of £6,510 and in 1892 it was sold again, this time for £7,245.
- ¹⁵⁶ Irwin, *Scottish Painters*, p. 362.
- ¹⁵⁷ *The Athenaeum*, 2 June 1866.
- ¹⁵⁸ *The Times*, 5 May 1866.
- ¹⁵⁹ *London Illustrated News*, in L Errington, *Master Class: Robert Scott Lauder and his pupils*, (Edinburgh, 1983), p.80.
- ¹⁶⁰ Errington, *Master Class*, p.80.
- ¹⁶¹ W Matthews Gilbert, 'Life and work of Peter Graham', *The Art Annual*, (London, 1899), pp. 11 – 12.
- ¹⁶² Irwin, *Scottish Painters*, pp. 362 – 363.
- ¹⁶³ Matthews Gilbert, 'Life and work of Peter Graham', pp. 11 –12.
- ¹⁶⁴ JE Pythian, *Fifty Years of Modern Painting*, (London, 1908), pp. 343 – 344.
- ¹⁶⁵ *Punch*, November 8 1890, as in the exhibition catalogue; *Mountain, Meadow, Moss and Moor, Exhibition of the work of Joseph Denovan Adam*, Smith Art Gallery and Museum, 1996.
- ¹⁶⁶ A Fraser, *Scottish Landscape: The Life and Works of Horatio MacCulloch, RSA*, (Edinburgh, 1872), p. 9.
- ¹⁶⁷ Womack, *Improvement and Romance*, p.163.
- ¹⁶⁸ Crealock, quoted in Lennie, *Landseer*, p.43
- ¹⁶⁹ W Scott, 28 November 1827; Anderson, *Journal of Sir Walter Scott*, pp. 385.
- ¹⁷⁰ J Kerr, *Queen Victoria's Scottish Diaries*, (Kent, 1992), p.7.
- ¹⁷¹ D Duff (ed.) *Queen Victoria's Highland Journals*, (London, 1994), pp. 6 –7.
- ¹⁷² Ibid, pp. 6 –11.
- ¹⁷³ Ibid, pp. 60- 65.
- ¹⁷⁴ Munich, *Queen Victoria's Secrets*, pp. 39-41.
- ¹⁷⁵ Duff, *Highland Journals*, p.22. This indicates how much Scott Victoria knew – as this was considered one of the lesser novels
- ¹⁷⁶ Ibid, p.74.
- ¹⁷⁷ *September 13, 1850*, in *ibid*, pp. 72-73.

¹⁷⁸ September 4 1850, in *ibid*, p.90 –91.

¹⁷⁹ See articles such as W E Aytoun, 'Scottish Deer Forests', in *Blackwoods*, July 1848; W E Aytoun, 'Scotland since the Union', in *Blackwoods*, May 1854; M Oliphant, 'Scotland and her accusers, In *Blackwoods*, September 1861; A K H Boyd, 'Some talk about Scotch Peculiarities' in *Fraser's Magazine*.

¹⁸⁰ This point is further emphasised by the comments of the *Art Union* in relation to Duncan's painting of Prince Charles Edward entering Edinburgh after the Battle of Prestonpans; 'even the Sovereign of the House of Hanover... will drink to the memory of an unfortunate and unhappy scion of a race of sovereigns long since at rest'. *Art Union* advertisement, April, 1845.

¹⁸¹ Botfield, *Journal of a Tour through the Highlands*, p.xiv.

¹⁸² P Gildea, *Barricades and Borders: Europe 1800 – 1914*, (Oxford, 1987), pp.130 –138.

¹⁸³ Cockburn, *Journal*, Vol.II, pp. 88 - 89.

¹⁸⁴ Measom, *Official Illustrated Guide*, p.113.

¹⁸⁵ Victoria had visited the eisteddfod in Wales before she ascended the throne, which indicates her interest in Celtic culture, suggesting that her partiality for the Highlands was part of a wider regard for ancient culture and heritage. This is further reflected in the costumed Plantagenet Ball that was held in 1842.

¹⁸⁶ Duff, *Highland Journals*, p.28.

¹⁸⁷ William Atkinson, was also employed in the interior design of the main section of Abbotsford, which housed the drawing room, library and study. The exterior of this wing was the responsibility of Edward Blore, an English architect who was later to be involved in the restoration of Glasgow Cathedral. Sheila Forman notes that on its completion in 1824, Abbotsford was a mixture of styles: Scottish Baronial, Tudor Gothic and pure fantasy. See S Forman, *Scottish Country Houses*, (Glasgow, 1967), pp. 88 – 90.

¹⁸⁸ I Gow, *The Scottish Interior. Georgian and Victorian Decor*, (Edinburgh, 1992), pp. 53 – 56.

¹⁸⁹ F Sinclair, *Scotstyle: 150 Years of Scottish Architecture*, (Edinburgh, 1984), p.14.

¹⁹⁰ Smith, *A Summer in Skye*, p.126.

¹⁹¹ Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, pp. 49 – 51.

¹⁹² J Stoddart, *Remarks on Local Scenery & Manners in Scotland during the years 1799 and 1800* (London, 1801), Vol.I, p.163.

¹⁹³ This point is supported by publications such as R Buchanan's *The Footsteps of William Wallace*, (Edinburgh, 1856).

¹⁹⁴ Gilpin, *Observations*, Vol.II, p.73.

¹⁹⁵ Grant, *Memoirs*, Vol.I., p.223.

¹⁹⁶ Grant, *Letters*, Vol.II. p.81.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid*, p.55.

¹⁹⁸ JC Lees, *Tobersnorey: a rollicking tour through the land of the Gael*, (Edinburgh, n.d.), pp. 34 - 35. For further examples of this idea of 'second sight', see also novels such as Susan Ferrier, *Destiny, or, The Chief's Daughter*, (1831; London 1929)

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid*, p.p. 67 - 68.

²⁰⁰ Fenyö notes that this contemptuous view of the Highlands and the inhabitants of that region was particularly prevalent because most of the major newspapers with the biggest circulation espoused this opinion. See Fenyö, *Contempt, Sympathy and Romance*, p.1.

²⁰¹ Fenyö gives the example of the *Inverness Courier*, which assumed a pro-Clearances stance in 1845, arguing that since the present-day Highlanders were lazy and 'slumbered in a semi-barbarous state', the Clearances could only improve them. Yet, alongside articles and editorials of this manner, the *Courier* also published enthusiastic reports of the annual Braemar Gathering of 'admirable clansmen: the editor was unaware of any irony in this position. The very Clearances which he was so eagerly promoting were effectively driving away those gallant and hardy Chiefs celebrated by the Highland Gatherings. See *ibid*, pp. 165 – 167.

²⁰² *Ibid*, pp. 176 – 178.

²⁰³ Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p.44.

²⁰⁴ B Faujas De Saint Fond, *A Journey Through England and Scotland to the Hebrides in 1784*, Vol.I, (Glasgow, 1907), pp. 263 – 266.

²⁰⁵ JD Scarlett, *Tartan: the Highland Textile*, (London, 1990), pp. 34 –38.

²⁰⁶ J Logan, *The Scottish Gael*, (Edinburgh, 1831), introduction.

²⁰⁷ D Stewart, *Sketches of the Character, Manners and Present State of the highlanders of Scotland*, (Edinburgh 1822), pp.72 – 77.

- ²⁰⁸ Scarlett, *Tartan: the Highland Textile*, p. 37.
- ²⁰⁹ I Brown, *Balmoral, the History of a Highland Home*, (London, 1955), p.11.
- ²¹⁰ MGH Pittock, *Celtic identity and the British image*, (Manchester, 1999), pp. 86 –87.
- ²¹¹ Kohl, *Scotland*, pp. 5 – 6.
- ²¹² JA Robertson, *Concise Historical Proofs respecting The Gael of Alban; or, Highlanders of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1865), p. 379.
- ²¹³ J Grant, *The Tartans of the Clans of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1886) preface.
- ²¹⁴ H Cheape, *Tartan, the Highland Habit*, (Edinburgh 1991), pp. 57 – 58.
- ²¹⁵ Review of *The Clans*, by RR M'Ian; *The Art Union*, January 1845.
- ²¹⁶ Ibid.
- ²¹⁷ Williams & Brown, *The Bigger Picture*, p.106
- ²¹⁸ H Smailes, *Kenneth MacLeay*, Scottish Masters Series 16, (Edinburgh, 1992).
- ²¹⁹ Phillips, de Pury & Luxembourg, *The Scottish Sale: Sale Catalogue, Edinburgh, 24 and 25 August 2001*. For the most recent prices of Tartan-ware sales refer to *Miller's Collectibles Price Guide*.
- ²²⁰ One example of this is the committee which was established in 1813 to raise public funds for the purpose of erecting some form of memorial to the Burns. This committee included several Members of Parliament, the Marquis of Queensberry and the Duke of Buccleuch. They determined to solicit contributions by entering into correspondence with friends and enthusiasts of Burns in 'the United Empire, the East and West Indies and America.' They were apparently inundated with various donations as the money came flooding in from around the world - £32 6s from Huddersfield, £23 from Lisbon, and £81 from Montreal. There was also the magnificent sum of £300 from Bombay - where an expatriate fan of the Scottish Bard had been employed for the preceding two years in collecting cash to erect a monument there. See *The Minutes of the Mausoleum Committee* reproduced in Davis, *Grierson*, pp. 259 - 99. Other examples include the subscriptions given to the Wallace Monument – which is discussed in further detail in Chapter Three. See also Appendix 2.
- ²²¹ *Commercial Dictionary of Scotland*, 1825, quoted in E & E Pinto, *Tunbridge and Scottish Souvenir Woodware*, (London, 1970), Ch. 2.
- ²²² Rev. John Tod, Mauchline parish, *NSA*, Vol.5., p.p.158 – 168.
- ²²³ Rev. Ninian Bannatyne, Old Cumnock parish, *NSA*, Vol.5., pp. 474 – 491.
- ²²⁴ Ibid, pp. 474 – 491.
- ²²⁵ D Wintersgill, *Scottish Antiques*, (London, 1977), pp. 102- 103.
- ²²⁶ William Leighton Leitch (1804 - 83) was born in Glasgow, where he originally trained for the law. Disliking this choice of career, he spent much time with his friends McCulloch and Macnee, who were both painting. In 1824 he became a scene painter for the Theatre Royal in Glasgow, but within a year he moved to Cumnock where he worked decorating snuff boxes. After this modest beginning, Leitch moved to London where his career went from strength to strength, and for 22 years he taught at Windsor Castle, Osborne House, Buckingham Palace and Balmoral, where his pupils included Queen Victoria, Prince Leopold and the Princesses Louise and Helena.
- ²²⁷ Rev. John Warrick, *History of Old Cumnock*, 1899, quoted in Pinto, *Scottish Souvenir Woodware*, pp. 74 – 89.
- ²²⁸ Ibid, pp. 74 – 89.
- ²²⁹ Rev. James Chrystal, Auchinleck parish, *NSA*, Vol.5., p.p.322 – 332.
- ²³⁰ *Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition*, (Glasgow, 1896), catalogue numbers 784, 785, 788, 779, 791,780.
- ²³¹ *Burns Centenary Public Meeting in St Andrews Halls, Tuesday 21st July*, (Glasgow, 1896)
- ²³² Rogers, *Monuments*, p.7.
- ²³³ Withers, 'The Historical Creation', p. 158.
- ²³⁴ H Trevor-Roper, 'The Invention of Tradition: the Highland Tradition of Scotland' in E Hobsbawn & H Trevor-Roper (eds), *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 29- 30; C. Craig, *Out Of History*, (Edinburgh, 1996), pp. 109 – 110.
- ²³⁵ JG Barbour, *Unique Traditions Chiefly of the West and South of Scotland*, (London, 1886), p.5.
- ²³⁶ The Royal Association for the Promotion of Fine Arts, *Annual Report* (1837 – 1838), p.124.

Scottish heritage: heroes, antiquarians and art.

This section will consider the depiction of Scottish heritage and culture in the nineteenth century, and the ways in which figures from the past, religion and history were celebrated in architecture, painting and sculpture. Another method of assessing popular historical consciousness in Scotland is an examination of the celebration of notable historical figures and the public commemoration of the iconography and history of the country. This veneration of historical iconography reflects contemporary attitudes; in an age of uncertainty the illustrations of a virtuous and stable life needed to be reinforced by example, and artists turned to history painting to accomplish this. As Scotland was a Protestant country, they could not turn to traditional religious iconography and the cult of the saints, but the historic mythology and heroes of the past were considered suitable subjects. In his account of Victorian painting, Strong indicates that kings and queens, poets and writers, statesmen and men of action, as they came to be known through the spread of literacy and popular reading of national history, were assigned roles within a pantheon of virtue and vice, and thus history was reduced to a parade of heroes and heroines.¹ History for the Victorians was an instrument for the dissemination of political, moral and religious ideas, and the depiction and celebration of historical scenes and heroes was intended to inspire a sense of calm and complacency in the present. They were directed at arousing patriotic pride within the public consciousness and an awareness of cultural history of the nation.

The building of memorial structures to national heroes and the creation of a national iconography bears witness to the grassroots confidence in the notion of Scottish identity, and in the perception of Scotland as a distinguished historic nation. This becomes apparent not only with the construction of such monuments, but in the monetary support which was forthcoming for these endeavours. Additionally, the substantial numbers of people who attended the opening ceremonies and visited the

monuments is testament to the appeal of national heroes and the celebration of Scottish nationality. With regard to the appropriation of consequential figures as national icons, the significance of these symbols of a national past in relation to identity is apparent. Individuals are reliant on their environment and past history to ascertain identity, and the conception of a self-conscious identity inevitably entails a degree of organisation. The institution of a communal, a truly national, identity therefore is based on the presumption that there is a shared experience, and a common objective. Hero-worship suggests the sense of reclaiming imagery from the past. This examination of the national iconography of nineteenth-century Scotland raises some interesting features. National iconography is the embodiment of contemporary aspirations and sanctions the demonstration of a consolidated sense of feeling. Anthony Smith comments that such movements to commemorate the heroes of the past are recurrent, continually re-emerging in times of crisis in industrial societies.² It is also important to consider the monuments in their setting. There is a danger of merely regarding them as isolated memorials, but the environment and backdrop to the constructions are important too.

In his essay on Scottish cultural heroes, Duncan Macmillan makes the intriguing observation that if you arrive in the capital of Scotland by train, you emerge in Waverley Station, probably the only railway station in the world to be named after a novel. As you come out from the station, you are confronted with the remarkable Gothic monument to Scott, the author of *Waverley*, and as you look around the city, the cast of celebrated characters grows:

You turn up the Bridges and if you look to the east, you will see that David Hume, the greatest of all Scots philosophers and the personification of the Enlightenment, is commemorated in a monument, designed by Robert Adam, which stands in the nearby Calton cemetery. Beyond Hume, on the far edge of the hill stands a monument to Robert Burns, designed in an elegant, Greek revival style by Thomas Hamilton. The military heroes, Nelson and Wellington, are commemorated here too, but Nelson's telescope on the Calton Hill is upstaged by the towering obelisk for the political martyrs of 1793 that stands in front of it.³

Macmillan expresses the opinion that Edinburgh is a city dominated by cultural heroes, not just poets, but philosophers, mathematicians, and by institutions. This last is interesting - nineteenth-century Scots saw culture as endorsed by both individuals

and institutions. The two purpose-built art galleries (the Royal Academy and the National Gallery) which fill such a central location in the capital city were built in 1825 and 1859, a physical development which signifies the intellectual importance of high culture in society. Another institution, which is celebrated, is that of religion. The Gothic towers of the New College stand not as a monument to art, but to the Disruption of the Scottish Church in 1843. The issue of religious identity is discussed elsewhere in this chapter, but it is important to note, as Macmillan notes in his history of Scottish religious painting, that religion has a tangible place in any discussion of culture, and the Disruption was a cultural drama of the highest importance, intimately related to the significance of the other monuments around it.⁴

The predominance of monuments in the cityscape of Edinburgh signifies the central importance of iconography in nineteenth-century Scottish culture. While any appearance of national identity may be considered a cultural curio, the process of building monuments to national heroes implies something more. To understand the process behind the manufacture of national identity it is necessary to contemplate the emblems of Scotland's past. Certain symbols have been common to Scottish national identity - eminent men who have served as Scottish icons - Bruce, Wallace, Burns and Scott. All of these icons were celebrated and honoured by the nation with the construction of monuments to pay homage to their contribution to Scottish society, and to commemorate their position as symbols of Scottish identity. Thompson and Samuel note that these figures of national myth are often creatures of excess and this is no doubt one of the sources of their popular appeal. They perform legendary feats of strength, like the poor boy made good, they cross class boundaries with apparent ease or like the fugitive Bonnie Prince Charlie they effect miraculous escapes.⁵ Essentially this mythmaking is the glorification of figures from history, shaped to meet with contemporary aspirations and shaped by symbolic notions of the past.

There is a distinct masculine focus in nineteenth-century Scottish iconography; the Edinburgh icons referred to by Macmillan are exclusively male. This is notable as it mirrors the society of the time, and the masculine emphasis extends to the phraseology and the architectural expression of celebrating the heroes of the past. The potency of the male-orientated rendering of the Scottish past and its heroes is such that it underpins perceptions and preconceptions of Scottish identity. While this seems to jar with the notion of a shared experience in terms of the whole Scottish population,

indeed the emphasis on male heroes may be considered to dismiss women completely, women were not barred completely from the celebration of the past. The monuments were designed for the nation, and women certainly attended the opening ceremonies, and participated in the general festivities associated with the commemorations. At this juncture, it is important to remember that, as Marinell Ash states, the building of monuments says more about current attitudes than any idea of having past heroes.⁶ It is also significant in this context that there were no indisputable women heroes who were commemorated in a similar manner to Burns, Scott and Wallace. If the construction of monuments reflects current attitudes, then this omission of female heroes is indicative of contemporary Victorian outlooks, rather than a lack of heroines in Scottish history. However, this masculine focus is in contrast to the more feminine image of the Highlands; also, many of Scott's novels feature heroines, and they were often the subject for paintings and sculptures. Artists too focused on feminine heroes – as the iconography of Mary Queen of Scots would appear to indicate. Furthermore, this celebration of Scottish heroes is consistent with Victorian ideology; the idea that if the Victorian woman was the angel of the hearth and home, then the man was the public figure of endeavour and achievement.

The first section within this chapter will consider the artistic depiction of Scottish heritage and culture in the nineteenth century, and the ways in which figures from the past, religion and history were celebrated through painting. It was during the reign of Queen Victoria that Scottish painting began to take on a character by which contemporaries were able to distinguish it, and thus began to talk of a 'Scottish School' in art. This was primarily discernible in terms of content and subject matter rather than by the designation of stylistic terminology. The popularity of subjects connected with the life, landscape and history of Scotland was, as has been shown, largely due to an appreciation of the work of Sir Walter Scott, and this was reinforced by Queen Victoria's annual residence in Balmoral and her genuine regard for the northern kingdom.

Figure 44.



David Allan, *The Highland Wedding at Blair Atholl*, 1780.

This painting is essentially Allan's Scottish version of Italian peasants dancing. The scene is of dancers at a wedding, set within an Italianate landscape, with the thatched cottages replacing the classical ruins of Claudian compositions. The increased interest in Highland dress and the 'traditional' culture of Scotland is evident in that some of the figures are kilted, while others wear tartan breeches.

Artists and Scottish history

While Scotland's present was only of passing interest to most travellers, the Scottish past was considered to be romantic, exciting, and even bloodcurdling. As Katherine Haldane indicates, in spite of the very different assessment of professional historians in the nineteenth century, the Victorian popular imagination romanticised and idealised many aspects of Scottish history.⁷ Prevalent themes embraced by the public imagination included the tragic life of Mary, Queen of Scots, the violent but loyal clans of the Highlands with their wild and heroic chieftains, and the Romantic adventures of Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites. The locations of historical incidents were of equal standing to scenes from Walter Scott's novels as preferred tourist destinations, and in this context it is conspicuous that Scott's works were all historical fiction. Tourists liked to visit these sites and imagine how they would have looked in the past, and through his novels and poems Scott created a lasting legacy, a distinctive vision of Scotland, the Scottish people and their collective past. This effectively contributed towards an imaginative construction of the cultural identity of Scotland as his pervasive vision of Scotland acquired a mythological status. These images influenced how the nineteenth-century public, and indeed the Scots themselves, perceived Scotland, and continue to influence perceptions of the nation today.

The recent past had seen the emergence of several influential artists - Sir Henry Raeburn, Alexander Nasymth and Sir David Wilkie, who were to be the driving force behind Scottish landscape, portraiture and genre painting. Scottish painters of the earlier Victorian era can be divided into two distinct groups, dependent on their training. The first groups of artists had a broader based training, often augmented by trips to Rome, which had an undeniable affect on their work. The result of this liberal artistic education can be seen in the subject and coloration of the work that they produced. They showed a predisposition to 'High Art', a peculiarly Victorian concept involving subjects of a morally elevated character, and the stimulus of Italy is visible in the more creative and aesthetic use of colour. Secondly, and predominantly, the majority were instructed at home. With respect to colour and tone in paintings, the artists were almost entirely influenced by the later manner of David Wilkie, and by his

assertion that 'A picture, to be understood and relished by such a mind, should, without offensive brightness, be varied in its effect and colour'.⁸ They also subscribed to the belief that 'as richness is the object to be aimed at in all systems of colouring, a dark brown may be a useful colour.'⁹

These artists who were tutored within Scotland had a tendency to paint for the provincial tastes of Edinburgh. This reflects the predominantly middle-class membership of the Royal Association for the Promotion of Fine Arts in Scotland, and evident in the many volumes of engravings produced by the Association throughout the nineteenth century. These are indicative of the standard tastes of the age - landscape with a hearty regional character, and figure painting which tended towards illustration, preferably that of Scottish historical subjects, or of the works of Walter Scott and Robert Burns. The artist William Bell Scott sarcastically pointed out that there were two schools of aspiring history painters in London at this time; the Englishmen Dadd, O'Neil and Egg who repeatedly illustrated *Don Quixote* and *The Vicar of Wakefield*, and the Scotsmen such as Lauder and Alexander Johnstone who illustrated *The Gentle Shepherd* and the *Waverley Novels* with equal persistence and enthusiasm.¹⁰ *The Athenaeum* also picked up on this aspect of art, commenting that

Then come those books much thumbed in studios: - 'The Vicar of Wakefield' and 'Don Quixote', and for half a century our galleries are filled with demure *Olivias* and *Dr Primroses*, and gaping *Moses*, and punchy *Sanchos*, and lank *Quixotes*, - all so like each other, and so unlike Goldsmith and Cervantes, that they leave us with a painful impression that the artist has never read any book than the two he paints from, and those two only on the page which he has selected to illustrate.¹¹

Duncan Macmillan echoes this point, and asserts that this style of painting - the illustration of the prose and poetry of Sir Walter Scott - is really a sub-genre in nineteenth-century Scottish painting.¹² The illustration of Scott's works received an enormous boost in the publication by Cadell of the illustrated edition of the *Waverley* novels, which began in 1829, and to which Wilkie and many others contributed as part of the effort to redeem Scott's fortunes. Following this, one of Robert Scott Lauder's major compositions was the climatic scene from the *Bride of Lammermoor* (1831), and he painted numerous other subjects from the novels. Artists made their careers out of this kind of narrative history painting - which again reflected the demand for this particular genre, and the public perception of Scotland in the nineteenth century.

Writing in 1836, John Eagles commented on the state of Scottish painting, and the preference for historical subject matter among Scottish, and indeed, British artists. He asserts that the traditional role of the artist in depicting scenes from history was no longer exclusive. Rather, writers had taken the place of painters:

Mankind was formerly taught by sights, but now by reading. Even the ornamental part, the decoration and effect of history, have passed from the painter to the romance-writer. It is found that in this walk the pen excites more than the pencil, and that truth may go to which side she pleases, for few care which. Both may have their share of ambitious facts; but in the written the imagination is not too definitely fastened down, and when duly revered, will delight more in its dreamy liberty.¹³

He further noted that the link between art and literature was stronger than ever, as the link between Walter Scott and Scottish art would seem to indicate: 'history has been declared but an old almanac only fit for historical novels. They have absolutely superseded strict historical painting'.¹⁴ The depiction of the past satisfied contemporary aspirations; history, and the painting of historical subjects, produced a heroic narrative and iconography.

One of the most renowned and celebrated artists of this age was David Wilkie, and along with almost his entire generation he was utterly seduced by the works of Sir Walter Scott. It has been said that he awaited the publication of each Waverley novel with bated breath, but the feelings of admiration were mutual, as Wilkie's narrative and descriptive style of painting was much appreciated by Scott.¹⁵ The association between the two men was however essentially professional, as with Turner, Wilkie was commissioned by Cadell to illustrate the various editions of the Waverley novels. The work of the two men was effectively a symbiotic partnership, as Wilkie, in his approach to history as the subject of paintings was consciously promoting the notion of developing the painting of Scottish history in parallel to Scott's novels. In a sense, Wilkie, like Scott, was devoting himself to memorialising and recording what was passing away. Wilkie was concerned with not just art in Scotland, but with the culture of the Enlightenment, and composed a concept of painting based upon the unaccented observation of actual human behaviour. His painting of *The Penny Wedding* (1818) is evocative of a Highland 'golden age' of rural society and communal nurturing. It is notable that in the preceding year Wilkie visited Scotland to complete preparatory

Figure 45.



Study for *John Knox Dispensing the Sacrament at Calder House,*

Sir David Wilkie, c.1839.

This painting shows many influences; the most notable being Leonardo's *Last Supper* (c.1498). This painting, along with *Knox Preaching Before the Lords of the Congregation*, *The Cotter's Saturday Night* and *Grace before Meat* create an equivalent to Poussin's *Seven Sacraments* series (1730-40). It is also notable that Wilkie's interest in religious themes reflects this agitation within the Church, even although Wilkie himself died two years before the final crisis in 1843.

sketches for this painting, during which time he stayed with Walter Scott at Abbotsford.

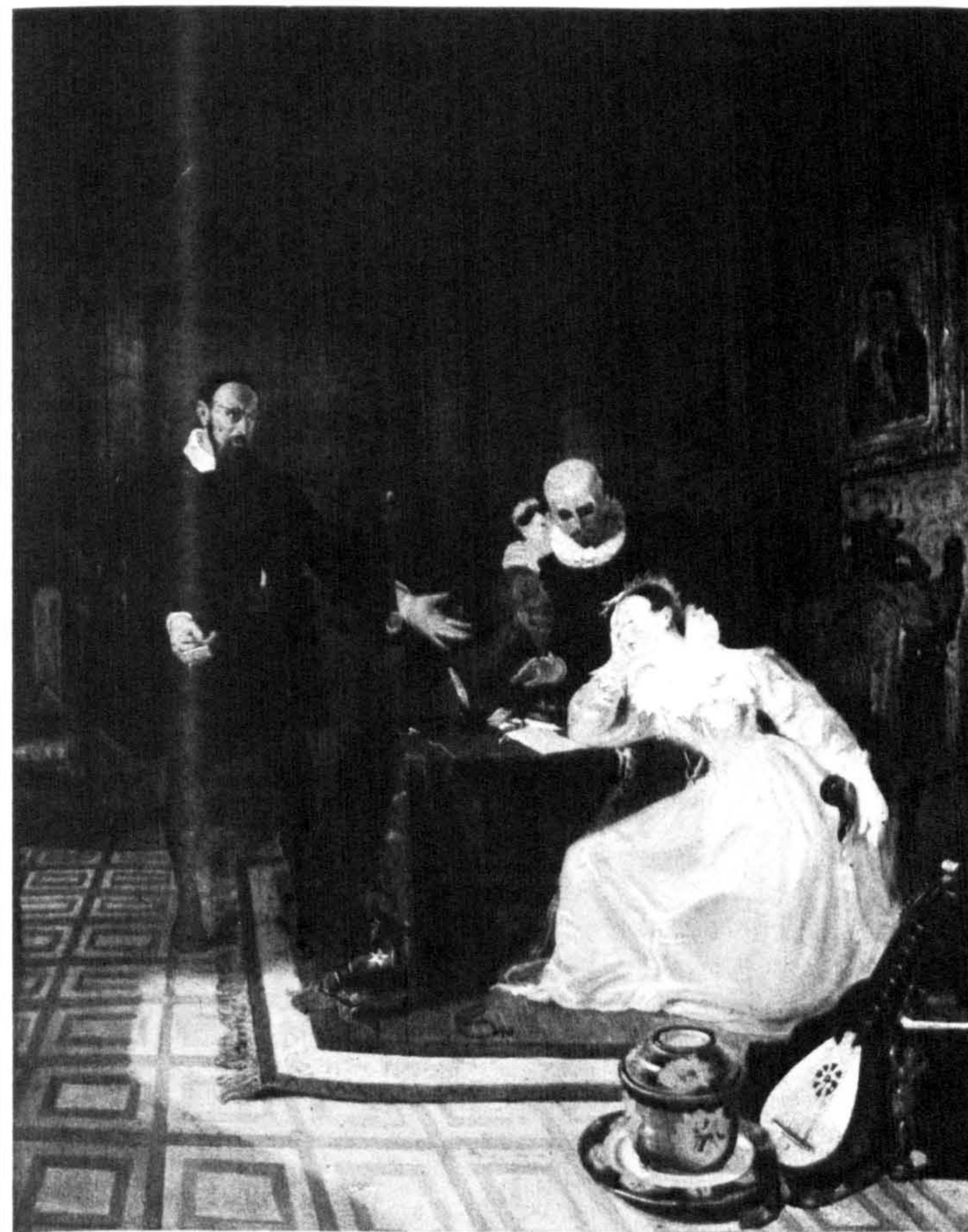
Wilkie's immediate predecessor was David Allan, who depicted scenes from Scottish country life, which found their niche by appealing to the rising local interest in the rural cultural traditions of Scotland. They typified the awareness of a Scottish cultural tradition that served to differentiate Scotland from England. David Allan's paintings were popular, and were distributed in the form of watercolour reproductions and etched prints. Allan's *Highland Wedding at Blair Atholl* (1780), with its lively dancers reeling to the fiddle music of Niel Gow, had been painted after his return from Italy, and can thus be seen as Allan's Scottish version of Italian peasants dancing, whom he had already chosen as a subject in Naples. (See figure 44.) The scene is of dancers at a wedding, against an Italianate landscape, with thatched cottages replacing the classical ruins of Claudian compositions. Notably, some of the figures are kilted, while others wear tartan breeches, again reflecting the increased interest in the Highland dress and the 'traditional' culture of Scotland, which has been discussed in the previous chapter.

Wilkie also drew upon the same interests, but unlike Allan, was able to market his paintings much further afield, amongst English collectors, to whom the romance of all things Scottish has also now extended.¹⁶ Wilkie was a phenomenon in the history of Scottish art. To the London public, who did not know of his artistic training at the Trustees' Academy, he was a rustic prodigy *par excellence* when he presented his work at the 1806 Royal Academy Exhibition. Errington asserts that it is hard to imagine the subsequent course of Scottish art without Wilkie. If his genre paintings were removed *en masse*, subsequent Scottish paintings would appear quite puzzling, and the viewer would look in vain for some common source or explanation. Subject painting in Scotland needed someone of his calibre, just as the miscellaneous mass of ballad, legend and historical matter, both oral and written, needed a writer like Scott to give it its vital form. Wilkie's paintings such as *Pitlessie Fair* (1804) and *Knox Dispensing the Sacrament at Calder House* (1839) made visible and positive, in a memorable form, the secular folk tradition and religious history of his native land. Both pictures have become, in Errington's view, icons.¹⁷ (See figure 45.)

Wilkie's skill lay in the ability to capture and mirror the character of the then-popular seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish artists, and his sensitivity in painting the skilfully arranged groups of figures within his compositions. He also showed the most remarkable observation of and appetite for all the nuances of gesture, expression and behaviour by which people reveal their characters, thoughts and emotions. His early career did not indicate an overwhelming interest in Scottish scenes, rather, this development came later, after a definite decision taken by him in 1817 - encouraged by the success of the *Waverley* novels - that he would make his subjects more Scottish. Indeed, Wilkie returned to Scotland for a visit in this year, and stayed at Abbotsford to paint the Scott family in rustic costumes. During this visit he accompanied William Allan on a tour of the apartments of Mary, Queen of Scots at Holyrood, rooms which Allan was to use as the setting for his series of paintings of the Scottish Queen's life. Irwin notes that it seems likely that the two discussed the future of Scottish history painting in such an appropriate ambience.¹⁸ Exhibiting in Edinburgh from 1821 onwards, Wilkie's work served as a stimulus to other Scottish artists, demonstrating just how far the Scottish artist might go in the London art world. The expanding scope and range of figurative painting and genre scenes in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Scotland was matched by similar developments in landscape painting.

Another other major Scottish artist who was involved in working with Scott on illustrations was William Allan. Allan had been a student at the Trustee's Academy in Edinburgh along with Wilkie, although unlike his contemporary, Allan chose to tour Russia after graduating, rather than following the time-honoured road south to London. He returned to Edinburgh in 1814, the epitome of the British traveller who was infatuated with the Orient. Murdo Macdonald notes that this date is significant – the period was one of both fragmentation of cultural reference and of the creation of a notion of Europe through the medium of the historical novel – Scott's *Waverley* also appeared in this year.¹⁹ However Allan did not limit himself to foreign subjects in his paintings. Under the personal direction of his friend Walter Scott, he turned to the interpretation of episodes from Scottish history, notably from the memorable life of Mary, Queen of Scots. This again gives credence to Eagles' assertion that literature, history and art had become inextricably linked in the public consciousness, and emphasises the role of Scott in promoting the history of Scotland and the manner in which it was expressed and presented for public consumption.

Figure 46.



Sir William Allan, *John Knox Admonishing Mary, Queen of Scots*, 1822.

Under the personal direction of his friend Walter Scott, William Allan turned to the interpretation of episodes from Scottish history, notably from the memorable life of Mary, Queen of Scots. This depiction of *Knox Admonishing Mary Queen of Scots* was a genuine endeavour to represent history. All anecdotal material was stripped away, leaving nothing to distract from the serious mien of the principal protagonists.

William Allan eventually found his niche in history painting after his initial foray into painting more exotic subjects. The conversion of Allan to this oeuvre appears to be the result of a deliberate campaign on the part of Walter Scott, J G Lockhart and Wilkie. As Irwin notes, Scott encouraged Allan by urging his employment as illustrator to his novels, while Lockhart urged the revival of religious and historical subject matter, 'and above all Scottish history'.²⁰ Lockhart was disparaging of the popularity of genre painting, claiming that the 'object of a great painter should not be to invent subjects, but to give graphical form to ideas universally known, and contemplated with great feeling'.²¹ Lockhart wanted Allan to turn his attention to this thematic area:

The old history of Scotland abounds in scenes of the most romantic and poetic interest; and the self-love of the nation, debarred from any exclusive pride in its achievements of later days, atones for this to itself by a more accurate knowledge of the national past, and more fervent interest in the men and actions national history discloses, than are commonly to be found among nations whose independent existence has continued unbroken down to the present day. Here then is a rich field to which Mr Allan may turn.²²

Allan's first foray into the field of history painting was his 1821 composition of *The Murder of Archbishop Sharpe*. Lockhart found the painting exquisite, but regretted that Allan had not chosen a more universal theme which the 'whole of the Scottish nation might have been more likely to contemplate with the same species of emotions'.²³ It is possible that Scott was directly responsible for the subject matter; Allan was at this time involved in illustrating the *Waverley* novels, and the incident occurs in *Old Mortality*.

The Murder of Archbishop Sharpe had some success at the RA exhibition in 1821, and for his next venture into Scottish history Allan directed his attention to the life of Mary, Queen of Scots, a theme which had been the focus of attention from earlier Scottish painters such as Gavin Hamilton, Alexander Runciman and David Allan. Where *Archbishop Sharpe* was essentially a historical subject cloaked in the guise of genre painting, *Knox Admonishing Mary Queen of Scots* (1823) was an earnest attempt at undiluted history. (See figure 46.) All anecdotal material was stripped away, leaving nothing to distract from the serious mien of the principal protagonists. Irwin notes that even the carefully studied still-life elements within the composition –

the carved chair, the lute and the Chinese bowl – are present to enforce the idea that Knox was seen as the natural enemy of civilised arts.²⁴ While the London journals criticised Allan for not painting the figure of the Queen to conform to the accepted rule of Grecian models, the *Scots Magazine* maintained that such an approach would have been nonsensical, and that Allan had ‘been successful in delineating a very charming *Scotch* beauty’.²⁵

It is hardly surprising that the sensational career of Mary was the favoured subject of many artists of the nineteenth century. Roy Strong records some 73 separate paintings of Mary Queen of Scots exhibited at the Royal Academy between 1776 and 1897. These included paintings by artists such as Gavin Hamilton, David Wilkie, William Allan, Alexander Johnstone and Robert Herdman, and subjects such as various versions of *The Abdication*, *The Murder of Rizzio* and scenes associated with *The Execution*.²⁶ This subject matter received an additional boost from the rekindled interest in Scottish history and the influence of Sir Walter Scott. Scott had dealt with the life of Mary Queen of Scots in two successive novels – *The Monastery; A Romance*, and its sequel, *The Abbot*, both published in 1820. Scott declined to write a biography of Mary, because his ‘opinion’ of her was contrary to his ‘feeling’, however, he still found the doomed Queen irresistibly attractive as a Romantic heroine. The period covered by these novels was from the Battle of Pinkie in 1547 to the Battle of Langside in 1568. *The Abbot* centres on Mary’s imprisonment in Lochleven Castle, her escape and subsequent flight to England, focusing on the fateful moment when Mary was forced to sign her abdication papers. Mary was promoted as the Romantic heroine of a lost cause, illustrative of an earnest and passionate world dependent on chivalric fidelity. Not long after the publication of these two novels, a whole series of biographies of the Queen began to appear, the first of which was George Chalmers *The Life of Mary Queen of Scots* (1822). Strong maintains that the correspondence between Chalmers’ biography, the novels of Scott and the paintings by Allan cannot be coincidental. Indeed, Allan’s portrayal of Mary as a delicate and Romantic heroine contributed to her gradual assumption of the role that she was to occupy in the 1840s – that of the forerunner to the perfect Victorian gentlewoman.²⁷

Allan set out on a series of paintings which were intended to illustrate the most dramatic incidents in her life. These paintings heralded the onset of an unwavering interest in the life of the doomed Scottish Queen. Of this series, the most animated

portrays the murder of David Rizzio, Mary's Italian secretary, at the hands of her husband, Lord Darnley, and his associates. This painting, *The Murder of Rizzio* (1833), has been described as a historical tour de force in terms of its reconstruction of the scene.²⁸ (See figure 47.) This is largely due to the instigation of Walter Scott, who encouraged Allan to ensure that the minutiae of the setting and costumes were historically precise. Allan visited Holyrood to see the apartment where the actual murder had taken place, and he was accompanied by Wilkie, who was also trying to be scrupulous in his devotion to historical accuracy in the historical pictures he had begun to paint. The influence of this visit is apparent in the composition of *The Murder of Rizzio* set in the Queen's bedroom, and painted as it still survived when Wilkie and Allan visited Holyrood.

The Murder of Rizzio, with its dedication to accuracy in terms of historical authenticity, has a distinct period quality which heightens the sense of melodrama inherent in the composition. Indeed, the *Art Journal* noted that Allan's historical paintings were 'all remarkable for scrupulous correctness of character and costume'.²⁹ The painting captures a single moment of drama which gives the impression of time standing still. Allan chose to capture the moment where Darnley subdues Mary, as his co-conspirators murder Rizzio. On the left side of the composition Mary Seton and the Countess of Argyll hide behind Darnley, and all the murderers are identifiable. Patrick Murray of Tippermuir is pictured dragging Rizzio by his cloak; the Earl of Morton points towards the door with his sword, while the Earl of Lindsay stands next to him. Behind the torchbearer on the right-hand side is the Master of Ruthven, dressed in full armour, while George Douglas grasps Rizzio by the arm. While the painting owes much in style and composition to John Opie, a Cornish artist, who had painted the same scene in 1787, it is also indebted to Wilkie's domestic interior subjects. Strong indicates that in this painting there is an extraordinary fusion of a dramatic scene in sharp chiaroscuro which, through Opie, dates back to the shadowy martyrdoms depicted by seventeenth-century Bolognese masters, with the small scale and trailing silks of a domestic interior which has echoes of seventeenth-century Dutch interiors.³⁰

The Queen's Bedchamber at Holyrood was itself a source of fascination for artists – as already noted, Allan and Wilkie had visited the palace in 1817. The number of drawings, lithographs and etchings which feature the location confirms its status as the

Figure 47.



Sir William Allan, *The Murder of David Rizzio*, 1833.

As with Drummond's depiction of *The Porteous Mob*, in this painting Allan has also paid great attention to detail to ensure the authenticity of costume and setting. However, despite this dedication to accuracy *The Murder of Rizzio* has a period flavour, and one which is clearly reminiscent of Walter Scott's predilection for melodrama and theatricality.

most famous room in Scotland. Gow notes that the Bedchamber's tenacious hold on popular taste arose not only from its proving exceptionally visually rewarding in matching up to the expectations of visitors, but also because of the accompaniment of a story of operatic intensity – the brutal murder of Rizzio.³¹ This again emphasises the importance of historical association in the mind of the Victorians – the historical significance of the Queen's Bedchamber was heightened by the dramatic events which had occurred there. The Palace also provided a rallying point for rudimentary Romantic patriotism, as indicated by James Ballantine's poem:

Is there a Scot but feels his heart
Pierced to the core by sorrow's dart
While gazing sadly on
These ancient mouldering Abbey walls
These lone deserted Palace Halls
That vacant kingless throne. ³²

The actual decoration added to the Romantic ambience of the rooms; Gow adroitly indicates that a set designer working to a brief by Walter Scott could not have contrived a more atmospheric setting than that which was created by the cumulative effect of the ancient armorial ceiling, the four poster bed, the old tapestries and the tattered hangings. These decorations were not original, the suite of rooms had been given over to the Duke of Hamilton in the 1680s, and the room redecorated at this time. Despite this, the rooms retained an air of historical authenticity, and as visitors to the Chamber multiplied the rooms were increasingly given over to tourism. The popularity of the rooms as a visitor attraction eventually led the Lord Provost of Edinburgh to petition the Queen to open the apartments to the public in a similar manner to Hampton Court. The State thus assumed responsibility for the opening of the apartments, effectively regulating the existing arrangements administered by the Duke of Hamilton's household. The rooms were opened to the public for the price of a 6d. ticket, and Gow notes that admission figures indicated that Holyrood was soon established as a popular revenue-earning tourist attraction.³³ Obviously the questionable pedigree of the furnishings did little to lessen the tourist fascination with the apartments, and indeed, with Mary Queen of Scots, since they were fascinated by the Romantic ambience of the suite – a triumph of the Romantic imagination over historical reality.

The subject of Mary Queen of Scots occupied Allan for more than a decade, and this series of paintings demonstrates his intensive study of the personal and historical background to each incident in her life. The also bear witness to the traditions of the 'Gothick Picturesque' artists and show Allan to be a part of the Artist-Antiquarian tradition.³⁴ In common with most of his generation, Allan viewed his country's history through the Romantic eyes of Scott. Scott's influence on Scottish history painters went further than merely offering them advice on the historical accuracy of their subjects. As the author explored new areas of Scottish history, effectively bringing them to life in the eyes of the literate public, artists gravitated towards these same subjects. Among Allan's contemporaries was the influential antiquarian David Laing. The interdependent relationship of antiquarianism and exoticism found comprehensive expression in the novels of Walter Scott and the paintings of Allan. In order to recreate a moment from history, the painter had to assume the responsibility of researcher, and the close relationship between antiquarians and artists stimulated this area of nineteenth-century art. Indeed, Allan's loyal interpretation of Scott helped to shape much of the art produced in Scotland in the mid-nineteenth century, and thereby emphasised and sustained the dominance of Scott's version of Scotland and Scottish heritage in the eyes of the public.

The paintings of Wilkie and Allan on the theme of the life of Mary, Queen of Scots advanced the experimentation of Hamilton and John Alexander in the eighteenth century.³⁵ Allan's paintings were essentially the beginning of the Victorian fascination with the life of Mary, but Wilkie also contributed to this particular aspect of Scottish history. His interest was initially apparent in 1834 with a drawing of Mary with the infant James VI, which echoed the Renaissance formula of the Virgin and Child. He later painted *Mary, Queen of Scots, escaping from Lochleven* (1837) which was exhibited in the RA that same year.³⁶ The fascination with Mary continued in the paintings of another Scottish artist, Robert Herdman. Herdman studied at the Trustees' Academy under Robert Scott Lauder, where he won a prize for history painting. This interest in history and the historical narrative is also manifest in the influence of the Pre-Raphaelites on his work.

In 1867 he painted two canvases based on the life of Mary. *Mary Queen of Scots farewell to France* (also called *Mary Queen of Scots returning to Scotland*) is evidence of his inclination towards Romantic historical subjects, and shows the

Figure 48.



Robert Herdman, *Mary Queen of Scots Farewell to France*, 1867.

Herdman's illustration of the life of Mary Queen of Scots shows his inclination towards romantic historical subjects. Mary is depicted standing on the deck of the ship, gazing into the distance with a contemplative expression, so beloved by Victorian artists, and is especially reminiscent of Herdman's own painting of *Waverley's Last Visit to Flora* which was engraved for the Royal Association for the Promotion of Fine Arts in 1865.

Figure 49.



Robert Herdman, *Waverley's Final Visit to Flora*, 1865.

The focus of this picture is not the action described in the title, although there is enough narrative to explain the literary source for the work. Rather, the emotional situation of the heroine takes centre stage – Flora's grief on the execution of her brother and on her own necessary desertion of the cause she loved provides an opportunity for conveying a sense of tragedy and misery by the depiction of a desolate woman. The contemplative pose which Flora adopts in this painting is echoed by Herdman's later painting of *Mary Queen of Scots Farewell to France*.

influence artist-antiquarians. (See figure 48.) This is most notable in the treatment of the opulent fabrics and brocade draperies that lie at her feet. Mary is depicted standing on the deck of the ship, gazing into the distance with a contemplative expression, reminiscent of Pre-Raphaelite heroines such as Henry Alexander Bowler's *Can these Dry Bones Live?* (1854 – 1855), and indeed, this painting of Mary has echoes of Herdman's own depiction of *Waverley's Last Visit to Flora* which was engraved for the Royal Association for the Promotion of Fine Arts in 1865. (See figure 49.) The ambiguous title of this painting is reflected in Mary's demeanour – she can either be seen to be looking back with remorse to France, or her meditative demeanour can be interpreted as a premonitory vision of her future in Scotland. Herdman's second canvas was entitled *the Execution of Mary Queen of Scots*. (See figure 50.) This composition shows the Queen making her way to the executioner's block at Fotheringay Castle. The climactic nature of this painting is accentuated by the dramatic implementation of chiaroscuro which serves to heighten the tension and emotion of the moment. The Queen is portrayed as a composed and dignified figure, inviting the sympathy of the spectator, and celebrates to her 'martyrdom' in the iconography of Scottish (and British) history. There are parallels between this painting and Delaroche's *The Execution of Lady Jane Grey* (1834), and the serene figure of Mary provided a sharp contrast with the tension and drama of the more urgently emotional depiction of Mary in Allan's *Murder of Rizzio*.

The allure of the life of Mary in the Victorian age can be seen in the light of the popularity of the Gothic novel. Strong comments that buckets of tears flowed from her eyes, which instantly won her the applause of all her many biographers in the nineteenth century, and the sympathy of the Victorian elite.

She sobbed as she sailed away from France, she burst into tears when upbraided by John Knox, she wept every day after her marriage to Bothwell, she wept when she abdicated, torrents flowed during her imprisonment in Lochleven Castle. Tears fell as she crossed from Scotland to England, and from the moment of the reading of the death warrant to her final execution we are afloat in a sea of tears. No female character bore such a close relationship to those sensitive ideals of upper-middle class feeling as did the Queen of the Scots.³⁷

Thus, Mary came to epitomise the sentimental Romantic heroine, and this was the image portrayed by Allan, Herdman and their contemporaries in their depictions of the

Scottish Queen – an example of refined, gentle sensibility and, of course, the perfect archetype for Victorian womanhood.

Wilkie and Allan essentially determined the direction that the pictorial representation of Scottish history would follow. Lockhart commented that,

Till Wilkie and Allan arose, it can scarcely be said Scotland had ever given any promise of expressing her national thought and feelings, by means of the pencil, with any degree of power and felicity at all approaching that in which she had often displayed in her early music. Before this time, the poverty of Scotland, and the extreme difficulty of pictorial education, as contrasted with the extreme facility of almost every other kind of education, had been sufficient to prevent the field of art from ever attracting the sympathies and ambitions of the young men of genius in this country.³⁸

Integral to this depiction of the past were the characters of Mary and John Knox, opposed in ideology, religion and gender. These contrasts give form and tension to the imagery which developed. Three related elements can be identified; the conflict between Mary and Knox; the struggles of the Covenanters; and the Jacobite endeavours. These paintings reflect a crucial phase in the articulation of Scottish identity. The same artists painted the ideologically opposed Covenanters and Jacobites with equal assurance; such works thus pronounce the interplay of cultural contradictions which is found in the historical background of modern Scotland. Macdonald claims that the linking themes in these works are not so much historical facts as historical processes, namely oppression, resistance and cultural survival.³⁹ Awareness of these processes helped to delineate Scottishness both in a post-Union context and in the context of a new British identity associated with the growing Empire. In this sense, the oppositional themes are more important than the overt content of the paintings. Jacobites and Covenanters may personify opposed ideologies, but they can be united by struggle even if their struggle is potentially against one another. These works both mirror and promote the development of a pluralist cultural identity in Scotland in the nineteenth century.⁴⁰ Yet they all contribute to the popular perception of Scotland as a historically distinguished country and encourage the concept of a national iconography.

Allan's interest in Scottish history persisted, and he painted further compositions such as *The Death of the Regent Murray* (1825), *The Landing of Mary Queen of Scots at*

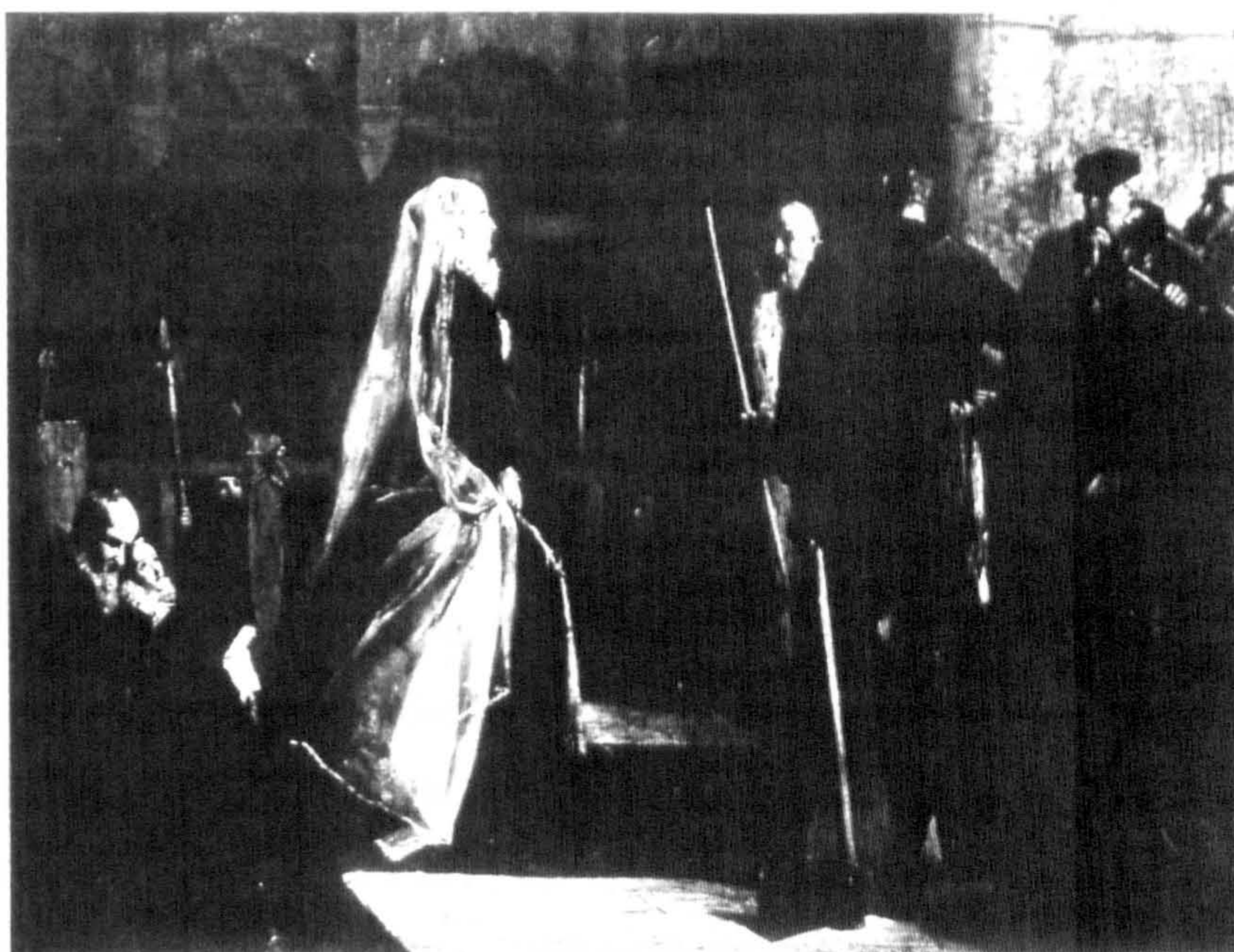
Leith (1827) and *Lord Lindsay compelling Mary to abdicate* (n.d). His interest in history also extended to the medieval period, and Allan was present at the Eglinton Tournament in 1839. He spoke of his fascination with the Tournament, and described the procession of Knights as ‘surpassing all that he had ever seen in brilliancy of colour’⁴¹, and it seems likely that something of this magnificent recreation of a medieval tournament is reflected in Allan’s *Heroism and Humanity* (1840). (See figure 62.) The subject of this composition is an incident taken from Barbour’s *Bruce*, which was also alluded to by Scott in *The Lord of the Isles*. The actual painting owes something to the pre-eminent British history-painter and admired President of the Royal Academy, Benjamin West. The influence of West’s paintings of medieval battle scenes, which were commissioned by George III, is apparent in Allan’s composition, which is also suggestive of seventeenth-century Italian painting in the coloration of the costumes and the grouping of the figures. There is also an interesting parallel between this painting and Delacroix’s *The Taking of Constantinople by the Crusaders* (1838). There are similarities in poses, costumes and themes with Allan’s *Heroism and Humanity* in this depiction of a procession, led by the Count of Flanders, through the conquered city. Hardie comments that the histrionic patriotism of *Heroism and Humanity* appears rhetorical in comparison with Wilkie’s *Entry of George IV into Holyrood House*. Wilkie’s composition is a much subtler expression of patriotism, reticently introducing the recently rediscovered Honours of Scotland, the Scottish palace of Holyrood and the figure of Walter Scott as subordinate elements in what is essentially a state portrait.⁴²

Later in his career Allan turned his attention to battle-scenes, again reflecting the predominant influence of West. Allan’s treatment of *The Blessing of the Scottish Army before the Battle of Bannockburn* (1844) was subject to praise from the *Art Union* critic upon its exhibition at the Royal Scottish Academy in the same year. The critic complimented Allan’s composition and artistic style:

This is a bold subject for a young man to attempt, and, consequently, a highly honourable one to succeed in. The picture has many excellent qualities... The general intention is excellent, there is good grouping and drawing in it, and the colour is appropriate.⁴³

Further paintings on similar themes are *Prestonpans*, which was exhibited in 1842, and *The Battle of Bannockburn* which was left unfinished after his death in 1850.

Figure 50.



Robert Herdman, *The Execution of Mary Queen of Scots*, 1867.



Paul Delaroche, *The Execution of Lady Jane Grey*, 1834.

The novels of Sir Walter Scott proved to be a source of historical themes for many artists. *Old Mortality*, for example, supplied artists with a reservoir of subject matter - many of which were ideal for translation into the visual medium of painting. The volume concerns itself with the Covenanting Wars, and as noted above, William Allan chose to depict the murder of the Archbishop Sharpe, the Presbyterian minister who had been appointed Archbishop of St. Andrews by Charles II. Another artist, George Harvey, (1806 - 76), opted for the more subdued subject matter offered by *The Covenanters' Preaching* (1830). (See figure 73.) This picture is discussed in further detail later in this chapter. Harvey was a mainstay of the Royal Scottish Academy in its early years, eventually becoming its President, and was one of the few nineteenth-century artists who abstained from the overblown rhetoric, which became the norm in the painting of subjects from Scottish history. His career reflects the main themes of Scottish artists in the nineteenth century, for while his early work was concerned with religious subjects, based loosely on the Walter Scott genre, his later career saw him explore his interest in landscape painting, and his work in this area was widely acclaimed by critics.

The 41st Exhibition of the RSA in February 1867 included the display of Harvey's composition *Ardlui on Loch Lomond*, which was described as being part of

A peculiar class of Scotch scenery in the painting of which no one excels Sir George; it is the almost desolate moorland slopes, with still glassy lakes, reflecting their mellow tints. In *Ardlui* he has found a very congenial subject, and has treated it with vigour and fidelity. ⁴⁴

In the same exhibition, McCulloch's 'masterly Highland' landscapes were described as 'all carefully finished in his usual style'. ⁴⁵ In a similar vein, the *Art Journal* review of the RSA Exhibition of 1874 noted that there was a wealth of Scottish landscape paintings at the exhibition, the majority executed by native Scottish artists. The critic elaborates this theme, reinforcing the idea of national landscape and emphasising the importance of the landscape in cultural heritage:

The Exhibition is rich in landscape, of which the staple is Scottish. This is as it should be; for who so fitting to do justice to her scenery as her own sons? There is a character in the natural features of every land that requires affinity in the minds that would transcribe them. ⁴⁶

The *Art Journal* reviewer made specific reference to Harvey's landscape paintings, singling him out for particular praise in relation to his depictions of *Loch Awe* and *The*

Holy Isle. The critic claimed that the conception of these landscapes were 'poetical beyond the treatment'.⁴⁷

A contemporary of Harvey, James Drummond, studied under William Allan at the Trustee's Academy in Edinburgh, and he too was inspired by the novels of Sir Walter Scott. Although he is less sympathetic in his rendering of the subject matter than Harvey, Drummond's paintings tend to have an air of theatricality about them, but they also reflect his interest in the Scottish past and the ancient architecture of Scotland. Hardie describes Drummond's work as imparting an antiquarian twist to the interest in historical genre with national emphasis.⁴⁸ His diploma painting for the Royal Scottish Academy was a depiction of *The Kingis Quair* (a forerunner to William Bell Scott's use of this same subject in the staircase at Penkill) entitled *James I of Scotland while a prisoner* (1852). Drummond painted a series of pictures which evoked the Scottish past and its notable characters, including *Blind Harry Reciting the Adventures of Sir William Wallace* (1846), and *John Knox Dispensing the Sacrament at Calder House* (1840). His most distinguished painting was motivated by the opening scene of *Heart of Midlothian*, and this painting displays a combination of Drummond's two main interests - the architectural design of medieval Edinburgh, and history. Drummond was an enthusiastic antiquarian, and used his knowledge to great effect in this picture of *The Porteous Mob* (1855). (See figure 52.) Drummond's depiction of this scene is loosely based upon William Allan's *Death of the Regent Moray*, and although Drummond creates a sense of animation and energy in the composition, he lacks Allan's skill in shaping a sense of dramatic build-up. The central figure, Captain Porteous is shown being propelled towards the gallows by the mob, but the action is overshadowed by the dominance of the Edinburgh cityscape. As this commanding backdrop suggests, Drummond was primarily interested in 'Old Edinburgh', and he made a thorough study of the medieval buildings in Edinburgh. Thus the setting for this painting - the eastern boundary of the Grassmarket in the shadow of the Castle, is historically correct. Drummond's paintings have a certain documentary interest and lend a new dimension to the connection between art and antiquarianism. Drummond is an example of many of the Scottish artists who followed the footsteps of Walter Scott and became experts in the history of Scotland. They bolstered their knowledge with fine collections of antiquities, and Drummond in particular was fascinated by the history of Edinburgh. He himself lived in what is today one of the capital's most popular tourist attractions - John Knox's house.

The last important exponent of history painting in the Wilkie/Allan tradition was Robert Scott Lauder. Lauder is often perceived as a bridge between the early and late nineteenth-century, particularly since he became the teacher of William MacTaggart, John Pettie and William Quiller Orchardson. McKay noted that Lauder felt the current of Rome strongly, although his passion was colour.⁴⁹ In artistic terms, his work deserves recognition in its own right; in his painterly handling of colour, influenced by Italianate art, and the effects achieved by Wilkie and Allan in the contrast between opaque highlights and translucent shadows. As with Wilkie and Allan, the influence of Walter Scott was distinct in Lauder's choice of subject; in his early career he was employed as an illustrator for an edition of the *Waverley* novels, and thereafter he opted for the Picturesque themes that prevailed in those works. Another factor in his artistic development was his friendship with Thompson of Duddingston, which strengthened his inclination towards Scott's subjects and his preference for a more emphatic painterly style. In 1831 Lauder exhibited two paintings of subjects from Scott's novels at the Scottish Academy, one of which was his first illustration of *The Bride of Lammermoor*, and in 1833 followed these with a subject from *Peveril of the Peak*. Perhaps his most notable painting, a reworked depiction of *The Bride of Lammermoor*, was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1839.

The two versions of *The Bride of Lammermoor* indicate the influence of William Allan on Lauder, recalling the imagery of Allan's 1822 depiction of *John Knox admonishing Mary Queen of Scots*. In the 1839 version of *The Bride*, Lauder modified the composition of the original slightly, creating a more luxuriant version. (See figure 51.) The handling of the paint and coloration exhibits Italianate influences, reflecting the time Lauder had spent in Italy. This painting also displays the a close affinity with David Wilkie; in 1838 Wilkie had exhibited *The Bride at her toilet* at the RA, and thus these two paintings indicate that both artists had assimilated the lessons offered by Rubens and Rembrandt, and also by Italian painting, especially that of Leonardo and the Venetian painters. Indeed, the figure grouping and shadow structure in *The Bride* has been compared to that of Leonardo's *Last Supper*. Both the 1831 and the 1839 paintings of *The Bride* depict the intensity of the confrontation between the dark and accusatory figure of Ravenswood and the satin-clad Lucy. Both versions of this subject are illustrative of Scott's novel, and like Scott, Lauder intended to achieve a Romantic intensity of experience for the spectator. Scott was still writing

Figure 51.



Robert Scott Lauder, *The Bride of Lammermoor*, 1839.

The Bride of Lammermoor is indicative of William Allan's influence on Lauder, recalling the imagery of Allan's 1822 depiction of *John Knox Admonishing Mary Queen of Scots*. In *The Bride*, the imminent separation of the couple is physically created by the horizontal expanse of the table, while the emotional gulf is further accentuated by the strongly differentiated use of lighting in the composition. Ravenswood is cast into the gloom, which suits his dark and brooding character, while the whiteness of the bridal dress and the betrothal document emphasises the malleable naiveté of Lucy, soon to be both victim and martyr.

anonymously when he published *The Bride of Lammermoor* in 1819, and in the introduction he claiming that the novel was composed by (the imaginary) Peter Pattieson in competition with (the equally imaginary) an artist, Dick Tinto. Tinto had supposedly painted a scene depicting a confrontation between a dark cloaked man and a shrinking girl, claiming that the whole composition was self-explanatory and that the background circumstances could be easily read and understood at a glance. The scene supposedly painted by Tinto formed the most critical point of the story, and Lauder's versions of them are essentially a recreation of Tinto's painting. Tinto had claimed that description was to the author of a romance exactly what drawing and tinting were to the painter; words were his colours. Interestingly, Lauder also painted a portrait of Walter Scott in the character of Peter Pattieson, the supposed author of *The Bride of Lammermoor*.

Lauder continued to derive inspiration for his subjects from the novels of Walter Scott, and the series of illustrative paintings begun with *The Bride of Lammermoor* included *The Trial of Effie Deans* (1840) and *Meg Merrilies* (1842), two 1851 depictions of scenes from *Quentin Durward* and two scenes from *The Fair Maid of Perth* painted in 1848 and 1854. The depiction of *Galeotti, the Astrologer* from *Quentin Durward*, was exhibited in 1851 at the Royal Scottish Academy. This painting typifies Lauder's interest in sketching luxurious fabrics and the contrasting surfaces of fur, velvet and steel are depicted in richly glowing colour. Scott's novel of political intrigue and romantic adventure describes at length the exotic furnishings of Galeotti's apartment; the carvings, tapestries, mathematical instruments and gigantic suits of armour, and these elements are recreated by Lauder, who concocts an exotic and mysterious atmosphere in his painting. This air of mystery and the exotic range of collector's bric-a-brac made an immediate impact on Scottish artists such as Fettes Douglas, in whose work the combination of rich colour, assorted antiques, medieval men and magic, were to become standard elements of subject matter.

Taking their lead from Robert Scott Lauder and James Drummond, the artists John Pettie, Thomas Duncan and William Quiller Orchardson, almost always opted for subjects which were historical or literary in origin. McKay recognised the predominance of Scott's literary output in the choice of subject matter for Duncan and his contemporaries:

For they were all ... affected by the writings of Scott. That influence was felt world wide, but, naturally, in many of its aspects it appealed especially to his countrymen. In its romance, its picturesqueness, and its portrayal of character, its effect on Scottish painting was almost immediate. Wilkie and Allan, it is true, in their pictures from Scottish history kept mostly by the chroniclers and historians, even where the subject had been touched by the wand of the magician, but the rising generation of painters realised the mine of wealth Sir Walter had bequeathed to them, and in such works as *Prince Charles Edward and the Highlanders entering Edinburgh after the Battle of Prestonpans* and *Prince Charles Edward asleep in a Cave*, by Duncan; *The Trial of Effie Deans* and *The Bride of Lammermoor* by Lauder, one has some proof of it.⁵⁰

Although these two artists were born after the death of Scott, their interests and work did not escape his pervasive influence – both had studied under Scott Lauder at the Trustee's Academy. They too were keen antiquarians, and this interest is reflected in the subject matter and detail of their paintings. While many of the previous generation of Scottish artists had tried to imbue such subjects with an air of solemnity and seriousness, these painters tended to specialise in interpreting the subject in a light-hearted manner, which reflected the theatricality of Drummond's work. Although their work was extremely fashionable and popular at the time, it is only recently that such paintings have begun to undergo a renaissance in terms of artistic appreciation.

Appropriately, Pettie's decision to become a painter received early support from James Drummond, who sponsored his entry to the Trustees Academy. Pettie had the same inclination towards historical subjects as Drummond, and also had antiquarian interests, particularly (like Noel Paton) in armour. The essence of his work is almost entirely subjects set in the past or Romantic literature. He initially made a name for himself in London with a painting entitled *The Drumhead Court Martial* (1865). This work contains all the elements, which were to become hallmarks of his paintings for the remainder of his career - a dramatic historical incident, a sense of immediacy and telling characterisation. *The Drumhead Court-Martial* was Pettie's first major success at the RA, and paved the way for a whole series of military-themed paintings, often set in the seventeenth century. Pettie was influenced by the work of both William Allan and Robert Scott Lauder in his choice of subject; they had developed a type of painting associated with historical events and related fictional scenes, and his

anecdotal depictions of Scottish history raised few difficult questions in the mind of the spectator.

Similarly, Pettie preference for antiquarian and historically influenced subject matter can be seen in his *Scene from 'Pevevil of the Peak'* (1887), a composition based upon Scott's novel set after the restoration of Charles II. The incident illustrated takes place where the two children are playing in the 'gilded chamber' with a King Charles spaniel when the Countess of Derby appears from a secret room. Pettie typically favoured visually dramatic moments, and this is no exception. This sort of subject echoes the themes depicted by Fettes Douglas and Lauder – old period rooms which featured tapestries and other ornate design motifs. Indeed, in some respects the drama of the *Scene* is secondary to Pettie's interest in the decoration of the 'gilded chamber' with the stamped Spanish leather and blue and gold colour scheme.

This antiquarian influence and fascination with historical costume is manifest in the earlier painting of *A Knight of the 17th century: Portrait of William Black* (1877). Black was a novelist who had moved from Glasgow to London in 1864, and Pettie's illustration of him in complete armour is evidence of the encroachment of Pettie's Romantic temperament rather than a genuine means of expressing the personality of his sitter.⁵¹ It is a lavish and expressive portrait which foreshadows his depiction of *Bonnie Prince Charlie entering the Ballroom at Holyrood*, (1892) and his approach to painting a dramatic incident had hardly altered in the intervening period. (See figure 23.) While the painting of *The Drumhead Court Martial* was of a fictitious incident, this portrait is of a factual historical event - Prince Charles Edward Stuart's arrival at the ball he hosted in Edinburgh during the 1745 Jacobite rebellion.⁵²

The devotion to history and antiquarianism was not limited to artists. The *Art Journal*, which serves as a valuable guide to Victorian taste, clearly documents an ever-increasing artistic interest in the Middle Ages. Even the most cursory glance through the pages of this periodical reveals the extent to which antiquarians directly influenced artistic content and interpretation. The fascination for all things 'Gothic' was one of the earliest manifestations of the revolt of Romanticism against the excessively rational and ordered tone of eighteenth-century thought and culture: indeed, Newsome comments that it is almost true to say that the nineteenth century rediscovered the Middle Ages.⁵³ This was a European phenomenon, and Scotland was not immune to

Figure 52.



James Drummond, *The Porteous Mob*, 1855.

The Eglinton Tournament: the Gothic-Picturesque

Drummond was a keen follower of Scott; this painting was inspired by the opening scene of Scott's novel *The Heart of Midlothian*, and is an impressive attempt at historical reconstruction. Drummond was an enthusiastic antiquarian who used his personal knowledge of Edinburgh to stage the composition in a historically accurate setting. The overall effect of the painting is one of urgency and melodrama, reminiscent of Scott's theatrical work.

its effects. The particularly popular appeal of the fascination with the medieval past was primarily due to Walter Scott, and his success can largely be explained by the care that he took to endow his medievalism with genuine authority. Newsome notes that Scott had steeped himself in Bishop Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765) and Sharon Turner's *History of England to the Norman Conquest* (1799 – 1805), and his evocative imagery of an age of chivalry, high personal honour, altruistic courage and of the protective benevolence of the ideal feudal relationship, seen especially in *Ivanhoe*, stirred the imagination of a generation only too anxious to avert their eyes from the uglier features of their own society in a state of transition from a rural to an industrial economy.⁵⁴

The enthusiasm for nostalgia has already been discussed in connection to the elusive concept of heritage, and a sense of sentimental yearning in the nineteenth-century perception of the Highlands. However, the fascination with medievalism also affected Lowland Scotland. The most obvious product of the fascination with chivalry in the nineteenth century was the Eglinton Tournament, which at the time aroused worldwide interest, but it also produced a sense of veneration with regard to the ancient Clans of Scotland, and to individual figures such as William Wallace.

The Eglinton Tournament: the Gothic-Picturesque

The Eglinton Tournament was held in the autumn of 1839, and Sir Archibald Alison wrote that such an event had not been witnessed for centuries, nor was it ever likely to be seen again.⁵⁵ The Tournament was the most obvious elaboration of the nineteenth-century interest in chivalry. Indeed, Mark Girouard has commented that it was inevitable that someone would give a tournament, as since 1819 when Scott had published his description of the tournament in *Ivanhoe*, the public fascination for such events was sustained. *Ivanhoe* was immediately produced on stage, and no fewer than five versions of it were running concurrently in London during 1820.⁵⁶ The appeal of chivalry and medievalism extended into the mercantile world. In 1838 Pratt's Armour Showrooms opened in Lower Grosvenor Street in London, representing a considerable

expansion of Samuel Pratt's business. Pratt displayed his wares in a custom designed apartment, which was decorated in the Gothic style, to display the wares in the best possible environment. He also branched out by selling through catalogues, which came complete with effusive descriptions of the articles on offer. One such description ran; 'to grasp the ponderous mace, yet encrusted with the accumulated rust of centuries, cannot fail to inspire admiration for the chivalrous deeds of our ancestors'.⁵⁷

The Queen's Coronation also proved to be an impetus for the Eglinton Tournament in that Tories and all others who had strong feelings in regard to tradition and chivalry received the 'Penny Coronation' with indignation. Lord Melbourne's plans for the Coronation did not include the various historic conventions such as the Queen's Champion, as he believed that it was no time for extravagance when the budget was in deficit and the economy in recession. It was announced that the Coronation would take place without the traditional banquet in Westminster Hall – this meant that the ceremony in which the Queen's Champion threw down his gauntlet in defence of the Queen's right to rule was dropped from the schedule. Although the elimination of this ceremony was occasioned by the economic recession, many were offended – including the 13th Earl of Eglinton, Archibald Montgomerie, whose stepfather, Sir Charles Lamb, should have been involved in the ceremony as the Knight Marshal of the Royal Household. Consequently, Eglinton volunteered to hold the Tournament in place of the ceremony. In this context, the Tournament was indeed the explicit outcome of the Romantic imagination and widespread fascination with the world of chivalry.

Archibald Montgomerie spent an estimated £20,000 pounds on staging a medieval tournament at Eglinton Castle. He presided over the affair, as 'Lord of the Tournament', while his stepfather Charles was 'Knight Marshall of the Lists', and his half-brother Charles was designated the 'Knight of the White Rose'. In addition to assuaging his own craving for a splendid exhibition of past chivalry, Eglinton gave his stepfather the opportunity to play the role denied him at the coronation, and realised his half-brother's fantasies. It was possibly the most expensive fit of pique ever, but underlying the frivolous nature of the event was a more earnest and deep-rooted outlook. Anstruther aptly states that for many - especially those already inspired by notions of medieval gallantry - the ceremony of the Royal Champion was 'a noble

Figure 53.



Banner advertising the Eglinton Tournament, held in August 1839



Eglinton Castle and the Tournament Bridge.

symbol of ancient homage and chivalry'⁵⁸, and that by bowing to economic pressure, the honour of nobility was consumed by a general appetite for lucre. One contemporary observer noted that 'The attempt to revive, at the present day, the chivalrous pastime of "the Tournament"' had been 'derided by the cold "philosophy" of a money-getting utilitarian age'.⁵⁹

It should not be overlooked that to some extent the tournament was, as critics then and since have argued, a foolish and frivolous venture which attempted to force a self-consciously modern society back to the etiquette, traditions and values of a historically extinct civilisation.⁶⁰ This undeniably resulted in a whimsical world that was, in essence, escapist and absurd. While there is some truth in this opinion, the manifestation of such an event implies that the chivalric ideal satisfied some underlying need within sections of society – such as the desire to imbue society with a Romanticism and glamour. Buchan, a contemporary observer of the Tournament, disputed the superficial frivolity of the event, claiming that, 'To view the 'tournament' merely in the light of a manly exercise and pastime, is not one which deserves attention'.⁶¹ He further argued that the Tournament boosted the local tourist economy:

Another material advantage of the revival of such spectacle would be inducing the nobility and gentry to think more of their own country than of foreign lands, and to spend more of their money at home, than among foreigners.⁶²

Indeed, Eglinton's endeavour certainly captured the imagination of the country. In a statement belying the immense organisation behind the event, Aikman observed that

No man, with a spark of romance in his constitution could fail to be moved with the splendid vision, so suddenly conjured up, of all that he had been accustomed to associate with high spirit, courteous demeanour, and daring valour. The dreams of youth were presented in living embodiment.⁶³

It attracted thousands of visitors to see the combatants – among whom were the artists D O Hill and William Allan, and the future Emperor of France, Napoleon III. Excursion trains, amongst the first ever, were run from Ayr: an ironic contrast between the historic and the modern worlds. The railway from Ayr to Irvine was opened only three weeks before the tournament, while the line from Ardrossan to Dirrans, just outside the Eglinton Estate, was also in operation, although still single track and horse drawn. On the opening day of the event the new train 'Marmion', named after the hero in Scott's novel, transported almost 3000 passengers. Steam ships

travelled between Ardrossan and Liverpool, where the railway to London was operational. Further ships brought additional visitors from Glasgow and Stranraer. Tourist accommodation in the area was somewhat restricted; hotels such as the Eglinton Arms in Irvine were fully booked for weeks in advance. As a consequence, almost every house and cottage in the neighbouring towns and villages was soon filled with paying guests. Even the Minister of the Irvine Parish Church rented his Manse.⁶⁴

Whether the impetus for Eglinton's endeavour is appreciated or ridiculed, it was not unique. Interest in chivalry as an earnest historical concern – and as a moral and ethical code – predated his affiliation with chivalry. In 1825 Charles Mills published his two-volume work on the *History of Chivalry*, which had been preceded by H Kenelm Digby's 1822 *The Broad Stone of Honour: Or Rules for the Gentlemen of England*. This last was a conspicuous success, as evidenced by its publishing history. The original edition, which was published in 1822, was issued anonymously, but the following year saw a second edition published under Digby's name. Subsequently, in 1828 - 1829 an expanded, four volume edition was published, subtitled *The True Sense and Practice of Chivalry*. This enlarged edition was reissued between 1844 and 1848, and the volumes were further augmented in 1877.⁶⁵ Therefore, Digby's work was readily available between 1822 and 1877, and proved to be of considerable influence, notably among artists of the age. Digby's volumes on chivalry have been described by a contemporary biography of William Morris to have been 'a book to which Morris was addicted', and Edward Burne-Jones was reputed to keep a copy by his bedside.⁶⁶ Aikman's *Chivalry and the Eglinton Tournament* (1839) indicated that:

The romantic beauty, the high sense of personal honour, the resolution to maintain right and redress wrong, which distinguished that age, are qualities which ought never to become obsolete; and though we are not amongst those who hold that the present generation has shown more disregard to them than former periods, we are still sanguine enough to anticipate a fresh stimulus to all the noble qualities of the head and heart from the gorgeous pageant at Eglinton Castle.⁶⁷

This particular chronicle of the Tournament illustrates that even contemporary descriptions of the Tournament were often accompanied by explanatory histories of chivalry and instructive definitions of the various aspects of heraldry exhibited in the costumes of the Knights of the Tournament.

The visitors to the Tournament wholeheartedly embraced the medieval theme of the event, adopting antique costumes in keeping with the ornamentation of their surroundings. An impassioned contemporary description of the Tournament extravagantly declared that:

On one small spot time had evolved; it shone as though five centuries had rolled and left all unchanged. The antiquarian might close his volume and look on the living picture his lore pondered o'er – no scenic delusion; no dramatic artifice; no character sustained in masquerade – all true, all natural, real as on the battle-eve, all the nobler feelings swelled the bosom and dignified the port. It would appear the sacred fire of chivalry ever glowed in the breast of man; however obscurely it smouldered, oppressed by narrow interests and grosser cares, lightened but a few hours from these, again it shone forth in all its nobleness, bestowing valour, honour, truth to the heart, courtesy and dignity to the address, grace and manhood to the deportment; while, with that beauty which mantles into deeper loveliness at proofs of sincere devotion, it imparted to the fairer creation that faith and fervour which should ever guerdon heroism.⁶⁸

Unsurprisingly, Walter Scott also featured in contemporary descriptions of the affair; Buchan claimed that:

Had that bard himself, the learned, graceful, and impassioned poet of Chivalry, lived to see the Tournament revived on the soil of his beloved Caledonia, how he would have welcomed, with the fascinating strains of his magnificent genius, the revival of the chivalrous splendours of the 'olden time'. Then, perhaps, another canto would have been added to the 'Lay of the Last Minstrel'.⁶⁹

Thus emphasising once again Scott's intimate association with the historic culture and antiquarian life of Scotland.

The influence of Scott and the fashion for medievalism and antiquarianism was also apparent in the architecture of the Tournament. Eglinton built an ornamental Tournament Bridge to convey his guests over the River Lugton to his castle. (See figure 53.) This bridge, which featured in Edward Corbould's illustration of *The Lord of the Tournament with his Esquires and Retainers*, was constructed with overtly gothic details.⁷⁰ This engraving showed the Earl of Eglinton crossing the bridge with his retinue, who all carry banners and flags depicting their various crests and

Figure 54.



John Singleton Copley, *Hugh Montgomerie, 12th Earl of Eglinton*, (n.d.).

This portrait of Hugh Montgomerie, the 12th Earl of Eglinton is notable for its institutionalisation of tartan as a confident symbol of British militarism. Montgomerie is also notable as the grandfather of the 13th Earl, Archibald Montgomerie, the President of the NAVSR, who had instigated the Eglinton Tournament in 1839 and was also involved in the 1844 Burns Festival in Ayr.

emblems. The Gothic revival was characterised by the unity of poetry, art and archaeology, and the medieval iconography and imagery of the event was thus reinforced by the depiction of two swans in the water below the bridge, which are said to symbolise beauty and music in classical art. The marquees and grandstands which were erected for the occasion also featured gothic motifs and pointed, Romanesque archways. The tented effect of the ballroom ceiling echoed this medieval feel, and added to the theatrical atmosphere of the recreation of a bygone age.

The costumes and setting of the Tournament added to the Romantic and antique atmosphere that pervaded the event. Furthermore, Peter Buchan made specific reference to the historical associations of both the castle and the surrounding environs:

The district of the countryside which has seen the 'field, feast, and combat' of former times renewed, is rich with the most elevating associations. It is 'the land of Bruce and Burns.' The ground has been hallowed by the deeds of chivalry, the genius of poesy, the spirit of religion, and the energy of patient industry. It was here that Wallace, when the liberties of his country had been cloven down, first struggled to restore its independence; and here it was where 'many a hero shone' –

Where Bruce once ruled the martial ranks
And shook his Carrick spear.⁷¹

Indeed, the national character of the occasion was commented upon by many of the observers. Buchan commented that some had condemned the emphasis of Gothic elements at the expense of the native flavour of Scottish customs, but he also indicated to the incidences of tournaments in Scottish history.⁷² The specifically Scottish nature of the Tournament was manifest in the proliferation of men clad in the 'Celtic national dress', and Highland costumes.

In scenes reminiscent of the King's visit of 1822, tartan was in abundance at the Tournament. While this emphasises the national overtones of the affair, it also indicates contemporary attitudes towards the wearing of the kilt and its perceived place in ancient Scottish cultural history.

Scotch plaids and bonnets were almost universal, the former being often disposed with singular taste and ingenuity, and the dense mass arrayed in this garb, groups of them were to be seen at intervals flitting among the trees

which fringed the arena, like the massy frame of a magnificent and animated picture.⁷³

Illustrations of the affair also show many people in tartan outfits. One contemporary depiction of *The Queen of Beauty Advancing to the Lists* by Edward Corbould revealed one of the spectators clad in tartan trews watching the procession from a tree. Similarly, the illustrations, which accompanied Aikman's account of the festivities, featured many in kilts and plaid - not least the band-members of the 73rd Highland regiment who had been drafted in from Edinburgh to play at the event. This publication also featured a comprehensive list of the costumes worn by the principal figures in the Tournament, and noted that of the gentlemen, Lord Glenlyon, Viscount Fitzharris, the Marquis of Abercorn and the Marquis of Douglas all appeared in full Highland regalia at the Tournament ball.⁷⁴

This wearing of tartan was later echoed at the 1844 Burns Festival that was also staged in Ayrshire. The features of this occasion that received most emphasis were patently the nationalistic and patriotic elements inherent in the celebration. The organisers of this event to celebrate the memory of Burns claimed that:

The most appropriate compliment that could be paid to the memory of such a man - the author of the 'Cottar's Saturday Night', and 'Bruce's Address' - would be to show that we appreciate the deep tone of his patriotism by attending the Banquet in the peculiar and beautiful garb of our country.⁷⁵

The reference to the 'peculiar garb' of the country also highlights the emphasis on pageantry and theatricality, as with the 1822 visit of George IV which saw the majority of those in attendance attired in the Highland costume. Although this issue is discussed at greater length elsewhere⁷⁶, it is interesting to note that the Highland costume was increasingly accepted as the national costume for Scotland, and that the proud wearing of the kilt was perceived as a patriotic and nationalistic statement.

The connection between the Eglinton Tournament and the 1844 Burns Festival is noteworthy, in terms of contemporary understanding of national heritage and culture. In comparing the Burns Festival to the Eglinton Tournament, the organisers were promoting a kinship between the two events, aiming to capture the public interest and acclaim national culture. It was also particularly pertinent to the organisers of the Burns Festival because the Earl of Eglinton was closely involved with both events. The popularity of the Eglinton Tournament has already been touched upon, and the

crowds attending the Burns Festival appear to have exceeded this; it was said to be 'the largest assemblage ever witnessed' in the West of Scotland.⁷⁷ The organisers of the 1844 Festival were aware of the correlation between their event and the 1839 Tournament, and claimed that:

Young England talks of encouraging popular games and sports; but Scotland - whether young, old or middle aged - *does* it. A great Festival in honour of Burns' sons is about to be held near the poet's monument on the Banks of the Doon, near the humble cottage of his birth. A peer of no mean note is to take the chair, and the numbers who repaired in character to the Eglinton Tournament are bent upon having another days 'guisarding' on this new occasion. This latest pageant will stand somewhat in the same relation to the Troubadour *fetes* of Provence as the former did to the more warlike sports of older time. Railroads and steamboats are in readiness to carry the half of broad Albion to the gay scene.⁷⁸

The Eglinton Tournament is thus mentioned in the same breath as the Young England movement. Indeed, the two are ideologically linked through Romanticism, and the Eglinton Tournament also had a considerable Tory bias. The reference to Young England is also notable in that it shows an awareness of events outside Scotland. It connects the 1844 Festival in Ayr to national movements outwith Scotland, such as the Young Ireland movement and Young England. The Young England movement originated in 1842 and flourished for a mere three years. Benjamin Disraeli, a backbencher at the time, was closely associated with this group of Tory MPs.

Young England was an idealist clique, which gave Disraeli and his contemporaries the opportunity to indulge their fondness for a type of Romantic and impractical Toryism - much of which finds expression in Disraeli's novel *Sybil*, which was first published in 1845.⁷⁹ This ideological Romanticism was prevalent in the mid-nineteenth century. Romanticism is a term that originally meant 'romance-like' - resembling the fanciful character of the medieval romances. It also describes an artistic and literary movement inspired by Goethe and Rousseau, which was prevalent in Europe and America between 1750 and 1870. Romanticism, however, was not actually a single movement in cultural history, but rather a term used to describe certain allied aspects of human thought and behaviour that surface in individuals and cultures throughout history. This Romantic temperament is characterised by a tendency to extol feeling, imagination and intuition over analysis and reason; a preference for solitude and subjectivity often

accompanied by a sense of alienation and melancholia. This sense of alienation often finds solace in a mystical relationship with Nature from which the Romantic derives a deep sense of the Sublime. John Ruskin, who discussed the Sublime within the context of modern culture, proposed that nature worship, delight in the Picturesque, and other concerns which were associated with Romanticism all derived from urbanisation. According to him, when people found themselves living in cities cut off from nature they began to Romanticise it. From this point of view, Romanticism and the cult of the Sublime seem related in some way to growing urbanisation and advances in technology.⁸⁰ These symbiotic issues of modernism and Romanticism also highlight the apparent irony of the situation – for while the encroaching urbanisation encouraged the Romantic perception of nature and the countryside, it was the developments within the sphere of transportation which permitted easier access to the countryside.

The Eglinton Tournament was the fanciful consequence of Romantic and chivalric fantasies and the widespread fascination with the medieval world. It was based on the sense of loss that was characteristic of the whole Victorian period. The nineteenth century was perceived to have lost an element of Romantic and medieval nobility through the predominance of the focus on materialism and was thus believed to have become spiritless and prosaic. This was also manifest in the *Bal Costumé* held at Buckingham Palace on 12 May 1842, and attended by Queen Victorian and Prince Albert. This Plantagenet costume ball is immortalised in Landseer's portrait of the Queen and her consort in medieval dress, and echoed in the 1868 sculpture of the pair in Anglo-Saxon costume, which was commissioned by the Queen's eldest daughter as a present for her mother. The Landseer portrait shows the Queen dressed as Queen Philippa and Albert in the guise of Edward III. (See figure 55.)

The medieval interests of Victorian society were recurrent themes throughout the period, and the antiquarian fascination also spilled over into the arena of heraldry, as evidenced by the attention paid to the heraldic shields and banners sported at the Eglinton Tournament. Another movement that emerged from this field of interest was the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights. Significantly, some of the more prominent members of the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights were also guests at the 1844 Burns Festival. These guests were most notably, the Earl of Eglinton - later the President of the NAVSR, and Sir Archibald

Figure 55.



Sir Edwin Landseer,

Queen Victoria and Prince Albert at the Bal Costumé of May 12, 1842,

The Eglinton Tournament was the fanciful result of romantic fascination with the medieval world. This was also manifest in the *Bal Costumé* held at Buckingham Palace on 12 May 1842, and attended by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. This 1842 portrait by Landseer of the Queen and her consort in medieval dress at the Plantagenet costume ball shows the Queen dressed as Queen Philippa and Albert in the guise of Edward III.

Alison. William Aytoun, who wrote tracts for the Association, was also present on this occasion. This indicates that these men already subscribed to a distinct vision of their native land and of Scottish heritage and culture. Although not party-political, the NAVSR was concerned with the issue of Scottish representation in the House of Commons, and also with the amount of time devoted to the management of Scottish issues and legislation by the parliament. More saliently, the National Association was concerned with the concept of Scottish national identity, and was furthermore fascinated by the heritage and heraldic imagery of the nation. This interest in visual imagery, the manifest representations of Scottish culture and heritage, is a common theme throughout the chapters of this thesis.

The National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights

The National Association grew from the agitation and notoriety that surrounded the campaign to restore to Scotland the ancient heraldic emblems and redress grievances incurred in relation to the national insignia. This Association has been the focus of much attention from historians in recent years.⁸¹ Indeed, the NAVSR was reinstated as an active organisation in 1999.⁸² However, Hanham offers the opinion that nothing more would have come from this agitation had it not been for the serendipitous publicity which surrounded the commotion relating to a dispute over heraldry.⁸³ This obsession with pageantry is reminiscent of the activity that surrounded the unearthing of the Scottish Regalia in 1818, and the subsequent visit of George IV to Edinburgh in 1822. The use of the ancient emblems of Scotland as a focus for Scottish heritage and identity is clearly evident at this time, in much the same manner that the thistle was used to such great effect during the Burns' celebration in 1844. While it is valid to argue that the NAVSR used Romantic rhetoric and antiquarian arguments as a means to an end, it is likewise possible to view the practical concerns of the Association as secondary to the rationale of promoting a Romantic Scotland. This would certainly account for the involvement of many of the members, some of whom had already efficiently demonstrated their interests in the field of antiquarianism and heraldry.

There was a sentimental and Romantic percentage of the population who were remarkably sensitive to matters of etiquette and protocol in relation to the dignity, reputation and regard for Scotland's honorary offices and heraldry. Scottish Romanticists were touchy about formalities and decorum associated with the honour of Scotland's heraldic history, and the melodramatic unearthing of the lost Royal regalia of Scotland in Edinburgh Castle by Walter Scott in 1818 had increased the interest in such antiquarian matters.⁸⁴ Nicholas Morgan and Richard Trainor support this contention, employing the evidence of publishers' catalogues to indicate that history and antiquarianism ranked high among the titles avidly consumed by the middle-classes at home. They suggest that such nationalistic sentiments were probably mixed with a rarely articulated Romanticism, citing the example of the fictional grocer and detective from the Dickson McCunn novels of the 1920s and 1930s. John Buchan's hero was 'a Jacobite not because he had any views on Divine Right, but because he had always before his eyes a picture of a knot of adventurers in cloaks, new landed from France, among the western heather.'⁸⁵ Nationalistic sentiment, expressed in history and literature, was a rallying point for these middle-class Scots.

Walter Scott was partially responsible for the rekindled interest in heraldry. Taking his home of Abbotsford as an example, this was the epitome of the architecture of the age, and Scott's tastes helped to influence his contemporaries. As has been discussed in the previous chapters, the work of Walter Scott encouraged aristocrats and country gentlemen to build castles and to crowd their homes with weapons and armour. As Marc Girouard has asserted;

He made young girls thrill to the thought of gallant knights, loyal chieftains and faithful lovers; he spurred young men on to romantic gestures and dashing deeds in both love and war. He so glamorised the clans and the Jacobites that he virtually created the Scottish tourist enterprise, and flooded the whole of Scotland with tartans and Scottish baronial mansions.⁸⁶

Scott's genius was based upon exhaustive research, and he was widely acknowledged as an exceptional source of information on the subject of armour and antiquarianism. Emotionally, he responded to the middle ages, although on an intellectual level, he apologised for them. The vividness of his novels encouraged the prevalence of medieval enthusiasms – the examples of bravery, loyalty and chivalry suggested desirable standards for manners – and it is scarcely surprising that the revival of the interest in chivalry led to an interest in heraldry.

Two specific individuals - James Grant and the Earl of Eglinton, dominated the National Association. The Grant brothers, James and John, were the joint secretaries of the Association, and were responsible for providing much of the driving force behind the organisation. The President of the NAVSR was the Earl of Eglinton, Archibald William Montgomerie, who was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1852, and was considered to be one of the leading lights, and among the most influential members of the Conservative Party. James Grant was the cousin of Walter Scott, and shared his interest in historical fiction. Although an architect by profession, his early fame was due to his reputation as a writer of historically-themed Romantic escapades, and his family connection with Scott certainly gave him the credentials for a lifelong interest in Scottish history and antiquarian studies. He was joint secretary of the NAVSR, along with his brother John, and was involved in the composition of the majority of appeals and petitions. The Earl of Eglinton was the President of the Association and also Minister for Ireland in Lord Derby's cabinet. This latter appointment allowed the NAVSR to make the most of his apparent sacrifice of his political career for the good of the Scottish nation, and may have allowed him an insight into that other emergent national consciousness - Irish nationalism.

Eglinton was a lifelong supporter of all Scottish nationalistic endeavours - as can be seen in his involvement in the Burns Celebration in Ayr in 1844. Notably it was Eglinton who was instrumental in the bringing the NAVSR to the attention of Sir Archibald Alison. Alison wrote in his memoirs that:

At his request (Eglinton) I attended and moved one of the resolutions at a great meeting held at Edinburgh on the subject in February 1852. Lord Eglinton and I were perfectly united in our views, which were to abide firmly by the Union, and nothing which could shake the general attachment to it; but, resting on that basis, to demand for Scotland her full share in the benefits which her neighbouring countries, and Ireland in particular, had long derived from it.⁸⁷

Alison also notes later that the Duke of Montrose was involved in the National Association, and was appointed to the position of Honorary Chairman. He speaks of a public meeting held in Glasgow's City Halls, with the Duke in the chair:

To thank Lord Eglinton for his patriotic efforts on behalf of his country in supporting the movement. It was held in the City Hall, and was very

Figure 56.



Caricature of William Burns, from *The Bailie*, Wednesday January 14, 1874.

The text accompanying this caricature in *The Bailie* describes William Burns as ‘the sturdy North Briton who championed Scottish rights when they were left almost without a defender’.* Indeed, this depiction of the Glasgow lawyer William Burns is immediately indicative of his interests in Scottish history and culture. Burns is pictured holding a Scottish flag, with the tower of the National Wallace Monument in the background.

* *The Bailie*, ‘Men You Know – No. 65’, Wednesday, 14 January 1874,

numerously and respectably attended. The Duke made an admirable chairman, and showed such talents for public speaking as to make every one regret that he did not take a more prominent part in public affairs.⁸⁸

This is not to suggest that the NAVSR was a Tory-dominated clique; politically, the composition of the Association was diverse, with a variety of members which offered the possibility for a national crusade. Other distinguished members of the Committee included Buchanan, the editor of *The Caledonian Mercury*; Hugh Miller, the editor of *The Witness*; and Peter Mackenzie, the editor of the *Scottish Reformer's Gazette*. Charles Cowan, the Member of Parliament for Edinburgh was also a committee member, as were the Lord Provosts of Edinburgh and of Perth, the Provosts of Leith, Inverness, Haddington, Banff and Elgin. Conspicuous proportions of the membership lists are taken up with the names of the members of Town Councils and Royal Burghs, reflecting once again the middle-class interest in this pressure group, and the importance of associational culture in Victorian Scotland. This sense of associational culture is indicative of socio-economic trends within Scotland –increasing leisure time, rising income and consumption within the middle-class. Undoubtedly the use of Romantic rhetoric in the arguments of the NAVSR, combined with the practical issue of anti-centralisation attracted these town councillors.

A glance at the original subscription lists appended to the *Address to the People of Scotland and Statement of Grievances*, published by the NAVSR in 1853, indicates that the bulk of the support for the Association came from the middle-classes of Edinburgh.⁸⁹ As has already been noted, the appearance of the names of Duncan McLaren and Charles Cowan upon this register lent some political weight and respectability to the movement. Among the other names were a considerable number of the town council of Edinburgh - Bailies, Councillors, the Convenor of Trades, and the Dean of the Guild and the Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce.⁹⁰ This appears to illustrate that the middle-classes within the Scottish urban centres were actively seeking a role in the political arena. Scottish towns were amply supplied with a proliferation of prestigious institutions, which straddled the boundary between the public and the private sectors, particularly Edinburgh with its concentration of national institutions. The reform of urban local government in the 1830s added new 'parliamentary' burghs while augmenting the prestige of older burghs by opening them to semi-popular election. The councils also enjoyed enhanced revenue raising

and spending powers, and the number of responsible local government posts was further increase by special purpose authorities for poor relief and education. The local administrations gradually developed into a form of 'civil service' which provided positions of considerable informal influence to a significant and growing number of middle-class Scots.⁹¹

The principal West Coast characters were figures such as William Burns, and middle ranking councillors, while the majority attitude of those Glasgow citizens who wielded influence was plain indifference. These men did not consider the importance of maintaining Scottish historic values as an objective to be fixed before all others, rather, they frequently displayed a propensity for movements that advocated and galvanised increased assimilation and conformity with England. For example, many of the influential Glaswegians were involved in the Law Amendment Society, which was active in promoting changes to Scottish legislation in order to bring it into line with its English counterpart. This Society was active at the same time as the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights, but clearly the impetus and motivation behind the two organisations were from two differing perspectives.⁹²

William Burns was a Glasgow solicitor and historical author (he wrote *The History of John, Alexander and Patrick*). (See figure 56.) Indeed, it was suggested in *The Bailie* that his historical studies appeared to have instigated his ardent patriotism.⁹³ He was also instrumental in the organisation of the NAVSR, and was one of the principal contributors to their campaign publications. Furthermore, he became embroiled in a correspondence with Viscount Palmerston, on the subject of Scottish rights and honour, which was avidly reported on by the *Times* and the *Caledonian Mercury*. In 1858, a few years after the NAVSR had been dissolved, Burns issued a publication entitled *Scotland and her Calumniators; Her Past, Her Present and Her Future*. This treatise recalled much of the rhetoric and demands of the National Association, and is indicative of the strength of Burns' attachment to Scottish national identity.

Another eminently distinctive individual was Archibald McLellan, a prominent Glasgow councillor. He seems to exemplify the typical NAVSR member, with his manifold interests in antiquarianism, art and architecture. McLellan had a considerable and prestigious collection of paintings, sculpture and engravings, which eventually formed the basis for Glasgow's municipal Art Galleries.⁹⁴ His library was equally impressive, and included books on ancient architecture with a distinct medieval and

antiquarian bias. He also had a collection of books on the subject of Scottish heraldry, which explains his initial involvement with the NAVSR.⁹⁵ His interest in Gothic architecture was manifest in his involvement in a crusade to restore Glasgow Cathedral to its full Gothic glory.⁹⁶

The artist Sir Joseph Noel Paton was also a member of the Association, and his membership, along with that of McLellan serves to emphasise the Romantic and antiquarian elements of the organisation, and indeed the overwhelming interest in the medieval in the nineteenth century. Paton was a painter who hardly ever left Scotland, and in contrast to some of his contemporaries he developed an intense dislike of London during his brief stay there as student in the Royal Academy Schools in 1842-3. Among Paton's earliest works were the volumes of outline engravings illustrating Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* (1844) and *The Tempest* (1845). These justify Paton's status as a student of the antique as they are unmistakable examples of the late neo-classical style, indicating the persuasive influence of the outline engravings of the sculptor Flaxman.

Paton's father was a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and his collection of engravings after the Old Masters, casts from antique and ancient Scottish armour and weapons must have played a considerable role in his son's visual development. He was also a great admirer of Blake and conveyed this enthusiasm to his son. No other Scottish painter of Paton's generation had such a wide range of subject matter, and concurrent with his preoccupation with religious themes was his fascination with fairies. This was not surprising in a painter of his generation, as the Walter Scott's introduction to the *Tale of Tamerlane* indicated, fairies were not dead in popular superstition. In 1867 Paton painted a fairy pageant of the kind described by Scott, *The Fairy Raid*, in which the Fairy Queen is depicted carrying off a human child perched in front of her on her saddle. In addition to these interests, Paton's friendship with J E Millais, which began as a student in London, rendered the opportunity for contact with Pre-Raphaelite principles. In artistic terms, the Pre-Raphaelites were the foremost exponents of medieval subject matter. The *Art Journal* specifically linked the Pre-Raphaelites to the antiquarian world in an article entitled *The Pre-Raffaellites*, which opened the July 1851 edition. The author of this piece asserted that the group were part of the Gothic school, while a further article in the *Art Journal* of 1856 labelled the Pre-Raphaelite style 'a diversion of archaeological art'.⁹⁷



Sir Joseph Noel Paton, *The Bluidie Tryst*, 1855.

Paton was the most distinguished of the Scottish Pre-Raphaelites, and he had a distinguished career in as the 'Queen's Limner for Scotland' and as a member of the Royal Scottish Academy. This painting is an illustration of a Scottish poem about a man who was murdered by the brothers of the girl whom he had dishonoured:

They shot him dead at Nine-Stone Rig,
Beside the Headless Cross,
And they left him lying in his blood,
Upon the moor and moss.*

The subject of the painting is a distinctively Pre-Raphaelite subject, a highly Romantic theme with the figures depicted in medieval costume and it shows clearly that Paton had mastered the Pre-Raphaelite techniques. It also reflects Paton's personal interest in medieval Scotland, which was evident in the design he submitted for the National Wallace Monument in Stirling.

* C Wood, *The Pre-Raphaelites*, (London, 1981) pp. 75, 77.

Paton's interest in historical Scottish subject matter was also apparent: the history, legend and ballad poetry of Scotland are all represented in *Incidents from the lives of Wallace and Bruce* (1850), *Thomas the Rhymer and the Queen of the Faërie* (1851) and *The Dowie Glens of Yarrow* (1862). Notably, Paton also illustrated *The Refusal of Charon*, an incident from W E Aytoun's *Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers and Other Poems*. Aytoun was a fellow member of the NAVSR, and the involvement of these men in this Romantic undertaking again underlines the antiquarian interests which formed the basis of the NAVSR. Aytoun was one of the foremost Romantics of the age, a contributor to *Blackwood's Magazine*, and Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres at Edinburgh University. He had been an faithful and resolute exponent of Protectionism in the columns of *Blackwood's Magazine*, and with the advent of the Derby - Disraeli administration in 1852, he fully expected the restoration of protectionist policy and the comprehensive removal of any vestiges of Peelite thought within the Tory party. He also anticipated his appointment to the position of Advocate-Depute, which he believed his political opinions and abilities warranted.⁹⁸ He was soon disabused of these expectations, and this had led Hutchison to suggest that this loss of faith in the existing political system was a contributory factor in Aytoun's alliance with the NAVSR.⁹⁹ Undoubtedly Aytoun, as a contributor to the Tory journal *Blackwood's Magazine* brought a major boost to the support of the NAVSR, by endorsing its aims and thus legitimising Tory support for the organisation.¹⁰⁰

Hanham describes the National Association as the first effective nationalist movement, formed to complement and persist in the agitation initiated by the Grant brothers for the redress of Scotland's national grievances. He proposes the notion that the NAVSR had the makings of a great national crusade, as it was supported by both Dr. Begg and the radical Liberal Duncan McLaren on one hand, and by the Tory Romantics on the other. Furthermore, he noted that while the politicians may have remained aloof, the town councils lent their support, as did the Convention of Royal Burghs and a considerable number of men who felt that they had a case against the manner in which the current system worked.¹⁰¹ The appearance of the names of the politicians Duncan McLaren and Charles Cowan on the first roster of subscribers, in addition to that of the Earl of Eglinton, lent the NAVSR a certain amount of political credibility and consequently added significance to their public profile. Modern historians are not in accord with regard to the popularity of this association - John

McCaffrey claims that the NAVSR attracted a great deal of support from the outset, and all meetings were well attended by the public.¹⁰² In contrast, Ian Hutchison states that the National Association was essentially a fringe movement, led by men who were on the sidelines of politics, who had recently been marginalised from the political mainstream, and as a consequence had lost influence and power within their respective interest groups. He believes that their motives are quite clear - from the beginning they intended to reorder Scottish politics in such a manner that they would reintegrate themselves in its centre.¹⁰³

The initial aims of the Association were the urge to revive some of the ancient rights and accoutrements of Scotland, in particular those that related to heraldry, and to claim better representation for Scotland in parliament. These aims may seem to constitute a peculiar marriage of Romantic and radical patriotism, but it is a less remarkable coupling than as at first appears. In emphasising their complaints with regard to emblematic injustices, the Grant brothers were continuing a tradition in a sense, utilising the symbols of the Scottish nation as a means of visibly identifying Scottish heritage and nationality. This had clearly been accomplished in the case of the Great National Festival organised to pay homage to the memory of Robert Burns in 1844, where the emblems of Scotland were put to use to celebrate this Scottish hero. One of the groups involved in the procession on this occasion drew particular attention - the decorated parade entry from W. and A. Smith, Boxmakers of Mauchline. They carried a banner and a large 'Scotch Thistle' inscribed with the words: 'I turned my weeding hook aside / And spared the symbol dear.' This symbol of Scottish national identity - the Thistle - was held in high esteem by the organisers of the Festival, who regarded these words of Burns to indicate his deep rooted and passionate patriotic feeling.

As soon as the inscription was seen by the crowd in the neighbourhood of the platform, an immense shout of applause was sent forth: and as it passed Professor Wilson, he stretched out his hand, and snatching a branch from the bush, he placed it with great enthusiasm near his heart - an example which was speedily followed by the Countess of Eglinton, the Lord-Justice General, Mr S. C. Hall &c.¹⁰⁴

The account of the procession in the *Pilgrimage to the Shrine of Burns* makes especial note of this exhibit as it was considered to be such an appropriate symbol for the occasion and caused such a sensation in the crowd, and indeed with the platform

party.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, two future members of the NAVSR, the Earl of Eglinton and W E Aytoun were both present on this occasion, and could not have failed to recognise the importance of emblems and icons in stirring patriotic fervour.

In 1852 James Grant, along with his brother John and a few partisan supporters, published a series of articles and letters protesting the treatment of Scotland. In a manner worthy of a historical novelist and antiquarian, his proposals to bring resolution to the issue were effectively to turn back time and order the reinstatement of an assortment of government appointment and offices. The letters began to appear on the eve of the general election in 1852, and the vagaries and caprice of the demands made by the Grant brothers immediately caught the attention of the public. They solicited the attention of the Earl of Kinnoul, the Lord Lyon King of Arms, appealing for his intervention in suppressing numerous aberrantly quartered royal arms and improperly fashioned banners and insignia. The basis of this plea was that they were in contravention of the laws of heraldry and Act of Union, and were therefore an additional offence and dishonour to Scotland.

The subject of the British national flag had been a subject of dispute since its inception. After the union of the crowns there was some confusion as to what flags should be shown and a proclamation was issued in April 1606 declaring which flags 'South and North Britons should bear at sea'. The English seem to have taken quite kindly to the use of the flag, but not so much the Scots. A letter was sent from Edinburgh addressed to the king in which they protested resentfully that the new flag was very 'prejudiciall to the fredome and dignitie of this estate, and will gife occasion of reprotche to this natioun quhairevir the said flag sal happin to be worne beyond sea.'¹⁰⁶ While no copy of these suggested new designs for the flag remain, the King does not appear to have paid any heed to the complaints laid before him by the letter from Edinburgh, and the Scots went on to use a different form of the Union flag in Scotland. On this design, the cross of St. Andrew took precedence over that of St. George. With the Treaty of Union, a new design for the national standard had been introduced, incorporating the crosses of St. Andrew and St. George, and still further alterations were made to the flag after the cross of St. Patrick was added in 1801.¹⁰⁷ This was another occasion for protest at the appearance of the insignia, in both Scotland and England. The Scots were motivated by the fact that the St. George's

Figure 58.

A GROWL FROM THE SCOTTISH LION.



It was the auld Scottish Lion,
I heard him growlin' sair ;
"Deil ha'et, gin I pit up wi'
Siccan treatment ony mair.

"Oh, ance my mane was winsome :
And oh ! but my tail was lang ;
But on them baith is scorn and scaith,
From Southron deeds of wrang !

"Now up and ride, LAIRD EGLINTON,
That was sae stout in stour,
That when it raint cats and dogs,
Aye jousted through the shower.

"Now, horse ! my provosts and baillies,
And convener of the Trades,
Dean o' Guild, and maister o' Merchants,
The auld Lion craves your aids.

"It's up on your ain middens,
My cocks, sae croose to craw,
And gar play your Scottish fiddles,
And your Scottish bag-pipes blaw.

"And they hae ta'en and sworn an aith—
An aith both strang and true—
That for the auld Lion o' Scotland
They will win back his due.

"I've a sair, sair pain in my belly,
And a sair catch in my breath ;
Ye'll mind it was English misdoings
That brocht me to my death.

"And ye've aye uphauld, sae bluff and bauld,
My right my tail to wag,
Aboon the pock-puddins' Lion
Upon the Scottish flag.

"Ye'll to the Prince Royal o' Scotland—
Him the Southrons misca's 'Wales,'
And ask him what gars his household
Wear breeks about their tails ?

Why a Scots' prince hasna about him
Scots' men and places got,
A' things Scots, but the wages, whilk
should be
Punds sterlin', and no nands Scot

A Growl From The Scottish Lion, c.1852.

The Scottish Lion was used as an emblem of Scottish nationality and patriotism, as evident in the following excerpt:

The Scottish lion may be twisted into a joke; but the symbol of Scottish individuality is no joke at all; because it represents something which is ennobling and sacred.*

* Henry Inglis, *Tract VI* of the NAVSR pamphlets, 1854, p.4.

cross was left entire, and not only obscured the St. Andrew's cross, but truncated it. This was construed by many as a deliberate slur on the Scottish nation. Therefore, in light of this history of antagonism and dispute towards the arrangements for and the appearance the insignia, the revival of the issue does not seem so out of place, nor is it an unexpected subject for the antiquarian interests of a man such as James Grant.

In some ways the campaign also recalled Sir Walter Scott's *Malagrowth* campaign of the 1820s in that the protagonists were concerned over the introduction of the new florin. This was also the subject for cartoonists who depicted the new coins in some satirical drawings of the time. The new coinage was also the subject of concern at the public meetings, which were held to discuss the various petitions addressed to the Queen and the Earl of Kinnoul. One meeting, held at Glasgow explained the position:

Reference is most properly made in the printed petition to the degradation of the arms of Scotland upon the new coin called the florin. This has been done either in gross ignorance or with *malice prepense*. Compare this coin with the arms of the three kingdoms, as shown in the coins of George III, George IV, and William IV, in all these the arms of England, Scotland and Ireland are correctly blazoned with the English arms in the dexter chief, the Scotch arms in the sinister chief, while the Irish arms are in the dexter base of the shield, with the English arms repeated in the sinister base. In this anomalous florin, however, the arms of the three kingdoms are not combined in one shield, they are in separate shields, and the Irish arms take precedence over Scotland.¹⁰⁸

Hanham notes that the public embraced the issue wholeheartedly; that for some reason the subject caught the public fancy, and the 'heraldic grievance' at once became a favourite topic.¹⁰⁹

Dove explained the position of the complainants in a letter to the Editor of *The Times* in January 1853. He declared that while private heraldry may be a matter of private ostentation, this was not the case with national heraldry, which had a more significant role to play in terms of national identity and honour. He argued that national heraldry had a historic value and should therefore be preserved. Using the example of a visit from the Queen, he declared that the only emblems and devices which should be displayed on such an occasion were those of Scotland, for the nation had no reason to be ashamed of her heritage and history:

Is it too much to ask, that when the Queen sets her foot on the only bit of western Europe that the Romans could not conquer, she should see a local emblem, that need not blush before any flag in the known world?¹¹⁰

Again, as with many of the arguments utilised by the NAVSR, Dove employed the reasoning that Scotland and England were two separate nations, each with their own institutions, and he begged to differ with the logic of *The Times* which declared that the two nations were one.

The issue was taken up in other journals of the day, with the debate attracting much attention. *The Northern Whig* was, as expected, typically dismissive of what they perceived as the pretensions of these five men:

The *Times* publishes, with a well deserved commentary of contempt, a petition - a real, genuine petition - addressed by five Scotchmen, an accountant, a writer, a historical painter, an architect, and a person who does not appear to be furnished with any lawful calling, but designates himself Esquire, which, as we all well know, means nothing whatever in this world, to the Earl of Kinnoul, 'Lord Lyon King of Arms', complaining of certain grievances which have deeply afflicted their five souls and which they pray the Lord Lyon to use his influence with the Queen to get rectified. The document bears every evidence of being serious on the part of the five asses by whom it is subscribed.¹¹¹

The petition referred to in this article was specifically related to the 'Heraldic Honours of Scotland' and the 'National Insignia of Scotland', and all the major town councils and the Convention of Royal Burghs signed up in this solicitation of the attention of the Earl of Kinnoul, as the representative of the Queen, to ask for a restitution of the heraldic imagery and honours of Scotland.¹¹²

The newspapers certainly had a field day with the debate upon the issue of the heraldic grievances, and *The Scotsman* and the English press condemned the agitation surrounding the issue as an example of foolish and irrational behaviour instigated by bruised feelings. *Punch* published a pithy cartoon entitled *Our Imperial Arms*, which suggested that since the Scots had complained of shameful treatment of the lion in the English standard, the Welsh should get in on the act and commence a protest that the English heralds had completely ignored the Welsh rabbit.¹¹³ The men involved in the

organisation of the petition were quick to offer a rebuttal of the criticism, which they encountered at the hands of the English press, and some of the Scottish newspapers.

John Grant was quick to admit that the science of heraldry was an antiquated one, but he was also keen to remind people of the importance of emblems and insignia as symbols of tradition and history. This idea was again linked to the joint inheritance of the union, and of the Empire:

No native of Britain can behold the standard of the empire but with a feeling of just pride as his mind takes a retrospect of its history, and Scotsmen are entitled to view with a feeling of pleasure and pride the heraldic cognizance [sic] of their native country, bearing an honourable position upon that standard, as that position is emblematic of that success which crowned the efforts of their forefathers in the glorious struggle for that liberty and independence which they have handed down unimpaired; and it is this feeling that will ever be the best bulwark against all who may attempt to infringe upon the liberty and independence of Britain - for if Scots learn to look with indifference upon studied slights to their native country, they will also learn to look with the same indifference when a foreign power is the slighter, and Britain the slighted.¹¹⁴

Dove also offered his own explanation of their actions in *The Witness*, asserting that the petition had nothing to do with national antipathies, but only with national antiquarianism, 'of which every scrap and remnant is well worthy of preservation'. Further to this, he was angered by the sweeping nature of the criticism of *The Times*, and followed their argument through to a possible, but absurd conclusion, thereby illustrating the hypocritical and misleading basis of their refutation of the Scottish heraldic issues.¹¹⁵

Dove introduced himself in this rebuttal of *The Times* article as an onlooker, holding an unbiased position and therefore able to speak freely as to the facts and circumstances. This position is implausible, as he was clearly one of the primary agitators and a propagandist in the controversy. However, he showed himself to be articulate and persuasive on the subject of the heraldic grievances, such as they were perceived to be, and he explained and illustrated his position at length:

The very principle of the *Times* argument is of so sweeping a nature, that it would hurry off the stage of the world not only the fabulous things of

heraldry, but a long train of more serious things, whose abolition the *Times* dare not advocate. For what are titles of nobility? Merely *spoken* heraldry - heraldry written or spoken, instead of being represented pictorially. Now, will the *Times* apply its own argument to *these*? And if it will not, the argument cannot be held as conclusive against the outward symbol. But even with regard to her national devices, Scotland is at least *as much* entitled to her own as England; and there can be no reason why we should have *English* absurdities instead of Scottish absurdities, seeing, as *The Times* says, that both are equally absurd. It is true the main features of our nationality are fast melting away before the influence of our English connection; and too often we see, in pulpit and hall, in mansion and home, an aping, by imitation, of the language and manners of the Englishman, only in ridiculous caricature. Even the mother tongue has come to be regarded as tainted with vulgarity and the accents that sung us to sleep in our cradles and no longer fit for our polished ears, but we must mouth and chew our words into an excruciation of gentility.¹¹⁶

Whatever the various merits of each opposing argument, the issue certainly caught the attention of both the public and the media, with a continuous dialogue being carried out in the pages of several journals. The topic developed a life of its own, and what appeared to have arisen as the result of a matter of historic principal degenerated to the level of a petty squabble, with each side bickering over the substance of opposing arguments. One paper published a feature entitled *Out-Heralding Heraldry*, which purported to be written by the British Lion himself. He directed the 'five philosophers' involved in the original agitation to look to another emblem of Scottish nationality 'for which they may indulge their preference without objection' - namely the thistle. Furthermore he claimed to be outraged at the suggestion that he was defunct and that he should cede his position on the arms armorial to 'an obsolete quadruped calling itself the Lion of Scotland.'¹¹⁷ Another journal, *The Spectator*, took the debate a stage further, claiming that the Scottish peerage was in peril, due to the rotten floorboards of the picture gallery within Holyrood Palace, but hastened to add that while the greatest caution was required to prevent disaster, the Commissioners of Woods and Forests were on the case, and were about to provide the proper remedy of a new floor. The article began:

Figure 59.

THE SCOTCH PEERAGE IN PERIL.



SCOTLAND, having begun to complain of its wrongs, seems in danger of being inundated by incessant showers of grievances. We cannot be surprised that Scotland should itch to have her injuries redressed; and we have now another to add to the long catalogue of complaints that have recently issued from the North Britons. The following paragraph from the *Spectator* of last week brings to light a new calamity:—

"The floor of the picture gallery in Holyrood Palace is become so rotten and unsafe, that when Peers assemble to elect a representative, the greatest caution is requisite to prevent disaster. The Commissioners of Woods and Forests are about to provide the proper remedy of a new floor."

It is evident from the above account, that there is something very rotten in the foundation which the Scotch Peers have to rest upon. It would seem that when the Scotch lairds assemble to elect a representative, they are obliged to "tread softly," not because theirs is "hallowed ground," but because it is crumbling away like the rottenest specimen of a Pierage which the banks of the Thames, with its tottering tiers of worn-out barges, could furnish. We can imagine the heavy Scotch Peers proceeding to an election with such caution, as to be compelled to avoid every hole in the floor, lest any of them should inadvertently put their foot in it. We shall not be surprised to hear, some day, that when the members had assembled on the floor of the house for the despatch of business, they went completely through with it.

The Scotch Peerage in Peril, c.1852, from The Spectator.

The imagery employed in this illustration is particularly interesting. The Scottish lion was common rhetorical device of the NAVSR, and here he is depicted as a beleaguered figure, riding astride a pathetic looking unicorn. Again, the references to heraldic issues are apparent.

SCOTLAND, having begun to complain lately of its wrongs, seems in danger of being inundated by incessant showers of grievances. We cannot be surprised that Scotland should itch to have her injuries redressed; and we have now another to add to the long catalogue of complaints that have recently issued from the North Britishers. It is evident from the above account, that there is something very rotten in the foundation which the Scotch Peers have to rest upon. It would seem that when the Scotch lairds assemble to elect a representative, they are obliged to 'tread softly', not because theirs is 'hallowed ground,' but because it is crumbling away like the rottenest specimen of a Pierage which the banks of the Thames, with its tottering tiers of worn-out barges, could furnish.¹¹⁸

This appears to be a thinly disguised critique of the Scottish peers, and the article was accompanied by an illustration of a dour looking lion riding upon the back of a beleaguered unicorn. (See figure 58.)

Public meetings were held to further publicise the topic, and were reported on at length in the columns of the press. The issue evolved from the original grievance regarding the insignia of the nation, and anger was levelled at the treatment the topic received in the pages of *The Times*. Many Scots were incensed at the apparent contempt with which *The Times*, *Punch* and other English publications dealt with the debate, and retaliated with an elaborate succession of hoaxes. James Grant appeared to be the chief instigator of these deceptions against *The Times*, one of which related to the supposed existence of a signet ring belonging to Mary, Queen of Scots:

A wag has written to the *Thunderer*, giving an account of a wonderful ring, said to have belonged to Mary Queen of Scots, and of which impressions are sold to the most gullible who visit Holyrood. On this pretended ring, he says, the arms of England take precedence of those of Scotland, and the account thereof had been readily believed by certain credulous antiquarians in this quarter. The best of the joke is, that no such ring was ever shown at Holyrood, nor was it ever known to be in existence. There is no record of Mary ever possessing such a ring; and if she had a signet-ring, it would never have borne the Harp of Ireland, which was unknown as an armorial bearing until invented by James VI, and assumed by him upon his accession to the throne of England in 1603.¹¹⁹

Furthermore, the *North British Daily Mail* was quick to criticise *The Times* for its ignorance of Scottish affairs:

Had the 'leading journal' deemed Scotland and her affairs a little better worth knowing than it appears to have done, it might have escaped being so laughed at throughout that insignificant portion of her Majesty's dominions, as is likely to be by all who read the above letter.¹²⁰

While the English journals and indeed some Scottish papers such as *The Scotsman* denounced the campaign as foolish and irrational, the Grants and their cohorts had certainly put their point across.¹²¹ They had illustrated that it was certainly feasible to inspire some form of nationalist sentiment in Scotland, even on an issue that seemed at first sight to be innocuous. The agitation was continued for the best part of 1853, up until the first great public meeting of the NAVSR in November of the same year.

The heraldic issue continued to serve as a focus for NAVSR campaigning. Scott and the Romantic Movement had revived and glorified the Scottish past, and it is not surprising that this movement which sought to remedy Scottish grievances adopted an antiquarian theme. The primary targets for their complaints were still the flags and royal standards displayed, as can be seen in the *Statement of Certain Scottish Grievances*, as recorded by James and John Grant:

The Heraldic emblems of Scotland, as quartered upon the Royal Standards and Union flags displayed upon Scottish soil have been degraded from their first position to an inferior, and their place usurped by those of England, thus asserting a right of superiority over Scotland which does not exist.

The Scottish Household of the Prince-Royal of Scotland, the heir to the throne, which has been dormant since the accession of George IV, ought now to be revived. Most of the offices attached to it were merely honorary, such as the Prince's Advocate, the Prince's Solicitor-General, two Chaplains, Historiographer, Physicians, & c. Those offices were conferred upon Scotsmen of eminence in their different professions, and were an acknowledged mark of distinction, to deprive us of which is an injury.¹²²

Another factor in this Romantic campaign to uphold Scottish honour was the use of the term 'England' when referring to the United Kingdom as a whole. This was brought the attention of the public in a series of letters, which were printed in *The Times* and *The Caledonian Mercury* in October 1853. The initial insult appears to

have been by Viscount Palmerston, who was quick to answer the criticism, offering the assurance that in using the words 'English' - 'Englishmen' - 'England' - he meant no disparagement to Scotland, Ireland or Wales, 'but only used that form of speech which is usually and conveniently adopted, in speaking of the United kingdom and its inhabitants.'¹²³ This apology and explanation did little to erase the insult, and the issue was given more publicity with a reply to Viscount Palmerston from a 'North Briton';

The distinguishing badge of an inferior and subordinate people is, the having imposed upon them, from without, the laws, the institutions, and the *Name* of those claiming to be their superiors; and whether this be accomplished by the *Feat* of power, or, by the slow process, of assumption on the one side, and acquiescence on the other, the idea embodied in the change will ultimately *come into action*.¹²⁴

These issues drew the attention of the media, and came to be favoured by the press of the day, and *The Commonwealth of Saturday* was quick to remark upon the sentimental grievances from which Scotland was suffering:

These are principally two - the heraldic grievance of which we are hearing so much at present; and the rhetorical grievance, as it may be called, on which the 'North Briton' laid such stress some time ago when he took Lord Palmerston to task for falling into the common practice of calling the whole of the United Kingdom by the single name of England. We call these sentimental grievances because they hurt the feelings rather than the direct material interests of Scotchmen. But they are not less grievances for all that, and there are minds of fine fibre that would more willingly put up with the grosser grievances of the pocket than with the grievances of this kind. They do feel it a hard thing that, when the ancient kingdom of Scotland consented to voluntary union with England on perfectly equal sentimental terms - the two kingdoms consenting to sink their individual denominations into a third and more general name, expressly devised on purpose - the spirit of the union should be contravened by the use, even by persons in authority, of the name 'England' as the general name for both countries, thus rhetorically ignoring Scotland over the world as a partner in the great transactions of British arms and British policy; as well as by the use, even on the Scottish soil, of armorial symbols which convey the impression that the Scottish nationality was but

something stuck onto the English, and that even where the Scottish standard once waved alone, England now has the mastery. It is maintained that, to make the matter worse, England has been encroaching in this latter respect.¹²⁵

The overwhelming impression given by this debate is that the issues are indeed sentimental and Romantic, but that the insults were perceived as being very real, and hurtful to the nation's sensibilities. However, this issue raises some intriguing points about the support for the NAVSR and those individuals who were members of the Association. In *Tract V* of the NAVSR publications, William Burns addressed the issue of membership, and in particular the political bias of the Association. He commented that:

The enemies of the association have done their utmost to damage it, in the eyes of the Liberal party, by misrepresenting it as a 'Tory Clique', - as being composed mainly of those opposed to popular and liberal measures - as being, in some unexplained and mysterious way, intended to promote mere Conservative views and interests. There never was a grosser falsehood.¹²⁶

The NAVSR and their campaigns prompted unfavourable comment from sources other than the media; for example, Henry Cockburn was also critical of the Association. He made mention in his *Journal* of the NAVSR, dismissing the claims of the movement as common grievances within the Empire:

Last Wednesday the Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights, after great preparation, held its first public meeting here under the presidency of the Earl of Eglinton. In number it was respectable enough, but in nothing else. There has been seldom greater stuff spoken. The great cry was for more public money. They were not aware how much money Scotland has got within the last fifty years; but assuming it to have got too little, this is not a *national* grievance. Every part of the Empire makes the same complaint.¹²⁷

However, Cockburn was willing to admit that the NAVSR had some valid points, with which he concurred. Cockburn was a Whig, and if the accusations of being a 'Tory clique' levelled at the National Association had any basis, his hostility toward the movement is reasonable. As a Whig he believed that the interests of Scotland, or of any other constituent nation, should be sacrificed to the putative interests of the whole. He was therefore more immediately concerned with the practicalities of administrative government, not the supposed infractions on the national pride.

The NAVSR was concerned with the idea of Scottish heritage – a stance that the rhetoric of the NAVSR made clear from the start. *The Address to the People of Scotland and Statement of Grievances* (1853) immediately announced the proposition of the NAVSR, the manner in which they saw themselves, and how they regarded their national history and heritage:

We may assume - and not unfairly - that Scotland down to the period of her union with England, did her duty in maintaining her national independence and her national institutions. She showed to the world the example of a small and thinly peopled country, in the immediate vicinity of a wealthy, powerful and hostile nation, preserving her own national integrity. She repelled foreign dictation and interference. She chose to rule and govern herself after her own manner, and to develop for herself such germs of excellence as Providence had endowed her with. She had no claim to the admiration of the world from the extent of her territory, the number of her inhabitants, the sources of her wealth, or the conquests she had achieved.¹²⁸

This portrayed Scotland as a small country, but one which had sustained a heroic and glorious past, defending itself against the enemy and, as the above discourse declares, preserving her national integrity.

The bravado and eloquence of this discourse was sustained throughout, with specific references to the history and patriotism of the nation. The argument concerned the legacy of past glories, which was by no means inferior or of lesser value than the history of other nations. This is significant as it instantaneously places Scotland on an equal footing with other independent nations, and is therefore no less deserving of political recognition.

Nature had sparingly accorded her subsistence in return for honest and incessant toil - yet nature had endowed her with MEN - with men who stood in the presence of the great world and gave place to none. She had the inheritance of patriotic history second to nothing that had appeared since the downfall of the Roman Empire - she had succumbed to none - been conquered by none - enslaved by none. England, that had seen the fields of Agincourt and of Crecy in France - that could march at one time from the Tweed to the Pyrenees, had found in Scotland, - Bannockburn.¹²⁹

Here the important element of this exposition is the comparison with England. It seems that however happy the Scots were with the Act of Union, there remained an element of competition between the two nations. The English were seen as the more powerful partner in the union, and it was therefore important to these Scottish nationalists that they could focus upon some point in history when the Scots had routed the English, namely Bannockburn. The author of this Address chooses to emphasise other aspects of Scottish heritage, such as education and military force, but he selects the human resources of Scotland as the most substantial and meaningful force in Scottish history. It is, as far as the author of this tract is concerned, the people of the country who have made Scotland what it is. The men *who stood in the presence of the great world and gave place to none*. The imagery employed in this is interesting - the strength of Mother Nature, a romantic association, and the iconography inherent in the image of the virile and courageous sons.

There is also an emphasis on the historical legitimacy of the nation; the longevity of Scotland is interpreted as of paramount importance. This would appear to reflect the nineteenth-century preoccupation with the heroic and the Romantic notions of lauding national heroes and historical civilisation. The NAVSR promoted the idea that there were differences and peculiarities between the Scots and the English, and it was explained that these very idiosyncrasies and distinctive characteristics should be maintained to promote the nation.

Providence, in endowing different nations with different ethnological characters, had laid the groundwork of a higher perfection than could be attained by any one race alone. The world is neither Scottish, English, nor Irish, neither French, Dutch, nor Chinese, but *human*, and each nation is only the partial development of a universal humanity. These peculiarities, however, are the germs of national excellence, and in their proper cultivation lies the secret of permanent success. Thus all genuine advancement, all true progress, consists not in the eradication of generic peculiarities of races, but in the wise direction of those peculiarities. England will not be better by becoming French, or German, or Scottish, and Scotland will never be improved by being transformed into an inferior imitation of England, but by being made into a better and a truer Scotland. All imitation is in its own nature vulgar and unmanly - it breeds only fops and hypocrites, converts men into apes, and truth into fiction.¹³⁰

Figure 60.



Invitation to the Public Meeting of the
National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights,
held on Thursday, 15 December 1853.

This invitation reflects the interests of the members of the NAVSR, principally their focus on heraldry and their regard for pageantry.

Again this statement recalls the masculine imagery employed by the Association – and indeed by Victorian society at large - the dynamic and commanding presence of Scotland's sons. This theme is recurrent in NAVSR rhetoric: the overriding feeling that in many ways Scotland was losing its distinctive characteristics and idiosyncrasies as assimilation with their southerly neighbours became more apparent. It was also these very characteristics and native traditions which were celebrated by the genre painters of the age, who took inspiration from Scottish life and culture for their subjects.

What is also notable about these statements is that they indicate a connection between the NAVSR and the ideas that lay behind the revolutions of 1848, as this again accentuates the Romantic aspects of the Association. Mazzini spoke of the shared history, which united the people of a nation. Writing in the aftermath of the 1848 revolutions, he remarked on the struggle for country and for liberty, and the common sentiment, which united the nation:

They speak the same language, they bear about them the impress of consanguinity, they kneel beside the same tombs, they glory in the same tradition; and they demand to associate freely, without obstacles, without foreign domination, in order to elaborate and express their idea; to contribute their stone also to the great pyramid of history. It is something moral they are seeking.¹³¹

The period preceding these revolutions is often spoken of as the 'springtime of nations', pertaining precisely to the maturing sense of national consciousness, notably amid central and eastern Europe, and the nations which had been submerged under Hapsburg or Ottoman rule. While the origins of nationalism lay far back in history, national sentiment was given impetus by the concepts of Herder, the German philosopher. Herder had promoted the theory at the end of the eighteenth century that the national soul, the *Volksgeist*, found its expression in language, literature, law and other institutions. The cultural - humanitarian nationalism advanced by Herder conceived of a world where each nation could contribute according to its peculiar genius to serve the greater good of humanity. During the first half of the nineteenth century, cultural nationalism sustained its momentum, observing its finest moments in the flourishing Romantic Movement. Political nationalism also continued to gain ground, and gradually gained credibility as it merged with the concepts of both cultural nationalism and the constitutional liberalism of the middle-classes.¹³²

However the NAVSR termed its position, it was the subject of criticism. Despite its stance as the protector of Scottish national identity, commentators were quick to censure its presentation. Indeed, much of the criticism seemed to focus upon the emphasis given to the heraldic issues in the rhetoric of the NAVSR. One vociferous judge of the merits of the organisation was Sir Henry Montcrieff, the self-styled 'Scotchman', who had composed the open letter to Duncan McLaren, as Lord Provost of Edinburgh, citing his reasons for refusing to join the Association. The author of this letter was keen to assert his position - and was 'desirous of letting it be distinctly understood that I am as anxious for the assertion of Scottish Rights, and the abatement, or rather the total abolition of Scottish Grievances', in all likelihood as eager as any member of the NAVSR would have been.¹³³ The main distinctions between Sir Henry and the NAVSR were the perceptions of the actual rights and grievances of the Scottish people.

Montcrieff's disillusionment with the NAVSR was due to what he termed its inability to agree on the real rights and grievances of Scotland. He criticised the apparent inconsistencies in the rhetoric and arguments put forward by the champions of the Association, commenting on the diversity of opinions which existed within the membership of the Committee. Montcrieff was concerned with the notion that the NAVSR were trying to restore the glorious past - 'they seem to worship the externals of the past, and would restore many of its absurdities and barbarisms; their 'Dexter's', 'Gules', and 'Orders of the Thistle', are they not really buried in far by-gone chivalry?' This censure was emphasised by the declaration that;

It would be unwarrantable presumption in any man to despise the past of Great Britain. I delight in the past; but it is the past of true Poetry - the past of glorious, immortal History - the past of Martyrs - the past of Freemen - the never-dying past - the ever-young past... Not the past of names, and heraldry, and titles, but the past of a Wallace, a Cromwell, a Milton and a Burns!¹³⁴

Montcrieff concludes his letter by saying that in his opinion the Association was seeking to increase the dependence of Scotland upon the state, and that a happy future lay ahead if nothing was done which would weaken the self-assurance and confidence of the nation. 'In my humble opinion the movement of the Association is a retrograde

one - it is one which has a tendency to undermine our self-reliance - to make us look to the state for that which we can ourselves accomplish.'¹³⁵

Both Montcrieff and Henry Cockburn were derogatory in their comments regarding the NAVSR. Nevertheless both were able to find some positive aspects to the movement, and were eager to establish their own credentials as nationalists. The main issue that both found fault with was that of the over-emphasis on heraldic issues. Yet this was a central part of the Association's interpretation of Scottish national identity, and their justification for demanding the redress of grievances and the recognition of the nation, albeit within the United Kingdom. With this in mind, the use of iconography and symbolism by the NAVSR is more intelligible. One particular episode highlights this theme - that of the banquet hosted by the NAVSR in honour of the Earl of Eglinton in 1854. This occasion was the exaltation of the nationality of Scotland, the expression of patriotism within the context of the Union.

The banquet was held on 18 September 1854, in the Edinburgh City Halls, and over 600 members of the Association were in attendance on that occasion. The hall had been specifically decorated for the event, and the ornate and elaborate decor reflects the importance of heraldic symbolism within the ranks of the NAVSR.

At the east end, and behind the Chairman's table, were suspended two royal standards of Scotland, one on each side of the organ, attached to blue covered staves, with ornamental yellow coloured tops and rich tassels. The end of the hall was also tastefully adorned with wreaths of evergreens and flowers on either side. The north and south large windows were draped with curtains of the tartan of the Association, and between the large windows, pending from the curtains, were festoons of evergreens, interspersed with flowers. On the north side the St Andrews standard was suspended from a dark blue flagstaff, with carved top, tinted yellow. In front of the platform, at which sat the Chairman, were the Royal Arms of Scotland, admirably painted on canvas; and to the right and left were the well known armorial bearings of the Earl of Eglinton and Duke of Montrose. Underneath were festoons of heather and evergreens. On the side railings of each side of the Chair, and fronting the assemblage below, were four Lochaber axes and four claymores of admirable workmanship, with targets to match...¹³⁶

The description of the banqueting hall is important in that it allows us some insight into the NAVSR. The sheer theatricality of the event is astonishing - the NAVSR were certainly making a public statement about the historical status of the country, and expressing pride in Scotland's impeccable national credentials.

It is apparent that they were concerned with the outward appearance and were desirous of assuming a position of prominence and popularity. That it was recorded that 'upwards of six hundred Associates from various parts of the Kingdom sat down to sumptuous entertainment in the City Hall', indicates that they were aware of the importance in creating a favourable impression. The banquet seems not simply to be a means of celebrating the Earl of Eglinton, but also the NAVSR, and the patriotism and pride that they felt toward Scotland. The symbolism is immediately apparent in the use of the Royal Arms of Scotland, the St Andrews flag and heathers and tartans which adorned the room, it is obviously a distinct acclamation of the nationality of Scotland - there are even references to the glorious and heroic past of the country with the display incorporating the claymores. The affair has other associations too - it recollects the Eglinton Tournament celebrations and also the lavish decorations that adorned the Pavilion at the 1844 Burns Festival in Ayrshire.¹³⁷ Again, at these events, the use of symbolism is noteworthy and crucial in emphasising the iconography of the nation, and functioning as an efficient medium to accentuate the patriotic substance of the occasion.

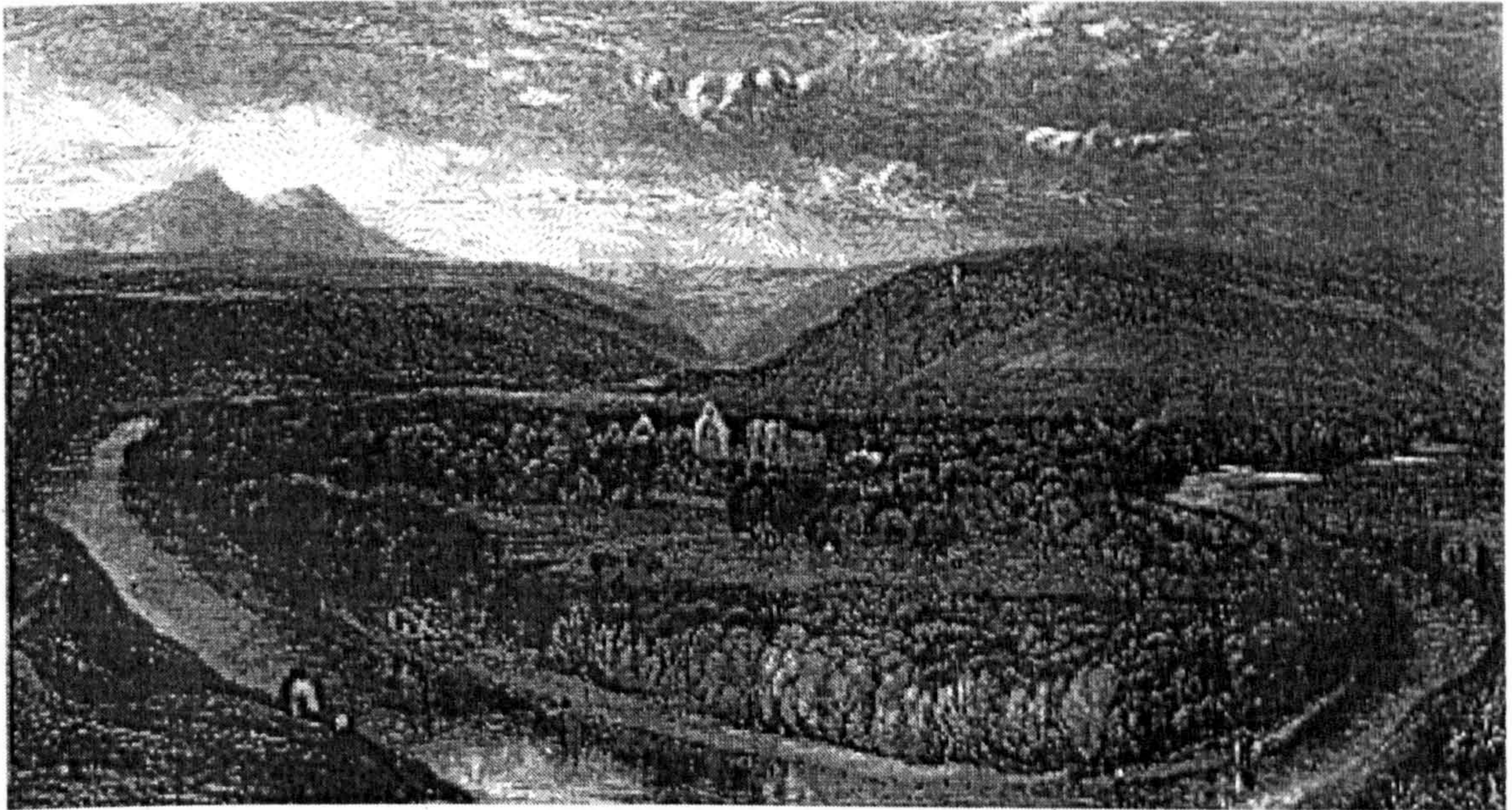
Despite the extravagant and theatrical proclamations of the NAVSR, the organisation began to fall apart in the face of the Crimean War, and by the end of the decade the association had disintegrated, to some extent the casualty of a tendency on the part of the government to listen to and rectify Scottish objections and protests. Another influential factor in the decline of the NAVSR was undoubtedly the discordant and diverse affiliation of the movement. The comprehensive and conflicting factions which came together under the umbrella of the NAVSR, and while the Committee members were so proud in their belief that they had united so many dissenting groups for the purpose of a common cause, could well have played an integral part in their collapse. The game was now open to a wide variety of organisations which celebrated Scottish patriotism and nationality. As Hanham has commented, the Scottish nationalists were not left long without a cause, and were soon enlisted in the campaign

to bring into being a national monument to William Wallace at the Abbey Craig in Stirling.¹³⁸

William Wallace: a medieval hero

Medievalism and antiquarianism were also apparent in the lionisation of William Wallace. Marinell Ash comments that Wallace and Bruce were part of the intellectual baggage of the Scottish diaspora, the 'bible of the Scottish people', in the words of the eighteenth-century historian, David Dalrymple.¹³⁹ Both these figures endured as points of reference for Scots at home, and abroad. Ash emphasises this claim by using the example of Andrew Carnegie, who remarked in 1920: 'It gave me a pang to find when I reached America that there was any other country which pretended to have anything to be proud of. What was a country without Wallace, Bruce and Burns?'¹⁴⁰ Morton notes that the Wallace myth is essentially universal – it is part of up-front political nationalism, both of civic and ethnic complexion, and it is also part of the nation's banal nationalism. Nationalist movements, organisations within civil society, expatriate groups, disenfranchised people, as well as poems and songs from those who lack any formal organising principle, fuel the story of William Wallace.¹⁴¹ Indeed, the popularity of the Wallace myth continues in the present day – a recent auction of film memorabilia saw a sword used by Mel Gibson in *Braveheart* exceed the estimated sale price.¹⁴² Often the fabrication or fashioning of a myth over time is an action that supports or reinforces a sense of national identity, a response to counterbalance a deficiency of national assurance and self-confidence. Various nineteenth-century autobiographies mention the exploits of Wallace as the stuff of childhood fantasies, in particular Hugh Miller. Miller recollected that he first became a Scot, in the most patriotic sense of the word, at the age of ten, when a neighbour loaned him a copy of Blind Harry's *Wallace*. Miller claimed that he became intoxicated with 'the fiery narratives of the blind minstrel', and by the 'fierce breathings of hot, intolerant patriotism', the tales of extraordinary valour. Furthermore, he declared that, 'glorying

Figure 61.



JMW Turner, *View of the River Tweed and Dryburgh Abbey*, 1832.

The River Tweed flows past the Eildon hills, through a wooded gorge and into a great curving sweep around Dryburgh Abbey. On the hillside in the distance just to the right of centre, you can just make out the Wallace Statue. The Dryburgh statue was the first monument to be raised to Wallace in Scotland. Commissioned by the 11th Earl of Buchan, the statue was designed by John Smith, and was placed on its pedestal on 22 September 1814. Wallace is represented in ancient Scottish armour, a shield hanging from his left hand, and leaning on a huge sword with his right.

in being a Scot, I longed for a war with a Southron, that the wronged and sufferings of these noble heroes might yet be avenged.’¹⁴³ Ash remarks that implicit in this statement by Miller is the assumption that these stories belong to a redundant state of society, and are inappropriate in nineteenth-century life.¹⁴⁴ Nevertheless, it was around the time that Miller penned his autobiography that the historical consensus, which had united Scots for generations, was beginning crack. It was not that the Union of 1707 had eradicated the threat of the English, rather the threat now assumed a new form, and placed in danger those qualities which Sir Walter Scott claimed ‘made Scotland Scotland’ – culture, language and attitudes of mind.¹⁴⁵

The construction of monuments in the nineteenth century to the distinguished historical figure of William Wallace brings into focus many of the different types of identity within the context of Scotland. Wallace was associated with particular locales – a basis for regional identity - as will be seen in the construction of monuments in Lanark, Ayrshire and Stirling. With the growth of the tourist industry, and the increased ease of travel, the sites linked to the historical exploits of Wallace also came to be of interest to tourists. The 1835 publication of *The History of Lanark and Guide to the Scenery* clearly capitalises on the Wallace-Lanark connection, as does the later *Account of Lanark, the Theatre of his Exploits*.¹⁴⁶ The author of the 1844 Lanark *Account* summarised the appeal of the area to the tourist:

To a Scottish imagination, the interest attending these scenes is powerfully augmented, by the consideration, that in byegone [sic] times, they formed the retreats of national independence, by affording places of safety to Wallace and his adherents.¹⁴⁷

These books were obviously aimed at capturing the attention of the tourist. They are typical of the guidebooks of the time, with exaggerated descriptions of the Romantic and Sublime scenery, each with a link to the esteemed patriot Wallace.

Wallace also served as a focus for national identity; a means of uniting the Scottish people collectively under one banner. As with Burns and Scott before, Wallace was employed as a potent icon of Scottish national identity. One such notable commentary is that of Scottish national identity within the context of the United Kingdom and the Empire. This relates to the idea that the Union of 1707 was essentially a partnership between two distinct countries, in that the two independent nations of Scotland and England came together as equals. This particular and noteworthy explanation of the

1707 Union emphasised the historic achievements, in both the fields of battle and as statesmen, of Wallace and of Bruce, whose fourteenth-century achievements had secured independence for the Scottish nation. These two were employed in nineteenth-century rhetoric to underline the strength of the Union between England and Scotland. During the 1859 celebrations of the Burns centenary, one Colonel Mellish proposed a toast:

That the countrymen of Robert Burns have lately and most brilliantly participated in many gallant achievements of the British navy and army, and have thus shown that they are of the same stamp as those who bled with Wallace, and were led on by Robert Bruce, and whose spirit is still to be found among their descendants, ready with strong hands and stout hearts to do their duty for their country.¹⁴⁸

In this unsubtle manipulation of symbols, Wallace and Bruce were utilised in glorifying the gallant men who served in the British military service. They are employed to underline the importance of the Union and the prominence of the best interests of the Scottish people.

Wallace was, undoubtedly, one of the most significant symbols of the Scottish nation at this time. Carl MacDougall claims that Wallace was placed alongside Robert Burns as a national statuette of Scottish ideas and values.¹⁴⁹ Richard Finlay supports this view, claiming that just as Burns was used to endorse an idyllic vision of Scotland untainted by the corruption of industrialisation and urbanisation, so too was Wallace used to remind Scots of their historic nationality. Wallace was employed to illuminate the Victorian middle-class values of civic duty, patriotism and the belief in meritocracy, promoting a vision of Scottish historical identity which conformed to popular perceptions.¹⁵⁰ This promotion of meritocracy can also be applied to the cult of David Livingstone, another nineteenth-century hero. John Mackenzie has written that hero myths are universal, and the hero is often an ancestor figure who performs striking feats and is celebrated in ceremonies which exalt the participants to identification with his moral and physical virtues. In this way, the posthumous reputation of Livingstone made him an archetype for the age – a protestant saint whose cult operated on many different levels, imperial, British and Scottish – and like all cults it was bent to suit the requirements of its age.¹⁵¹

Figure 62.



Sir William Allan, *Heroism and Humanity*, 1840.

Allan was present at the Eglinton Tournament in 1839, and it seems likely that some of this extraordinary recreation of a medieval tournament is reflected in Allan's *Heroism and Humanity*. The subject of this composition is taken from Barbour's *Bruce*, which was also alluded to by Scott in *The Lord of the Isles*.

The popularity of the Wallace cult, the celebration of his glorious exploits and the connection between Wallace and the Scottish landscape also served to accentuate the Romantic and antiquarian aspects of the Scottish image. In terms of artistic representation, there was a definite trend in the 1840s toward more historical subject matter, and Wallace naturally became a favoured subject matter for painters. In contrast to the melancholy and idealised landscapes of nineteenth-century Scotland lay elements of the fantastic and mythical, as manifested in the antiquarian-inspired themes of James Drummond and the fairy paintings of Noel Paton. Another artist who explored similar themes was David Scott. The historical paintings of Scott have been described as the counterparts to the Romantic landscapes of Thompson.¹⁵² Where Thompson painted extravagant and sublime landscapes, David Scott complemented this development with imaginative and heroic figure painting.

Contemporary or near-contemporary literature was a fertile source of inspiration for Romantic artists, especially the work of Byron, Walter Scott and Goethe. David Scott made his own contribution in illustrating scenes from poems with the emphasis on Romantic drama, but his later work evolved in tandem with his fascination with medieval Scottish history. Unlike Alexander Runciman with his extensive Ossianic subjects, Scott did not produce such a large monument to the Scottish past; no large interior scheme like Penicuik House was made available for such an undertaking, although his brother, William Bell Scott was involved in the (smaller-scale) decorative scheme for Penkill Castle in Ayrshire (1865 – 1868). The two brothers shared similar interests in medieval and antiquarian subjects, as apparent in their paintings. Like Noel Paton, Bell Scott was associated with the Pre-Raphaelites, although to a much greater extent than Paton. Notably, the Pre-Raphaelites interest in medievalism provides a counterpart to the Scottish interest in Wallace, as they utilised themes from St George and Arthurian legends in their paintings. Bell Scott's best and most vigorous Pre-Raphaelite work is the decorative scheme in Ayrshire which was commissioned by his patron Alice Boyd. Bell Scott completed the decoration for the spiral staircase, employing *The King's Quair*, a courtly ballad written by James I of Scotland while imprisoned by the English, as his subject matter. The murals are infused with all the associations of the Romantic spirit of medieval courtly love which the cult of the medieval did so much to popularise.¹⁵³ Bell Scott selected a number of scenes, beginning at the foot of the staircase with an imprisoned James I languishing in his tower. An immediate precedent for these murals was the Arthurian cycle in the

Oxford Union undertaken by Rossetti, Burne-Jones, William Morris and others between 1857 – 1858. The Penkill staircase had a similarly medieval theme, but one which was more intrinsically Scottish, and therefore more appropriate for its setting within a Scottish tower house.

David Scott's output of supernatural and classical themes are regularly punctuated with Scottish subjects, principally concerning Mary, Queen of Scots and William Wallace, and, to a lesser degree, Ossian. He painted such pictures as *Mary Queen of Scots Receiving the Warrant of her Execution* (1840) and *Queen Elizabeth viewing the Merry Wives of Windsor at the Globe Theatre* (1841), and at one point even began to write a play devoted to the life of Mary. This multiplicity of interests was apparent while Scott was still a student at the Trustees Academy; Irwin observes that an 1822 diary entry chronicles Scott executing paintings of *The Murder of Rizzio* and 'a kind of goblin combat' at the same time.¹⁵⁴ Scott also exhibited paintings on an Ossianic theme at the RSA in consecutive years: *The Last of Ossian* in 1828 and *Fingal and the Spirit of Lodi* the following year.

Scott's interest in Wallace was first apparent in 1829 and carried through to the Houses of Parliament competition in 1841, when one of his two unsuccessful submissions was devoted to the medieval hero. The zenith of his interest in Wallace was manifested in the imposing triptych exhibited at the RSA in 1844, an extravagant and dramatic allegory of Scottish independence. (See figure 64.) Scott was not content to merely illustrate anecdotes from history, and his appetite to emulate national aspirations is evident in these compositions. The full title of the central panel of the trio of paintings was *Sir William Wallace planting the Shield of Scotland upon the Body of Cressingham, who was defeated and slain at the Battle of Stirling: and staying the progress of Edward*. The left panel is *Scottish War: the Spear*, while the right is entitled *English War: the Bow*. That Scott was interested in the harsh realities of war, and made no attempt to glorify the exploits on the battlefield was evident in his earlier paintings *Russians burying their Dead* (1832) which was inspired by the Polish Revolution of 1830-31, and *Napoleon assailed by the Ghosts of his victims in Hades* (n.d.).

The *Wallace* triptych echoes these earlier themes, but the subject itself is partly historical and partly allegorical. Despite this combination of motifs, the aesthetic

strength of these panels rely more on pictorial form than narrative or allegorical content. The central panel in Scott's picture shows Wallace engaged in battle against the English king. The left panel shows a Scottish bard applauding the spearmen who confront the bows of the English army in the right-hand panel. As Hardie notes, Scott's style is often far from austere and shows great dramatic intervention and a powerfully pictorial, rather than descriptive, sense of composition and colour. The *Art Union* observed that the *Wallace* triptych had a high moral aim, a good composition, much artistic interest and was painted well. However, 'the representation of Wallace appears to be altogether a mistake; he is exhibited as a burly mass of brute force, without any moral elevation of character which constitutes the hero'.¹⁵⁵ Scott had chosen the most glorious moment in the career of Wallace, and the heroic theme is indeed boldly treated. In the left panel the Ossianic bard inspires the soldiers to noble deeds, while in the opposite side a monk blesses the flight of the English arrows, whilst trampling underfoot what resembles an Ossianic harp. The symbolic implications of this compositional motif are not refined. Indeed, the overall impression of this trio of paintings is of simplicity of form, the powerful designs immersed in a painterly language of broad brushstrokes and dramatic use of light.

The popularity of Wallace as a subject for painters was echoed in the proliferation of books dedicated to his life. This reaffirms the close affinity between literature and art, and further illustrates the manipulation of literary themes as painterly subjects for artists in the nineteenth century. In the years prior to the building of the National Wallace Monument, one of the most common books in Scottish households, along with the Bible and Burns, was William Hamilton of Gilbertfield's modernised edition of Blind Harry's *Wallace*.¹⁵⁶ There have been, and certainly there are still, successive publications of biography and discussion of the exploits of that glorious warrior of Scottish history, Sir William Wallace. During the 1850s, one diligent bunch of aficionados endeavoured to assemble a bibliography of works apropos Wallace. The bulk of the older compositions were versions of Blind Harry's poem, yet between the years 1800 - 1858 the number of publications relating to Wallace increased, and over 60 were identified and catalogued by the *Bibliotheca Wallasiana*.¹⁵⁷ One publication claimed that within the parish of Lanark the mouldering walls of ancient structures were memorials to the olden times, 'when mailed warriors grimly smiled on the unfurled banner, as the points of a thousand Clydesdale spears glittered in the sun':

Figure 63.



D O Hill, *Ye Scottish Lion a' paintin' of Sir William Wallace*, c.1854.

Hill was an enthusiastic proponent of paintings featuring Scottish themes, and equally devoted to the idea of a collection of paintings featuring 'the history, poetry, romance, superstitions, sylvan sports and landscapes of Scotland and by Scottish artists, and all this in Holyrood'. This small sketch, which was included in a letter from Hill to the artist Joseph Noel Paton, depicts the Scottish Lion painting a portrait of the Scottish hero Wallace. It illustrates contemporary artistic interests, and the widespread fascination with Scottish history and culture at this time.

In fancy we still hear the towers resound with the din of arms, and the rocks reply to the neighing of unrestrained steed, and these remind us of the days of WALLACE. Such indeed is the veneration in which the memory of that illustrious patriot, the 'saviour of his country', has ever been cherished by those men, who, independent of mercantile connections, earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, and who glory in the recital of his great and splendid deeds. Such men are the true sinews and the ultimate defence of the nation....¹⁵⁸

This indicates the robust appeal of Wallace to the common man, and he was distinguished as a pervasive, and persuasive, representation of egalitarian concepts of society - the man who had come from an obscure background, but who went on to make his reputation as a eminent soldier and patriot. In essence, Wallace was perceived as a comprehensive symbol of the distinguished and patriotic history of Scotland. This again mirrors the glorification of Burns and Livingstone. Livingstone in particular was inescapably a working-class Scot who energised Englishmen and impacted on British governments. Mackenzie notes that Livingstone acquired influence through moral power, not birth or schooling and therefore appealed to popular Victorian consciousness on a number of different levels.¹⁵⁹

This author of the *History of Lanark* also testifies to the nostalgic appeal of Wallace - a sentimental yearning for the glory days of Scottish nationhood, and on a more prosaic level, the nostalgia for childhood. This recalls Hugh Miller's above account of the moment when he first 'became a Scot' - the image of Wallace the Hero was obviously a potent influence for children, who grew up to regard the Guardian of Scotland as a champion of the nation. This conforms to the nineteenth-century notion of Romantic national identity - the celebration of the collective history of the country.

Then would be seen the standard of independence and victory, inscribed with the name of Wallace, making their way through the hostile ranks and once more carrying terror and dismay to the heart of an enemy's country.

'At Wallace' name, what Scottish blood

But boils up in a spring tide flood'

Well do we remember the sublime feeling of pleasure we received in our boyish days, from the perusal of his history, by William Hamilton, in doggerel rhyme, by Blind Harry, in old Scottish verse, and, where is the Scotsman,

whose breast has not burned within him, at the perusal of those glorious actions which immortalized the hero's name? ¹⁶⁰

The subtext of this is fairly clear - that a true Scotsman should rejoice in the heroic exploits and distinction of this famous patriot. In an attempt to excuse the lack of a national monument to Wallace, he notes that the fields, the mountains and the woods of Scotland are hallowed by every reminiscence of traditional lore. The scenes of Wallace's accomplishments, and the legends, which were related to the exploits and achievements of Wallace and his men 'are monuments in every patriot's breast'. This again highlights the important link between the landscape and the hero. As we have seen in the cases of Burns and Scott, the idea of landscape was important to the tourist, and indeed, to any Scot with an interest in the patriotic aspects of their national heritage. The imagination was important to the Victorians, and the historical, literary or mythical associations of a locality acted as a stimulus to the Romantic imagination.

This sense of association, the coupling of history and landscape found an outlet in the proliferation of sculptural representations of Wallace throughout the nineteenth century. One notable memorial, funded by the 11th Earl of Buchan in 1814, was constructed in Dryburgh, looking out over the Tweed. (See figure 61.) Buchan was greatly interested in antiquarian studies; indeed his preoccupation with Scottish history encouraged a wider interest in Scottish history generally. He originally commissioned a local mason, John Smith, to carve a monument to Robert Burns, but this intention altered upon seeing the size of the raw block of sandstone. The Earl felt that it would be wasted on a man of lesser physical stature, and instead decided that the heroic figure of Wallace with a mighty sword would be a better subject for the hillside over Dryburgh. The Dryburgh statue was the first in Scotland to be raised in Scotland, and its position in Dryburgh reflects that attachment that the Earl felt for the area. The sandstone statue was placed on its pedestal on 22 September 1814, and stands circa twenty-two feet high. Originally painted white, the statue was said to be copied from a likeness of Wallace taken from an original painting, which had been purchased in France by Sir Philip Ainslie of Pilton. A truly heroic figure, the statue depicts Wallace in ancient Scottish armour, a shield hanging from his left hand and a magnificent sword in his right hand. The inscription of the plaque at the base of the monument declares that Wallace was a 'Great Patriot Hero!' and an 'Ill Requited Chief!' - a suitably stirring analogy to his position as a national hero and symbol of patriotism in Scotland.¹⁶¹

Around the same time another mason sculptor, Robert Forrest, was selected to carve the Wallace figure for the Town Hall in Lanark. The Lanark figure of Wallace was commissioned in 1817, and this, with the commissioning of other statues such as the James Thom figures of 'Tam O'Shanter' and 'Souter Johnnie' (after the Walter Geikie engravings) for the Alloway Memorial to Robert Burns indicates the resurgence of a national tradition in sculpture. James Thom was also commissioned to carve the statue of Wallace for the Wallace Tower in Ayr. Robert Forrest, the man responsible for the Lanark Wallace, was self-taught, but obviously a competent and successful sculptor. He was also responsible for the statues of John Knox in Glasgow, and Lord Melville in St Andrews Square, Edinburgh.¹⁶² This shows his versatility in representing a diverse array of subjects. Other memorials to Wallace included the Wallace Tower in Ayr, which was constructed in the High Street during the 1840s, and which incorporated a statue of Wallace in a niche at the front of the building. This architect for this 115 feet high Gothic structure was a Mr Hamilton of Edinburgh.

These statues of Wallace can be interpreted as indicative of a non-elite perception of Scottish history, since they are civic memorials rather than national undertakings. They also offer a Lowland view of Scottish heritage and cultural identity. William Wallace was a patriotic icon of the day and obviously the residents of Lanark and Ayrshire felt it fitting that he should be commemorated with monuments in their town centres. There was a legendary link between Wallace, Lanark and Ayrshire, and the citizenry of these towns must have felt some relationship with the historical hero, thereby nailing their patriotism firmly to the mast and declaring publicly their pride in their national, and local, heritage. Ayrshire was perceived as the land of Robert Burns, Wallace, and the Covenanters, 'and that the remembrance of the liberty, civil and religious, which had thus been achieved, acted powerfully upon the whole population of the west'.¹⁶³ This statement, made at a celebratory banquet in 1859, positively underlines the notion of regional identity. The link between Burns and Wallace, which is made by this orator, is an interesting one. Wallace is clearly regarded as a great Scottish patriot, and therefore, by association, Burns is also revered. Wallace in particular, it was contended, had proved to be a great inspiration for Burns, and in turn Burns would be great inspiration for the future generations of Scots:

Burns, I say, has done much for Scotland and Scottish nationality by thus becoming a voice to her patriotism. He kindled his torch ere the fire had

burned low, and now it passes from hand to hand down the ages, lighting afresh the patriot's zeal. And God help the country where patriotism is no more, and the science of money-getting reigns supreme! God help the people who have no thought to bestow upon the history of their native land, or on the achievements of the great men of their race! ¹⁶⁴

The affiliation of Burns, Wallace and the Covenanters with the West is perceived as something to be proud of - a point of national and regional heritage to be celebrated. If the traditional affinity between the region and the hero did not exist, then it could always be invented. Regional identities were very powerful; the associations between heroes and the locale were consistently emphasised. This is patently clear in contemporary guidebooks, which stated the relationship between historical or literary figures and specific areas. Scott is the obvious example in this – the automatic response of many visitors to the Trossachs was to recollect his poetry.

Thus, provincial and regional monuments reflect a local or civic pride in the heritage of the region, and in that sense are not truly nationalistic. Civic consciousness, and the recognition of the historic character of towns, inspired such endeavours. Moody notes that this was a movement cultivated by the professional classes; they were responsible for the conservation philosophy which arose in the early nineteenth century, and it was they who first held up to a town's gaze the mirror of its own history.¹⁶⁵ Thus, these municipal statues appear to signify the widespread influence of the nineteenth-century glorification of heroes and the prevailing interpretation of a national iconography. This development is also apparent in the proliferation of statues in the centre of Glasgow. George Square in Glasgow is in itself an interesting example of the Victorian fascination with monumental sculpture. Thomas Somerville published a guide to the sculptural compositions in George Square in 1891, which included a commentary of the lives of the men who were commemorated in the statues there.¹⁶⁶ The erection of monuments and sculptural figures appears to be a part of the accoutrements of civic pride in the Victorian age. George Square was known as the Pantheon of Glasgow, an appellation that clearly connected the modern buildings of the Victorian City with the ancient heritage of classical Greece. Somerville claimed that while there was no sheltering dome over the Square, like its namesake in Greece, it stood open to the skies like the Greek theatres of ancient days. This suggests an element of theatricality, prompting the notion that the Glaswegians were putting on a performance, creating an outward appearance of polish and civic culture. The Square

Figure 64.



David Scott, *Sir William Wallace*, 1843.

This illustration is of the central panel of *The Wallace* triptych by David Scott. This series of historical portraits are on a massive scale, depicting dramatic subject matter. Scott was not content to merely illustrate anecdotes from history, and this monumental triptych can be seen as the outcome of his nationalist aspirations. The central panel of the triptych depicts Sir William Wallace in battle against the English king, while the two side panels are entitled *Scottish War: the Spear*, and *English War: the Bow*.

was designed to represent the pride that they felt in their city, and, as a focal point for visitors to the city, it would immediately impress upon them the cultural heritage of the city. The Square was the stage for statues of Victoria and Albert, Sir John Moore, James Watt, Sir Walter Scott, Robert Burns, Lord Clyde and David Livingstone amongst others. This abundance of statuary is significant in terms of the transformation of the municipal landscape – they show an awareness of local historical identity and civic refinement. This use of national iconography is the mirror for contemporary aspirations and endorses the civic demonstration of a collective sense of identity and culture. It is also important to consider the monuments in their setting, and they can be interpreted as a part of the transformation of the cityscape, tangibly altering the features of the cultural geography of the individual towns and stimulating cultural interpretations of local history.

The sense of emphasising the historical associations of the landscape by changing the cultural geography and creating new landmarks is also apparent in the construction of a further monument to Wallace in Ayrshire, The Barnweil (or Barnweill) Tower was built within the parish of Craigie in 1855 by William Patrick and dedicated to the memory of Wallace. The historical associations of this site were paramount in choosing the locale for the memorial to Wallace, reflecting the Victorian preoccupation with historical heroic episodes. It was from the Barnweil Hill that William Wallace was commonly believed to have witnessed the result of his stratagem in destroying the barracks of Ayr, an act of revenge against the English governor of the area. The legend goes that in watching flames destroy the buildings of his enemy, Wallace was reputed to have declared that ‘the barns burn weel’ - hence the name of the hill. A monument to his patriotism and his role in securing the independence of Scotland, the Barnweil Tower stands around eighty feet high, and commands a panoramic view of the surrounding area. It has a lengthy inscription dedicating the monument to Wallace, which reflects his position as a national icon of the age. Wallace was effectively employed as a rallying point, the national hero that was used to promote an understanding of the nation’s heritage, and to perpetuate national sensibility:

Ever honoured be the memory of the matchless Sir William Wallace, the first
of his countrymen who in age of despair, arose and,

Dar’d nobly stem tyrannic pride.

Throw off the yoke of foreign oppression and maintain the independence and nationality of Scotland; and who, by deeds of surpassing valour and stainless patriotism, has glorified this, his native land...¹⁶⁷

The connection between Wallace and the nobler episodes of Scottish history are therefore indelibly united; the monuments are not merely to Wallace, but reflect a deeper significance, enshrining the historic valour and honour of Scotland. Wallace was an important iconographical motif of Scottish cultural and historic identity and the honour of the nation was thus perceived as bound up in the commemoration of his exploits. He effectively became a symbol for all that was patriotic and independent about Scottish nationality. In a fragmented society, Wallace was representative of a more cohesive age. In uniting Scotland against a common enemy, he was perceived as symbolic of a united Scottish heritage and was also seen to be responsible for initiating the foundations of Scottish independence - which paved the way for an equal union with England in 1707.

Other efforts to construct memorials to Wallace were also proposed, but ultimately never realised. *The Short History of the National Wallace Monument* noted that the idea of a national monument to Wallace had been entertained for fifty years before it assumed a practical form. There had been previous ventures to construct monuments to Wallace in Stirling in 1838 and 1846 but these endeavours had failed. It particularly referred to a venture in Glasgow in 1819 which had floundered, 'in consequence of the proverbial jealousy which had for so long existed between the Glasgow folk and the Edinburgh people.'¹⁶⁸ Similarly, this history of the Wallace Monument recollected a previous endeavour publicised in *Blackwood's Magazine* in December 1818 which submitted a proposal for a tower or monument to Wallace on the Salisbury Crags or Arthur's Seat in Edinburgh.¹⁶⁹

The Stirling undertaking to raise a monument to Wallace may have succeeded where Glasgow and Edinburgh had failed because of the proposed site of the memorial – the triumph of the spirit of association - overlooking the site of one of Wallace's famous victories. Again this is a prime example of the theory of association expounded by Alison in the 1790s and by Walter Scott – the Romantic interpretation of the landscape intensified by an awareness of historic episodes and the remembrance of national heritage. Charles Rogers also indicated his appreciation of this element and commented that the position of the monument was peculiarly appropriate, in the very

heart of Scotland, and that the scenery around the site was picturesque and ennobling.¹⁷⁰ The issue of the specific site was drawn to the attention of prospective subscribers to the Abbey Craig campaign, and the neglected reputation of Wallace was also subject to consideration in the verbose rhetoric of the proposal:

...It has been often lamented by patriotic and right-minded Scotsmen, that no monument worthy of the subject, has been erected to commemorate the gallant deeds and heroic achievements of Wallace, the most popular and meritorious of Scottish heroes. Than the highest point of the Abbey Craig, certainly a more suitable site for such an erection could not be suggested, this being the spot on which he is believed to have stood while surveying the English troops, prior to effecting their complete defeat and his own greatest victory, and overlooking as it does the plain on which that victory was won.¹⁷¹

The close proximity to the site of the Battle of Bannockburn cannot have hindered the scheme either - both recalled the glory days of Scottish heroism and patriotism, and were sure to stir national passions, an important consideration in a campaign that was actively soliciting public subscriptions.

The earlier statues dedicated to Wallace did not cause the same contention as the Edinburgh/Glasgow debate. This may have been due to the fact that an individual commissioned the first, at Dryburgh, and the others, such as the Lanark monument, were not intended as national memorials, rather for a more local intention such as an adornment for the town hall. It was noted that the first proposal to erect a monument to Wallace upon the Abbey Craig was made by a Mr Ebenezer Johnstone in 1838, followed by John MacFarlane in the 1840s who attempted to raise subscriptions for this purpose.¹⁷² The Stirling monument also attracted the attentions of the activists from the recently disbanded National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights. Although the momentum behind this organisation dissipated, patriotic feelings had been aroused and the Wallace monument campaign no doubt gained momentum from these earlier nationalist sentiments. This suggests that these men were looking for another suitable vehicle for their antiquarian interests and nationalist tendencies, and the National Monument to Wallace was perceived to be an appropriate and promising outlet for their energies. William Burns, one of the leading lights of the Glasgow NAVSR committee, and the author of many of the *Tracts* of the Association, was on the Committee of the Wallace Monument, and was also a dynamic campaigner who travelled across the country, actively seeking subscriptions to the fund.¹⁷³

The 1856 campaign for the monument was instigated in consequence of an attack on the memory of Wallace, which appeared in the *North British Review*. Colin Rae-Brown, the managing-proprietor of the *Glasgow Daily Bulletin* 'took up the cudgels in favour of the national hero to such good effect that a committee was speedily formed for the erection of a national monument in Glasgow to Wallace'.¹⁷⁴ Others suggest that the Wallace Monument on the Abbey Craig was a symbol of an innovative and positive approach to Scotland's past and a renewed optimism in Scottish nationhood. While the extravagant encouragement of historical pageantry in Scotland could have led to the dismissal of the Wallace Monument as another antiquarian curio, this was far from the case. The English press perceived the Monument as the focal point for rejuvenated national feeling, not the mere icon of an obsolete experience. *The Times* ridiculed the endeavour, calling Wallace the 'merest myth', and sarcastically remarking that 'Scotchmen ... seem to do nothing but masquerade in the garments of their grandfathers.'¹⁷⁵ Furthermore, they suggested that the inclination to construct a monument to the memory of Wallace was significant of nothing more than a provincial mentality within Scotland. The Stirling Committee of 1856 circulated an outline of their proposed scheme with the intention of raising contributions towards the building costs. They stated in their initial paragraph that:

The Proposal to rear a monument to Sir WILLIAM WALLACE, the patriot Hero of Scotland, commends itself to the feelings of every Scottish heart. Movements for the carrying out of such an enterprise have frequently been attempted, but have failed, owing to the want of combined efforts, and differences of opinion respecting the appropriate site. The originators of the present movement have resolved to obviate these difficulties by a general appeal to the whole country, and by definitely fixing the site on the ABBEY CRAIG near Stirling, the theatre of the Hero's greatest victory, and which was followed by his recognition as the Guardian of the Kingdom.¹⁷⁶

The choice of the Abbey Craig as the location for the proposed monument was also further expounded upon and the subject for nationalistic rhetoric.

The subjection to a foreign domination was nearly complete; but at this crisis appeared Sir William Wallace, the representative of an honourable house, and a Knight of surpassing courage, amazing strength, and prodigious perseverance, who, without a sordid wish either of power, sovereignty, or chivalrous distinction, but actuated by the love of liberty, and animated by the

fire of patriotism, resolved to restore his nation's independence, or to perish in the attempt...'¹⁷⁷

The Proposal included a brief history and description of the site, with particular reference made to its historic importance and its association with Wallace: the Abbey Craig derived its chief historical interest from its being the position occupied by Sir William Wallace immediately before his battle in Stirling.

The celebration and recognition of Wallace in a national memorial, which solicited public subscriptions, is a reliable gauge of the discernible desire within the country to assert national identity. In order to achieve their goal with the construction of the National Wallace monument, the committee had to persuade the public that this monument was an appropriate representation of Scottish national identity. The manner in which they worded their appeal for subscriptions also indicates the sensibilities that they intended to arouse. The language employed in the call for subscriptions had to appeal to a wide audience, and the opening paragraph from the Proposal gives a clear indication of the patriotic feelings to which they were appealing. Thus, having nailed their colours firmly to the mast, they continued in a similar sentimental vein, appealing to national and patriotic sensibility.

The precise nature of the proposed Monument will of course much depend on the extent of the Funds which may be Subscribed, but the Plan will in any case be submitted to Public Competition. It is meanwhile expected, that every true Scotsman will heartily subscribe according to his ability to the Monument Fund; and it may be remarked as an encouraging circumstance that many working men in various districts have already come forward with the offer of the contribution of a Day's Wages.¹⁷⁸

In calling for donations towards the costs of the construction, the Committee exercised the idea that the erection of such a monument to a national hero of the rank and reputation of Wallace would appeal to all genuinely public-spirited and patriotic Scots.

The reference to the many working men contributing a day's wages to the fund also raises another issue. As early as 1848 John Steill had argued that any memorial to Wallace should be built from the collected contributions of the peasantry and middle-classes in Scotland. He firmly denounced the assumption that the only way a national memorial could be built was with the support of the nobility:

The ancestors of these men were the bitterest foes Wallace had to contend against.... The aristocracy may adorn their halls with costly furniture and pictures, and rear columns and statues to tyrants, debauchees and cheats, as the *thoroughfares* of Edinburgh to its immortal *honour*, sufficiently testify; but such a man as Wallace need expect to receive no shair [sic] of their favour; and thank God, we want it not. No, it is the peasantry, mechanics, and the middle-classes of Scotland who ought to take this matter into their own hands. They alone fought under Wallace's banner. It is for them he laid down his life.¹⁷⁹

This supports the argument that the strength of the meritocratic principle in Scotland had sustained the Wallace legend against the intransigence of the nobility. Part of the enduring potency of the Wallace myth was that he was a man of the people, and when coupled with Robert Bruce, assumes the mantle of the common man.¹⁸⁰ It also reinforces the egalitarian perception of Wallace which led to his commemoration in the civic landscape, and stresses the non-elite view of Scottish history and iconography. Whatever the validity of this argument, there was a reasoning that the presence of a nobleman on the presiding committee would attract subscriptions.

The Wallace Monument Committee advertised a Grand National Meeting to be held in the King's Park in Stirling on 24 June, a meeting which was to be chaired by the Earl of Elgin, who professed a lineage dating back to Robert Bruce. The Earl was thus appointed as the ennobled figurehead to the Committee, while a solid body of established middle-class men formed the remainder of the organising committee. The role of the middle-class professionals in this endeavour again underlines the middle-class impetus behind the nineteenth-century glorification of heroes and the prevalent interpretation of a national iconography. The day was evidently well planned. The day was fixed as a public holiday within the town. This echoes earlier occasions such as the 1844 Burns Festival and the celebrations which accompanied the unveiling of the Scott Monument. To emphasise the importance of the celebrations in 1844, shopkeepers in Ayr agreed to close their premises as a mark of respect to the memory of the poet.¹⁸¹ Similarly shops and other businesses were closed in Edinburgh to mark the occasion of the unveiling of the Scott Monument. While an obvious mark of respect to the commemoration of these men, it is also a sign of the popularity of the events, and the widespread interest that they provoked. A pamphlet issued by the organising Committee advertised that the various railway companies would 'afford

every facility for the conveyance of those who may attend the meeting.¹⁸² The awareness of the new and improved transportation services highlights the significant impact of cultural tourism at this time. It is an important dimension to consider, and one that reflects the contemporary understanding of national heritage and culture. If people were willing to travel some distance to attend such an event, they must have been conscious of the cultural significance.

A procession was organised to lead the crowds to the King's Park where an audience of approximately 13,000 assembled to hear the proposals for the intended monument. There, the Earl of Elgin spoke to the gathering, stressing the nationalist prominence of both Bruce and Wallace in the history of Scotland, and emphasising their pivotal significance in the debate surrounding the 1707 Union.

If the Scottish people have been able to form an intimate union and association with a people more wealthy and more numerous than themselves, without sacrificing one jot of their neutral independence and liberty - these great results are due to the glorious struggle which was commenced on the plain of Stirling and consummated on that of Bannockburn.¹⁸³

Theatricality and pageantry were the order of the day at the ceremonial occasions related to Abbey Craig memorial. The Procession, which led the crowds to the Kings Park, included the Bannockburn Brass Band, members of the Stirling Arts School, the masters and pupils of the Stirling High School, the Bannockburn Caledonian Society and the Band of the 42nd Royal Highland Regiment. National relics were carried in the procession - the reputed swords of Wallace, King Robert the Bruce, Sir John de Graeme, Sir Richard Lundin (who fought at the Battle of Stirling), and the Black Douglas. The Bannockburn Volunteers acted as a guard of honour for the Grand Lodge, and the cannon at Stirling Castle fired a salute during the ceremony. The Provosts of Stirling, Edinburgh and Glasgow were also in attendance, as were the Provincial Masonic Lodges; the Grand Lodge of Freemasons and twelve gentlemen in Highland costume. The size of the audience that had gathered in the King's Park is indicative of the strength of feeling that endorsed the construction of the memorial tower. The mass appeal of this movement is obvious: 13,000 people turned up for the inaugural meeting in 1856, and some 50,000 descended upon Stirling five years later for the ceremonial laying of the foundation stone.¹⁸⁴

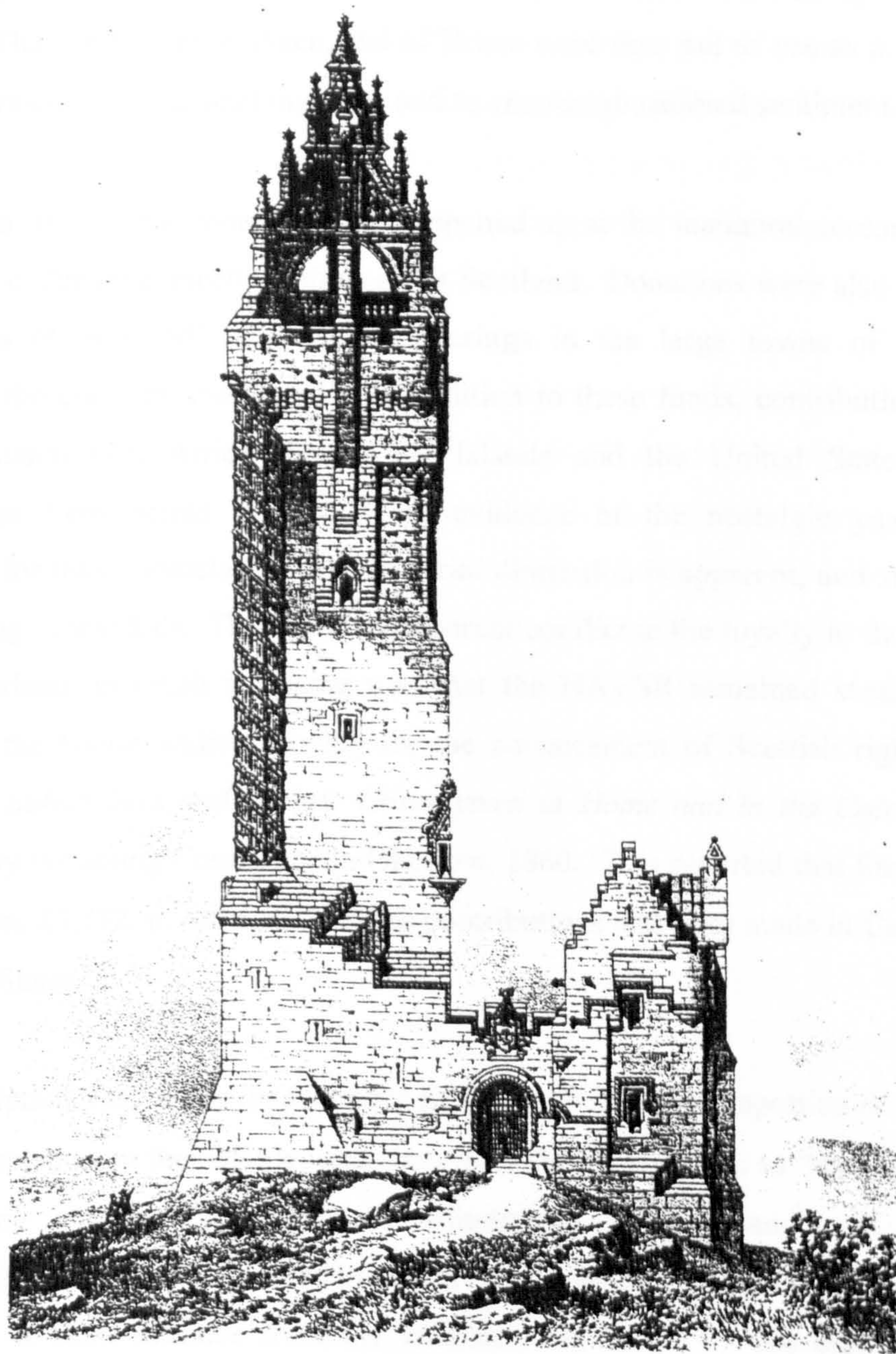
Again there are echoes here of earlier celebrations of Scottish heroes – for example the 1844 Burns Festival in Ayr, where dramatic symbolism was used with great effect. The Festival itself consisted of a procession through the town of Ayr and a banquet, which was held that same evening. Clearly the Festival procession was meant to make a definite statement about Burns and Scottish nationality, and the dynamism of nationalist rhetoric was used to its full potential - the procession included Highland Chieftains, the Mauchline Band, members of the Wallace Youth Society, and the Bannockburn Society. These last two in particular are particularly interesting – on the simple basis that their names conjure up such patriotic images and associations. Both the Burns Festival and the Wallace celebrations verify the existence of a widespread sensitivity to Scottish national heritage. The pageantry and celebrations associated with the commemoration of these Scottish heroes suggests that there was a deliberate stage-managing of these events, and thus to a certain extent some of the overtly patriotic sentiment could be perceived as manufactured. However, there is also a sense of tradition inherent in these celebrations, which is reinforced by the pageantry and splendour of the celebrations.

The presence of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons at the event is indicative that it was considered to be of some cultural and national importance. While it was commonplace for Freemasons to attend the ceremonial laying of the foundation stones of public buildings, there appears to be a deeper cultural significance to their attendance at the Wallace Monument. Trevor Stewart has noted that one of the special features of Scottish Lodges was their involvement in the life of their surrounding communities. They were bound up intimately in the life of the burgh, to the point where it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the Lodges and the more superior ‘Incorporations’ with which they were associated. Lodges in Scotland have always been willing to become locally involved, often contributing to local charities and building funds.¹⁸⁵ Freemasons were present at the ceremonies attending the laying of the foundation stones of various Burns Monuments, and the Scott Monument in Edinburgh – all of which were accompanied with full Masonic honours. The connection between Burns and the Masons is self-evident – as it is in the case of the Scott Monument. The Scott Monument is notable in that both the venerated Scott and the architect of the landmark edifice, G M Kemp, were themselves members of the Society of Freemasons.

The attendance of the Lodges at the Wallace Monument celebrations can be linked to a long tradition of Masonic attendance at such ceremonial occasions. A conspicuous Masonic presence was customary at official inaugurations of public buildings; many buildings of the nineteenth century were constructed through the co-operation and collective impetus of individuals, and such group association was closely allied to the civic growth of towns. Sir Archibald Alison estimated that 14,000 Freemasons alone attended the ceremonial laying of the foundation stone of the Wallace Monument, while the Duke of Athole, the Grand Master of Scotland, laid the stone with full Masonic honours. The Duke of Athole was elected Grand Master Mason in 1843 and he held that office for a period of twenty-one years, until his death. His long 'reign' was distinguished by his unrelenting enthusiasm for the general improvement of Scottish Freemasonry, and in particular, the defence of what he defined as their ancient rights and privileges.¹⁸⁶ Therefore his presence, alongside the attendance of thousands of Freemasons at the ceremony to commemorate Wallace can clearly be understood as a nationalistic expression of Scottish culture and tradition. While the clannish impulses of Scottish Freemasons must be taken into account – the various celebrations were often seen as an excuse for socialisation and fraternisation – their attendance on such occasions must be indicative of the perpetuation of a cultural impulse. The medieval and antiquarian interests of the nineteenth-century were also apparent in the construction of Lodges; the simple structures of the eighteenth-century were enhanced by the archaic baronial and gothic styles in the nineteenth century, emphasising the historic cultural inclination of the age.

The movement to erect the Wallace monument was 'launched under a clear sky and a fair wind, with patriotism at the prow and prudence at the helm, there was every prospect of a short and prosperous voyage', but they soon ran into a sea of trouble.¹⁸⁷ The inaugural meeting of the National Wallace Monument in Stirling, on the anniversary of the Battle of Bannockburn, implied an association with Robert Bruce, another Scottish icon. This was also the occasion for the institution of the Caledonian Society, which was intended to appropriately commemorate the event. The objects of the Society were to bestow grants upon poverty-stricken writers in Scotland, and to encourage 'the love of country in the youthful mind by offering annual prizes to students at the four National Universities, for essays on subjects connected with the national history'. On May 28 1861, Charles Rogers published a circular with the intention of publicising this endeavour. In an attempt to secure the exclusivity of this

Figure 65.



The National Wallace Monument, Abbey Craig, Stirling,

McFarlane & Erskine, c.1869.

This engraving depicts the Wallace Monument which was designed by the architect J T Rothead. The tower is a Scottish – Baronial hybrid of a cathedral and a castle.

Caledonian Society, only limited numbers (200) of ordinary memberships were offered. The annual subscription was one guinea, payable annually on 24 June.¹⁸⁸ This society shows that there were decided attempts to enrich the literary culture of Scotland. The symbols of Wallace, and of Bruce were thus put to use as a focus for rational recreation, educational initiative and to encourage national sentiment.

Subscription lists for the monument were opened up at the inaugural ceremony, and money was collected at meetings throughout Scotland. Donations were also collected by 'Natives of Scotland', who held gatherings in the large towns of England, throughout the colonies and in India. In addition to these funds, contributions came from Constantinople, Africa, South Sea Islands and the United States. These contributions from across the globe are evidence of the nostalgic yearning of expatriates for their 'homeland'. The imperial dimension is apparent, and suggestive of a blending of loyalties. There was no apparent conflict in the loyalty to the Empire, and to Scotland, in much the same way that the NAVSR remained steadfastly in support of the Union while lobbying for the advancement of Scottish rights. *An Address to Subscribers and to their Countrymen at Home and in the Colonies* was published by the acting Committee in Glasgow, 1860. This reported that funds raised at home were £3,732, in addition to which contributions had been made in Canada and the United States.¹⁸⁹

The subscription total at this time stood at £4,168 and the large proportion of the funds from the Scotsmen in the colonies and elsewhere abroad was seen as 'thus evidencing the enduring sentiment that binds our countrymen to Fatherland'. It was also suggested that the sums contributed by Scotsmen abroad almost seemed to increase 'in exact ratio to their distance from the land of their sires'.¹⁹⁰ The enthusiasm for Wallace began in Scotland, and spread to the colonies. To a certain extent Wallace statues became a symbol of Scottish patriotism all over the world, perhaps the most famous being that at Ballarat in Australia, which was unveiled in 1889, and was subsequently the focal point for Scottish identity within Australia.¹⁹¹ After the initial interest in the monument, the subscriptions came in slowly, and it was three years before the Committee was in any position to invite designs and five years before they were ready to begin construction.¹⁹² Two competitions were held in 1859, and at the first a selection of drawings were submitted to a small committee who favoured a design by Sir Joseph Noel Paton, RSA, depicting the Scottish lion trampling on a

monster, which was supposed to represent Edward Longshanks. As already noted, Paton was one of the earliest committee members of the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights. He was also one of the foremost Scottish exponents of the Pre-Raphaelite movement, which reflected his abiding interest in Scottish history and antiquarianism. The acting committee, however, did not approve of this submission, and a second competition was held, where over one hundred drawings were entered. The choice ultimately fell on a design by J T Rothead, an architect from Glasgow. (See figure 65.)

The successful design was for a Scots Baronial (the style popularised By Walter Scott and exemplified in the construction of Abbotsford and Balmoral) tower of 220 feet in height, with a lodge attached on the eastern side of the building. Mid-nineteenth-century architects devised their architecture according to function, and baronial was considered ill suited to city offices, and more appropriate for country houses, schools and those symbols of ancient authority – town halls and sheriff courts. McKean aptly notes that there was nothing incongruous in the manager of the sternest classical banks retreating each night to a Romantically turreted tower house in the country where he metamorphosed into a lairdling. Where few would trust a Romantic bank, what a man did in his own time was his own affair.¹⁹³ The epitome of this Romantic style was the Wallace Monument, and the choice of the Baronial style was used to reinforce the ancient pedigree of Wallace. It was a clear indication of the purpose of the monument as a commemoration of ancient Scottish history and iconography. Baronial architecture was used to suggest ancient Scottish values and perceptions; it was an architectural style which furthered the chivalric ideal of the nineteenth-century antiquarians and medieval enthusiasts. Thus Gothic-Baronial architecture of Scotland was perceived to be expressive of emotions (in contrast to the ordered construction of classical architecture) and reflected the aesthetic sensibilities of the age. It was a part of the Romantic tradition of venerating and emulating the past, and the insertion of a Baronial tower within the landscape served to accentuate and promote the historical associations of the region. That such a monument should be constructed in this style reflects the popular perception of Scotland at this time. The Wallace monument, constructed in the rigid and robust Baronial style, and situated in such a commanding position, effectively confirmed the defiant and courageous elements of Scottish history and celebrated the powerful and stalwart iconography of the Scottish nation.

The architectural plan called for four separate halls within the structure; the first to act as a reception room, and the three above were intended for the reception of antiquarian relics, sculpture and ancient armour. The interior was designed to appear as grand and imposing as the exterior, and an artisan, Mr. Ballantine of George Street, Edinburgh, was commissioned to:

To erect memorial stained glass in the eleven windows of the Monument, these having recently been completed, adding greatly to its attractions. They are in a broad and effective style, in accordance with the massive character of the structure. The designs are: - Arms of Old Scotland, Arms of United Kingdom, Scottish Regalia, Arms of Stirling, Arms of Wallace, Scottish Knight in armour (Bruce), Scottish Knight in armour (Wallace), Scottish Spearman as he appeared in battle, Scottish Lion Rampant, and the Scottish Unicorn.¹⁹⁴

This again emphasises the antiquarian disposition of the Committee, and their desire to emulate the ancient architecture of Scotland and reaffirm the cultural and heroic aspects of the nation. It is reminiscent of the heraldic initiatives of the NAVSR and the chivalric ideal promoted by Eglinton at the 1839 Tournament, and serves to highlight the Romantic impulses and medievalist aesthetic of the age. The construction was to take five years, and was then to be handed over to the keeping of the Patrons of Cowane's Hospital in Stirling, and by association, the counties of Stirling, Clackmannan and Perth.

The foundation stone was laid in 1861, the 547th anniversary of Bannockburn, and the fifth anniversary of the public inauguration of the enterprise. National relics were once again displayed for the occasion: the same swords which were carried at the Procession at the Grand National Meeting. The gathering was said to be the greatest ever witnessed in Stirling, the resources of the Scottish Central and the Stirling and Dunfermline Railways exhausted by the huge numbers of visitors attending the ceremony. This recalls both the Eglinton Tournament in 1839 and the Ayrshire Burns Festival in 1844 where the awareness of the improved transportation services emphasises the significant impact of cultural tourism at this time. It is a significant dimension to reflect on, and one that mirrors contemporary perception of national heritage and culture. Again large numbers of people were willing to travel some distance to attend such an event, therefore they must have been conscious of the cultural significance, and enthusiastic of the idea of commemoration a national hero,

thereby celebrating national identity and heritage. People were reported to have poured into Stirling by rail, river and road, and the lowest estimate put on numbers was between 30,000 and 40,000.¹⁹⁵ Such high numbers of visitors underscores the depth of feeling, and the intensity of enthusiasm, which was demonstrated for the monument.

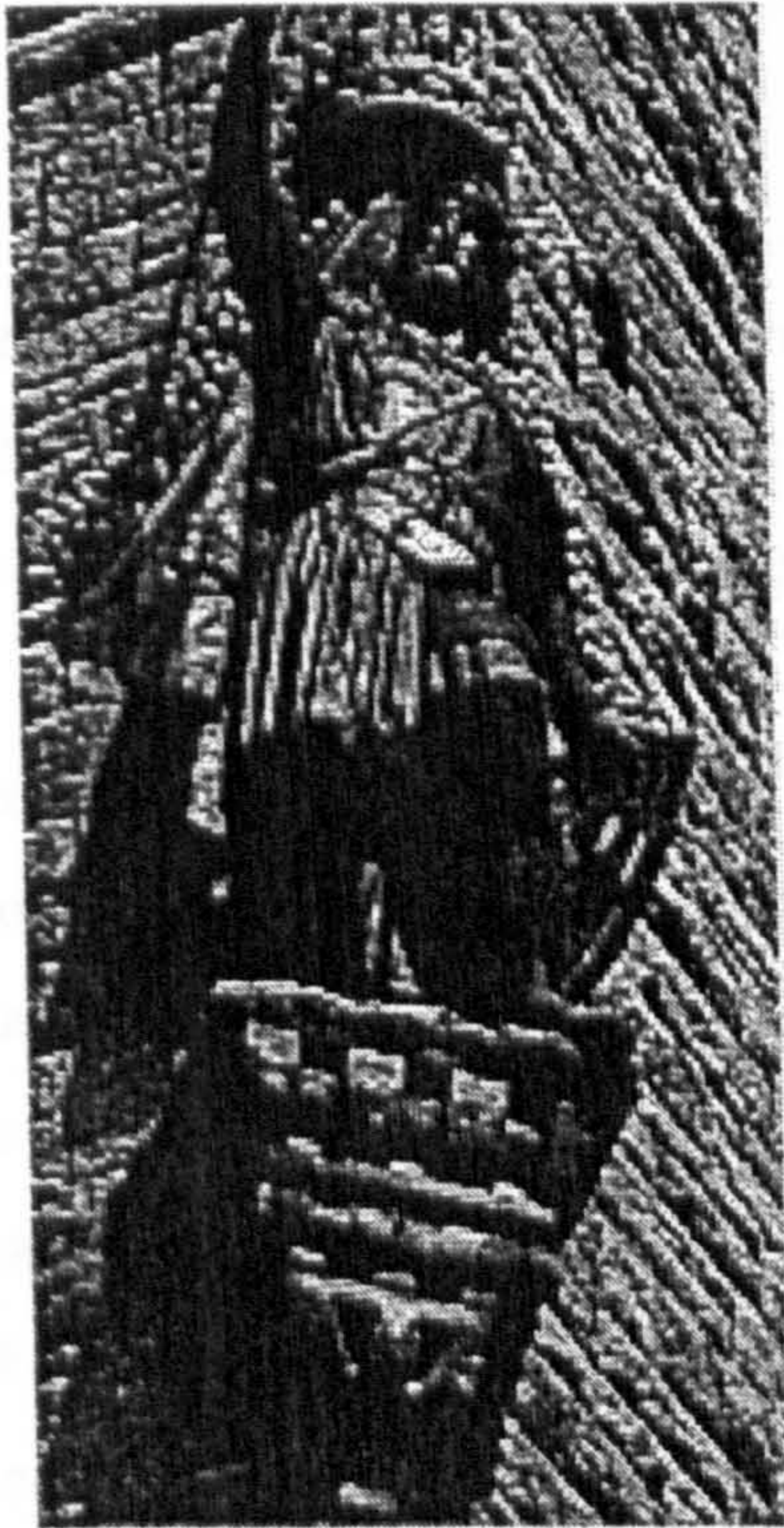
The commercial element to this celebration of national sentiment was also in evidence: medals were available, impressed with a representation of the Monument, which had been devised for the occasion by a Glasgow engraver. These commemorative medallions were available from various merchants around Stirling, and were also on sale in the railway station. Collection boxes for the building fund were also conspicuously and profitably placed around the town, especially in the station. Literature relating to the occasion abounded, and thousands of complementary pamphlets were distributed, incorporating 'engravings of the monument and memoirs of the patriot and historical narratives of his exploits'. *The Stirling Observer* reported the events of the day, congratulating the organisers on the success of the celebrations, 'marked by all that harmony and enthusiasm, which should ever characterise a great national gathering of Scotsmen.'¹⁹⁶ They were impressed with the rhetoric of the affair, the sentiment and patriotism that identified the occasion as one for national celebration.

Wallace was thus distinguished as a symbol of Scottish nationhood. The monument was not seen as the mere symbol of Scottish nationhood in the past, but also as a legacy for the future:

A monument to so great a patriot, after the lapse of well nigh six hundred years, seems at first a sight superfluous. Many, indeed, are inclined to say, and have said, that the proudest monument to the memory of Wallace is the maintenance of that freedom he bequeathed and the remembrance of the example he set us ...Is it not a greater honour to the Scottish people to say that in the nineteenth century they esteemed it a privilege to erect a monument to his memory? Will it not testify to future generations that the Scotchmen of 1861 appreciated the value of the stand made by Wallace, 545 years before, against the oppressors of his country?¹⁹⁷

The Stirling Observer continued that the memory of Wallace was cherished with something approaching adoration, and that his name was synonymous in every true

Figure 66.



William Wallace,

The National Wallace Monument, Abbey Craig, Stirling.

David Watson Stevenson, 1887.

This statue of Wallace completes the exterior of the Wallace Monument, portraying Wallace as a dramatic and heroic figure, holding his sword aloft. Inside the monument is a hall of heroes, which displays portrait busts of, among others, Robert the Bruce, Robert Burns, Sir Walter Scott and Thomas Chalmers. Taken as an architectural and sculptural whole, the monument is a striking example of northern European National Romanticism, and illustrates the impassioned trend for advocating Scottish heroes.

Scotsman's breast with the liberty and independence of the nation. Those who were involved in the celebrations and subscribed to the fund for the Monument were acknowledged as loyal and nationalistic Scotsmen. Certainly the construction of the monument was indicative of a determined promotion of a glorious cultural narrative and heroic past.

The essence of the report in the *Stirling Observer* implied that the honour of Scotland was dependent upon the construction of the Monument at the Abbey Craig. As a testament to the glorious deeds of Wallace, it would serve as a symbol of the national character:

If Scotland is held this day in honour, if Scotsmen are respected, if the tone and temper of the whole nation gives token at this day of a sturdy, honest, manly independence and unflinching persevering spirit, we owe it all to Wallace... When we quarrel among ourselves about the propriety or expediency of a national monument to Wallace, we only lay ourselves open to the scoffs and jeers of the Times and other Cockney periodicals; and at the same time give some colour to the ridiculous assertion that our nationality is only a species of provincialism, and that Scotland is as much a part of England as Lancashire or Yorkshire. ¹⁹⁸

The reputation of Scotland was celebrated in the commemoration of Wallace; he was a significant iconographical figure from Scottish history.

The relative merits of the Wallace Monument were subject to discussion. However, it was generally acknowledged that the actual construction of such a memorial signified more than the mere commemoration of a past hero:

Whatever the difference of opinion, however, may exist on the subject of the subject or the style of a Wallace Monument, there can be none as to the spirit which dictates the erection of such a memorial. In all countries and in all ages men have sought to give expression, in some tangible way, to their reverent admiration of departed great men. The rough cairn and unhewn pillar furnished this in the rude days of our ancestors; shall it then be considered a false or superfluous enthusiasm that avails itself of better, deeply felt and more fully comprehended? In such monuments we read, in part, a nation's history - not only the record of the deeds and character commemorated and honoured, but the estimation in which these were held centuries after; and

from our knowledge of how a people treasures the memories of its heroes, we may, to some extent, judge of the depth and strength of their patriotism.¹⁹⁹

Wallace was retained as a symbol not only of Scottish bravery and independence, but as a characteristic part of the Scottish psyche. The strength and independence of the Scottish spirit had been guaranteed by Wallace and was held to be evident in all of Scottish history. Many saw the Wallace Monument as a tangible representation of the depth of national feeling and patriotic sentiment, which existed within the country. This is significant as the construction of monuments often tell us more about current attitudes than any idea of having past heroes, as monuments embody contemporary aspirations. In this way Wallace was understood to be a symbol of Scottish history and representative of the manner in which Scotland was perceived, both with and outwith the country. The celebration of this Scottish hero emphasised the ancient heritage and cultural legacy of the Scots themselves. The commemoration of heroes through monumental sculpture and painting justified the patriotic and Romantic light in which the people of Scotland saw their country and its history. It is effectively a symbiotic relationship – the iconography of Scotland allowed for the celebration of the Scottish past, and the history of Scotland was celebrated because of the glorious legacy of Scottish heroes.

The celebration of Scottish heroes was not limited to figures from the past, but extended to encompass men of standing within nineteenth-century Scottish society. In the same way, history painting was not limited to incidents from the past, but also embraced significant contemporary events. This applied to conventional celebrations and episodes such as George IV's visit to Scotland in 1822 and the coronation of Queen Victoria, but artists also directed their attention to events which expressed the developments affecting Scottish society, and in particular the religious agitation during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Religion, the Disruption and Scottish art

Historians of Scottish civil life have of late been increasingly aware of the role of religion in Scottish identity, and many have recognised the religious history of

Figure 67.



Sir David Wilkie, *The Cotter's Saturday Night*, 1837.

The Cotter's Saturday Night and other compositions by Wilkie such as *Baptism in the Church of Scotland* (1829), and *Grace before Meat* (1839) are paintings which represent domestic religion in Scotland. They show the influence of Poussin's *Seven Sacraments*, and together with the two Knox paintings, *The Cotter's Saturday Night* and *Grace before Meat* represent sermon, communion, prayer and bible-reading – four key elements in Protestant worship.

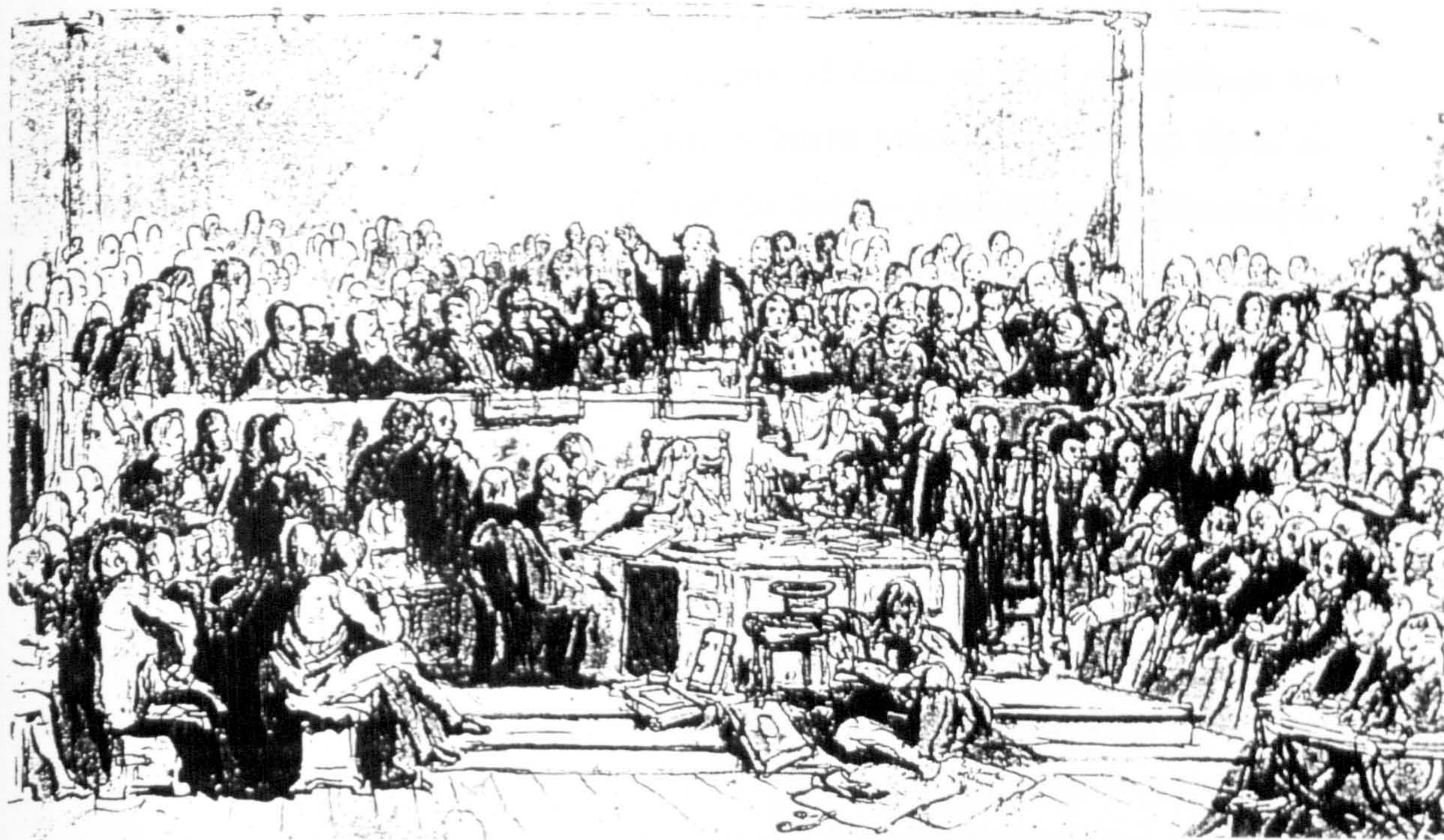
Scotland as a central theme in the composition of national identity under the Union.²⁰⁰ The Presbyterian element of the Scottish identity during the nineteenth century was a pivotal issue in Victorian Scotland. Religion provided a focus for the Scottish psyche in the 1840s, and acted as a bulwark against the Catholicism of Irish immigrants to Scotland. Indeed, the national Church from the Reformation of 1560 onwards was clearly a major influence in the evolution of Scottish characteristics. Perhaps one of the strongest images of a Scottish national identity comes from religion, or rather, more specifically from Presbyterianism. The loss of other symbols of nationhood such as the crown and parliament left Scotland with the Presbyterian establishment, as determined in 1690, as one of the few remaining authentic focal points for national identity. This opinion of the Kirk as a vessel for national identity is confirmed by a variety of sources. Cumming cites several examples in stating that the Church was the primary source for the expression of the Scottishness of Scottish society. He also makes note of the fact that with the loss of the Scottish parliament in 1707, the state of the nation was most conveniently discussed in the general assembly of the Kirk.²⁰¹ Therefore, the church was effectively the bearer of the nation's traditions, and the Assembly regarded itself as the authentic voice for the nation and Scottish interests. The Church can then be described as an institutional substitute for a national legislature, in addition to serving as a vehicle for the dissemination of the national character. As Walter Scott said in *Heart of Midlothian*: 'the habits and principles of the nation are a sort of guarantee for the character of the individual', and certainly the Church was a pervasive fixture in Scottish society.²⁰² Sidney and Olive Checkland also choose to emphasise this point when writing, albeit from a gender-specific point of view, on the Scottish Church:

It had seized hold of the minds of Scotsmen in a highly distinctive way from the Scottish Reformation of 1560, long before industrialisation came, and was to be one of the most complex reactions of Scotsmen to the new way of life. For those who took their religion seriously, the cultivation of the soul and its preparation for the life after death was the most important business in life.²⁰³

In a similar vein, Roger Mason states that few historians would dispute that the Reformation was one of the key defining moments in Scottish history, for not only did it lead to a radical reshaping of Scottish self perceptions, but it also contributed to a self-conscious and systematic reinterpretation of the past.²⁰⁴

Religion also served as a focus for Scottish national identity outwith Scotland. The Scots abroad were keen to maintain a sense of Scottishness even although they had left their native shores, and asserted their national distinctiveness, notably in its Presbyterian form. In his study of the survival of Scottish national identity among the Port Phillip migrant community in Australia, Cumming noted that although the Scots were a minority national group and outnumbered by the English and Irish settlers, they managed to sustain a sense of a separate national identity with its own institutional manifestations. Given that the Scottish settlers rarely constituted more than ten percent of the immigrants in any one year, and that of the total 31,183 assisted migrants between 1839 and 1851 only 3,638 were from Scotland, the likelihood of preserving a sense of national identity would appear to be doubtful.²⁰⁵ Nevertheless, these settlers managed to accomplish this, and the main focus for their sense of identity was the church. There is always an element of controversy in any attempt to distinguish what makes a national character. However, Cumming concludes that in considering whether the Scots had a sense of national identity which was distinct, religion provides the most powerful and effective image of a Scottish self image.²⁰⁶

The desire to maintain this sense of national identity was a common anxiety among emigrant settlers. As a result, an analysis of the fundamental elements of the national character was supplied as part of an undertaking to encourage emigrants on the assisted places schemes. Cumming refers to an article published in the *Glasgow Argus* in 1843, which was designed to promote migration to New Zealand in the first instance. This featured a commentary on the nature and retention of Scottish national character. The author was keen to assure prospective colonists that it was possible to preserve this sense of national identity in the colonies, as the national character was not bound by geography or history: 'It is not our hills and glens alone that make Scotland. It is our Kirk, our Schools, the hamely Scottish tongue... in short all our Scottish ways.'²⁰⁷ Furthermore, the author of this article suggested that in almost any place, a small group of Scotsmen could make 'a Scotland for ourselves', so long as there was a minister and a schoolmaster present to secure a sense of continuity among the emigrant community.²⁰⁸ This underscores the importance of the Church in affirming a nation-wide sense of identity, and affirms that the Kirk was generally perceived to be a distinctive institution in promoting national character.



The First General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, sketch,

D O Hill, (n.d.)

Hill had been an eyewitness to the event, and was encouraged by Dr Robert Buchanan and Lord Cockburn to produce a commemorative illustration to this scene, which took over twenty years to complete. By contrast to the finished painting, this pen and wash study shows a much freer handling of the subject matter. It also imparts a heightened sense of drama and immediacy which is not apparent in the finished picture.

Certainly in artistic terms religion was one of the chosen topics for many painters. The general regard in Scottish history was apparent in the choice of John Knox as the subject matter for artistic representation. Late eighteenth-century Romantic interest in Scottish history tended to focus on Mary Queen of Scots, as seen in paintings by artists such as Gavin Hamilton. Others, such as David Allan, chose to view Knox as her protagonist – as in the story of Beauty and the Beast – a provider of a Picturesque harsh contrast to her beauty, youth and vivacity.²⁰⁹ Allan's pen and ink sketch of *John Knox before the Privy Council* (n.d.), inscribed 'John Knox called before the Privy Council and acquitted, but advises the Queen to Purge her hart frae Papistrie', highlights this picturesque situation. The figures of Mary and Knox are integral to this interpretation of Scottish history, conflicting as they are in terms of ideology, gender and religion, and they are essential to the development of imagery that followed.²¹⁰ Scott had partially encouraged this elaboration with *Old Mortality*, and the history of the Covenanters, a development that has been discussed in an earlier chapter.

In *Artists and Evangelicals*, Macmillan discusses the effects of the Scottish church on artistic life and subject matter. He points to the case of Walter Geikie as a reminder of the religious revival in nineteenth-century Scotland. In the brief biographical note which Sir Thomas Dick Lauder wrote as an introduction to the posthumous publication of Geikie's collected etchings *Sketches of Scottish Life and Character* he paid considerable attention to an account of the artist's piety. Macmillan argues that this regeneration of Presbyterian values fed on the strong emotional current that flowed down from the Union. Indeed, Callum Brown suggests that there appears to be a great deal of validity in the proposition that the ostensibly democratic nature of Presbyterian church government allowed the General Assembly to become a surrogate Scottish parliament after 1707. The General Assembly served as an efficient arena for debates on a broad range of social issues - most especially in the Victorian period - and can be seen as the venue for the formation of public policy in areas such as education and housing.²¹¹ Therefore, religion played a central role in the definition of national identity, and consequently, the Disruption of the Kirk in 1843 was a devastating episode. In a manner closely linked to the interests of poets and artists in an ideal, pastoral, pre-Union Scotland, Presbyterians could look back to the heroic days of Knox and of the Covenanters and to what they saw as the freedom and democratic simplicity of the original Kirk.²¹² In forming this vision the Evangelical wing within the established Church was chivvied from outside the Church by the

threat of the more radical dissenting churches seizing the initiative, and a crisis developed following the move for Catholic emancipation in the 1820s, in which the whole question of the relationship of Church and state was at issue. The culmination of this last issue was the Disruption of 1843, the splitting of the Church of Scotland and the formation of the Free Church, led by Thomas Chalmers. Macmillan describes this momentous event as the breaking of a wave that had rolled down from the shock of the Union of the Parliaments and it invoked a whole set of real and imaginary Scottish values that reached far beyond the immediate issue.²¹³

Brown notes that the twenty years between 1830 and 1850 constituted an important period of change in church organisation.²¹⁴ Under the leadership of Thomas Chalmers, the Evangelicals had ultimately won control of the Assembly in the 1830s and brought a new consciousness and spirit to the Kirk. It was among the most distinguished periods in the history of the Church, and under a Church Extension scheme, of which Chalmers was chairman, two hundred new churches were built to reach the masses that were judged neglected and ignorant.²¹⁵ In 1834 they passed two pieces of legislation with the intention of supporting the church's spiritual activity. The ministers of Chapels of Ease - churches built by voluntary support and legally outside the national parish system - were given full status, and a Veto Act put an effective brake on intrusions of unwanted ministers on congregations. These last two actions of the Assembly were to be the occasion of a storm that would split the Kirk and lead to the Disruption.²¹⁶

The split within the national religious establishment in Scotland and the subsequent Disruption weakened the authority and influence of the Church in national life. However, it marked an extraordinary event in the history of the Scottish people, as those who had withdrawn from the Church in 1843 had effectively issued a forceful and convincing directive to the British Parliament. While the Disruption had shattered the established Church in Scotland, and although Scottish culture was left without a powerful national institution, they were clear in their assertion that the Union of 1707, and indeed the ensuing rapid industrialisation and urbanisation of the country had not rendered the Scottish national identity obsolete. One historian has suggested that the Disruption was fuelled by something very close to nationalism; H R Sefton interpreted the Disruption and the Ten Years' Conflict as akin to a nationalist uprising.²¹⁷ Callum Brown censures such interpretations of the Disruption, claiming that it is too dubious

an argument, he believes that the Disruption must be understood in terms of an evangelical uprising and a deep rooted religious divide.²¹⁸ This said, Michael Fry points out that during the Ten Years' Conflict the spirits of Wallace and Bruce were sometimes evoked, and that the cry of 'Scotland for ever!' had been heard.²¹⁹ This would clearly suggest that there was a distinct element of nationalistic fervour caught up in the conflict. In this sense, the notion that the Ten Years' Conflict and the Disruption were the culmination of patriotic sentiment cannot be ignored. The work of Wilkie and other painters reflects this agitation within the Church, even although Wilkie himself died two years before the final crisis. Similarly, the work of D O Hill provides the consummate depiction of the decisive moments of the Disruption, while George Harvey's compositions depicted the aftermath of the event.

Wilkie was the son of an old-style minister of the Kirk, and his portrait of his parents, complete with bible and communion cup lying on the table beside them is a sympathetic rendition of the austerity of that tradition. Wilkie himself maintained a resolute interest in religion, and had a tolerant view of the ritualistic elements of Catholicism, and these views are reflected in his religious paintings, the first of which appeared in 1822. In this year he began his commissioned (by Sir Robert Peel) painting of *John Knox Preaching*, which was finally completed and exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1832 with the full title *The Preaching of John Knox before the Lords of the Congregation, 10 June 1559*. Wilkie took great pains to ensure the historical accuracy of the work; he revisited Holyrood, and familiarised himself with a variety of tartans. He also acquired materials connected with Knox and toured places where Knox had preached. The finished picture shows Knox preaching in the cathedral in St Andrews; a moment in which the history of the nation was shaped by the courage of an individual. Wilkie's biographer, Allan Cunningham records that Wilkie and Scott discussed the substance of the proposed painting of *John Knox Preaching* in 1822, and that while Scott was no admirer of Knox, he admired the intention of commemorating the history of Scotland. Nevertheless, he advised Wilkie to concentrate on more recent history: paintings which would memorialise the visit of George IV to Holyrood.²²⁰

While Scott prompted Wilkie to think about history, meeting Thomas Chalmers in Glasgow had directed his attention towards religion. *John Knox Preaching* is the consequence of Wilkie's interest in religion, and the choice of subject matter reflects

both the contemporary religious debate and the impact which Chalmers had on him. The 1822 sketch for *John Knox Preaching* was influential as the first substantial exercise in painting of Scott's idea of history as fiction; the artistic construction of a psychologically and historically accurate account of an actual event. Indeed, in this sketch and the subsequent painting, religion is perceived as more important than history. For Wilkie, even with his success as a fashionable painter in London, the relationship between art and religion was a mechanism for endorsing a sense of social responsibility.²²¹ Macdonald echoes this interpretation; furthermore, he asserts that the 1822 sketch can be regarded as a conscious representation on the pluralistic nature of Scottishness through the conflicting historical and intellectual status of Knox and Mary, Queen of Scots. It is a key image in the development of the representation of Scottish history in art; Wilkie treats Knox with fascination, while Mary is sympathetically handled – reflecting the manner in which has characterised the view of these figures ever since.²²²

Cunningham claimed that in *John Knox Preaching*, Wilkie had fashioned 'in his fancy an image of his country's glory, when Scotland still had a parliament and a price of her own'. He continued his analysis of the painting by emphasising the dramatic impact of the composition: 'where Calvinism, struggling for the ascendant, sacrificed the independence of Scotland for the sake of religion.'²²³ In contrast to this opinion, an *Art Union* review of the 1842 exhibition of the work of David Wilkie in the British Institution chose to focus on the artistic merits rather than sensational impact, and described the painting:

We are glad of having had such an opportunity of examining this picture as is here afforded. It will, at once, strike the spectator that in the engraving there is a higher light thrown on the Queen than is found in the original, even allowing for the sinking of colour, &c... In painting this picture, Wilkie seems to have been actuated by a determination to show that, although he painted domestic scenes, he was not unfitted for a higher walk; there is everywhere evidence in the work that he felt himself driven to this in what he, perhaps, deemed self-justification. Like all things which are good it has its disclaimers, but these are not to be heeded; every competent judgement must admit it to rank with the very best of its kind.²²⁴

Figure 69.



D. O. Hill, *The First Free Church General Assembly, 18th May 1843,*
The Signing of the Deed of Demission (c.1843 - 63).

Hill, a founder of the Association for the Promotion of Fine Arts in Scotland, and of the National Gallery of Scotland, worked closely with Robert Adamson, a pioneer in photography. Thus the painting of the first Free Church of Scotland Assembly has the distinction of being the first portrait to be done with the help of photography. It was in this way that Hill managed to include some 500 portraits in this painting. Some of those portrayed were not actually present at the first Assembly, but were included because of their support for the Free Church cause. Much thought was given to the layout of the picture, as Hill had decided it should be widely representative. The central figures, of course, are the Moderator and Clerks of Assembly.

The relative proximity of Wilkie's birthplace to St Andrews obviously lent the painting considerable personal significance, and the inspiration for the painting's hero came from Wilkie's admiration for Thomas Chalmers. Knox may seem like the personification of old-style sectarianism, but in Wilkie's depiction he was portrayed as a historical reformer, not the prevailing stereotype. This was in part due to the publication of Thomas M'Crie's *Life of Knox* (1812), which reassessed Knox and recovered his reputation for the nineteenth century; by the time Wilkie initiated his composition M'Crie's book had run to four editions.²²⁵ The *Edinburgh Review* distinguished the pivotal accomplishment of the book:

It seems to be undeniable that the prevailing opinion of John Knox, even in this country has come to be that he was a fierce and gloomy bigot, equally a foe to polite learning and innocent enjoyment and that, not satisfied with exposing the abuses of the Romish superstitions, he laboured to substitute, for the rational religion and regulated worship of enlightened men, the ardent and unrectified spirit of vulgar enthusiasm... How unfair, and how marvellously incorrect, these representations are, may be learned from the perusal of the book before us, a work that has afforded us more amusement and more instruction than any we have ever read upon the subject...²²⁶

When Wilkie finally exhibited that painting, it was accompanied by a quotation from M'Crie.

Wilkie began one further historical-religious painting, originally intended as a counterpart to *John Knox Preaching*. Again the subject was taken from M'Crie and thoroughly researched by Wilkie; this time the subject was *John Knox Dispensing the Sacrament at Calder House* (1839). (See figure 45.) This painting shows many influences; Wilkie took Leonardo's *Last Supper* (1498) as his model. Similarly, in a preliminary drawing the configuration of design also reflects Rembrandt's etching of *Christ presented to the People* (1655) and the simplicity of church rites which was captured in Poussin's series of the *Seven Sacraments* (1730-40). The Rembrandt influence is also apparent in the earlier *Knox Preaching*. The *Art Union* claimed that the unfinished canvas was the most interesting composition in the 1843 RSA exhibition in Edinburgh: 'a picture admirable in expression and grouping, as it is masterly in texture and colouring'.²²⁷ Other compositions such as *Baptism in the Church of Scotland* (1829), *The Cotter's Saturday Night* (1835) and *Grace before Meat* (1839) are all paintings which represent domestic religion in Scotland, and again

the influence of Poussin's *Seven Sacraments* comes to the fore. The two Knox paintings, together with *The Cotter's Saturday Night* and *Grace before Meat* create an equivalent to Poussin's series, translated into Protestant terminology. (See figure 67.) They represent sermon, communion, prayer and bible-reading – four key elements in worship, and each individually delineated in an original form.²²⁸

Macmillan illustrates that in addition to the immediate religious aspects of the picture, Wilkie also makes reference to the poetic and artistic traditions of Scotland. He argues that the 'primitive simplicity' of Wilkie's interpretation of the celebration of the *Sacrament at Calder House* was a conscious reference to a tradition which stretched back through Burns and David Allan to the poet Allan Ramsay's 'good old bards' and the immediate aftermath of the Union.²²⁹ The *Art Union* recognised Wilkie's debt to Burns in *The Cotter's Saturday Night*, although the critic noted that, 'The figures and circumstances are wrought to some grades higher than the images which the verse of Burns calls up'. This, it further asserted, was an unmistakable feature of Wilkie's work:

(In) all similar subjects latterly painted by Wilkie, the natural truth and force have been refined away; this we can term nothing but a disease caught by the artist of society, the symptoms of which were most markedly shown in his works; he was continually looking upwards, and seemed to forget the phases of simpler nature.²³⁰

Wilkie also considered a painting on the subject of the murder of Archbishop Sharpe. Though critical of Scott's depiction of the Covenanters in *Old Mortality*, Wilkie nevertheless took his lead from Scott in the dramatic interpretation of history. In the end, it was Wilkie's friend William Allan who undertook the responsibility of the depiction of this historical event. By including the history of the Covenanters with the history of the Scottish Reformation, Wilkie established the basic themes of a fresh type of religious painting, which was significantly different from historical painting inspired by Walter Scott. One result of this was the direct representation of the events of the Disruption itself. These were seen in D O Hill's monumental painting of the Disruption Assembly, and also in publications such as *Illustrations of Principles of Toleration in Scotland* (1846). This last included engravings after artists such as James Drummond depicting church-less Free Church congregations forced to meet in the open air, thus echoing the historic model of the Covenanters.

The Disruption itself made an enormous impact on Scottish life. In 1843 at the General Assembly, approximately 470 of the 1200 ministers walked out after making a protest. In this, they reiterated their position as set out in the *Second Claim of Right*, and denounced the actions of the civil courts in interfering in church concerns and the government for its rejection of the *Claim of Right*. Some 545 ministers signed the Deed of Demission, relinquishing stipends valued in the region of £100,000 per year, along with their manses, churches and social status. They were joined by around half of the lay membership of the Church, and it was indeed an impressive act of sacrifice for a principle: that of the spiritual independence of the Church in Scotland.²³¹ This state of affairs was the subject of much consideration from the press and other commentators of the day. In the opinion of one observer, the 'church question' was comparable to a hive of bees:

In a lovely Garden, blooming and bright,
Cheered every morn by the summer light;
Where the heath and trefoil, fragrant as fair,
Filled with sweet perfume the pleasant air;
The graceful birch and the sombre yew;
And a clear stream wandering on its way,
In a smoother course than my rugged lay,
Sheltered, not shaded, by leafy trees,
There was snugly placed a hive of bees.
The inmates were as happy as bees could be,
Well cared for, contented, and nearly free.
The Gard'ner wouldn't allow them to sting,
And he clipt a little from every wing;
While of all the Garden each had a share,
And their fame hummed forth with a pleasant sound,
A pattern bright to all hives around.

But anon a contention dire arose,
And warm friends changed into bitter foes;
A set of bees would nothing less be
Than truly, entirely, and fully free;
So they waxed very fierce, and buzzing cried,

Figure 70.



Jacques-Louis David, *The Oath of the Tennis Court*, 1791.

D O Hill's depiction of the *First Assembly of the Free Church* can be compared to this painting by the leading French neo-classical artist, particularly in the details of the background, with the spectators watching the proceedings through skylights. This painting shows David's attempt to catalogue the new heroes of the age, and in this sense is also a precedent for Hill's illustration of the Free Church ministers.

‘Our blood shall flow like the Solway tide,
Rather than subject one high flying bee
To a Gard’ner’s civil authority;
We will roam where we list, and use our stings,
And no scissors shall clip our sacred wings.’
But the Gard’ner merely handled his spade,
Saying, ‘needs my orders must be obeyed.’²³²

The censorious nature of this verse is clearly evident, and the author is very derogatory in his summation of the situation surrounding the Disruption and the establishment of the Free Church. He obviously regarded the circumstances of the Disruption as rather ridiculous, a mere flight of fancy on the part of the Evangelicals. Not all commentaries were so severe in their critique, and this poem was the subject of a response published in the *Scottish Guardian* in March 1843.²³³ The author of this rejoinder took a very different stance to his contemporary, and regarded the Disruption as the natural outcome of the conflict between the two clashing factions within the Church. He is not as sceptical of the future for the Free Church either, judging the ‘Drones’ of the Church of Scotland as the losers in the affair.

The ministers who protested in this sensational manner instituted the Free Church, which they claimed to be the true Church. They then set about replicating all the services offered by the Church - churches, halls and schools - which they had left, supported by funds collected by their congregations. While this was an impressive endeavour, which served to revitalise religious life, it was also a tremendous diversion of effort. The Church, particularly through the educational system, had acted as a consolidating force in Scotland, a focal point for unifying the nation. At a time when there was rapid industrialisation which was accompanied by increased urbanisation and the attendant social problems, the response of the Church was enfeebled by the Disruption and its aftermath, and ultimately Scotland lost a bastion of tradition and a bulwark against the encroachment of anglicisation. There is certainly an element of a ‘cult of Scottishness’: the realisation that Scottish Romanticism as established and glorified by Walter Scott was rapidly being submerged by urbanisation.²³⁴ The majority of these emerging bands of Scottish patriots were convinced of the benefits of Union; even the Disruption of the Church had not occasioned any earnest assault on

the Union. Notwithstanding this, there was a certain amount of uneasiness with respect to the relationship between Scotland and England.

The Disruption also produced a tangible sensation of drama – Robert Buchanan recalled the sense of anticipation that surrounded the episode:

Thursday the 18th of May, 1843, dawned on the ancient metropolis of Scotland, - and as the morning wore on, the crowded state of the leading streets, and the look of excitement and expectation which appeared on almost every countenance, must have betrayed, even to the most ignorant and careless observer, the approach of some great event.²³⁵

The events of the day were built up and created an impression of tension and high drama, both within the Assembly, and on the streets outside. Buchanan also described the moment when the ministers walked out of the Assembly, again emphasising the consummate drama of the event:

Dr Welsh bowed respectfully to the representative of the queen, and in so doing, bade the church of Scotland's farewell to the state. That brief but solemn and significant action done, he lifted his hat from the table and went forth from the degraded establishment.... The fathers of the church, men who were its strength and glory, one after another, rose and followed him. It was a moment of intense and overpowering interest. The immense audience looked on, thrilled with feelings which it is impossible to describe, - but not a voice, not a whisper was heard. The sensation was too deep for utterance; in very many, not females alone, but strong-minded men, it found vent in tears.²³⁶

Thomas Brown also refers to the dramatic exit of the ministers from the Assembly, recalling the 'great mass of spectators' on the street outside who were awaiting the outcome 'in anxious expectation':

'They come! They come!' and when Dr Welsh, Dr Chalmers and Dr Gordon appeared in sight, the sensation as they came forth, went like an electric shock through the vast multitude, and the long deep shout which rang along the street told that the deed had been done. No arrangement had been made for a

Figure 71.



Sir George Harvey, *Two Children*, 1848,
study for *Quitting the Manse*, 1848.

In this painting Harvey turned his attention away from the religious disputes of the past, which he has so skilfully depicted in his series on the *Covenanters*, to those of contemporary Scotland. This scene is based on the immediate repercussions of the Disruption upon the lives of ordinary people, and shows Harvey's emotional approach to his subject matter. The use of the children, as seen in the sketch, emphasises the sentimental themes inherent in this painting. There is a sense of continuity between Harvey's Covenanted subjects and this contemporary predicament which implies historical parallels between the two eras, and conceivably he saw the Ministers of the Disruption as the spiritual heirs to the Covenanters.

procession, for the strong wish of all the ministers was to avoid all display. But there was no choice. On either hand the crowd drew back, opening out a lane wide enough to allow three, or at most four, walking abreast. And so in steady ranks the procession moved on its way, while all around they were met with expressions of deepest emotion.²³⁷

This again brings to mind a sense of great melodrama and flamboyance. The leading ministers were invested with a quasi-heroic quality, and the above description of their departure from the Assembly gives the impression of a highly charismatic event. The reception of the ministers is akin to adulation: when they appeared, a sensation, like an electric shock, ran through the crowd. The impromptu procession through the streets of Edinburgh reinforces the sensational and theatrical atmosphere of the affair.

Hill's large painting of *The First Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland. Signing the Act of Separation and Deed of Demission at Tanfield, Edinburgh, May 1843*, was slowly built up over a period of twenty-one years making use of a series of calotypes, both single figures and groups. (See figures 67 and 68.) Impressed by the spectacle of the Disruption, Hill decided to commemorate the occasion in a monumental painting. Pertinently the starting point for his composition was Wilkie's two paintings of Knox. The designs were initially incorporated and adapted to show Thomas Chalmers preaching to the General Assembly, and in the finished painting the outline of Wilkie's *Knox at Calder House* is still visible in the configuration of the central group. Interestingly, the details of the background, of spectators peering through skylights, reflects Jacques-Louis David's *The Oath of the Tennis Court* (1791), an unexpected echo which suggests a parallel between the French Revolution and the Disruption. (See figure 70.)

In order to obtain as accurate a representation as possible, Hill had utilised photographs as models for the faces of the ministers in the finished picture, yet despite his personal sympathies the finished work is akin to the official form of mass portrait so often employed in the nineteenth century. It was the desire to record this historic occasion that led Hill to photography. Sir David Brewster, the physicist, who was an earnest supporter of the Free Church, had made the suggestion that calotypes might replace sketches. Hill met with photographer Robert Adamson and arranged to use the new medium of photography, which not only provided a way of obtaining portraits for the painting but also significantly reduced the time involved. Over the many years it

took to complete the painting, Hill updated many sitters' appearances, ageing them by adding beards, spectacles, and grey hair. Ironically, the photographs of the ministers are now considered to be more successful than the painting; it has been suggested by the art historian David Irwin that the finished painting has a strong claim to be one of the most impressive bad paintings produced in nineteenth century Scotland.²³⁸ The main distinguishing characteristic here however, is the immediate sense of theatre and drama that is apparent in the celebration of the occasion. By the time the portraits of over 450 ministers were completed, some were already dead and others who had not been present on the occasion were included because of their affiliation.

Another painting which relates to the same theme is George Harvey's *Quitting the Manse* (1848). (See figure 71.) George Harvey provided a bridge in the tradition of genre painting between Wilkie's generation and the exponents of the late nineteenth-century such as Thomas Faed. Harvey's contemporary fame was built on his serious compositions, particularly his series of Covenanting subjects: *Covenanters Preaching* (1830); *Covenanters Baptism* (1831); *The Battle of Drumclog* (1836); and *Covenanters Communion* (1840). Harvey's picture, *The Covenanters' Preaching* (1830), shows a Covenanting minister, having refused to bow to the political edict banning him from preaching, conducting a service in the open air. (See figure 73.) The picture itself is a wholly credible reconstruction of such an event, and has come to symbolise the stoic resilience of those faithful to Scotland's national religion. Harvey was a mainstay of the Royal Scottish Academy in its early years, eventually becoming its President, and was one of the few nineteenth-century artists who abstained from the overblown rhetoric, which became the norm in the painting of subjects from Scottish history.

His inspiration was primarily literary; the RSA catalogue printed a lengthy quotation from Christopher North's *Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life* (1822) to accompany *The Baptism* on its exhibition in 1831. (See figure 72.) It was obviously a fertile subject; Scott's *Old Mortality* had provoked interest in the history of the Covenanters, and one of the most popular of Thompson of Duddingston's compositions was *The Martyrs' Tombs of Lochinkett, Galloway*. However, inspiration for these various Covenanting-themed paintings should also be viewed as the overt use of history to frame contemporary events, particularly against the backdrop of the period leading up to the Disruption in 1843. Compositions such as Harvey's series, William Allan's *The*

Figure 72.



Sir George Harvey, *A Boy and a Girl with a Collie Dog Standing by a Stream*; Study for *The Covenanters' Baptism*, 1831.

This study of *A Boy and a Girl* demonstrates Harvey's sympathetic view of the Covenanters. The finished picture, *The Covenanters' Baptism*, is one of the finest examples of paintings inspired by Scott's *Old Mortality*. Harvey's picture shows a Covenanted minister conducting a service in the countryside, and was part of a series of three paintings portraying the Covenanters. The picture itself, as with his depiction of *The Covenanters' Preaching*, is a plausible reconstruction of such an event.

Signing of the National Covenant at Greyfriars Kirkyard (1840), Alexander Johnston's *The Marriage of the Covenanter* (1842) and *The Death of John Brown of Priesthill* (1844) by Thomas Duncan have to take into account the turbulent atmosphere of the time. Duncan's painting was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1844, and received a scathing review from the critic of the *Art Union*, who concluded that the painting would do nothing to enhance his reputation as an artist.²³⁹

With *Quitting the Manse*, Harvey turned away from the religious troubles and disputes of the past, which were the subject of many of his other works, to those of his own day. *Quitting the Manse* is an imaginary scene, but one based upon many real incidents of a similar kind. It reveals the immediate repercussions of the Disruption upon the lives of ordinary people, and was exhibited at the Royal Scottish Academy in 1848 with the following inscription:

An incident in the disruption of the Scottish Church, in 1843, when nearly 500 Ministers, for conscience sake, and what they esteemed the cause of truth, gave up stipends, and manses, and social position – in a word, everything which men most tenaciously regard, and the abandonment of which may therefore safely be taken as the test of honesty and a good conscience.²⁴⁰

This is one of the few paintings that deal with this event in such a fashion as to diminish the political and controversial perspective, and promote the enduring human predicament. It was characteristic of Harvey to address this subject from an entirely emotional point of view, to emphasise the affection of the parishioners for their minister, the feelings of personal loss, and the integrity and steadfast disposition of the minister in uprooting his family from their home. As a painter, Harvey was well aware of the significance of atmosphere and expression, and his empathetic painting of *Quitting the Manse* hit the same chords of emotion which were to become the staple of Thomas Faed's subjects. *Quitting the Manse* depicts a minister and his family closing the door of their home for the final time as a direct result of the Disruption. The whole village has turned out to witness the scene, and thus the composition gives Harvey broad scope for portraying a comprehensive range of emotion. The manipulation of children within this composition by Harvey reinforces the poignant disparity between their innocence and the ability of adults to understand the present. There is also a sense of continuity between this painting and Harvey's treatment of Covenanting themes that suggests he perceived historical parallels between the two eras, and perhaps regarded the ministers who formed the Free Church as the spiritual

heirs of those Covenanters who opposed civil power in the interest of conscience.²⁴¹ This painting also relates in an emotional sense to Faed's painting of *The Last of the Clan*, which has been discussed in the chapter on the Highlands.

A companion painting, *The Sabbath in the Glen* (1858-9) can be described as corresponding to Harvey's earlier *Covenanters Communion*. This painting reflects Harvey's increasing interest in Scottish scenery; he has achieved a unity of composition in combining the figures within the landscape. The significance of both *The Sabbath* and *Quitting the Manse* is that they both deal with contemporary events; thus they belong to that category of history painting which perpetuates for the spectator the events which the artist himself has witnessed. These pictorial comments on contemporary society and Scottish religious life have evolved to become history paintings today, thus exemplifying that which Ruskin advocated in his *Edinburgh Lectures*; the only worthwhile history painting was that which recorded contemporary events.²⁴² Indeed, the problems faced by these artists in the composition of their paintings were directly related to the contemporaneous subject matter. Hill in particular faced the dilemma of being an actual witness to the event which he was depicting. He was trying to record an event which was by its very nature anti-hierarchical, as the Disruption focused on the democratic ideal that was the basis of the Kirk. Thus, Hill could not employ the conventional language of history painting, which was naturally concerned with rank and status. This again reinforces the comparison with Jacques-Louis David's *Oath*, as this painter too had the difficulty of reconciling ideology and composition when he embarked upon his record of another moment of democratic crisis.²⁴³

The overwhelming accomplishments of these paintings of religious themes are the elements of drama, theatricality and emotion. These are recurrent themes in this analysis of nineteenth-century notions of Scottish identity and culture, and are linked to the wider issue of the popular perception of the country. The Disruption itself was carried out in an air of solemn veneration and pageantry, albeit impromptu according to some of the chroniclers of the event. The tension and drama, which was inspired by this affair, served to emphasize the idea that Scottish character and heritage was a thing of value, and worth defending. The sensationalism of the images associated with the Disruption, such as the notable painting by Hill, created the impression that this was

Figure 73.



The Covenanters Preaching

Sir George Harvey, 1830.

Harvey's picture, *The Covenanters' Preaching*, is one of the finest examples of paintings inspired by Scott's *Old Mortality*. Harvey's picture shows a Covenanting minister conducting a service in the countryside, and was the first of three in a series portraying the Covenanters.

Scottish history in the making, and the actions of the out-going ministers were vindicated by past events.

Conclusion

Thomas Carlyle claimed that no 'Scotchman of his time was ever more entirely Scotch than Walter Scott; the good and the not so good, which all Scotchmen inherit, ran through every fibre of him'.²⁴⁴ This chapter has considered other manifestations of Scottish culture and heritage – paintings, sculpture, festivals and monumental representations, which were produced during the period – and which serve to illustrate an understanding of the Scottish identity at this time. The depiction of scenes from Scottish history and the construction of memorials to Scottish heroes; the effective creation of a national iconography is indicative of a desire to promote an image of Scotland and a confidence in the notion of Scottish identity.

This examination of the iconography of nineteenth-century Scotland has brought some interesting elements into focus. In the nineteenth century the articulation of the past was part of the iconographic language of artists. While statistically more portraits and landscapes were produced, they did not compare in impact on the public. The subjects from Scottish history were interpreted in the Romantic Scott tradition and instilled with a middle-class glaze. The explosion of antiquarian activity in the early nineteenth century had a profound effect not only on scholarly enterprises, but on theatrical design, interior decoration and painters. Antiquarian-artists were influential in their interpretation of history and heroes, and the recreation of medieval tournaments such as the Eglinton Tournament also affected the artistic imagination. This Romantic interpretation of the historic culture of the nation promoted a particular vision of Scotland. In much the same way that the landscape painters of nineteenth-century Scotland depicted a melodramatic and wild perspective of the Highlands, creating the impression that the whole of Scotland was mountainous and untamed, the painters of history constructed a dramatic rendition of the past, infused with heroes and glorious events.

In a similar vein, the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights trained their rhetoric on the concept of ancient Scotland, and on upholding the emblems and symbolic images of the nation. It was an organisation that led the Scottish public towards a commonplace awareness and perception of their national identity in the mid-nineteenth century. Its members were adamant in their support for Union, they demanded recognition for Scotland under the original articles and terms of the 1707 treaty, and were determined in their struggle to thwart the infringement of centralisation on the autonomy of Scottish civil society. But perhaps the most important aspect of this movement was that it promoted a popular approach to an understanding of the concept of the Scottish national identity, and that it was instrumental in mustering public opinion by employing imagery and iconography to attain its own ends. The NAVSR proposed one approach to defining perceptions of Scottish identity within this period, and for that reason, the significance of the movement, its character and its means of expressing Scottish identity cannot be discounted.

The construction of monuments to national heroes and the creation of a national iconography are indicative of an unquestionable confidence in the notion of Scottish national identity. Similarly they show an awareness of historical identity and culture. This national iconography is the mirror for contemporary aspirations and sanctions the demonstration of a collective sense of feeling. It is also important to consider the monuments in their setting. There is a danger of merely regarding them as isolated memorials, but the environment and backdrop to the constructions are important too. The use of public spaces for the building of these monuments is important - it reflects the aspirations of the local citizens, and their eagerness to publicly declare their cultural and national identity. As Macmillan has stated, Edinburgh seems like a city dominated by cultural heroes.²⁴⁵ The predominance of these monuments indicates the importance of iconography in the nineteenth century, and also expresses contemporaneous attitudes. Glasgow's George Square was also the stage setting for a magnificent collection of statues to pre-eminent individuals. Moreover there is the link between the statues and classical antiquity, and the description of George Square as the Pantheon of Glasgow emphasises this point. The commemorative statues of great Scottish heroes are placed firmly in a long established tradition, and as a consequence Scottish heritage was given equal status with the venerable and distinguished history of ancient Greece and Rome. In this way, monuments and statues to great men can be

seen as an accoutrement of civic pride, and a way in which the citizens could express their collective sense of national and civic pride. They acted as a stage for the display of wealth - both in terms of heritage, and in a monetary sense.

This becomes apparent not only with the construction of such monuments, but in the monetary support which was forthcoming for these endeavours. Additionally, the substantial numbers of people who attended the opening ceremonies and visited the monuments is testament to the appeal of national heroes and the celebration of Scottish nationality. With regard to the appropriation of consequential figures as national icons, the significance of these symbols of a national past in relation to identity is apparent. Individuals are reliant on their environment and past history to ascertain identity, and the conception of a self-conscious identity inevitably entails a degree of organisation. The institution of a communal, a truly national, identity therefore is based on the presumption that there is a shared experience, and a common objective. This examination of the national iconography of nineteenth-century Scotland raises some interesting features. National iconography is the embodiment of contemporary aspirations and sanctions the demonstration of a consolidated sense of feeling. Anthony Smith comments that such movements to commemorate the heroes of the past are recurrent, continually re-emerging in times of crisis in industrial societies.²⁴⁶

The members of the Scottish elite were gradually developing the promotion of a distinctive national character, as were their counterparts in Ireland and Wales. This response, as in other parts of Europe, was touched by the Romantic cult of the ethnic and historical disposition, and involved a combination of earnest intellectual enquiry and immoderate fabrication. While Welsh antiquarians imagined an elaborate Druidic past, and the Irish intellectuals offered pre-Christian Ireland as an outpost of Phoenician culture, the Scots raised the reputation of their national heroes, and transformed the previously despised Highlanders into the symbol of all that was exceptional within their nation. Irish and Scottish history alike have been obscured in whisky, mist and misery – and, claims Connolly, a fourth element of cultural decline.²⁴⁷ There is an immediate parallel between Scotland, Ireland, and indeed, Wales – they were all viewed with suspicion and distaste in the late eighteenth century for they all had their own distinct language and civilisation.

The figure of Wallace is symbolic of the glories of Scottish history, but these monuments should not be taken out of context. While Scots were anxious to secure their position within the Union and the Empire, at the same time they were also concerned with the maintenance of their separate national and historical identity. This is clearly in evidence, not only in the construction of memorials to great Scots, but also in the grandiose celebrations which accompanied the monuments. The organisers and the public involved in these events clearly wanted to make a distinct statement about their national identity. Being Scottish was not an issue they evaded, and, conscious of the cultural significance of such events, they believed that their interpretation of the Scottish identity was something that should be honoured and celebrated.

¹ R Strong, *And when did you last see your father? The Victorian Painter and British History* (London, 1978), p.45.

² AD Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, (London, 1998), p. 179.

³ D Macmillan, 'Here Stand our Cultural Heroes', in J M Fladmark (ed.) *Cultural Tourism*, (London, 1994) pp. 75-76.

⁴ D Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland; the Golden Age*, (Oxford, 1986), pp. 180-185.

⁵ R Samuel & P Thompson, 'Introduction', in Samuel & Thompson (eds), *The Myths We Live By*, (London, 1990), pp. 3- 4.

⁶ M Ash, *The Strange Death of Scottish History*, (Edinburgh, 1980) p.144.

⁷ K.J Haldane, *Imagining Scotland: Tourist Images of Scotland 1770 - 1914*, (Michigan, 1990), pp. 260- 261.

⁸ D Wilkie, 'On Historical Painting', in A Cunningham, *The Life of Sir David Wilkie*, (London, 1843), Volume 3, pp. 185 – 186.

⁹ W Hardie, *Scottish Painting*, (London, 1980), p. 18.

¹⁰ William Bell Scott, quoted L Errington, *Master Class: Robert Scott Lauder and his pupils*, (Edinburgh, 1983), p.22.

¹¹ 'Subjects for Painters', in *The Athenaeum*, February 1856, p.142.

¹² D Macmillan, *Scottish Art 1460 – 1990*, (Edinburgh, 1990), p.187.

¹³ J Eagles, 'Historical Painting', in *Blackwood's Magazine*, Volume 40, 1836, pp. 663 – 673.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 663 – 673.

¹⁵ AG Williams & A Brown, *The Bigger Picture; The Story of Scottish Art*, (London, 1993), p.92

¹⁶ Errington (ed), *Scotland's Pictures: The National Collection of Scottish Art*, (Edinburgh, 1990), p.41.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 40.

¹⁸ D & F Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad*, (London, 1975), p.209.

- ¹⁹ M Macdonald, *Scottish Art*, (London 2000), p.94.
- ²⁰ Irwin, *Scottish Painters*, p.209. See also JG Lockhart, *Peter's Letters To His Kinsfolk*, Volume II, Letter XLIX, (London, 1977), pp. 117 – 120. Allan had a close friendship with Walter Scott, and he also provided illustrations for an edition of Scott's novels published in 1820.
- ²¹ JG Lockhart, *Peter's Letters II*, pp. 117 –120.
- ²² Ibid, Letter XLIX, p. 120.
- ²³ Ibid. For Walter Scott's enthusiastic reaction to the sketch of this painting see JG Lockhart, *Memoir of Sir Walter Scott*, (London, 1836), Vol.III, p.270.
- ²⁴ Irwin, *Scottish Painters*, p.211.
- ²⁵ *Scots Magazine*, XCII, 1823, p.348.
- ²⁶ Strong, *The Victorian Painter and British History*, Appendix, pp. 162 – 163.
- ²⁷ Ibid, p. 130.
- ²⁸ Williams & Brown, *The Bigger Picture*, pp. 93 - 94
- ²⁹ 'William Allan', in the *Art Journal*, 1949.
- ³⁰ Strong, *The Victorian Painter and British History*, pp. 128 – 129.
- ³¹ I Gow, *The Scottish Interior: Georgian and Victorian Décor*, (Edinburgh, 1992), p. 44.
- ³² Ibid, p.44. Notably, James Ballantine's Romantic-nationalist pedigree is further cultivated by his involvement in the NAVSR.
- ³³ Ibid, pp. 80 – 81.
- ³⁴ Strong, *The Victorian Painter and British History*, p.128.
- ³⁵ The interest in Mary's life among historians began in the second decade of the eighteenth century with the controversy over the authenticity of the Casket Letters. In 1760 Dr Johnson published a vindication of the Stuarts, and notably, five years after this, Gavin Hamilton was commissioned by James Boswell to paint *Mary Queen of Scots resigning her Crown*. This was painted in Italy, but eventually exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1776. Like many other artists of his generation, Hamilton was an artist-antiquarian, and the portrait of Mary was carefully composed from a miniature reputed to represent her. The formula for the composition of the painting was derived from the iconography of Christ before Pilate. Johnson provided the inscription for the painting: 'Mary Queen of Scots, harassed, terrified and overpowered by insults, menaces, and clamours of her rebellious subjects, sets her hand, with tears and confusion, to a resignation of the kingdom'. See R Strong, *And when did you last see your father? The Victorian Painter and British History*, (London, 1978), p.131.
- ³⁶ Wilkie records the exhibition of this painting at the Royal Academy in a letter to William Collins, in A Cunningham, *The Life of Sir David Wilkie*, (London, 1843), Volume 3, pp. 219 – 222.
- ³⁷ Strong, *The Victorian Painter and British History*, p.134.
- ³⁸ Lockhart, *Peter's Letters II*, Letter L, p. 121.
- ³⁹ Macdonald, *Scottish Art*, pp. 96-97.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid, pp. 96-97.
- ⁴¹ R Brydall, *Art in Scotland: Its Origins and Progress*, (Edinburgh, 1889), p.275
- ⁴² W Hardie, *Scottish Painting*, (London, 1980), p.35.
- ⁴³ *Blessing the Scottish Army before the Battle of Bannockburn*; Review of the 1844 RSA Exhibition in Edinburgh, in the *Art Union*, 1844.
- ⁴⁴ Review of the RSA Exhibition, February, 1867, in the *Art Journal*, 1867.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid.
- ⁴⁶ Review of the RSA Exhibition, February 1874 in the *Art Journal*, 1874.
- ⁴⁷ Ibid.
- ⁴⁸ Hardie, *Scottish Painting*, p.37.
- ⁴⁹ McKay, *The Scottish School of Painting*, p. 220.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid, pp. 204 – 205.
- ⁵¹ L Errington, *Master Class: Robert Scott Lauder and his pupils*, (Edinburgh, 1983), p. 92.
- ⁵² This painting is discussed in further detail in the preceding chapter on the Highlands.
- ⁵³ D Newsome, *The Victorian World Picture*, (London, 2000), p. 178.
- ⁵⁴ Ibid, pp. 179 – 180.
- ⁵⁵ Alison, *Life and Writings*, Vol.1, p.448.
- ⁵⁶ M Girouard, *Return to Camelot*, (Yale, 1981), p.90.

- ⁵⁷ Ibid,
- ⁵⁸ I Anstruther, *The Knight and the Umbrella*, (London, 1963), p.5.
- ⁵⁹ P Buchan, *The Eglinton Tournament and Gentleman Unmasked*, (London, 1840), p.57.
- ⁶⁰ Trollope famously satirised the re-enactment of Medieval tournaments and games in the party given by the Ullathornes in *Barchester Towers*. A Trollope, *Barchester Towers*, (London, 1857).
- ⁶¹ Buchan, *The Eglinton Tournament and Gentleman Unmasked*, pp. 62 – 63.
- ⁶² Ibid.
- ⁶³ J Aikman, *An Account of the Tournament at Eglinton*, (Edinburgh, 1839), p. 11.
- ⁶⁴ Ibid, p.5.
- ⁶⁵ H Kenelm Digby, *The Broad Stone of Honour: Or Rules for the Gentlemen of England*, was published in a revised and extended 5 volume edition in 1877.
- ⁶⁶ F MacCarthy, *William Morris: A Life for our Time*, (London, 1994), p.59; G Burne-Jones, *Memorials*, Vol.II., p.56.
- ⁶⁷ Aikman, *An Account of the Tournament at Eglinton*, p.4.
- ⁶⁸ *The Eglinton Tournament, Friday August 30, 1839*, (London, 1840), no pagination.
- ⁶⁹ Buchan, *The Eglinton Tournament and Gentleman Unmasked*, p. 59.
- ⁷⁰ E Corbould, *The Lord of the Tournament with his Esquires and Retainers*, in *The Eglinton Tournament, Friday August 30, 1839*, (London, 1840).
- ⁷¹ Buchan, *The Eglinton Tournament and Gentleman Unmasked*, p. 45.
- ⁷² Ibid, p. 63.
- ⁷³ J Aikman, *An Account of the Tournament at Eglinton*, (Edinburgh, 1839), p.7.
- ⁷⁴ See various illustrations accompanying Aikman, *An Account of the Tournament at Eglinton*.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid, pp. 16-17.
- ⁷⁶ See Chapter 2.
- ⁷⁷ *Ayr Observer*, 6 August 1844.
- ⁷⁸ *Festival in honour of the memory of our National Poet*, pp. 17 -18
- ⁷⁹ For further information on the Young England movement, see Richard Faber, *Young England*, (London, 1987). See also Disraeli's 'Young England' trilogy – *Coningsby* (1844), *Sybil* (1845), and *Tancred* (1847).
- ⁸⁰ GP Landow, 'Sublimity, Urbanization, and Technology', *The Victorian Web, Literature, History and Culture in the Age of Victoria*,
<http://landow.stg.brown.edu/victorian/sublime/urbanization.html>
- ⁸¹ See Morton, *Unionist Nationalism*, pp.133 – 154, and 'Scottish rights and "centralisation" in the mid-nineteenth century', *Nations and Nationalism*, 2, 1996, pp. 257 - 279.
- ⁸² See <http://www.navsr.org> and <http://simplyscottish.safeshopper.com/5/cat5.htm?225>
- ⁸³ HJ Hanham, *Scottish Nationalism*, (London, 1969), pp. 76 - 77.
- ⁸⁴ This point is emphasised by Graeme Morton in his chapter on the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights, in *Unionist Nationalism*, pp.133 - 154.
- ⁸⁵ N. Morgan & R. Trainor, 'The Dominant Classes', in Fraser & Morris, (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland, Vol. II., 1830 - 1914*, (1990), pp.103 - 137.
- ⁸⁶ Girouard, *The Return to Camelot*, p. 30 –38.
- ⁸⁷ Ibid, pp.30- 32.
- ⁸⁸ Ibid.
- ⁸⁹ See Appendix 3.
- ⁹⁰ *Justice to Scotland: Address to the People of Scotland and Statement of Grievances*, by the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights, (1853)
- ⁹¹ Morgan & Trainor, 'The Dominant Classes', pp. 103 - 1137.
- ⁹² The Glasgow Law Amendment Society aimed to reform the Scottish legal system by integrating it more thoroughly with its English counterpart. Many of the business and professional men of the west of Scotland were more attracted to this movement than to the nationalistic rhetoric of the NAVSR. The context for this organisation is important - the economic and social circumstances of the West of Scotland were argument enough for a pro-assimilation stance. As far as businesses were concerned, a move towards the integration of, and conformity between the legal systems could only be for the benefit of commerce and industry. Many of the members had previously been involved in the Anti-Corn Law League, a

factor which underscored their commitment to changes which would accelerate and enhance commercial productivity and economic efficiency.

The Society was instituted in 1851, and a report of the preliminary meeting gives an intimation of the aims and objectives of the group. They intended to co-operate with London Society of the same name, in order to promote amendments to the law. The London counterpart had been brought into existence some eight years before, and its purpose was 'to associate together persons of various classes, interests, and professions, who will combine in collecting information as to existing defects, and in accumulating facts and suggestions, as guides to future ameliorations'. See The Glasgow Law Amendment Society, *The Report of the Committee*, (Glasgow, 1851), pp. 1 - 3. The London branch consisted of a mere three hundred members, yet they were not ineffective at fulfilling their objectives, and were instrumental in facilitating some legislative additions and modification of laws. The Glasgow chapter of this organisation was clear in its intentions, and was not afraid to admit that many of their members would directly benefit from changes to the legal system.

⁹³ *The Bailie*, 14 January 1874.

⁹⁴ The M'Lellan Gallery, *Catalogue of Pictures Bequeathed to the People of Glasgow by the Late Archibald M'Lellan*, (Glasgow, 1855). See also I Sweeney, *The Municipal Administration of Glasgow 1833 - 1912: Public Service and the Scottish Civic Identity*, (Ph.D. thesis, University of Strathclyde, 1990), pp. 269-270.

⁹⁵ *Catalogue of the Books, Illustrated Works and Music in the Library of Archibald M'Lellan, Esquire*, (Glasgow, 1839)

⁹⁶ See A McLellan, *Essay on the Cathedral of Glasgow and Plan for its Repair and Restoration*, (Glasgow 1833), and J MacAuley, 'The Demolition of the Western Towers of Glasgow Cathedral', in D Mays (ed), *The Architecture of Scottish Cities*, (East Linton, 1997)

⁹⁷ *The Art Journal*, July 1851; *Ibid*, September 1856.

⁹⁸ Although it should be noted that while Aytoun may not have been appointed to the position of Advocate-Depute, he was rewarded for his services to the party. His biographer notes that in 1852 he was able to claim well deserved recognition of his services, and was assigned the post of Sheriff of Orkney and Zetland by Lord Derby. T. Martin, *Memoir of William Edmonstoune Aytoun*, (1867), pp. 124 - 137.

⁹⁹ Hutchison, *A Political History*, pp. 59 - 102.

¹⁰⁰ Hanham summarises the participation in the NAVSR as being supported by both Dr. James Begg, of the Free Church, and the Radical Duncan McLaren (the Lord Provost of Edinburgh) on one wing and by Tory Romantics on the other. The politicians continued to reserve judgement and remained aloof, with one or two exceptions like Charles Cowan, but the town councils and the Convention of Royal Burghs endorsed it, as did a number of men who felt they had a grievance against the way the existing system worked. Hanham correspondingly makes note that most of the old-fashioned Tories were adherents, once *Blackwood's Magazine* had given them the lead. Hanham, *Scottish Nationalism*, pp. 76 - 77.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, pp.77 - 78.

¹⁰² McCaffrey, *Scotland in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 55 - 82

¹⁰³ IGC Hutchison, *A Political History of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1986), pp. 9 - 102.

¹⁰⁴ *Proceedings at the Great National Festival*, pp. 4 -6.

¹⁰⁵ *Pilgrimage to the Shrine of Burns*, 1846, pp. 5- 6.

¹⁰⁶ P Harris (ed.), *The Story of Scotland's Flag*, (1992), pp. 16 - 17.

¹⁰⁷ One of the consequences of the Act of Union was that the two countries ceased to have separate national flags, and the first Article of the Treaty of Union dealt with this matter. In 1801 when the so called cross of St Patrick - actually the red saltire of the Fitzgerald arms - was added, there was a general feeling of discontent in both England and Scotland at the new appearance of the national flag. The English were given to protest that the white field of the St. George's cross was obscured by the St. Andrew's blue, while the Scots were much energised by the fact that the St George's cross was left entire and not only obscured the cross of St. Andrew, but also cut it into pieces. Harris, *The Story of Scotland's Flag*, pp. 29 - 31.

¹⁰⁸ Report of the meeting taken from the *Glasgow Citizen*, (n.d.), offcut in the NLS, SRA, Vol.I.

¹⁰⁹ Hanham, *Scottish Nationalism*, pp. 76 - 77.

¹¹⁰ PE Dove, *To the Editor of The Times*, dated 29 January 1853 (printed on 1 February 1853), offcut in the SRA, Vol.I.

¹¹¹ *The Northern Whig*, 'The Rose, The Thistle, and The Shamrock in Danger of being Disunited', (n.d.) offcut in the SRA. Vol.I.

The five men referred to in this article are John Grant - the accountant; James Grant - the architect; William Stewart Watson - the historical painter; James MacNab - the writer; and Patrick Edward Dove, 'Esquire'. Watson was an Edinburgh based artist who specialised in genre and historical subjects – his 1835 painting of *The Wounded Jacobite* is illustrated in Chapter Two.

¹¹² One of the petitions was then forwarded to the Earl of Eglinton who consented to pass it on to the Queen. It had been signed by the various Magistrates and inhabitants of Perth, Linlithgow, Leith, Portobello, Musselburgh, Ayr and Inverness. Copies of the petition were available for signature at several booksellers in Edinburgh, including Johnstone and Hunter's, Princes Street; Oliphant and Sons, South Bridge; and Sutherland and Knox's, George Street.

¹¹³ *Punch*, 'Our Imperial Arms', (1853), offcut in the SRA., Vol.I.

¹¹⁴ John Grant, in the *Caledonian Mercury*, (n.d.), offcut in the SRA., Vol.I.

¹¹⁵ Dove, 'The Scottish Heraldic Grievance'; to the Editor of the *Witness*, 1 February 1853.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ 'The British Lion', *Out-Heralding Heraldry*, January 1853, offcut in the SRA. Vol.I.(62)

¹¹⁸ 'The Scotch Peerage in Peril', taken from *The Spectator*, (n.d.), in SRA, Vol.I. (107)

¹¹⁹ James Grant, Hoaxing *The Times*, (n.d, n.p.), offcut in the SRA., Vol. I.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ Hanham, *Scottish Nationalism*, pp. 77 – 78.

¹²² James & John Grant, *Statement of Certain Scottish Grievances*, (Edinburgh, 1853), pp. 10 - 11.

¹²³ Letter from Henry Fitzroy, on behalf of Lord Palmerston, 27th October 1853. Reprinted in *A Tract for The Times*, 'Scottish Rights and Honour Vindicated, in Letters Addressed to Viscount Palmerston, *The Times*, and *Caledonian Mercury*, by A North Briton', (1854), p.3.

¹²⁴ A North Briton's reply to Lord Palmerston. Reprinted in *A Tract for The Times*, 'Scottish Rights and Honour Vindicated, in Letters Addressed to Viscount Palmerston, *The Times*', and *Caledonian Mercury*', by A North Briton', (1854), pp.3 - 7.

¹²⁵ 'Scottish Grievances Analysed', from *The Commonwealth of Saturday*, December 10, 1853.

¹²⁶ W Burns, *Political Bias of the Association Explained*, Tract #5 of the SRA, (1854), p.4.

¹²⁷ Cockburn, 6th November 1853, *Journal of Henry Cockburn, 1831 - 1854*, Vol. II.

¹²⁸ Dove, *Address To The People of Scotland and Statement of Grievances*, p.1.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 2-3.

¹³⁰ Dove, *Address To The People of Scotland*, p.3

¹³¹ G Mazzini, 'Europe: Its Condition and Prospects' (1852), in William Clark (ed), *Essays: Selected from the Writings, Literary, Political and Religious of Joseph Mazzini*, (London, 1880), p. 266

¹³² WL Langer, *Political and Social Upheaval, 1832 - 1852*, (London, 1969), pp. 238 - 282.

¹³³ Sir Henry Montcrieff, *Scottish Rights and Scottish grievances; Reasons for Declining to Join the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights*, (1854), p. 7.

¹³⁴ *Ibid*, p.8.

¹³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 22.

¹³⁶ *Description of The National Banquet to Lord Eglinton*, (Edinburgh, 1854), offcut in SRA, Vol. II.

¹³⁷ The *Ayr Observer* described the Festival pavilion as a magnificent building; it measured no less than 120 feet by 110, forming an almost perfect square, with three roofs; 'the centre one - with two ventilators - rises proportionally higher than the others; and, surmounted with numerous flags waving in the wind, presents a picturesque and imposing object'. The praise for this structure continued at length, with full description of the interior of the Pavilion which gives an indication of the sheer scale of the Festival, and indeed the pomp and ceremony which were considered to be an essential part and parcel of the festivities. The theatrical and grandiose setting for the banquet reflects the contemporary perception of the significance of the event. They believed that the occasion was worthy of note, as it celebrated the memory of Burns, and the symbols of Scottish identity. For further information, see *Ayr Observer*, 6 August 1844.

- ¹³⁸ Hanham, *Scottish Nationalism*, pp. 76 - 77.
- ¹³⁹ M Ash, 'William Wallace and Robert the Bruce, the life and death of a national myth', in R Samuel & P Thompson (eds.), *The Myths We Live By*, (London, 1990), p.84.
- ¹⁴⁰ A Carnegie, *Autobiography*, (1920) quoted in *ibid*, p.84.
- ¹⁴¹ G Morton, *William Wallace, Man and Myth*, (Stroud, 2001), p.5.
- ¹⁴² Braveheart sword, lot 199, sold at Christies, Film and Entertainment Sale, South Kensington, 12 December 2001 for £9987.
- ¹⁴³ H Miller, *My Schools and Schoolmasters* (first published 1858, Edinburgh 1993). See also Ash, 'William Wallace', pp. 89-90.
- ¹⁴⁴ Ash, 'William Wallace', pp. 89-90.
- ¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 90.
- ¹⁴⁶ A Keith, *Several Incidents in the Life of Sir William Wallace, with an Account of Lanark, the Theatre of His Exploits: and a Description of the Romantic Scenery in the Neighbourhood*. (Lanark, 1844), p.20
- ¹⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p.22.
- ¹⁴⁸ Morton, *Unionist-Nationalism*, p.175.
- ¹⁴⁹ C Macdougall, 'Rabbiestising Reality', in K Simpson (ed), *Love and Liberty: Robert Burns, a Bicentenary Guide*, (East Linton, 1997), p.35.
- ¹⁵⁰ R Finlay, 'Heroes, Myths and Anniversaries in Modern Scotland', *Scottish Affairs*, Volume 18, 1997, p.116.
- ¹⁵¹ JM Mackenzie, 'David Livingstone: the construction of the myth', in G Walker & T Gallagher (eds), *Sermons and Battle-Hymns: Protestant Popular Culture in Modern Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1990), chapter 3.
- ¹⁵² L Errington (ed), *Scotland's Pictures: The National Collection of Scottish Art*, (Edinburgh, 1990), p.50.
- ¹⁵³ Williams & Brown, *The Bigger Picture*, p. 106.
- ¹⁵⁴ Irwin, *Scottish Painters*, p. 269.
- ¹⁵⁵ *Sir William Wallace, the Defender of Scotland*; Review of the 1844 Exhibition of the Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh, in the *Art Union*, 1844.
- ¹⁵⁶ Macdonald, *Scottish Art*, pp. 95 - 96.
- ¹⁵⁷ *Bibliotheca Wallasiana*, (Glasgow, 1858).
- ¹⁵⁸ *History of Lanark and Guide to the Scenery*, (1835, 3rd edition), pp. 7-9.
- ¹⁵⁹ Mackenzie, 'David Livingstone: the construction of the myth', chapter 3.
- ¹⁶⁰ *History of Lanark and Guide to the Scenery*, pp. 7-9.
- ¹⁶¹ A Spence, *Discovering the Borders*, (Edinburgh 1993), p. 151.
- ¹⁶² F Pearson, 'Sir John Steel and the Idea of a Native School of Sculpture', in Pearson (ed), *Virtue and Vision*, p.73.
- ¹⁶³ Gorrie, in a speech to the banquet in the Queen Street Halls, Edinburgh, reproduced in J Ballantine, *Chronicle of the Hundredth Birthday of Robert Burns*, (Edinburgh, 1859), pp. 29 - 30.
- ¹⁶⁴ *Ibid*, pp.29 - 30.
- ¹⁶⁵ D Moody, *Scottish Towns*, (London, 1992), p.105.
- ¹⁶⁶ Thomas Somerville, *George Square, Glasgow, and the Lives of Those Men Whom its Statues Commemorate*, (Glasgow, 1891), Introduction.
- ¹⁶⁷ Rogers, *Monuments*, Vol. II. p. 367.
- ¹⁶⁸ *The Short History of the National Wallace Monument* (second edition, 1889), p. 5.
- ¹⁶⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 5 - 6.
- ¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*, Vol. II. p.35.
- ¹⁷¹ Wallace Monument Committee, *Proposed National Monument to Sir William Wallace*, (n.p., 1856) pp. 3-4.
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- ¹⁷³ *The Bailie* noted in its biographical sketch of William Burns that the debate surrounding the Wallace monument inspired Burns to write a history of the Scottish Wars of Independence, 'which might remove from that great struggle the misapprehensions with which the it was surrounded by English writers and by Scottish authors writing under English influences'. *The Bailie*, 14 January 1874.
- ¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p.5.

- ¹⁷⁵ Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland*, pp. 115- 116.
- ¹⁷⁶ Wallace Monument Committee, *Proposed National Monument*, p.1.
- ¹⁷⁷ Ibid, pp. 1 –2
- ¹⁷⁸ Ibid, p.2
- ¹⁷⁹ John Steill, P F Tytler Esq., quoted in G Morton, 'The Most Efficacious Patriot: The Heritage of Sir William Wallace in Nineteenth Century Scotland', in *SHR*, Vol. LXXVII, (October 1998), pp. 243 - 244.
- ¹⁸⁰ See Morton's discussion of this issue, 'The Most Efficacious Patriot', pp. 243 - 244.
- ¹⁸¹ *Ayr Advertiser*, 25 July 1844.
- ¹⁸² Wallace Monument Committee, pamphlet, 1856, p.2
- ¹⁸³ *The Scotsman*, 25 June 1856.
- ¹⁸⁴ Charles Rogers suggests that 80,000 were present for the ceremony to witness the laying of the Foundation stone in 1861. Rogers, *Monuments*, Vol. II., pp. 34-35.
- ¹⁸⁵ T Stewart, *Some Masonic Processions: a Critical Re-examination*, (unpublished paper, Grand Lodge of Freemasons, Edinburgh), pp. 69 – 70.
- ¹⁸⁶ Ibid, p.79.
- ¹⁸⁷ *The Short History of the National Wallace Monument*, p.7.
- ¹⁸⁸ C Rogers, *Programme of the Procession to take place on the occasion of the National Wallace Meeting at Stirling, on Tuesday 24th June 1856*. (n.p. 1856).
- ¹⁸⁹ *An Address to Subscribers and to their Countrymen at Home and in the Colonies*, (Glasgow, 1860).
- ¹⁹⁰ *Illustrated London News Supplement*, 6 July 1861.
- ¹⁹¹ Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland*, pp. 115 - 116. The Ballarat statue was commissioned by the Australian Caledonian Society, and sculpted by Percival Ball of Melbourne. Wallace was represented standing upon the Abbey Craig looking down to Stirling Bridge. The money for the statue was provided from the balance of the bequest by a Scot, James Russell Thomson.
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- ¹⁹³ C McKean, 'The Scottishness of Scottish Architecture', in PH Scott, *Scotland: A Concise Cultural History*, (Edinburgh, 1993), p. 244.
- ¹⁹⁴ 'The Wallace Monument', *Shearer's Illustrated Guide to Stirling*, (1886), p.70.
- ¹⁹⁵ As already noted, Charles Rogers estimated the full number of visitors to be in the region of 80,000. The true figure was probably somewhere in the middle.
- ¹⁹⁶ *The Stirling Observer*, 27 June 1861.
- ¹⁹⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁹⁹ *The Inauguration of the Wallace Monument*, (n.p, 1861), offcut in Stirling Scrapbook, SCL.
- ²⁰⁰ See CG Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland Since 1707*, (1997), pp.177 - 180.
- ²⁰¹ C Cumming, 'Scottish National Identity in an Australian Colony', in *SHR*, Vol. LXXII, (1993), pp. 22 - 38.
- ²⁰² W Scott, *Heart of Midlothian*, Ch.XXVIII.
- ²⁰³ S & O Checkland, *Industry and Ethos: Scotland 1832 - 1914*, (1984), Chapter 7.
- ²⁰⁴ R A Mason, 'Usable Pasts: History and Identity in Reformation Scotland', in *SHR*, Vol. LXXVI (1997), pp. 54 - 68.
- ²⁰⁵ Cumming, 'Scottish National Identity', pp. 22 - 38.
- ²⁰⁶ Ibid, pp. 22 - 38.
- ²⁰⁷ *Glasgow Argus*, August 14 1843, quoted in Cumming, 'Scottish National Identity', pp. 22 - 38.
- ²⁰⁸ Ibid, p. 22 – 38.
- ²⁰⁹ L Errington, *The Artist and the Kirk*, (Edinburgh, 1979), p.6.
- ²¹⁰ Macdonald, *Scottish Art*, p.96.
- ²¹¹ Brown, *Religion and Society*, p.184.
- ²¹² Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland*, pp. 180-185.
- ²¹³ Ibid, pp. 180-185.
- ²¹⁴ CG Brown, 'Religion, Class and Church Growth', in *People and Society in Scotland 1830 – 1914*, p. 319.

- ²¹⁵ For further information, see S J Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth*, (Oxford 1992).
- ²¹⁶ T Brown, *The Annals of the Disruption*, (Edinburgh 1893), pp. 20 – 25.
- ²¹⁷ HR Sefton, 'The Church of Scotland and Scottish Nationhood', in S. Mews (ed.), *Religion and National Identity*, (1982).
- ²¹⁸ Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland*, pp. 184 –186.
- ²¹⁹ M Fry, 'The Disruption and the Union', in S. J. Brown & M. Fry (eds.), *Scotland in the Age of the Disruption*, (1993), pp.31 - 43.
- ²²⁰ Cunningham, *The Life of Sir David Wilkie*, Vol.2., p.90.
- ²²¹ Macmillan, *Scottish Art 1460 – 1990*, pp. 186 –187.
- ²²² Macdonald, *Scottish Art*, p.87.
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- ²²⁴ *The Preaching of John Knox before the Lords of the Congregation, 10 June 1559*; Review of the Exhibition of the Works of the Late Sir David Wilkie, R.A. in the British Institution, *Art Union*, 1842.
- ²²⁵ Irwin, *Scottish Painters*, p.178.
- ²²⁶ *The Edinburgh Review*, July 1812.
- ²²⁷ *John Knox Administering the Sacrament at Calder House*; Review of the 1843 Exhibition of the Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh, in the *Art Union*, 1843.
- ²²⁸ Macmillan, *Scottish Art*, pp. 188 –189.
- ²²⁹ Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland*, pp. 180-185.
- ²³⁰ *The Cotter's Saturday Night*; Review of the Exhibition of the Works of the Late Sir David Wilkie, R.A. in the British Institution, *Art Union*, 1842.
- ²³¹ SJ Brown, 'The Ten Years' Conflict and the Disruption of 1843', in Brown & Fry *Scotland in the Age of Disruption*, pp. 1 - 27.
- ²³² From the *Courier*, Dundee, Feb. 11 1843, offcut in Hetherington, *Authoritative Exposition*. For full version of this poem, see Appendix 4.
- ²³³ 'The Beehive - A Different Account of the Same Story', in the *Scottish Guardian*, March 4 1843, offcut in Hetherington, *Authoritative Exposition*. For the full versions of both these poems, see Appendices.
- ²³⁴ Hanham 'Mid -Century Scottish Nationalism', pp.148-149,
- ²³⁵ R Buchanan, *The Ten Years' Conflict*, (Edinburgh, 1849), pp. 588 – 589.
- ²³⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 598 – 599.
- ²³⁷ Brown, *The Annals of the Disruption*, p. 92.
- ²³⁸ Irwin, *Scottish Painters*, p.287-288.
- ²³⁹ The critic noted that the subject of the painting was from Patrick Walke's *Life of Peden*;
A distant and obscure source, considering the admirable passages with which our popular literature abounds. The picture is literally rendered from the quoted passages – "she set the basin on the ground and straightened his body and covered him with her plaid, and sat down and wept over him". The dead body is foreshortened in a manner intended for effect, but the effect is a disagreeable one. Immediately behind the principle figures is a cottage, the perspective of which is not accurate. The picture will not enhance Mr Duncan's reputation.
Art Union, 1844. Review of the Royal Academy Annual Exhibition.
- ²⁴⁰ Errington, *The Artist and the Kirk*, p.14.
- ²⁴¹ *Ibid*, p.14.
- ²⁴² J Ruskin, *Edinburgh Lectures*, in Irwin, *Scottish Painters*, p.299.
- ²⁴³ Macmillan, *Scottish Art*, p. 194,
- ²⁴⁴ T Carlyle, writing in the *London and Westminster Review*, 1838, see also *O! Caledonia: Sir Walter Scott and the Creation of Scotland*, exhibition in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery (May – October 1999).
- ²⁴⁵ Macmillan, 'Cultural Heroes', pp. 75-76.
- ²⁴⁶ AD Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, (London, 1998), p. 179.
- ²⁴⁷ SJ Connolly, 'Popular Culture: Patterns of Change and Adaptation', in Connolly, Morris & Houston (eds), *Conflict, Identity and Economic Development: Ireland and Scotland 1600 – 1939*, (Preston, 1995), p.103.

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Advertisement in *The Art Union*, October 1839.

This advertisement is indicative of the artistic trends in Scotland at this time, and is described as 'peculiarly interesting to the Scottish nation'. Among the pictures on display are engravings of *The Highland Drovers*, and *The Highland Whiskey Still* by Landseer, and George Harvey's *Catechism*, which was the third in his series depicting scenes of the Covenanters inspired by Walter Scott's *Old Mortality*. While it is possible to talk of a 'Scottish school' of painting at this time, the term refers to the range of subject-matter rather than a common stylistic trend.

Conclusion

This analysis of the nineteenth-century cultural vision of Scotland has brought to light some significant and recurrent themes. It has examined the representations and perceptions of Scotland within the context of art, cultural nationalism and heritage. The question of 'Scottishness' and Scottish identity at this time was obviously complex, and there was a real sense of trying to distinguish those specific characteristics that generated Scottish identity, and of trying to foster a sense of community within the increasingly industrialised nation. The Scots were not manufacturing a completely new identity; rather, they were embellishing and sentimentalising the Romantic image of Scotland. They did not promote the end to the partnership of the Union, but desired recognition of specific differences between Scotland and England, and the emphasis on Highland culture and the Romantic vision of the Scottish landscape fulfilled this. The danger, of course, is that there is only a fine line between character and caricature, and the tartanised version of Scotland soon fell prey to the excesses of the Music Halls.

While the initial idealisation of Scotland came from those not native to the country, the extravagant romanticisation was embellished by Scott and came to dominate perceptions of the country within and outwith its borders. This was initially an English-led, elite view of the landscape, which prevailed among the upper classes who were cognisant of Gilpin's and Burke's philosophy of the Picturesque and Sublime. The transformation in terms of taste and the elevation of the theories of the Picturesque and Sublime promoted the belief that Scotland, and the Highlands in particular, integrated elements which the trained eye might perceive as aesthetically pleasing. Essentially these early tourists considered themselves connoisseurs of the landscape; they were well versed in the theories of the Sublime and beautiful and able to impose their interpretation upon the Scottish landscape. Smout echoes this development of the connoisseur-tourist, noting that for something to be both *à la mode* and truly sublime it should also be very exclusive.¹ The exclusivity of the Highlands did not last long, and developments within transport and communications opened the door to greater numbers of tourists seeking a Picturesque experience. Similarly, the artistic perception of the Highlands (and to a lesser extent, the Borders) further established the Romantic stereotype in the mind of the public. While the popularity

of the Highlands can be seen as English led demand for consuming Romantic Scotland, the romanticised artists' image of Scotland was certainly devoured within Scotland.

David Wilkie was aware of the importance of a sympathetic home market for native artists, and urged the younger generation of painters to celebrate the Romantic aspects of Scottish history and the Scottish people in their paintings. He described the particular attributes of the Scottish people and history in Romantic terms of artistic appreciation. He claimed that:

As Scottish artists, the younger students should be aware that no art that is not intellectual can be worthy of Scotland. Bleak are her mountains, and homely as are her people, they have yet in their habits and occupations a characteristic acuteness and feeling.²

The artist was thus deemed unworthy of his audience if he did not appeal to the native interests and sympathies.

She has a history which has inspired even the genius of other nations, and has interested Europe by the perfection of female beauty in Mary Stuart, by the perfection of female kindness in Flora M'Donald. On her throne an inspired poet has sat, and an inspired poet has come from her plough; her fancy is seen in the effusions of Ossian, as her study in the learning of Buchanan. She has converted the mountain glen and green bank into a new Arcadia, resounding with poetry and music... it is she that, with story, tradition, habit, character, and passion wielded with all creative power of a splendid poetical fancy, has delighted and astonished the world in the gigantic labours of Sir Walter Scott.³

In Wilkie's opinion, the history, characteristics and customs of Scotland and the Scottish people combined to create a romantically idealised and archetype, one which should be celebrated by the artist and spectator alike. Wilkie commented that whatever the artist might try to accomplish, 'his efforts will be cheerless unless he is met by the sympathy of his own countrymen'.⁴ Indeed, during the nineteenth century artists and their patrons echoed the prevalent perception of Scotland. The popularity of Scottish landscape scenes within the Scottish art market repudiates any sense of false consciousness within this arena. It implies a value judgement; if the purchase of the painting is comparable to the purchase of the scenery illustrated, then by owning the landscape painting, the patron effectively owned not only the image of the landscape, but that particular fragment of Scottish culture and heritage.

The art of any period tends to serve the ideological interests of the ruling class, and the choice of subject matter in the nineteenth-century reflected the desires of a larger

proportion of society. Indeed, the fashion for Romanticism may have freed up the necessary motivations to buy modern works of art by encouraging modern habits of consumption, especially within the middle classes.⁵ Artists tended to paint what they knew would sell at exhibitions, and what they could sell was landscape painting, particularly where the landscape in question was Scottish, Highland, and Romantic. The advent of the Scottish Academy had ushered in various changes within Scottish art, and was indicative of the increase in opportunities for native artists make a career in Scotland. The annual presentations of public exhibitions of modern art at the RSA in Edinburgh and the West of Scotland Academy in Glasgow widened the scope of the art market and solicited the attention of middle-ranking consumers. As shown by the contemporary reviews of these exhibitions, the paintings displayed and sold were typically Scottish in conception and execution, thus indicating the popular perception of the country at this time.

One particular address is conspicuous in disseminating the elements of Scottish identity. In 1859 Professor Blackie proposed a toast to the memory of Sir Walter Scott. Here, he stated that there were six names that stood out in Scottish history, 'round which all true Scotsmen must gather as the proudest symbols of their nationality.'⁶ These emblems of Scottish nationhood were said to come from three areas of Scottish history: patriotism, Presbyterianism and poetry. Two were from the political world, Robert Bruce and William Wallace; two from the world of Christian heroism and religious devotion, Patrick Hamilton, the first Protestant martyr, and John Knox, the founder of the National Church; and the final two from the literary world, Robert Burns and Walter Scott. The toast to Scott underscores the concern in emphasising the notion of an independent Scottish character and nation. It also focuses upon personalities rather than institutions – stressing the significance of cultural icons, both practical and heroic, in nineteenth-century Scotland. Walter Scott was singled out for special consideration by virtue of his thoroughly national stance. He was, Blackie explained, an eminently Scottish writer, and one who had contributed to preserving and extending knowledge of the Scottish character and scenery.⁷

The previous discussion on Scott has shown that he was a pivotal figure in fashioning the image of Scotland in the nineteenth century. Scottish literature at this time tended to idealise all aspects of Scotland, including the Highlands, and this partiality to romanticisation grew stronger by the mid-nineteenth century, indeed, it had received permanent reinforcement from Scott's publication of *The Lady of the Lake* in 1810. In Theodor Fontane's recollection of his tour in Scotland, as in many of the contemporary

tourist guides, the impact of that work was still resounding after half a century. He admitted candidly 'We foreigners only know the Romantic side of Scotland'.⁸ Fontane came as a Romantic tourist and left with his visions confirmed and strengthened. He was not the first Romantic tourist by any means; indeed, it was the vanguard of tourists in search of the Picturesque who had created the vogue for Scotland, amplifying Scott's Romantic concept. The impact of Walter Scott established the image of Scotland, and in this sense Fontane is accurate when he inquires, 'what fame would Scotland have had, had it not been for ... Walter Scott?'⁹

Scott towers over nineteenth-century Scotland in profound ways. He was effective in formulating a distinctive picture of Scottish society, one that corresponded with the Romantic ideal, as the analysis in the first chapter has demonstrated. He created a fictitious, extravagant, and above all, a theatrical version of the Scottish past and contemporary culture, and encouraged the wholesale adoption of this vision of Scotland. Scott's construction of a theatrical identity in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars has, according to Craig, made him into a malign genius in whom Scotland's cultural problems are still traced, since the fundamental problem of Scottish culture is habitually viewed as the exchange of 'real' (Urban/ working class) identity for 'fake' (Highland/tartan).¹⁰ Thus Scott's orchestration of Scottish history through his novels becomes the crucial factor in the false consciousness of the nation. However, this thesis is concerned with projected images and perceptions of Scotland and the Scottish nation, those very stereotypes which are said to propagate the false consciousness of Scottish identity.

Krisztina Fenyö's analysis of the Highlands shows the contradictions of the popular images of the Highlands. While there was a distinct Romantic approach to the scenery and history of the region, at the same time many perceived the Highlands as a region with very negative associations, and regarded the Highlanders with scorn.¹¹ Fenyö aptly states that the romanticised perception of the Highlands was tenacious, and this image endured throughout the nineteenth century. Notably, even journals which were characteristically disparaging of the Highlanders were still inclined to romanticise the landscape and culture of the area; the land of tartan, Highlandism and a glorified version of the Jacobite past.¹² These sympathetic journals principally endorsed the landscape of the Highlands, emphasising and 'promulgating the artists' interpretation of the depopulated and melodramatic landscapes, with majestic and desolate scenery. They created an idyllic image of the Highlands, unaware of any irony and inconsistency with the contemporary situation of the Highlanders themselves. The Romantic perception of the Scottish

Highlander was fundamentally more aesthetically pleasing than the actuality of Highland poverty. The image of the Highlands was often derived from literary and pictorial representations of the area, and during the nineteenth century visitors travelled north to see what Kohl described as a 'country so diversified and so interesting in its picturesque beauty, and so delightfully indented by the sea'.¹³ The literary work of Scott also promoted this vision, allying historical significance with scenic grandeur, and tourist guides proliferated with descriptions of the landscape based on Scott's novels and poetry.

The depiction of landscape by artists serves to represent a distinctive version of Scotland and Scottish identity. The image of the Scotland and the Highlands in particular was often derived from pictorial representations of these areas, and descriptions of the landscape often relied on art terms to describe and quantify the scene. The collaborative publication of Turner and McCulloch, *Scotland Delineated* pronounced in 1846 that, 'Romantic grandeur, rich and varied beauty, picturesqueness and sublimity, are the distinctive features of the scenery of Scotland.'¹⁴ Clearly the visual representation of Scotland was very important at this time, as the prior examination of artists' impressions of Scotland has emphasised. The illustration of the country as enigmatic, ancient and unspoiled, was one that vividly captivated the Victorian imagination. Prior testifies to the tones of Romanticism which permeated the art market, fuelling the production and purchase of localised, detailed and 'sentimental' landscape. Royal Scottish Academy catalogues demonstrate the rising numbers of highland scenes exhibited throughout the 1830s and 1840s, and prospective purchasers complained about the rising prices.¹⁵ The popularity of Scott and of landscape painting indicates that there was an appetite to be satisfied. The Scottish people desired a link to the past and embraced this account of Scottish cultural heritage. The paintings of scenes from Scottish history by artists such as Drummond and Allan provided a connection between past and present, one which was embellished by antiquarian interests. While some in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth century could be described as endeavouring to concoct an image of Scotland, most writers and travellers incorporated the image unconsciously. The appreciation of Scottish scenery and culture was a Romantic response; it was part of the approved philosophy of the cult of the Picturesque and Romanticism.

Romanticism began to develop in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The paradox of its origin rests on the fact that it evolved during the Enlightenment period of order, reason and rationality, whereas Romanticism repudiated these values – a counter-movement that stressed emotion, subjectivity and expressive freedom. In Scotland, the 'Enlightenment'

and the 'Romantic' frameworks occupy the same historical stage. Lowland Scotland did not exist on the periphery; rather, it was at the forefront of Enlightenment culture, and by the same token, the Scottish Highlands characterised the consummate model for Romantic Europe. Thus the gradual shift to a Romantic 'structure of feeling' in Scotland paralleled the slow waning of neo-classicism. Walter Scott's antiquarian, historical, poetic and novelist works formed part of the Scottish contribution to European Romanticism. At the same time, scholars and poets such as James Macpherson, Hugh Blair, James Hogg, Robert Burns and Walter Scott began to invoke Scottish history and celebrate popular customs of rural communities.¹⁶ This same statement could equally apply to the world of art, and artists such as David Allan and David Wilkie. Prior asserts that Romanticism in Scotland was further stimulated through the work of certain writers whose elegiac scenes and characters were informed by an aristocratic rural simplicity.¹⁷ James Home's *Douglas* and Macpherson's *Ossian* portrayed a poetic Highland past and a remote, exotic world of rugged landscapes peopled by illustrious heroic characters. The popularity of these works coincided with the foundation of Romanticism. By the early nineteenth century, Scotland, according to Hook, was a kind of Romantic archetype, the most romantic country in Europe, whose mythopoetic vision was embodied in the words of the Wizard of the North - Sir Walter Scott.¹⁸

The preceding examination of nineteenth-century Scottish painting and of tourist guides indicates that certain themes are recurrent, and those clichés also penetrated the popular press. Therefore even those people who never went to Scotland were likely to come upon images of that country - certain representations were cultivated without full consciousness of what was taking place. The art historian J E Phythian commented that the influence of the artist Peter Graham was so consequential in shaping perceptions of the Scottish scenery, that often it was accepted that the scenery of Scotland looked exactly like one of his paintings.¹⁹ Similarly the work of Landseer created a potent image of the Scottish landscape, and the animals which inhabited it. Queen Victoria also verified the appreciation of Landseer's particular vision of Scotland when in 1850 she declared, 'the scene at this beautiful spot was... picturesque in the extreme. I wished for Landseer's pencil'.²⁰ Landseer's *Monarch of the Glen* (1851), the most celebrated painting of a Scottish subject matter, is without doubt one of the most famed paintings in British art. Nineteenth-century travellers' accounts show a convincing awareness of the Highland region as an area of extraordinary natural grandeur, and locations which had at one time been regarded as depressing and dismal now invited sightseers well disposed to experience the unspoiled and picturesque. The tourist aspect is very important as it shows the

significance of the commercialisation of Scottish culture, and emphasises the pervasive nature of the representation of Scotland at this time. Indeed, art and tourism were directly linked in the mind of the public. An 1872 publication on the life and work of the Scottish artist Horatio McCulloch enumerated the circumstances which encouraged the evolution of tourism within the Scottish Highlands. The author noted that a new awareness of landscape gardening, combined with an appreciation of Gothic architecture, a growing interest in antiquarianism and the historical ruins of the country and the development of botany and geology promoted a sympathetic fascination with Scottish culture and landscape. Poets who assumed the roles of 'priests and prophets of appreciation and nature worship' further encouraged this new taste.²¹

Scott's integration of tartan as a Scottish emblem during the visit of George IV had the effect of defining what might have been a transitory fad into an enduring national symbol, as the discussion of this event has shown. After 1745 Highlanders were stereotypically transformed from idle predatory barbarians into Romantic primitives. The emblems of the past endured in the contemporary landscape, and the Highlands became sources of inspiration for art, literature and architecture. The Romanticisation of Scotland was nothing new; it had been a recurring feature in the perceptions of the Highlands since the controversy over the origin of the Ossian poetry. The royal visit in 1822 represented the ultimate parade of tartan. Sir Leslie Stephen later commented in 1871 that Scott invented the modern Highlander. Furthermore, he asserted that, 'It is to him we owe the strange perversion of facts which induces a good lowland Scot to fancy himself more nearly allied to the semi-barbarous wearers of the tartan than to his English blood relations.'²² This elevation of tartan by Scott and the promotion of all things associated with the Highlands expresses an endeavour to fortify the exceptional characteristics of Scottish society in comparison with that of England and the rest of the United Kingdom. Scott was not solely accountable for the emphasis on tartan, but he assumes the crucial responsibility for intermingling Highland and Scottish identity in this manner. Through his literary output and his theatrical management of the 1822 visit of George IV, Scott so glamorised the Highland Clans and the Jacobites that he virtually created the tourist industry of the Highlands and plunged the whole of Scotland in a flood of tartan.

Scotland's image was certainly an inviting one, hence the popularity as a holiday destination. Visitors had been conditioned to expect a certain image of Scotland. Indeed, as the chapter on the Highlands has illustrated, the cult of the Picturesque and Romanticism predetermined perceptions of Scotland. Yet at the same time, the solidity of this vision that

prevailed in popular culture ensured that it would have been perverse to view Scotland in any other way. Cultural attitudes about a given area are often subtle. Thus, though superficial, they tend to endure. Modern tourists visit Scotland with the same preconceived impressions of the country, and for the same reasons as the Victorians. They too want escape from the humdrum aspects of modern life and to discover a land of ancient clans, tartan, kilts, lochs and ruined castles. Although the present-day tourist may be suspicious of myths and sentimentality, they too are entranced by the nostalgic romance of Scotland. Nostalgia was the keynote of Victoria's reign, and, as has been discussed, her partiality for Scotland had far-reaching consequences, for it was in this country that an essentially escapist interpretation of history predominated, encouraging the more resplendent and vivid versions of Scottish history. Augmenting the sentimentalised rehabilitation of the Jacobites, Victoria sought to bring together Hanoverian and Stuart loyalties and an atmosphere was contrived in which they could become one. The Victorian age witnessed the development of the nostalgic recollection of historic grandeur and past heroes.

This is linked to the interest in antiquarianism and the fascination, which Walter Scott was influential in producing, for all matters relating to Scottish history and culture, and can also be connected to the heraldic campaigns of the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights. The popularity of antiquarian studies underpins the notion of continuity with the past and the ethos of progressive social development, tying ancient Scottish culture to the contemporary milieu. . In the nineteenth century the articulation of the past was part of the iconographic language of artists. The depiction of subjects from Scottish history were interpreted in the Romantic Scott tradition and infused with a middle-class glaze. Antiquarian-artists were influential in their rendition of history and heroes, and the recreation of medieval tournaments such as the Eglinton Tournament also affected the artistic imagination. This gives credence to Eagles' assertion that literature, history and art had become inextricably linked in the public consciousness.²³ The devotion to history and antiquarianism was not limited to artists. The Eglinton Tournament was the extravagant result of Romantic and chivalric fantasies and the widespread interest in Medievalism. It was a dramatic manifestation of the sense of loss that was illustrative of the Victorian period. Nineteenth-century society was believed to have forfeited an element of romance because of the emphasis on materialism and was thus believed to have become prosaic. The fascination for all things 'Gothic' was one of the earliest manifestations of the revolt of Romanticism against the rational tone of eighteenth-century thought and culture.

Medievalism and antiquarianism were also apparent in the glorification of William Wallace. With respect to the adoption of prominent figures as national icons, we can see the importance of the examination of these symbols of national past in relation to contemporary identity. Individuals are reliant on their environment and past history to ascertain identity, and the conception of a self-conscious identity inevitably entails a degree of organisation. As the discussion of this topic in Chapter Three has shown, there was an unmistakable trend in the nineteenth century to represent national figures of heroic status. From the 1830s onwards there was a strong growth in sculptural representations, not only of Scottish figures, but also of British figures relevant to Scotland. The work of Sir John Steill on the sculptural figure as the centrepiece to the Scott Monument in Edinburgh marks the maturation of the a national school of sculpture, which had as its focus a reinterpretation of Scottish cultural history through the writings of Robert Burns and Walter Scott. The establishment of a communal identity therefore is based on the assumption and cogent agreement that there is a shared experience, and a common objective.

The construction of monuments of iconographical figures from Scottish history legitimised and rationalised the notion of a Scottish heritage and identity within British Victorian society. By building monuments to Scottish icons, the Scots were essentially changing the vista of the landscape and cityscape, thus tangibly altering the features of their cultural geography and rewriting the cultural interpretations of both urban and rural scenery. The architectural construction of these monuments is also significant. The fascination with Gothic features led to the endorsement of a specific Scottish character within architecture, and the popular acceptance of the Scottish-Baronial style. The epitome of this Romantic style was the Wallace Monument, and the choice of the Baronial style was used to strengthen the historic pedigree of Wallace. It was a clear signal of the purpose of the monument as a memorial to Scottish history and iconography. Baronial architecture was used to promote the image of ancient Scottish values; it lent a native character to buildings which expressed the chivalric archetype of the nineteenth-century antiquarians and medieval enthusiasts.

The regionalism of the iconography is also noteworthy as it corresponds with the notion of shared experience. As has been shown, the spirit of association, advocated by Alison and Gilpin among others, served to embellish the alliance of heroic figures with particular sites, such as Wallace with Lanarkshire and Burns with Ayrshire. The theme of concentric loyalties is evident here – local, regional, national and imperial allegiances are all blended together. The construction of monuments emphasised a sense of local and national pride in

Scotland and Scottish heritage, and indicates a popular conception of the image of Scotland, the manifestation of Scottish iconography. Yet, these cultural heroes were not simply admired in their own locale, rather the appreciation and regard for them spread throughout the country, and the Empire. This is clearly in evidence in the celebrations regarding Burns – the 1844 Festival included poetry written in honour of the Bard, with particular reference to India. Contributions for monuments and other forms of memorial were also forthcoming from all corners of the Empire. Nostalgia obviously has a part to play in this – the expatriate Scots wanted to maintain some link with their ‘homeland’, and celebrating Scottish culture was one way in which they could clearly do this. It also reinforces the ‘outsider’ view of Scotland, the popular perception of Scotland in the wider world. Scotland was not only a historic and romantic land in the eyes of native Scots, but this image had a more extensive audience.

The theatricality of the ceremonies to lay the foundation stones and the unveiling of the monuments is also remarkable. The work of Scott had effectively dramatised Scottish history and imbued the landscape with a greater significance. Drama was an inherent aspect of his literary interpretation of Scotland, and this in turn had an impact on the popular perception of commemoration of heritage and identity. His effective manipulation of history into national theatre therefore had a lasting effect on the celebration of Scottish iconography throughout the nineteenth century. The previous analysis has shown that there was a clear sense of a momentous occasion, which had the auxiliary suggestion of an invented tradition, and that these ceremonial episodes were an excuse to demonstrate a collective sense of feeling. The pageantry inherent in the ceremonies stresses the contemporary perception of the importance of these events. The rhetoric inherent in the speeches contributed on these occasions underlines the concept of Scottish nationhood and of a deep-rooted patriotic identity. The organisers and the members of the public present on these occasions unmistakably felt that their achievements - both the accomplishments of those involved in the establishment of the monuments, and the historical deeds of those being memorialised - should be celebrated in an appropriate manner. Supplementary symbols of Scottish nationhood and identity were accessories to the event, which added a historical flavour to the proceedings. The 1859 Burns celebrations saw the display of ancient relics at banquets - such as the Alloa festive dinner which saw the exhibition of portraits of Bonnie Prince Charlie and the poet Thomas Campbell, a horse shoe from Bannockburn and a variety of relics from the Earl of Buchan, Flodden and Killiecrankie.²⁴ Similarly, the inauguration of the Wallace memorial in Stirling saw the ostentatious display of relics from Scottish history which were carried in the procession - the swords (reputedly)

of Wallace, Robert the Bruce, Sir John de Graeme, Sir Richard Lundin, and the Black Douglas.

The public subscriptions for the funds to construct the monuments are a reliable gauge of the discernible desire within the country to assert their national identity. In order to achieve their goal in the construction of the Wallace monument, the committee responsible had to be able to persuade the public that this was a pertinent representation of Scottish national identity. Additionally, there is an inherent sense of widespread and consolidated support in the opening of public appeals that were designed to appeal to all levels of society. This indicates the notion of national Scottish heroes was celebrated across all Scotland, and thus the perception of culture and a glorious history was widespread within Scotland in the nineteenth century. While the espousal of the Highland-based image of Scotland promoted by artists, tourists and authors was predominantly elite-led, the celebration of Wallace reflected a broader-based support. This was also the case in the fund for the construction of the statue to Burns in Glasgow, where from the very outset the universal appeal and character of the monument was determined by limiting the subscriptions to sums of one shilling.²⁵ The eagerness of the public to demonstrate their depth of feeling for national identity and heritage is apparent in the multitudinous numbers who attended the ceremonies associated with the national icons. The organisers of the Burns Festival in 1844 talked of half the country being in attendance, while the 1859 Burns celebrations saw the event celebrated across the globe, with a total of 676 functions in Scotland alone.²⁶ This emphasises the prominence of Burns as a figurehead for the belief in the concept of the common man, and indeed, his universal appeal, and can be linked to the commemoration of other Scottish heroes such as Wallace and David Livingstone. It also accentuates the validity of the previous point regarding the sentimental and Romanticised yearning which expatriate Scots felt for the land of their birth - a sort of homesickness for the idealised and sanitised version of Scotland. In Scotland certainly, the festivities served as more than simply a focus for the celebration of the life and work of the National Bard - it was also the occasion for the reaffirmation of the Scottish nation.

This same sense of the universal man is evident in the commemoration of Wallace. The 1856 inauguration of the Wallace memorial in Stirling saw crowds of approximately 13,000 assemble to hear the proposals for the intended monument, and an estimated 50,000 visited Stirling for the ceremonial laying of the foundation stone in 1861. The huge numbers of people in attendance on these occasions accentuates the significance impact of cultural tourism and the attendant developments in transport services. It is a notable dimension to

consider, as it reflects the contemporaneous understanding of national heritage and culture, and represented an expression of pride and a sense of historic Scottish identity. Obviously considerable numbers felt impelled to attend these events; in the case of the unveiling of the Scott Monument in Edinburgh many businesses closed for the day of the ceremony, eloquently demonstrating the perceived importance of the occasion. The idea of heritage as a commodity is also apparent in the proliferation of medals and tourist souvenirs that were available on these occasions. This phenomenon is indicative of a conscious construction of iconography which asserts an immediately recognisable distinct native heritage, and echoes the adoption of the Highlands as a symbol of national identification.

Thus, in conclusion, there is an impression of searching for a sense of community within the evolving landscape of industrial society, and of a pursuit of something to cling to in a changing world. This desire to recreate a feeling of familiarity and cohesion is also evident in the fascination with Medievalism and primitivism. Feudal society was idealised as a simpler time, where everyone had a place, which was not as clear-cut in the midst of industrialisation and urbanisation. Consequently, the multiform industrial society was held together by epic tradition and cultural interpretations as well as by politics and social pressure - and Scotland had plenty of legends, all of which denote the exclusive characteristics that promote the differentiation of Scotland from other countries. According to Lowenthal, the past validates the present by conveying an idea of timeless values and unbroken lineages.²⁷ Hence there are archetypal landscapes, which draw heavily upon geographical imagery, memory and myth, and this was certainly the case in nineteenth-century Scotland. The Highlands and Scottish history provided a substantial backdrop to Scottish cultural and national heritage, and was conspicuously expressed in the work of artists and writers. These stereotypical landscapes encapsulate the identity of the nation, embracing people who were bound by cultural background and national traditions. In a sense, Romanticism acted as a catalyst and endorsed the cultural heritage and landscape of Scotland throughout this period. The process of building monuments to national heroes and fashioning cultural symbols implies something more than the product of a mere cultural artefact, and also represents an attempt to restyle the cultural landscape. The quest to illustrate and substantiate an identity was developed with the organisation of national historical and cultural iconography. The emphasis was clearly on visual images of the country, hence the popularity of the work of artists who depicted the Scottish landscape and scenes from Scottish history. The perception of Scotland at this time linked together the themes of Romanticism, antiquarianism, and the Sublime and the Picturesque, and was highly evocative of heritage, theatre and pageantry.

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- ¹ C Smout, 'Tours in the Scottish Highlands', *Northern Scotland*, 5, 1983, p.109.
- ² D Wilkie in a speech given at a public dinner in Rome, 16 January 1827, in A Cunningham, *The Life of Sir David Wilkie*, (London, 1843), Vol. 2, pp. 384 – 392.
- ³ *Ibid*, pp. 384 – 392.
- ⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 384 – 392.
- ⁵ N Prior, 'Edinburgh, Romanticism and the National Gallery of Scotland', *Urban History*, 22, 1995, p.213. See also C Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*, (Oxford, 1987).
- ⁶ Professor Blackie's speech reproduced in Ballantine, *Chronicle of the Hundredth Birthday of Robert Burns*, (Edinburgh, 1859), p. 14.
- ⁷ *Ibid*, p. 14.
- ⁸ Theodor Fontane, *Across the Tweed, A Tour of Mid-Victorian Scotland*, (London, 1965) p. xi.
- ⁹ *Ibid*, pp. xv.
- ¹⁰ C Craig, 'Scott's Staging of the Nation'; *Studies in Romanticism*, 40, 2001, p.15.
- ¹¹ K Fenyő, *Contempt, sympathy and romance: Lowland perceptions of the Highlands and the clearances during the famine years, 1845-1855*, (East Linton, 2000).
- ¹² *Ibid*, pp. 165 – 167.
- ¹³ JG Kohl, *Scotland: Glasgow and the Clyde, Edinburgh, the Forth, Stirling etc.* (London, 1844), p.3.
- ¹⁴ Turner, McCulloch, Allan & Roberts, *Scotland Delineated in a Series of Views*, Vols. I, (London, 1846), Ch. IV.
- ¹⁵ Prior, 'Edinburgh, Romanticism and the National Gallery of Scotland', p.213.
- ¹⁶ I Duncan, A Rowland & C Snodgrass, 'Introduction', *Studies in Romanticism*, 40, 2001, p.3.
- ¹⁷ Prior, 'Edinburgh, Romanticism and the National Gallery of Scotland', p.210.
- ¹⁸ A Hook, 'Scotland and Romanticism: the international scene'; in D Gifford (ed), *The History of Scottish Literature: the Nineteenth Century*, (Edinburgh, 1989), pp. 316 – 318.
- ¹⁹ J E Pythian, *Fifty Years of Modern Painting*, (London 1908), pp. 343 – 344.
- ²⁰ *September 13, 1850*, D Duff (ed.) *Queen Victoria's Highland Journals*, (1994), pp. 72-73.
- ²¹ A Fraser, *Scottish Landscape: The Life and Works of Horatio MacCulloch, RSA*, (Edinburgh, 1872), pp. 11 – 12.
- ²² Sir Leslie Stephen, quoted in the *Cornhill Magazine*, 1871, from the *O! Caledonia* Exhibition, SNPG, May – October 1999.
- ²³ J Eagles, 'Historical Painting', in *Blackwood's Magazine*, Volume 40, 1836, pp. 663 – 673.
- ²⁴ Ballantine, *Chronicle*, p. 157.
- ²⁵ R Anderson, *Burns Monument Inauguration, George Square, Glasgow, 25th January 1877*, (Glasgow, 1877).
- ²⁶ Ballantine, *Chronicle*, p. 430.
- ²⁷ D Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 37 – 38.

Appendix 1.

I) Visitors to Abbotsford 1838 - 1898:

1838	2387	1878	7890
1848	1346	1883	6534
1858	5013	1888	6559
1868	6229	1893	6214
1873	6892	1898	7004

This table indicates an approximate number of visitors to Abbotsford over the above period. There are a number of problems inherent in compiling these figures as not every visitor signed the Visitor's Book, and on occasion the size of the party was indicated at five or ten people. The house did impose an upper limit of ten at any one time, except by special arrangement. The trends indicated by the above figures suggest a decline in the number of visitor during the 1840s, although this recovered in the following decade, suggesting that Scottish tourism benefited from the improved accessibility offered by improvements in the transportation system. Steam ships and railways were expanding in Scotland at this time, and the introduction of the expanded railway in the Borders obviously encouraged visitors to visit the area.

A Durie, 'Tourism in Victorian Scotland: The Case of Abbotsford', in *SESH*, 1992, p.45.

II) 1896 Burns Centenary Exhibition

The exhibition was held in the six galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of Fine Arts from the 15 July until 31 October. The committee had brought together an unprecedented and extraordinary collection of manuscripts, various editions of his books, paintings, portraits of Burns and his associates, relics and other Burns' memorabilia. The pricing policy suggests that the exhibition was expected to be popular, and that large numbers of people were expected to visit the galleries. This is evidence of the reputation of Burns, and his status as a cultural hero. The price of admission was deemed to make the exhibition accessible to all, which again reflects the universal appeal of Burns.

Single admission to the exhibition was charged at the following rates:

From 9am till 6pm.....	1s.
From 6pm till 10pm.....	6d.

Season tickets were also available - £1.1s for a family and 7s.6d for a single person.

Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition, Glasgow, (1896).

III) Annual Revenue from admissions to the National Wallace Monument: 1869 -1886.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Revenue</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Revenue</u>
1869	£4. 6s. 11d.	1878	£108. 18s.
1870	£94. 17s. 6d.	1879	£88. 2s.
1871	£111. 10s. 6d.	1880	£94. 4s. 2d.
1872	£129. 3s.	1881	£89. 11s.
1873	£123. 8s.	1882	£88. 11s.
1874	£131. 17s. 4d.	1883	£89. 18s. 2d.
1875	£125. 5s. 4d.	1884	£84.
1876	£132. 5s. 6d.	1885	£91. 2s.
1877	£116. 19s. 2d.	1886	£86. 12s. 4d.

From the *Minute Book of Custodians of Wallace Monument from August 1869*, reproduced in G. Morton, 'The Most Efficacious Patriot: The Heritage of William Wallace in Nineteenth-Century Scotland', *SHR*, 1998, p.246.

IV) Visitors to the National Wallace Monument, 1887 - 1893.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Visitors</u>
1887 - 1888	9,165
1888 - 1889	12,340
1891 - 1892	13,179
1892 - 1893	13,801

Minute Book of the Custodians of the National Wallace Monument from 14 February 1889, reproduced in G Morton, 'The Most Efficacious Patriot: The Heritage of William Wallace in Nineteenth-Century Scotland', *SHR*, 1998,p.247.

Appendix 2.

Some examples of poetry written for the occasion of the 1844 Grand National Festival to honour the Sons of Burns, held in Ayr.

I) The Gathering on the Doon

Hither from ev'ry distant shore,
the Scottish exiles come to pour,
The shout of triumph and the fear
For Burns, in exile doubly dear;
And see, to grace this festive-day,
These gallant chiefs from far away.
These upon India's sultry strand
Did honour to their native land,
And by their valour and their worth,
In Scotland's fair renown stood forth;
Cheering the march o'er burning plains,
Responsive to their father's strains;
Yes, I have heard Glencairn restore
The Banks of Doon on Ganges shore.
And Timur's startled halls prolong
The bursts of Bruce's battle song;
Hail then, my friend, each joy be thine
Among the scenes o' auld lang syne:
O let the heartfelt cheer be heard -
These are the Sons of Scotia's Bard!
'Tis done, and Doon's deep dell returns
Th' exalting cheer, "The Sons of Burns".
Thence welcome chiefs, these scenes among
"The Land of Burns," and Burns song -
The classic fields of all his glory
Are now, brave exiles, spread before ye;
Come then, as sons, and share the claim
Wi' Scotland, in your Father's fame.

II) Lines Written for the Anniversary of Burns' Birthday in Bengal.

Love's raptur'd glow:- The mystic sway
That all-empassion'd minds obey -
The Patriot's thrill on battle-day,
No language found,
Till nature's voice in Burns lay
The spell unbound.

What shields can e'er withstand the blow
From swords of men who feel the glow
Of Bannockburn's immortal flow
Within their veins?
O! while it swells, let never foe
Tell us of chains.

Afar, where Scottish exiles pine,
'Neath polar light, or tropic shine,
Genius of Burns! O then 'tis thine
To hover o'er
And with the songs o' auld lang syne
Their homes restore.

Scots! Claim exulting Scotia's Bard,
In him your country's voice is heard,
With tears of ecstasy regard
His natal day;
And still with honours high reward
Our Burn's lay.

Appendix 3.

List of the Committee Members of the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights.

President

The Right Honourable Earl of Eglinton & Winton, K.T.

Committee

The Right Hon. Duncan McLaren, Lord
Provost and Lord Lieutenant of the City of
Edinburgh

The Lord Provost of Perth.

Charles Cowan, M.P. for Edinburgh.

Sir James Walker Drummond, Bart.

Adam Morrison, one of the Bailies of
Edinburgh.

F. Brown Douglas, one of the Bailies of
Edinburgh.

John Boyd, one of the Bailies of Edinburgh.

James Blackadder, Dean of Guild of
Edinburgh.

A. Weymss, Treasurer of Edinburgh.

George Crichton, Convenor of Trades.

Councillor Clark, Edinburgh.

Councillor Dowell, do.

Councillor Forrester, do.

Councillor Fraser, do.

Councillor Hill, do.

Councillor Melville, do.

Councillor Sclanders, do.

Councillor Sibbald, do.

Councillor Wood, do.

John F. MacFarlane, Chairman of the
Chamber of Commerce, Edinburgh.

Charles McGibbon, Master of the Merchant
Company, Edinburgh.

The Provost of Leith.

The Provost and Town Council of Inverness.

The Provost of Haddington.

The Provost of Banff.

The Provost of Elgin.

Thomas Allen, High Street.

John Anderson, 106 George Street.

William Aitken, Pitt Street.

James Ballantine, 42 George Street.

W. H. Brown of Ashley.

James Begbie, M.D., F.R.C.P., Physician to
the Queen.

D. Buchanan, Editor of *Caledonian Mercury*.

James Cotton, 231 High Street.

Andrew Crichton, LL.D., St. Bernard's Crescent.

Jas. S. Combe, M.D., President Royal College of Surgeons.

John F. W. Drummond, 110 George Street.

David Dickson of Hartree, Advocate.

P. E. Dove, 6 Athole Place.

H. M. Davidson, Sheriff-Clerk of Haddingtonshire.

Keith Forbes, Peterhead.

Robert Fairly, 13 Rankeillor Street, Edinburgh.

John Grant, 47 Great King Street.

James Grant, do.

Andrew Grierson, W.S.

J. F. Gordon, Esq., W.S., Nelson Street.

John Gray, merchant, George Street.

P. H. Hume, Lawfield.

R. W. Hamilton, General Steam Navigation Co.

Robert Hunter, publisher, 15 Princes Street.

Henry Inglis, 29 St. Andrew Square.

John Jeffrey, Newhaven.

Alexander Keith Johnson, F.R.S., Geographer to the Queen.

John Johnstone, publisher, Edinburgh.

T. B. Johnston, F.S.A., St. Andrew Square.

John Jamieson, S.S.C., Great King Street.

Alexander Jamieson, accountant, Princes Street.

C. C. Halkett Inglis of Cramond.

Colonel Kinloch of Kilry.

John Kay, wine merchant, Northumberland Street.

William Lindores, wine merchant, Frederick Street.

William Leslie, 16 Queen Street.

John M. Mitchell, merchant, Leith.

William McCandlish, Viewfield House, Trinity.

P. McKenzie, Scottish Reformers Gazette, Glasgow.

Peter McLeod of Polbeth.

George Mackay of Bighouse.

Kenneth McKenzie, accountant, Edinburgh.

J. M. Mowbray of Hartwood, W.S.

Hugh Miller, F.R.S.E., Editor of *Witness*.

David MacLagan, M.D., F.R.C.P., Surgeon to the Queen, Physician to the Forces.

Bailie Mortimer, Banff.

J. Noel Paton, R.S.A.

J. D. Peddie, architect, Edinburgh.

Robert Renton, M.D., F.R.C.P.

Henry Raeburn of St. Bernards.

William Sellers, M.D., F.R.C.P.

R. Shand, bookseller, 41 Dundas Street.

Professor Simpson.

David Simson, 25 India Street.

Davis Smith, Queen Street.

Duncan Stevenson, printer to the University,
Edinburgh.

Professor Traill, President of the Royal
College of Physicians.

John Taylor, M.D., F.R.C.P.

James Tod, 4 Bruton Place.

George Vallance, 11 West Register Street.

Stewart Watson, Princes Street, Edinburgh.

Alexander Wood, F.R.C.P.

Wm. Whithead, Princes Street, Edinburgh.

Appendix 4.

A full version of the poem which appeared in the Dundee Courier, 11 February, together with a reply to this same poem, which appeared in the Scottish Guardian, 4 March, 1843.

D) The Church Question: A Tale of a Hive of Bees.

I'll tell you a tale of a Hive of Bees
"You may laugh or cry at, just as you please."

In a lovely Garden, blooming and bright,
Cheered every morn by the summer light;
Where the heath and trefoil, fragrant as fair,
Filled with sweet perfume the pleasant air;
The graceful birch and the sombre yew;
And a clear stream wandering on its way,
In a smoother course than my rugged lay,
Sheltered, not shaded, by leafy trees,
There was snugly placed a hive of bees.
The inmates were as happy as bees could be,
Well cared for, contented, and nearly free.
The Gard'ner wouldn't allow them to sting,
And he clipt a little from every wing;
While of all the Garden each had a share,
And their fame hummed forth with a pleasant sound,
A pattern bright to all hives around.

But anon a contention dire arose,
And warm friends changed into bitter foes;
A set of bees would nothing less be
Than truly, entirely, and fully free;
So they waxed very fierce, and buzzing cried,
'Our blood shall flow like the Solway tide,
Rather than subject one high flying bee
To a Gard'ner's civil authority;
We will roam where we list, and use our stings,
And no scissors shall clip our sacred wings.'
But the Gard'ner merely handled his spade,
Saying, 'needs my orders must be obeyed.'

Then after a time they all hied away,
To the Queen of the Garden in long array,
Four hundred and fifty bees in a row,
(Truly they made a wonderful show,
Saying, 'Grant, O Queen! to your sacred bees,

The right of doing whatever we please;
Or to the mountain and moor we'll fly,
Leaving your flowers to wither and die.'
But the Queen was none of those silly things,
To be frightened by bees and their smarting stings;
She wouldn't give in, and hinted a doubt,
If they really and truly meant to go out.

Then some, but how many I can't well say,
To the moors and mountains did fly away.
They made their hive in a hollow tree,
Rejoicing much now that they were free;
And full swiftly the summer months flew by,
In sipping the sweets of liberty.
But winter came, and the summer was passed;
The hollow tree shook in the icy blast;
The wild flowers withered, then drooped and died,
And all grew bleak on the hill-side.
Their honey was spent, and they wished for more,
But no Gard'ner opened his plenteous store;
And hungry and cold, but all in vain,
They sighed for the juice of the sugar cane.
No nourishing sweets were stored in the heath;
And they closed their days in the cold snow wreath.

The bees who remained in the Garden hive,
With the Gard'ner's sugar were kept alive;
A young bee was placed in each vacant cell,
And the hive has thriven exceedingly well.

[This poem first appeared in the *Dundee Courier*, 11 February 1843, reproduced in W M Hetherington, *Authoritative Exposition of the Principles of the Free Church*, (London, 1845)]

II) The Beehive! – A Different Account of the Same Story.

- "And double was the wound it gave,
Where'er it glance between."

To the Editor of the *Scottish Guardian*.

Dear Sir – I observed the other day,
In one of our papers a musical lay,
Recounting the fate of a hive of bees,
By a river side among sheltering trees –

The Gardener's *care!* the hive's condition –
The state of the Bees, and the Bees' petition –
The Queen's refusal – the flight to the heath,
And the death of the Bees in a smowy wreath.
(If you turn to the Courier, you'll find the story;
And judge for yourself of the allegory.)

Now I happen to live in the favoured land,
Where the said beehive had its ancient stand.
I'm a bee myself of the younger tribe,
And, with your permission, I'll be their scribe.
In a hive, you know, there are two sorts of bees –
The working sort, and the sort at their ease.
What the one would *not* the other *would* do:
The drones would neither visit the flowers,
Nor warm the hive, not keep regular hours,
And, worse than this, when a worker came in,
They buzzed around his ears with a terrible din –
Appealed to the Gard'ner, any, chased him off,
And exposed the hive to the country's scoff.
Now what has been done to the working throng,
Since the battle began, to repair the wrong –
To rouse the infatuate crew to life,
Whose guilty indolence caused the strife –
And what has been done to save the cell,
I need not relate, for you know very well.
We have sworn at last to abandon the hive,
And I think if we should, it will scarcely survive.
But before we go, we lift our protest
To the Queen, the Gard'ner, and the guilty nest.
The honied store on which we live
Is not the Gard'ner's to keep or to give –
The flowers of the land were shorn that gave it,
The best of our hive have died to save it –
And if that store be finally lost,
The Gard'ner himself must count the cost.
A hive of bees may perplex a bear,
So we warn the Gard'ner in time to beware!

And we tell the drones, (the unblushing cause
Of all this rivalry of laws),
While with idle hum they rest at ease
In the cells forsook by the working bees –
We tell them, all the richest flowers
In the garden, field, and heath, are ours!
We shall suck the morning and evening dews,
And fly, or settle, wherever we choose.
The heath bells of Scotland will come to the bee,
Devoted to them, and to liberty!
Our wings are *not* clipt, as the poet sings,
And we *have*, tho' we do not use, our stings;

We leave the hive as we lived in it – free;
We *prefer* the heath and the hollow tree:
Neither summer shall scorch, nor winter freeze,
The banish'd swarm of working bees.

But the drones have neither wings to fly,
Nor stings to strike, nor courage to die!
Let them dose where they are, they must wake at last,
And perhaps in the sweep of a furious blast;
If they will not move, they may be driven
Like atoms in the hurricane of heaven!

Our song is sung, our warning read,
Now to the wilderness our wings we spread;
We leave the hive, as the Gard'ner will find,
With shapeless young, and with drones behind.

[The *Scottish Guardian*, 4 March 1843, reproduced in W M Hetherington, *Authoritative Exposition of the Principles of the Free Church*, (London, 1845)]

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