

GERMAN-SPEAKING TRAVELLERS IN SCOTLAND,
1800 - 1860,
AND THEIR PLACE IN THE
HISTORY OF EUROPEAN TRAVEL LITERATURE

by

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ABSTRACT OF THESISGERMAN-SPEAKING TRAVELLERS IN SCOTLAND, 1800 - 1860,
AND THEIR PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF EUROPEAN TRAVEL LITERATURE

The thesis aims to present the impressions of German-speaking travellers in Scotland between the dates 1800 and 1860. It is intended that it will make a contribution both to literary and to social history.

Part One considers the literary and historical background of travel literature as a literary genre and surveys the critical research on the subject; particular attention is paid to the history of German publications with British subject matter and their place in the history of European travel literature. In addition an attempt is made at a definition of 'travel literature' and the travellers to Scotland are introduced.

Part Two, which constitutes the main body of the study, is concerned with the travellers' impressions of Scotland. This is divided according to subject matter into twelve chapters: 'Scotland - the Romance. Historical and Poetic Association', 'Nature and Landscape Appreciation', 'Travel and Accommodation', 'Living Conditions and Contemporary Affairs', 'People and Social Customs', 'Public Institutions', 'Trade and Industry', 'Painting, Sculpture and Architecture', 'Language', 'Literature', 'History and Folk Tradition', and 'Religion'.

Extensive quotation from the source material has been included, since most of it is not readily accessible. It appears in the main text in order to preserve continuity.

An Appendix is offered in the form of a biographical supplement, providing background information on the lives and work of the individual travellers, most of whom are unknown today. A review of the critical research to date on the subject 'Fontane and Scotland' is also appended.

The study shows that while most of the travellers were urged to visit Scotland as a result of literary trends (in particular the influence of Ossian and Scott), once in the country they took careful note of other aspects of life in Scotland, notably the advanced state of public educational, medical and welfare institutions, industry and architecture. Accordingly only part of their accounts concerns the romantic attraction of the country. The present study thus throws light not only on an aspect of Romanticism and 19th Century literary trends but also on social history.

DECLARATION

I declare this work to be original, undertaken entirely by myself, without collaboration with any other person.

Anson Hiley

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The thesis is divided into three parts, Part One, Part Two and the Appendix. Part One provides the historical background which was considered necessary for an adequate understanding of the primary texts presented in Part Two; the Appendix provides biographical and other information about the authors concerned. Footnotes to Parts One and Two are gathered together on pages 875ff. Since there is almost no secondary literature about the travellers dealt with in Part Two, the footnotes in this Part are much less numerous than in Part One and quotations from the primary texts are cited by author's name, and where necessary abbreviated title of the relevant work (as listed at the beginning of the Notes to Part Two on page 912). Full titles are to be found in the Bibliography, pages 935 ff. The Appendix has its own bibliography; for ease of reference the works in this bibliography are listed under the name of each traveller and appear, as in the text of the Appendix, in chronological order of their visits and not alphabetically or according to dates of birth.

First editions of the primary texts have been cited where possible. Italics have been represented by underlining, "ß" by "ss" and every attempt has been made to reproduce the orthography of the original texts and thereby retain consistency. Only obvious publication errors have been altered.

PART ONE : LITERARY AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

INTRODUCTION

The literature of travel presents a field of study whose boundaries are ill-defined. Indeed the study of travel literature involves not just one but several fields: in this connection a distinction between the history of travel and the history of travel literature should first be clearly made. The former can be seen as an aspect of social history, the latter of literary history. Yet by their very nature the two overlap and the student of either finds himself concerned with both. In order to evaluate the worth of the travel work, both the motive for travel and the nature of the subject-matter described require consideration; where foreign travel is concerned, the study becomes a comparative one, for the social and cultural history both of the traveller's land of origin and also of his destination must be taken into account. Finally, the travel work's place in the history of literature must be appraised.

It has thus been thought beneficial in the light of the present study, whose emphasis is perforce mainly socio-historical, and in the absence of a definitive history of travel literature, to consider the following areas of literary and historical background:

- I Travel Literature: History and Form
 - a) The European Literature of Travel
 - b) Travel and travel literature in Germany
 - c) Definition of Travel Literature
- II German-Speaking Travellers in England to 1860
- III Scotland as a Tourist Goal
 - a) The first tours
 - b) The German view of Scotland
- IV The German-Speaking Travellers in Scotland to 1860
- V The German-Speaking Travellers in Scotland, 1800-1860
 - a) The visits and travel works
 - b) Generation links and personal connections
 - c) Textual source references
 - d) Literary form and purpose

It is to be hoped that such a survey will provide an adequate basis from which to proceed to the main body of the thesis.

CHAPTER ITRAVEL LITERATURE : HISTORY AND FORMa) THE EUROPEAN LITERATURE OF TRAVEL

Before attempting to define or assess German travel literature of the 19th Century it is useful to consider briefly European travel literature in general. For historical reasons the German-speaking lands were narrow in outlook and concern and travellers whose inclination urged them further afield were obliged to turn elsewhere for support and example. It was after all as members of James Cook's British expedition that Reinhold and Georg Forster sailed round the world in 1772-75,¹ and Adalbert von Chamisso was one of many German scientists who served on Russian Polar expeditions of the 19th Century.²

Three questions present themselves: what is travel literature, how has it developed and who writes it? In order to be able to attempt a definition, the second two questions should be considered first. Many accounts have been written of the history of travel, from the time of the Greeks and Romans to that of the wandering minstrels and pilgrims, and from the Grand Tour to the package tour.³ While the history of travel itself is not of direct concern here, the dividing line between written records of travel and travel literature is so fine that one could argue that it scarcely exists. It could hardly be disputed that written records of early travel belong to the literature of travel, yet accounts of recent travel more often find their place in the history of geography and related sciences. In the intermediary stage, in the late 18th and early 19th Centuries, when scientific research was taking over from religion, trade, war and adventure as the motive for 'voyages of discovery', many of the scientists' travel accounts display evidence that the scientific motive only served to encourage further interests on a wider human scale. By this token the travel works^{3a} of such writers as Forster, Chamisso and Alexander von Humboldt straddle both sides of the fence. Similarly it is not unexpected to find medical men and industrialists numbered amongst the poets, artists, naturalists and ethnographers who produced travel works during this time. It is wrong, however, to

regard travel writers only as travellers and not as writers,⁴ since in many instances literary and scientific merit can be seen to go hand in hand. How, then, does one determine whether travel works are deserving of a place in the history of literature?⁵ To aid this exercise it is helpful to look back to an age when travel could be seen to be of relevance to all, namely to the Age of Pilgrimage. By the very nature of the journeys they described, the pilgrim authors of the 14th and 15th Centuries were anxious both to teach and to entertain,⁶ and from this time on Horace's maxim, "prodesse et delectare", became the yardstick of travel literature.⁷ Recognition that the genre had literary potential was a natural development,⁸ as in turn was the great influence that the idea of pilgrimage was to have on literature. The allegory of the journey, of travel and of pilgrimage, is a recurring theme in the history of literature and of relevance here in its similarity to 19th Century Romantic tours, where the idea of the journey often superseded the journey itself.⁹

After the Middle Ages and the pilgrims the next great development in the European literature of travel was brought about by the Grand Tour and its popularity in the 17th and 18th Centuries.¹⁰ Without the Grand Tour neither 19th Century or modern day tourism nor the literature they have occasioned would have developed as they have. Ideally the Grand Tourist travelled across Europe in order to improve himself, to complete his education and prepare himself for his life's career. If he wanted to record his travels in an original manner, the record was of necessity personal and subjective, since the Tour's itinerary seldom varied. Innovation in a written account of a tour had therefore to come from the writer, but since 18th Century convention precluded the personal, with the critics condemning the autobiographical or trivial, help had to be sought elsewhere. In the use of Classical quotation in his Remarks on Italy of 1705,¹¹ Addison taught his followers to look to literature for that help. In doing so, he added a new dimension to European travel literature and one which was to be developed to an extreme in later Romantic association. By the 18th Century the Grand Tourists were no longer only rich young men being educated in the interests of humanism, but Classical enthusiasts, inspired by literature. This can be seen as a direct precedent for later travel to Scotland. The irony of the Grand Tour from the Scottish point of view is that while young British noblemen, many Scots amongst them, were touring France and Italy, Scotland

itself remained largely 'undiscovered'.¹² Historical events for the most part prevented war-ravaged Germany from being included on the Grand Tour and so it, too, had to wait to be 'discovered'.

The end of the Grand Tour was inevitable.¹³ Sterne's attack on the Grand Tour in A Sentimental Journey was indication that its demise was near; the Grand Tourists were part of "the whole army of peregrine martyrs",

more especially those travellers who set out upon their travels with the benefit of the clergy, either as delinquents travelling under the direction of governors recommended by the magistrate - or young gentlemen transported by the cruelty of parents and guardians, and travelling under the direction of governors recommended by Oxford, Aberdeen and Glasgow.¹⁴

But if motivation was lacking amongst the rich and privileged 'compulsory' travellers, the opportunity to travel was becoming available to a wider class of people. The great technical advances in travel means coincided with the increasing number of travel books and guides published, mostly in English, throughout the 17th and 18th Centuries. Apart from the wealthy, the individual travellers no longer numbered just travelling merchants and journeymen¹⁵, but also a new class of traveller, who was to contribute towards and demand much of travel literature, namely the woman traveller. Until the 18th Century it was almost exclusively men who travelled, leaving the women to content themselves with travels of the imagination, fed by fantasy novels. By the end of the century there were now, to use Hamalian's phrase, "ladies on the loose".¹⁷ Prime amongst these in German-speaking lands was to be the intrepid world traveller and friend of Alexander von Humboldt, Ida Pfeiffer.¹⁸

The content of the travel accounts naturally changed with the identity of the travellers. Percy Adams in his book on 18th Century travel literature¹⁹ points to a paradox encountered by contemporary travel writers: the 18th Century, as the Age of Reason, demanded facts gleaned from empirical observation, yet the demand for data was for many years greater than the supply. In order to satisfy this demand the writer resorted to his imagination and what Adams terms the "travel lie" ensued. By the end of the 18th Century the new appreciation of landscape and the inclusion of anecdote and

autobiography put an end to this demand.²⁰ In each case the literary potential was recognised to the full by outstanding writers and in this it was English literature which took the lead and inspired the German; on the one hand Swift and Defoe pursued the allegory of travel and on the other Smollett and Sterne developed the subjective 'sentimental' journey. Sterne's influence on German travel literature was great.²¹ The concept of sentimental travels appealed to those hampered by Aufklärung tradition on the one hand and enthused by Werther on the other, and "empfindsame Reisen" enjoyed great popularity.²² But while the full literary and satirical potential of Sterne's innovative style was recognised and realised by more perceptive writers, culminating in Heine's Reisebilder some sixty years later,²³ it also suffered the fate of many a literary fashion, namely misinterpretation and a descent into the realm of triviality. More and more travel literature came to belong only to the class of "Unterhaltungsliteratur", accelerated by the growth of the reading public. But the vital shift in emphasis from objectivity to subjectivity in sentimental travel corresponded with more serious literary and philosophical trends towards the end of the century. The achievements of Forster and Humboldt ensured the healthy survival of German travel literature well into the 19th Century; thereafter Heine and Pückler-Muskau, and finally Fontane, revived the genre anew. Meanwhile a succession of writers had continued the genre in English literature, with similar developments, launched by Voltaire and Muralt, de Saussure and de Bougainville, manifested in French literature. Defoe, Fielding, Pennant, Arthur Young, Boswell and Johnson are amongst the prominent names of the 18th Century, while the works of Byron, Kinglake and Borrow were to reflect the new trends of the 19th Century. By this date two distinct types of travel literature had emerged,²⁴ firstly the purely entertaining travel work, continued throughout the century by such writers as Stevenson and the Americans, Mark Twain and Henry James, and secondly the instructive guide, formerly often incorporated into narrative travel accounts, but since the advent of steam travel and the innovations and commercial bent of Murray and Baedeker placed in a class of its own.

As to the identity of the 18th Century travellers, Sterne himself dealt mercilessly with the subject in A Sentimental Journey.

Without losing sight of the satire, one might still apply his conclusions to travellers of the 19th Century or even to-day. Firstly he lists three motives for travel abroad, "Infirmity of body, Imbecility of mind, or Inevitable necessity"²⁵ and secondly he categorises the travellers themselves, concluding:

Thus the whole circle of travellers may be reduced to the following heads.

Idle Travellers,
Inquisitive Travellers,
Lying Travellers,
Proud Travellers,
Vain Travellers,
Splenic Travellers.

Then follow the Travellers of Necessity.

The delinquent and felonious Traveller,

The unfortunate and innocent Traveller,

The simple Traveller,

And last of all (if you please) the

Sentimental Traveller (meaning thereby myself), who have travelled, and of which I am now sitting down to give an account - as much out of Necessity, and the besoin de Voyager, as any one in the class.(26)

It was natural that Sterne's readers should identify with the last named class, if not with the Travellers of Necessity, but the candid observer or unkind critic might well have had some justification in counting them in one of the other classes to suffer Sterne's satire. Perhaps because of this, Niemeyer felt obliged to add a further class of traveller:

Lorenz Sterne hat bekanntlich mancherley Eintheilungen und Classen von Reisen vorgeschlagen. Ich Kann sie mit einer, die ihm entgangen ist, vermehren, den Freywilligen und den Gezwungenen.(27)

The Grand Tourists and Sentimental Travellers of the 17th and 18th Centuries became the Sentimental Tourists of the 19th Century. Although there were still many avid cataloguers traversing Europe as well as more distant lands, collecting lists of social, industrial and institutional statistics, it was to be the sentimental tourist, armed with the powers of Romantic association, who would set the fashion for travel and travel literature in the 19th Century. Over one hundred years after Sterne had written his definition of the Grand Tourist and Sentimental Traveller, Henry James defined their successor:

The sentimental tourist makes images in advance: they

grow up in his mind by a logic of their own. He finds himself thinking of an unknown, unseen place, as having such and such a shape and figure rather than such another. It assumes in his mind a certain complexion, a certain colour which frequently turns out to be singularly at variance with reality.(28)

As implied here by James, one cannot analyse the content of 19th Century travel writings without some idea of the preconceptions of the travellers. Thus knowledge of the contemporary German attitude to Scotland (and more generally to Britain) and of the tradition out of which it grew is prerequisite to an analysis of German travel works written in the 19th Century with Scotland as their subject-matter.

b) TRAVEL AND TRAVEL LITERATURE IN GERMANY

i. Germany and Travel

In order to assess the impact which Scottish visits had on German travellers on the first half of the 19th Century, it is helpful first to look briefly at the social state of contemporary Germany and at some of the events which affected, directly or indirectly, the characters, views and lives of the individual travellers under study.²⁹

It did not require much insight on the part of the German travellers to Britain in the late 18th and early 19th Centuries to be aware of the extent of the contrasts between the two countries. England had experienced her revolution in the 17th Century, the last battle on British soil had been fought in 1746, and by the end of the 18th Century the Industrial Revolution had rendered Great Britain, a united land under one government, far ahead of contemporary Europe. It was a natural result of Germany's political, industrial and social retardation that travel was late to develop. The Thirty Years War had left Germany with over 350 petty states and movement between them was restricted. Over one hundred and fifty years later, in 1803, the "Reichsdeputationshauptschluss" did away with more than half of the states and left only six Free Cities, but it was not until the Deutscher Bund of June 1815, in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, that Germany became a more manageable

confederation, with thirty-nine member states and only four 'Freie Reichsstädte'. Even so, the Congress of Vienna was in essence reactionary and for those bent on German unity or liberal reform the fact that three foreign powers, Denmark, the Netherlands and Britain, still held sway over German territories was bound to encourage dissent.³⁰ Metternich's fear of revolution and nationalism was quite naturally countered by their growth. The Confederation became a police state and the peace that reigned until the revolution year of 1848 and the shortlived "Frankfurter Nationalversammlung" was hardly a happy one; from their conception in 1819 until they were ended by Friedrich Wilhelm I on his accession in 1840 the suppressive "Karlsbader Beschlüsse" formed a threatening dark cloud over intellectual activity. It was an irony indeed that in the face of the events of 1848 Metternich was forced to flee to England, where so many of his opponents had found refuge from him.

Socially and politically, therefore, Germany was a land with little sense of purpose and identity in the early part of the 19th Century. Physically it bore many scars from a succession of wars. The three Silesian Wars, the Seven Years War in particular, had dominated the 18th Century and the land had hardly recovered itself before the Napoleonic Wars defaced it further.³¹ In Prussia the popularity of the serf liberator, Friedrich Wilhelm III, was little comfort in the face of the defeat at Jena and Prussia's humiliation in the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807, and for the average German the victory of the "Völkerschlacht" in Leipzig, with its huge loss of life, can at best only have been bitter-sweet. It is small wonder that travel across the fluid boundaries of Germany was dangerous, yet by the same token it is easy to understand the German desire for travel and escape, especially in the light of the huge developments in the literary and philosophical fields. It is significant that of all the German visitors to Britain in the 18th and 19th Centuries, the vast majority came from the long disputed lands of Prussia and Saxony.

The German people of Central and Eastern Europe were not by nature stay-at-homes. From the days of knights errant, troubadours and pilgrims, the Germans had travelled, and even if the Thirty Years War curtailed movement, travels were resumed thereafter, by the

merchants on the one hand and the rich on the other. There had long been a tradition of spas in Germany. Bauer traces the popular "Badefahrten" back to Medieval times,³² while the word "Kur" received its modern connotation after the Thirty Years War in the late 17th Century, when the medical profession first advocated taking the waters in such inland resorts as Selters, Karlsbad and Spa itself. But at this time these resorts were almost exclusively meeting places for the privileged members of Europe's aristocracy, all of whom travelled by luxurious private coach.³³

Meanwhile the tradition of the "Kavaliers- und Bildungstouren" amongst the rich had continued. In the 18th Century Italy was ever a favourite destination but increasingly England, democratic and peaceful and long upheld by Germans as a model state, and satisfying the younger generation of the political Jungdeutschland as well as those with commercial and scientific interests, was a popular goal. Travel across Germany on these journeys, however, was not easy.

At the turn of the 19th Century the German communications system was essentially still back in the 17th Century in the age of the Grand Tour. By the mid-18th Century identity passes were demanded of the scores of wandering journeymen,³⁴ and movement was restricted to the wealthy. Even though the contemporary Franz Posselt recorded a host of different professions, from theology to landscape gardening, which caused men (seldom women) to take to the roads in Germany in the 18th Century,³⁵ public transport was in its infancy; apart from the military and the decreasing number of journeymen and apprentices (their continued existence being curtailed by the 19th Century introduction of freedom of trade), the only real safe means of travel was by private coach. At the beginning of the 19th Century the only public alternative to travelling on foot or horseback was by the "Post", renownedly uncomfortable, dangerous and slow.³⁶ The road conditions were appalling and it was not until 1815 that they were expanded, following the example of Napoleon's military roads, and 1822 that Macadamised surfaces were used.³⁷ 1821 saw the introduction of the "Schnellpost" in Prussia, only four years before the first passenger train in Britain. One

of the chief drawbacks to travelling at this time through Germany lay in the inordinate number of frontiers and boundaries to be crossed.³⁸ Until the Deutscher Zollverein was formed in 1834 customs points were at every border.³⁹ Although the 1830's also saw the introduction of new horse-drawn public excursion vehicles, such as the "Pferdeomnibus", the seven kilometre track of the first German railway, which ran from Nürnberg to Fürth and was opened in December 1835, was a poor relative of the ever expanding railway networks in Britain, France, America and even Austria.⁴⁰ Greeven describes the Nürnberg-Fürth track opening as "ein Ereignis von umwälzender Bedeutung für Deutschland, aber auch ein Exempel für den bürokratischen Halbschlaf des biedermeierlichen Amtsschimmels, der sich in den Kommissionen der 'Königl. privilegierten Ludwigs-Eisenbahn-Gesellschaft' mit aller Behaglichkeit breit machte."⁴¹ Four years later the Koblenz bookseller, Karl Baedeker, borrowing John Murray's idea of 1829,⁴² published his first handbook to Holland and Belgium and from that date on his work not only opened up new possibilities for German travellers, but also revealed the long obscured attractions of Germany to others. With the rising interest elsewhere in Europe in German literature and philosophy, the German universities and the 'romantic' regions of the Rhine, Black Forest, Riesengebirge and Sächsische Schweiz, there was a steady improvement in travel means, aids and accommodation. The first steamer had crossed the Channel in 1816, and Germany, no longer war-ridden, was accessible to visitors from abroad. Thus tourism arrived late in Germany:

Nicht zufällig bürgerte sich das Wort Tourismus, das um 1800 bei den reisefreudigen Engländern aufkam, gegen 1830 auch in Deutschland ein. Geschäftstüchtige Unternehmer organisierten die ersten Gesellschaftsreisen, und aufmerksame Verleger kamen dem steigenden Informationsbedürfnis der Reisenden mit neuartigen Publikationen entgegen: die Frühzeit der Dampfschiffe und Eisenbahnen wurde zur Hochzeit der Reisehandbücher. Zwar hatten auch vorher schon versierte Weltenbummler ihre Erfahrungen aufgeschrieben und zu bedenken gegeben ... Aber erst um 1830 etablierte sich der 'Reiseführer' neuen Typs, der bestimmte Touren empfahl, Sehenswürdigkeiten systematisch verzeichnete und sie nach dem Prinzip der verschiedenen Sternchen klassifizierte. (43)

It was then not until 1854 that Karl Riesel founded the first German

Travel Agency.⁴⁴ Up to that date German travellers had to use their own initiative; travel was an individual affair, and, except for the rich, was prompted by intellectual and artistic rather than social trends. One class of people had proved an exception to this, however: in the 1840's emigration was becoming so common that Johannes Rominger had seen fit to set up an "Auswandererbüro" in Stuttgart. By the last decade under study, from 1851-60, there were approximately 60,000 Germans emigrating annually.⁴⁵

In evaluating the content of the German travel accounts of Scottish tours, the unsettled and backward nature of their land of origin cannot be overlooked. While on the one hand the years between the Napoleonic Wars and the Revolution year of 1848 were marked by political dissent, on the other they coincided with the placid inactivity of Biedermeier. Greeven points out that the Germany represented in Spitzweg's idylls has given a false picture of a sense of security at this time:

Die Wirklichkeit war aber anders: muffig und eng und Verdrossenheit ausbrütend; der Geist stagnierte und alle Frische der Jugend vertrocknete unter dem Druck Metternich'scher Regierungsmethoden. Während der Zeit von 1815 bis 1848 hat in Deutschland kein Mensch, wie einst Hutten, ausgerufen, dass es eine Lust sei zu leben. Wer es weiss, wird auch unser bedächtiges, etwas lahmes Tempo zu Beginn der Maschinenära menschlich verständlich und darum verzeihlich finden. (46)

It was to escape this stagnant atmosphere that many Germans travelled to Britain at this time, but some were merely seeking further idylls and hoped to find them in Ireland and Scotland through Romantic escapism.

ii. German Travel Literature

Carl Beck sees the urge to travel as a fundamental part of the German make-up. In following the history of German travel down the ages, he finds one recurring characteristic trait, namely

das immer rege Streben nach Erweiterung und Vervollkommnung des Weltbildes, die nie ermattende Lust zu Tätigkeit und Leistung, der durch nichts aufzuhaltende rastlose faustische Drang, der ständig vorwärts blickt und sich nicht so leicht beruhigt auf ein Faubett legt. (47)

Whether this be true or not, there is no doubt that the restrictions

imposed on travel, and therefore on potential travel writers, by political events in Germany in the 17th, 18th (and early 19th) Centuries had an adverse effect on the development of German travel literature. German travellers had of course played their part in the history of travel and exploration and one may cite the 15th Century Martin Behaim and the oriental travellers of the following two centuries, Kaempfer, Niebuhr and Burckhardt as examples.⁴⁸ But travel within German-speaking lands remained restricted and it was not until the middle of the 18th Century that German travellers other than cosmographers and explorers set out in any numbers, with Johann Georg Keyssler setting a precedent with his Reisen durch Deutschland, Böhmen usw. of 1740.⁴⁹ Of course this trend coincided with the spirit of the Aufklärung and paralleled developments elsewhere in Europe, but even so Germany's history had ensured that in this respect as in many others she was behind her contemporaries. For historical reasons, too, Germany was not included on the Grand Tour itinerary until late in the history of the Tour,⁵⁰ although rich young Germans on "Bildungsreisen" had been numbered amongst the Grand Tourists, thus following in the tradition both of the "Kavalierstouren" and of the 17th Century "Badenfahrten".⁵¹ But the German Grand Tourists, unlike the English, had little part to play in laying the foundations for the development of travel literature. Instead a series of influential writers took to the roads in the latter half of the 18th Century, setting a trend apart from the contemporary travels of the rich and titled to the newly founded and fashionable spas.⁵² The emotionally charged "Empfindsamkeit" of the 18th Century was ideally suited to travel,⁵³ as was the popular epistolary or journal form. Travel was considered an art:

Damals wurde mit Verstand und Hingabe gereist, wie mit dieser Intensität nie mehr danach. Das Reisen galt als eine besondere Kunst, die zu erlernen sich jeder alle Mühe gab, wobei die geistige Vorbereitung, ein eingehender Reiseplan, die Führung von Tagebüchern usw. als selbstverständlich galten. Der Wert des Reisens wurde in seinem vollen Umfange erkannt und auch genutzt. Als die wichtigsten Vorzüge des Reisens galten, dass es die Geisteskräfte und Kenntnisse übt, stärkt und vermehrt, Menschenkenntnis und Weltklugheit lehrt, von Vorurteilen befreit, den Charakter bessert, den Geschmack bildet, die Sitten verfeinert und eine reiche Quelle mannigfaltiger Vergnügen ist. (54)

As Elkar shows in his article, "Reisen bildet", the changing trends in travel are clearly reflected in the emphasis of the travel guides published down the years.⁵⁵ Pragmatic guides had been available since the 16th Century, with a strong didactic flavour:

Reiseanleitungen dienten zwar grundsätzlich pragmatischen Zwecken, waren aber bis in die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts mit räsionierenden und reflektierenden Passagen versehen, die sie mit dem Genre aufklärerischer und sentimentalischer Reisebeschreibungen verbanden. Als das Reisen selbst immer weniger Wagnis oder Bildungserlebnis bedeutete und als nach der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts die Erholungs- und noch mehr die statusgemässe Vergnügungsreise in die 'Sommerfrische' vom Adel bzw. Besitzbürgertum ausgehend auch breitere Bevölkerungsschichten erfasste, verkümmerte die Gattung der Reiseliteratur und vor allem die der Reiseanleitungen zur blossen Kunst- oder Naturtopographie.(56)

In order to follow the literary aspect of this trend, the importance of Italy cannot be overlooked. The urge to head south to the warmer climes of classical antiquity was more and more fulfilled by journeys over the Alps. Indeed the special relationship harboured by so many Germans with Italy in the late 18th Century (and following the precedent set by Britain's Addison and Lassels)⁵⁷ has parallels with German feeling for Scotland in the succeeding years.⁵⁸ At the same time the late 'discovery' of Germany has an important parallel with the 18th Century 'discovery' of Scotland.

The year 1755, when Winckelmann arrived in Rome, can be seen to be a suitable starting point.⁵⁹ Apart from the huge direct influence which he exerted on German literature and thinking from Italy, his presence in Rome also exerted some indirect influence on travel literature. He gave future writers new motives for travel, and in doing so, revealed new subject-matter, whose potential was to be realised by the Romantics:

Man muss das Prinzip der barocken Bildungsreise umkehren, um die deutsche Romantik recht zu verstehen: Man reiste nicht mehr, um sich zu bilden, sondern die Gebildeten reisten auch!
... Die allgemeine Reisebildungswut war für ein glückliches halbes Jahrhundert unterbrochen, und die Gebildeten der deutschen Gesellschaft gingen daran, neue Wege zu suchen.(60)

These "neue Wege" were both literal and metaphorical, the old seen in a new fashion. Of all the routes to be appreciated anew it was the Alpine region which first came into its own.⁶¹ Ironically perhaps Winckelmann himself had never been able to view the mountains as anything other than an aggravating impediment, terrible and uninspiring.⁶² Even the innovative Albrecht von Haller, who had visited the Alps forty years earlier, in 1728, had not encouraged the readers of his poem, "Die Alpen", to tour the mountain region for the mountains' sake, but had rather roused a new interest in the rustic (if idealised) lifestyle of the Alpine peasants.⁶³ In this of course can be seen a precedent for interest in the primitive existence of Highland crofters. In this respect, too, Rousseau's influence on the outlook of travellers at this time was profound. Two Swiss pioneers completed the Alpine 'discovery', the physicist Saussure, who climbed Mont Blanc in 1787, and the painter Füssli, who committed the mountains to canvas in the 1770's.⁶⁴ During those years Goethe was also on the move, making a Rhine trip with Lavater and Basedow in 1774, accompanying the Stolberg brothers on their "Geniereise" to Switzerland in 1775,⁶⁵ riding through the Harz the following year and travelling with Duke Karl August to Switzerland once more in 1779. His two Italian journeys^{of} the following decade were of course monumental in their importance for German literature and the Italienische Reise has its own special place in the history of travel literature, even though it was received with disappointment in certain quarters when it was finally published nearly thirty years after the visit.⁶⁶ Another work which has a similar part to play here and was also published long after the journey in question is Herder's reflective Journal meiner Reise im Jahr 1769.⁶⁷

It was at this time that Herder met both Lessing and Claudius, whose differing attitudes show the diverse effect the possibility of travel was having on German minds. Lessing's Italian journey of 1775-6 is notable only for its fruitlessness,⁶⁸ but it coincided with the current enthusiasm for Heinrich von Gerstenberg's dream of founding a "Dichterkolonie" on Tahiti, the exotic island whose existence had been revealed by Forster in his Reise um die Welt. Klopstock, Voss and initially Claudius were all enthusiastic about the unrealistic idyll,⁶⁹ though Claudius' enthusiasm waned and he began instead

to extol the joys of walking, experienced to the full by Ernst Moritz Arndt on his European walking tour of 1798-9.⁷⁰ Meanwhile Carl Philipp Moritz had followed up his popular Reise eines Deutschen in England with his Reise eines Deutschen in Italien.⁷¹ Many travels through Germany and adjoining lands were appearing at this time, for example Ludwig von Hess' Durchflüge durch Deutschland, die Niederlande und Frankreich and Friedrich Nicolai's popular but lengthy Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland und die Schweiz im Jahre 1781.⁷² Nicolai's work was typical of the day, providing information and opinions on industry, learning, customs and religion, interests which led to England often being included in tours. Such was the popularity of travel throughout Europe that in 1795 Franz Posselt saw a market for his work Apodemik oder die Kunst zu reisen.⁷³ Oertel stresses the importance of travel accounts in the 18th Century:

Der Gewinn, der sich aus dem geistigen Verkehr der Reisebeschreiber untereinander ergab, teilte sich rasch weiteren Kreisen mit; denn die Reiseberichte wurden eifrig gelesen; das Interesse daran war fast allgemein, und so wurde es den Reisebeschreibern möglich, tief in das geistige Leben des 18. Jahrhunderts einzugreifen. Insbesondere suchten viele deutsche Dichter, die freilich den Reisebeschreibern gegenüber auch oft die Gebenden waren, sich an den Schätzen zu bereichern, die in den Reisebeschreibungen niedergelegt waren.(74)

But while the spread of travel was on the whole positive in its effect on the growth of informative and entertaining travel literature, it did also have a negative result. Voluminous and pedantic travel guides and accounts, minute in tedious detail, began to appear.⁷⁵ The ease with which the spontaneity of travel could be lost was becoming apparent and Horace's maxim of "prodesse et delectare" was losing perspective.⁷⁶ The desire for facts was in many cases completely overriding and at the same time self-defeating. How could a traveller learn and benefit from his travels if he saw everything with preconditioned eyes? Writing of this late 18th Century problem, Elkar comments:

Tatsächlich bestand eine gewisses Spannungsverhältnis zwischen der radikalen Aufforderung zu einer Selbstbildung, die offen gegenüber

der Welt sein sollte, und dem Mass an Vorbereitungen und Vorinformationen, die auf ein vorbedachtes, weit weniger spontanes Reisen abzielten. Mit anderen Worten erhebt sich die Frage, ob ein so gründlich präpariertes Reisen, gerade was den Inhalt der Bildungsreise anbelangte, nicht zu einer Erlebnisblindheit im einfachen Falle oder zu einem vorurteilsverhafteten Reisen im erschwerten Falle führen konnte.(77)

Contemporaries were aware of the paradoxical nature of such works and one result was Die Reise nach Fritzlär im Sommer 1794, Auszug aus dem Tagebuch. Durchaus bloss für Freunde, by Adolph Freiherr von Knigge, a satirical attack on the pedantic Reise nach Kopenhagen im Sommer 1793. Auszug aus dem Tagebuch. Durchaus bloss für Fremde of Johann Kaspar Lavater.⁷⁸

In many cases it was the insatiable demand of the reading public which caused poor standards. Moreover it was tempting for writers with inferior knowledge themselves to remould already published material as new, contenting themselves with reproducing endless lists of facts and figures. In his essay "Raumerfahrung und Erfahrungsraum"⁷⁹ Laermann points to the achievements of Knigge, Rebmann⁸⁰ and Forster as set against the pedantry of much late 18th Century travel literature, in which catalogues of facts and figures obliterate the reader's potential for "Raumerfahrung". By this date the mark of a good travel writer no longer lay in the ability to produce (or reproduce) an abundance of data, but instead depended on the ability to allow the reader to feel that he, too, was experiencing the land of travel. This phenomenon, which Laermann terms "Raumerfahrung", does not confine either reader or author to time and space, but transcends them, effecting a new sense of time in a human and historical context. It is only in the outstanding works of travel literature, such as those of Georg Forster, that this level is attained. The travel work must justify itself on its own merits: the "autotelische Theorie", of which William Stewart writes,⁸¹ was to replace the earlier "autoptische Theorie", when the very fact of travel to foreign lands was an adventure or novelty. New demands were constantly being made of the traveller: a comprehensive view was sought, the "Totalblick" of which Beck writes

when describing Goethe's Italienische Reise.⁸² The compulsory educative element was disappearing and the expectations of the readers changing; on the one hand they desired a work of literary or artistic merit and on the other sensitive and informed debate:

Die Reisebegebenheiten konnten für einen Mann, der in England oder Polen reiste, meist nicht bedeutend sein. Der Leser erwartete sich nicht viel davon, sondern er suchte Mitteilungen über die diplomatischen und gesellschaftlichen Zustände, zur Not Anekdoten und Klatsch, und den ernstesten Politiker erfreuten die neuesten Zahlen über die Bevölkerung, die Armee, den Handel, das Schuldenwesen. Diese enge Verbindung mit der Politik öffnete auch den politischen Theorien den Weg in die Reisebeschreibungen.(83)

An awareness of this aspect of the potential of travel literature soon rendered redundant the travel hints of Graf Leopold Berchthold, who advocated recording everything, lest something new be omitted.⁸⁴ Writers such as L.W. Gilbert, whose Handbuch für Reisende durch Deutschland was published in Leipzig in 1791, were advocating travel works whose scope went beyond mere cataloguing of facts and figures.⁸⁵ Moreover travel was becoming easier and more enjoyable. The rising popularity of the epistolary form lent itself to the sense of authenticity and subjectivity required by the readers, who were no longer merely eager recipients but potential travellers too, eager to try their own hand at writing travel accounts. Writers and poets were travelling for their own pleasure as well as for educative reasons.⁸⁶ Wilhelm von Humboldt even took his pregnant wife and three young children with him to Spain in 1800 and the following year Arnim set out on a three year Grand Tour, which took him through Switzerland, France, Italy, the British Isles and the Netherlands. At the same time Johann Gottfried Seume created a landmark in the history of travel literature with the account of his walking tour to Sicily in 1801-2, Spaziergang nach Syrakus.⁸⁷ Its lasting popularity was indicative of the new attitude to travel, reflected in the Romantic Movement. Ideally the traveller could now come into contact with all classes of people⁸⁸ and enjoy a hitherto unknown closeness to Nature. The traveller's sensitivity allowed potential for a new artistic awareness, which effected a "Doppelblick, der die Natur in

der Kunst, die Kunst in der Natur sah".⁸⁹ But although the Romantics delighted in the idea of travel, there is little if any Romantic German travel literature as such, rather works with the metaphor of travel as a central theme.⁹⁰ Nonetheless individual Romantics did enjoy travel: Tieck and Wackenroder undertook a "Pfungstreise" together in 1793 and Arnim and Brentano accompanied each other down the Rhine in 1802,⁹¹ while Chamisso, whose Peter Schlemihl appeared in 1814, served as expedition botanist on Kotzebue's Russian sponsored world tour of 1815-18.⁹²

Chamisso can be seen to play a dual rôle here in that his creative work belongs to the Romantic tradition, while his Reise um die Welt followed a tradition set by Seume and Forster, which has been considered to be 'anti-Romantic'.⁹³ Chodowiecki's horseback journey from Berlin to Danzig in 1773⁹⁴ had served as an eye-opener; although his diary was written in tragi-comic vein, behind the humour was a down to earth observer. While Moritz was happy to use his powers of observation to supplement a new intensity of feeling and awareness of Nature, Seume emerged as the more critical observer. In contrast to the prevalent "Italien-Euphorie des deutschen Bürger-tums"⁹⁵ Seume saw both positive and negative aspects of life in Italy, displaying a political and social awareness absent in so much travel literature. Such an awareness had been well represented by Georg Forster, however, in his Ansichten vom Niederrhein. As Erler points out,⁹⁶ Forster's deliberate use of the word "Ansichten" with its double meaning shows how such travel works were no longer in the Aufklärung tradition of didactic entertainment, but belonged to a new class of travel literature, "dieses operative Genre eines literarisch-publizistischen Reiseberichts mit sozialem und politischem Akzent".⁹⁷ Thus the travel account was being developed as a forum for political argument and social comment by those for whom a feeling for Nature was secondary to criticism and even satire. Once more political events were giving rise to a new sort of traveller:

Die bedeutenden demokratischen Schriftsteller des Vormärz, es sei nur an Büchner, Heine und seinen Kontrahenten Börne erinnert, berichteten in Briefen oder in Reiseschilderungen von ihren Auslandserfahrungen. Das

sind bekannte Dinge. In diesem Zusammenhang ist darauf hinzuweisen, dass die Revolutionen von 1789, 1830 und 1848 einen neuen Typus von "Reisenden" prägten, dessen Charakteristikum nicht selten ein Herumgetriebensein zwischen den Schauplätzen der Weltgeschichte war, geplagt vom Los der Emigration. Solche Reisenden suchten Überall, wohin sie kamen, den Geist der revolutionären Aufklärung, den Kampf auf den Zinnen der Partei oder jenes Landes, das dem idealen Staat nach ihrem Empfinden am nächsten kam.(98)

It was in this context that so many Germans found their way to Britain and one can name Malvida von Meysenbug and Moritz Hartmann as typical examples of the 1848 exiles.⁹⁹

With Heine as a model, the travel account, especially in its more journalistic forms, continued to be used as a political and social weapon throughout the Vormärz. Erlar writes:

In den dreissiger und vierziger Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts erlebte die künstlerische intendierte Reiseprosa eine ungewöhnliche Blütezeit, wobei Heine oft nachgeahmt und nie erreicht wurde. Die ästhetische Kombination von authentischem Bericht und weitreichender Assoziation, von individuellem Erlebnis und verallgemeinernder Reflexion bot spezifische Möglichkeiten, unter den schwierigen Bedingungen von Restauration und Vormärz soziales Engagement und politische Opposition zu demonstrieren.(100)

Erlar goes on to comment that after 1848 the only really great writer to use the genre was Fontane, although it should be stressed that this in no way meant that the genre had been neglected. There seems little doubt amongst critics that Heine reached unrivalled heights:

Am Ende der klassisch-romantischen Doppelperiode ist Heinrich Heine der grosse Erbe aller Möglichkeiten und historischen Ausprägungen der Reiseliteratur. Er begründet Begriff und Form des Reisebildes, mit dem er die romantische Ideen- und Formenwelt artistisch übersteigert, ironisch zersetzt und schliesslich zerstört, mit dem er aber auch einen zukunftsweisenden Genre- und Detailrealismus entwickelt, die Satire mit höchster Virtuosität handhabt und publizistisch-tagespolitischen Tendenzen im Sinne der Kunst- und Weltanschauung des Jungen Deutschland grossen Raum gewährt.(101)

While Heine was using the "Reisebild", with its implications of poetic imagery, as a place to express his ideas and to realise "die

Möglichkeiten, die das Reisemotiv in der künstlerischen Verschmelzung von authentischem Bericht und weitreichender Assoziation, von tatsächlichem Erlebnis und scheinbar willkürlicher Reflexion über Gott und die Welt bot", ¹⁰² others were continuing more in the Aufklärung tradition. The emphasis of the travel writer had turned from an exclusive interest in people and culture to a more expansive approach, including an awareness of landscape and Nature, at the same time leaving room for philosophical reflection. It was here that science and creative art met. Chamisso's work continued this aspect of Forster's travel writing, but its chief exponent was Forster's companion on the 1790 European tour, namely Alexander von Humboldt. In the introduction to his Reise um die Welt, Georg Forster had written of his awareness of his own personal point of view:

Zuweilen folgte ich dem Herzen und liess meine Empfindungen reden; denn da ich von menschlichen Schwachheiten nicht frey bin, so mussten meine Leser doch wissen, wie das Glas gefärbt ist, durch welches ich gesehen habe, Wenigstens bin ich mir bewusst, dass es nicht finster und trübe vor meinen Augen gewesen ist. Alle Völker der Erde haben gleiche Ansprüche auf meinen guten Willen. So zu denken war ich immer gewohnt.(103)

He hopes he has achieved a pleasing style on the one hand and a lack of prejudice on the other, an aspect of travel which Humboldt also found vital, as he expounded in the second volume of Kosmos. ¹⁰⁴

Travel literature gained much from the exchange of ideas between contemporary writers and scientists; Humboldt's influence, as scientist, traveller and travel writer, was great. It was he who perceived the importance of interpretation through poetic use of language in nature description, which alone could create the living word, "das belebte Bild." The writer should show "ein ernstes Bestreben, die Resultate der neueren inhaltreichen Weltbetrachtung durch die Sprache, d.h. durch die Kraft des bezeichnenden Wortes anschaulich zu machen". He continues:

Sollte ein Mittel unangewandt bleiben, durch welches uns das belebte Bild einer fernen, von anderen durchwanderten Zone, ja ein Theil des Genusses verschafft werden kann, den die unmittelbare Naturanschauung gewährt?(105)

As Oertel indicates, Humboldt's approach was to serve as a yardstick for future travel writers. He combined the scientific with the aesthetic; the traveller now looked at his surroundings in a new light, with Man no longer at the centre of the Universe:

Indem man sich dabei zum Theile dem von den Dichtern übernommenen Naturgeföhle überlässt, suchte man den Geist, die Stimmung, den einheitlichen Charakter eines Naturgebietes zu erfassen, ohne sich an die einheitliche Lage der Dinge im Raume zu binden. Das wissenschaftliche Naturinteresse stand dem Naturgeföhle zur Seite, um dieses vor Abwegen zu warnen, und es half die neuen Aufgaben der Naturschilderung dadurch lösen, dass es sorgfältig beobachtete und verglich.(106)

The subjectivity expressed by Humboldt came not directly from himself alone, but from the facts which he faced, with himself as the beholder in the position of mediator. In the preface to his Ansichten der Natur he writes:

Schüchtern übergebe ich dem Publikum eine Reihe von Arbeiten, die im Angesichte grosser Naturgegenstände, auf dem Ozean, in den Wäldern des Orinoko, in den Steppen von Venezuela, in der Einöde peruanischer und mexikanischer Gebirge entstanden sind.(107)

Oertel refers to Goethe's remark on the subject in Aus meinem Leben:

Die Natur, wie sie vor uns liegt, kann doch nicht nachgeahmt werden; sie enthält so vieles Unbedeutende, Unwürdige: man muss also wählen; was bestimmt aber die Wahl? man muss das Bedeutende aufsuchen; was ist aber bedeutend? (108)

With this in mind, Oertel establishes the difference between Humboldt and the "Naturschwärmer" of his time; in his reaction to his surroundings Humboldt always achieved a certain objectivity:

Diese Empfindungen holten Humboldt aus der Natur heraus; sie hatten demnach eine objektive Grundlage. Die Naturschwärmer jener Zeit aber traten im Überschwange inneren Geföhlslebens an die Natur heran und legten ihre subjektive Sentimentalität den Erscheinungen unter und gaben in den Schilderungen nur den Reflex eigener Schwärmerei und nicht den wahren Ausdruck von Naturcharakteren und -zuständen.(109)

It is hardly surprising that Humboldt was seldom matched in this. Few travel writers could combine his scientific knowledge and literary

sensitivity and the danger was therefore that his lead in this direction merely served as an excuse for much of the exaggerated sentimentality in which future travel writers were to indulge and which they inherited from earlier "Empfindsamkeit". Of course there is another side to this: despite Humboldt's example, "Natur-schwärmerei", for all its shortcomings, remained a popular fashion.

Another aspect of Humboldt's achievement in this field was that he showed how much was to be learnt about one's own country and people from travel in foreign parts. In this respect, while his achievements did indeed point to the future, they were also a culmination of the Aufklärung tradition:

Was Reisen ist - und der Bericht davon - , hat das 18. Jahrhundert reflektiert wie keine Epoche zuvor, die Renaissance war noch zu sehr auf das Neue und Geheimnisvolle als solches aus, diese Reflexionen aber sind, wo wir sie als erfüllte Ansprüche wiederfinden, ein Indiz für die Entwicklung, die sich vollzieht. Innerhalb ihrer wird die Reiseliteratur, nicht nur in der Form der aktuellen sozialkritischen Berichterstattung, zur Kritik an der eigenen Welt, in der man ... fremder sein kann als im südlichen Afrika, in Arabien oder in Ostasien. Die unpersönliche Gleichförmigkeit der Reiseberichte ist allmählich einer zugleich subjektiveren und kritischeren Darstellungsform gewichen, und wie die Landschaft, tritt nun auch der Reisende viel deutlicher hervor.(110)

If part of Humboldt's contribution to the genre of travel literature was the introduction of 'popularised' scientific study, then Forster's was the introduction of creative writing and association.¹¹¹ Seen in this light, the continuation of the genre into the 19th Century would have been unthinkable without these two men, whose attitudes and innovations allowed the traveller to keep pace with progress. Where Europe was concerned this meant on the one hand the 'discovery' of landscape and on the other the 'discovery' of the big city. Wuthenow, writing of this "Entdeckung der Grosstadt", stresses the parochial nature of the German traveller, who had no Paris or London of his own from which to learn:

Hier sollte man an die sozialkritische Reisedarstellung anknüpfen und an jene besondere Form der Reisebeschreibungen, welche die Beobachtung und Erkundung, Vermittlung und Deutung der Französischen Revolution zum Ziele haben; sie sind, wie bei Campe, bei Reichardt und Halem

Entdeckungen der den Deutschen fast wie die Weltmeere verschlossenen politischen und gesellschaftlichen Welt.(112)

When judging travel literature of the 18th and 19th Centuries it is important not to overlook the expectations of the reading public, since they so often determined the form of the travel work. William Stewart's study reveals the enormous popularity of travel literature amongst the German reading public throughout the "Goethezeit". By 1784 the average German reader was the main consumer of travel literature, 80% of lending library books belonging to the genre.¹¹³ By the first decades of the 19th Century the readers were demanding critical analysis with entertainment. More and more plot, and therefore narrative, was introduced into travel accounts and a natural result of this was an increase in confrontation, both between the writer and his reader and between characters and viewpoints within the narrative. Erler writes of six different modes of expression which developed at this time within the genre: firstly, the epistolary or journal form, whether as edited versions of genuine correspondence as with Pückler-Muskau or fictional as with Heine; secondly, the travel essay, as with Kühne or Rellstab; thirdly, the 'feuilleton', as mastered by Fontane; fourthly, the traditional chronological report; fifthly, the closely related "Reportage" (coverage as eye-witness account) favoured by Theodor Mundt, Alfred Meissner and Fanny Lewald; and sixthly, journalistic correspondence.¹¹⁴ The most popular travel books of the 1830's were Heine's Reisebilder and Pückler-Muskau's Briefe eines Verstorbenen,¹¹⁵ but since very few could approach the standards set by Heine's peculiar style, Pückler-Muskau's more conversational letters became the more frequently adopted form. The subjective epistolary form also enjoyed great popularity. The travel account had assumed literary potential and standards; its emphasis had changed direction:

Indem der Reisebericht als literarische Kunstform konzipiert wird, verliert er seinen anfänglichen rein informativen und referierenden Charakter und ist gemäss der in dieser Untersuchung begründeten und empfohlenen Terminologie kein Reisebericht mehr, sondern eine Reisebeschreibung, Reiseschilderung, Reiseerzählung oder sogar eine Reisenovelle oder Reiseroman, womit der Übergang zur (Reise-)Dichtung vollzogen ist.(116)

There was now great scope within the genre but this variety also engendered poor quality. That there was considerable profit to be made in the field of travel literature had been attested by the many collections of the genre published in the late 18th Century.¹¹⁷ An indication of the enormous popularity of travel accounts at this time comes from the fact that Gottlieb Heinrich Stuck, in his Verzeichnis von aeltern und neuern Land- und Reisebeschreibungen, which was published in 1784-7,¹¹⁸ deliberately omits all works of purely topographical, historical or handbook nature, concentrating only on:

Land und Reisebeschreibungen, und von
 allgemeiner Naturgeschichte einzelner^[sic] Land-
 schaften und Provinzen; ferner von Länderbe-
 schreibungen, vorzüglich von denjenigen, welche
 zugleich die Naturgeschichte eines Landes, den
 Zustand und die Beschaffenheit einer Nation,
 ihren Charakter, ihre Sitten oder sonstige
 ethnographische Merkwürdigkeiten zum einzigen,
 oder doch wenigstens zum vorzüglichsten Augenmerk
 haben.(119)

The variety of this list bears witness to the abundance of travel literature; in his foreword to the work Johann Ernst Fabri¹²⁰ writes of the long-standing demand for "eine so viel möglich vollständige Anzeige von Reisebeschreibungen" which Stuck's bibliography intends to satisfy. It is interesting that Stuck includes the fanciful travel accounts, "erdichtete Reisen", showing how much they too were a part of the genre; similarly he does not omit the compilations of the travels of others or those of the 'armchair-travellers', those who "auf eine sehr bequeme Weise blos in der Stube in Gedanken eine Reise an ... stellen".¹²¹ In each case the nature of the work is referred to in notes, since Stuck does not content himself with providing dates, names, publication and translation details, but adds his own comments; Fabri stresses, however, that Stuck has not descended to common evaluations such as "Schlecht! Mittelmässig! Gut! Vortreflich!",¹²² only seldom indicating if a work is truly deficient. He also comments on the high proportion of anonymous works referred to. The travel fashion was naturally exploited by the publishers and an inevitable result was a surplus of second-rate and hastily written travel works. Politically oriented writers such as Ludwig Börne mercilessly attacked the triviality of the many travel books, whose authors were so lacking in originality and perception that the only subject-matter they touched on

concerned their own person.¹²³ A fierce indictment of such "Touristenliteratur" was to come from Ferdinand Gregorovius in an 1852 edition of the 'Deutsches Museum':

Die Reiseliteratur schwillt gegenwärtig ganz erstaunlich, weil die Welt auf Reisen ist. In der Regel sind Bücher der Touristen eine wahre Landplage, worüber schon Lord Byron im 'Don Juan' eine beissende Stanze geschrieben hat. Es macht heuer auch kein Blaustrumpf mehr eine Spazierfahrt über Wasser, ohne ein ästhetisches Gewäsch und touristisches Geschreibsel in einigen Bänden loszulassen - eine ganz erschreckliche Art von Natur- und Kunstquälerei.(124)

But if the dilettantes and hacks gave the travel literature a reputation of shallowness and 'subliterary' merit, travel works of genuine value continued to be written as well. This trend can be seen clearly in travel works on Britain, since the British Isles remained a popular destination for German travellers for many decades, resulting in a continuity within the genre which other destinations, Italy apart, scarcely occasioned. The result is a large variety of travel works with Britain as their subject-matter, ranging from the systematic to the sentimental, from reliable comprehensive guides and handbooks to fanciful narratives, and from the works of gifted writers to the money-spinning products of fashion-conscious tourists. Faced with such profusion, it is helpful to attempt a definition before considering the works themselves.

c) TOWARDS A DEFINITION OF TRAVEL LITERATURE

In the absence of an accepted definition of travel literature, the diverse and eclectic nature of the genre should be stressed. There is such a fine distinction between 19th Century travel literature, autobiography and natural history, for instance, that elements of each are often present in all three,¹²⁵ yet only travel literature combines, almost inevitably, something of the other two. The autobiographer and natural historian need not necessarily travel, but the observant and sensitive travel writer can hardly fail to be aware of his (or her) personal reaction to his(or her) surroundings. Of course

there are varying degrees of both subjectivity and objectivity within this framework and these depend largely on the intention and standpoint of the author. The work of a sociologist (or 19th Century ethnographer) necessarily differs from that of an artist or literary author, yet both may contribute equally to the genre of travel literature. For this reason it is easier to achieve a generic definition from a study of form rather than content.

To state the obvious, travel literature is that which, directly or indirectly, is concerned with travel. The travel may be experienced by the writer himself or by characters within his narrative. Additionally the intention of much travel literature may be purely functional, as a guide for future travel, whether literal or metaphorical, on the part of the reader. From the outset the problems of definition within the wide scope of the field of travel literature are evident. For present purposes it may be said that within the wide generic term of travel literature there are two main formal divisions, narrative and systematic. The narrative framework is a unifying feature for many formal variations, which may be loosely subdivided into four groups, the journal, epistolary and feuilletonistic forms and straight narrative description. Autobiographical content is common. Varying degrees of fiction can exist in all cases, be it the intervention of a correspondent to satisfy the demands of the epistolary form, a few names and dates to lend additional authenticity to the journal or to the features of the feuilleton writer, or more elaborate flights of fancy as spice to straight narrative. Where fiction takes over completely, however, it is arguable that the travel work then belongs generically to the novel, novella or short story, rather than, or as well as, to travel literature alone. Where fiction is sometimes but not always present within narrative travel works, it is never present in the purely systematic works. The systematic works, which disregard narrative chronology for the sake of ordering their subject-matter according to a set system, number amongst them guides and handbooks. In some instances the systematic works may also include those written in feuilleton form, but this serves only to underline the diffuse nature of the genre. It is not uncommon for a travel writer to incorporate some sort of systematic guide into an otherwise predominantly narrative travel account; on the other hand, many guides and

handbooks, in relating legend and anecdote and commenting on customs or religion, provide their readers with narrative description and colour. As a natural result of this, the terminology becomes interchangeable and the titles of travel works often unspecific. Works entitled "Reise durch/nach ..."; "Aufenthalt in ...", "Briefe aus ...", or simply the name of the country visited, may fall into either category, narrative or systematic, as may also be the case with those whose titles include the words "Skizzen", "Ansichten", "Bemerkungen", "Tagebuch", "Bilder" or "Blätter", whether or not prefixed by "Reise-". From the titles "Reiseführer" or "Reisehandbuch" one would certainly expect a systematic work, while the titles "Wanderungen in/durch ..." or "Ausflug nach ..." would imply narrative content, but such is the nature of the genre that these too can be misleading. Despite such diversity within the genre, a generic definition according to form, as long as it is not at the expense of content, is nonetheless helpful.

A review of selected secondary literature reveals many different approaches to this problem. Critics have on the whole been inclined to define travel literature according to content rather than form. This is perhaps the obvious approach, yet it detracts from the literary value of the genre, resulting in a study of social rather than literary history. The potential dangers of such an approach are emphasised by Charles Batten:

These sociohistorical studies face a methodological problem that renders their findings ambiguous at best and misleading at worst. By ignoring the literary conventions that govern what an author says, they assume that these accounts display the immediate, personal experiences of travelers, and that these travelers in turn reflect the tastes of the century in general. In fact, however, convention often governs a travel writer's actions and descriptions. He might find himself in a particular spot not because he personally wished to visit it, but because he had to write about it in order to give a comprehensive or novel or balanced picture of a foreign country. In addition, technical problems may stop a traveler from describing a site that genuinely moves him.(126)

Batten goes on to stress the hybrid nature of the genre in the 18th Century, the age when it "achieved a generic blending of factual information and literary art" and when "the travel account joined pleasure

with instruction in what became, perhaps, one of the most characteristic forms of the century".¹²⁷ As such, Batten argues that form and tradition should be taken into account rather than content,¹²⁸ since content alone reveals confusing similarities with other literary genres, namely the novel, biography or descriptive geography.¹²⁹ From his study of the 18th Century English travel account he concludes that "the presence of at least a minimal narrative was one of the necessary attributes of the genre"¹³⁰ and that this therefore excluded travel guides. While there is much in Batten's argument of relevance to the present study, the systematic works, as indicated above, are indeed considered a subdivision of the genre and should not be disregarded out of hand.

F. A. Kirkpatrick, in his essay "The Literature of Travel, 1700-1900", also deals with the problem of definition. He approaches the genre according to his own criteria of literary merit and accordingly deals with "such books only as can claim to belong to literature".¹³¹ Yet this is at best a loose definition necessitated by circumstance. The purpose of attaining a generic definition according to form becomes all the clearer in the light of the following statement:

Any general definition would be difficult, since every work must be judged by its own merits, and the best books possess an individuality which refuses to be reduced to categories. Moreover, established repute must be taken into account: for any work which stands as the monument of a great achievement, apart from purely technical or scientific matter, has won a place in literature.(132)

Great achievement or not, the form in which a travel work has been expressed surely can bear categorising, as with a poem or novel, however individual the content.

Turning to 18th Century German travel literature, which was greatly influenced by the English, critics have also tended to shy away from a formal approach. Oertel for instance distinguishes between "Einzelschilderungen" and "Gesamtbilder" in his study of nature description in 18th Century travel literature, his attention to form being restricted to language use within these two categories. In pointing to the different forms of travel literature prevalent in the German language in the late 18th and early 19th Centuries, Elsasser

goes further in distinguishing between "systematische Werke", "Reisebeschreibungen" or "Reiseerzählungen" and "Einzelbemerkungen und politische Aufsätze".¹³³ Despite the fact that the aims of the writer do determine the form within these three categories, the emphasis in Elsasser's study is nevertheless also primarily on content.

A more concise and adaptable method is pursued by Link in his study of the genre of travel literature from Goethe to Heine. He expands on Elsasser's classification by dividing travel literature into four categories: 1. "Reiseführer und Reisehandbücher", 2. "Wissenschaftliche und populärwissenschaftliche Reiseschriften", 3. "Reisetagebücher, Reiseberichte, Reisebeschreibungen, Reiseschilderungen und Reiseerzählungen" and 4. "Reisenovellen und Reiseromane".¹³⁴ The many components of the groups listed by Link point to a major difference in English and German terminology. The English language has a wider vocabulary at its disposal for describing the nature of travel than the German. "Travel," "tour", "voyage" and "journey" may all be translated by the German "Reise", yet they all have differing connotations in English which "Reise" alone cannot imply.¹³⁵ Conversely the German "Reiseliteratur" has occasioned a diffuse terminology for describing the various forms of the genre, which might all be loosely translated within the English concept of the "travel account". As Link points out, this vocabulary was developed through the 18th Century into the period of Romanticism:

In dieser Epoche schwillt die Gattung immer mehr an und wird zusehends formenreicher; neben "Reisebericht" und "Reisebeschreibung" begegnen bald auch Bezeichnungen wie "Reisehandbuch", "Reisetagebuch", "Reiseschilderung", "Reisemärchen", "Reisenovelle", "Reiseroman" u.a. - einzelne Dichter und Schriftsteller vermehren zudem noch die begriffliche Vielfalt durch Titel wie "Reiseschatten", "Reisebilder" und "Reiseskizzen", mit denen sie ihre Reiserwerke überschreiben. Gerade in der Zeit der deutschen Klassik und Romantik fächert sich ... die Gattung in sehr verschiedenartige Typen und Ausformungen des Motivs "Reise" und "Reisen" auf.(136)

The German travel accounts of Scottish tours give ample proof of this trend.

In grouping the different forms as above, Link manages to extract the literary from the functional. Thus those in the first group,

guides and handbooks, are written to assist rather than recount travels, while the second includes informative voyages of scientific discovery and exploration. The third and fourth categories are both literary in purpose, but only the third has its own distinct form, since travel determines the thematic content alone and not the structure of a "Reisenovelle" or "Reiseroman". Even so there are many overlaps within the first three groups and the present study of German travel works on Scotland is accordingly concerned with all three. While guides and handbooks are seldom regarded by contemporaries as anything other than functional, they provide later generations with much that is of worth from a sociohistorical point of view, and the value of the personal opinions of the author or compiler, not immediately apparent to contemporaries, often emerges after a lapse of time. In addition the travel guides and handbooks provide the writer of travel narrative with his source material; where their literary worth may seldom be of primary importance, it will be seen nevertheless to be of secondary significance. However, the formal distinction between these three groups, namely that the first alone is not contained within a narrative framework, should not be overlooked in including the first category in a literary study of the genre. Of his second groups Link writes:

Ihr Zweck ist es, den Leser z.B. Über die kulturellen, geographischen, geologischen, zoologischen und botanischen Besonderheiten der bereisten Länder zu informieren. Art und Anspruch ihrer literarischer Form hängen vom Verfasser und vom Leserkreis ab, für welchen sie bestimmt sind.(137)

This last point is of significance to the present study, since it will be seen that there is indeed much of primary literary and artistic interest in the informative and scientific works on Scotland. It should also be pointed out, however, that the early 19th Century was an age of polymaths; specialists in one field might well be highly skilled in other unrelated areas and it was both fashionable and desirable to be interested in all. This applied equally to writer and reader. Link continues:

An Werke dieser beiden Gruppen wird heute vor allem gedacht, wenn volkstümlich von "Reiseliteratur" die Rede ist. Sie dienen den praktischen Zwecken der Information und

der Reisevorbereitung, können jedoch daneben; wie es die Entdeckungs- und Forschungsberichte Chamisso's von seiner Weltreise oder Alexander von Humboldt belegen, stilistisch und sprachlich auch dichterischen Ansprüchen genügen.(138)

Those travel works which go to make up Link's third group form the majority. The average German reader would look to members of this group for entertaining reading matter and it is a result of the consequent demand that the quality is perhaps more varied than within the other groups. The epistolary or journal form was particularly popular at this time, allowing the writer great potential. Erlers comments on Moritz Hartmann's Briefe aus Irland underline this variety:

Bericht, Porträt, Reflexion, Erzählung, Sage und Märchen fügen sich zu einem Text von grosser Geschlossenheit. Die Vielzahl der verwendeten Darstellungselemente, zu denen auch Gesprächsprotokolle und Gedichte gehören, wird von der Brieffiktion zusammengehalten. Hartmann reflektiert über seine Stilmittel und gewinnt damit weitere.(139)

There is scarcely another literary genre which can allow for such variety within formal unity. Erlers, who lists six different forms within the group,¹⁴⁰ resorts to Heine's term "Reisebilder" as a title able to cover all the travel works he includes in his three collections of travel literature from Goethe to Fontane.

In English the concept "travel account" covers in essence both Link's second and third groups, thus further underlining the problem of definition and terminology. English cannot distinguish between those components of the third group as readily as German, though of course direct translations of the terms can be used. Thus for the purposes of the present study the term "travel work" will be used generically to cover all groups, while the term "travel account" will be used to incorporate all those forms listed by Link in his categories 2 and 3, that is those travel works with a narrative framework. It should be remembered, too, that travel accounts, as in any literary genre, while they often follow one particular trend, are nonetheless individual; one must look to the purpose of each separate work and ascertain whether its aim is purely artistic, literary or instructive, in order to assess its value. Thus, while an attempt at establishing

a generic definition according to form greatly clarifies the uncommonly diffuse nature of the genre, study of content must never be subordinate to that. The 19th Century German travel works on Scotland are written in typically diverse forms and the unifying link for the present study had to be the subject-matter, namely Scotland. Wuthenow's premise was followed here:

... denn die Geschichte der Gattung liegt gerade weniger in der Ausbildung bestimmter Formen, die oft verschieden erfüllt und damit schon wieder modifiziert werden, als vielmehr, im Zusammenhang mit den mannigfachen und eben stets fremden Inhalten, in der Ausbildung der Sehweise, der Interpretation im Übergang zur wissenschaftlichen Durchdringung und philosophischen Aneignung des Weltstoffes. Und wenn man Erinnerungen wirklich als Reisen in die Vergangenheit betrachten kann, so sind Reisen immer Gegenwart, die kein Erinnern fordert, sondern die Erfassung der Phänomene im Raum; was im Zeitlichen durch die Kraft der Vergegenwärtigung sich erst herstellt, wird hier aber als vollkommene Anwesenheit geleistet. Dennoch ist klar, dass einer so wenig alles aufnehmen wie sich stets an alles immer erinnern kann.(141)

The wealth of material implied above by Erler and Wuthenow has necessitated the omission of fictional narrative works with pronounced Scottish influence;¹⁴² only those belonging to Link's first, second and third groups have come under study.

CHAPTER II GERMAN-SPEAKING TRAVELLERS IN ENGLAND TO 1860

A survey of the identity and motives of German-speaking travellers to Britain during the years before those under study places the Scottish visits in perspective. Others have undertaken studies of German visitors to England from the 15th to 18th Centuries and for this reason it would be superfluous to give more than an outline of the trend. Robson-Scott's survey is the most comprehensive, dealing with the years 1400-1800¹, while Matheson's lecture is concerned with four prominent figures who visited England between the years 1770 and 1794, namely Moritz, Wendeborn, Archenholz and Lichtenberg². Elsasser's research deals with a variety of German visitors to England in the latter part of the 18th Century and early 19th Century, including those researched by Matheson, with emphasis "besonders nach der historisch-politischen Seite"³. Schaible's work has a different emphasis, since it covers the history of German settlers in England rather than travellers as such⁴. Of course the two groups merge with certain classes of short-term resident, such as diplomats, students and mercenaries or other military men; in addition Schaible does devote one chapter to travel and German travellers in England in the 16th and 17th Centuries⁵. Other more general works number Germans amongst their subject-matter: Smith, for instance, who classifies three groups of travellers, "royal personages, ambassadors and learned curious persons", makes mention of two 15th and 16th Century visits and of the 18th and 19th Century tours of Pöllnitz, Moritz, Pückler-Muskau, Raumer and Carus.⁶ Bayne-Powell's more recent study of travellers in 18th Century England also includes German travellers, namely Kielmansegge, Uffenbach, Lichtenberg, Archenholz, Moritz and Sophie de la Roche, while Lambert's history of travel includes a chapter on "The Foreign Traveller in England", in which the 15th Century von Rozmital and the two 16th Century Swiss visitors, Herman Folkerzheimer and Thomas Platter are referred to; Lambert also deals with the 18th and 19th Century visits of Uffenbach, Lichtenberg, Campe, Sophie de la Roche and Pückler-Muskau.⁸ Oertel's study of German geographical writers of the 18th Century, while dealing largely with travels on the Continent or in lands further afield, does include two tours in which England was part of a wider European itinerary, namely those of Schaeffer and Riem.⁹ Many travellers to

Britain are included in Muncker's Anschauungen vom englischen Staat und Volk in der deutschen Literatur der letzten vier Jahrhunderte, but he also discusses the views of many authors who never set foot on British soil.¹⁰ Finally, Fontane research to date also includes some comparative discussion of Fontane's predecessors, contemporaries and journalistic rivals in England. As regards travel literature, the names of Schopenhauer, Heine, Pückler-Muskau, Raumer, Carus, Weerth, Lewald and Ullrich can be mentioned in this context.¹¹

The outstanding fact which emerges from consideration of the above works is the frequency of German visits to England in the last quarter of the 18th and early years of the 19th Centuries. There are many famous names numbered amongst the visitors, from political, social and literary history, and the British Isles have accordingly played a large part in the history of German travel literature. At first it was the huge dimensions of metropolitan life in London which attracted the visitors, but as industrial Britain developed, the foreigners travelled further afield. With the approach of the 19th Century the socially advanced state of England increasingly provided a haven for Europe's political exiles,¹² while at the same time the outlying regions of the British Isles, Ireland and Scotland in particular, were attracting a new class of 'Romantic' traveller.

Elsasser has looked at the causes of anglomania in Germany up to the end of the Napoleonic Wars.¹³ In his introduction and first chapter he points to the fact that while France's influence on Germany had long been predominant, the culmination of the events surrounding the Seven Years War and the lead up to the French Revolution on the one hand and England's rise to power on a world scale on the other shifted emphasis from France to Britain.¹⁴ Although Germans had indeed visited England in the early 18th Century and before, the political and cultural state of Germany precluded the spread of any influence these men might otherwise have exerted on the German public. Elsasser even doubts whether these earlier travellers were intellectually equipped to take full advantage of their experiences in England.¹⁵ It was the intellectual and cultural changes brought about by the upsurge of Sturm und Drang which enabled travel literature to develop and progress from the Aufklärung tradition.

Additional political and social factors also encouraged anglomania in the 18th Century.¹⁶ Spiritually the brand of Protestantism practised

by the Reformed Church in England was more akin to that of Protestant Germany than the radical anti-Jesuit church in France. Protestant Prussia was already Germany's most powerful state and enjoyed friendly relations with Britain. The year 1714 had seen the union of Hannover with Britain and many Hanoverians accompanied George I to England (although it might be said that they were none too popular amongst the English).¹⁷ In addition Saxony's intellectual centre^(and Hannover's university) at Göttingen was an important nucleus for cultural and intellectual exchange between Germany and Britain.¹⁸ Trading links between the countries, especially through the Low Countries since the time of William of Orange, were well established and Busch's 'Handlungsakademie' in Hamburg trained a number of British students.¹⁹ As a trading centre and one which had broken away from the Hanseatic League and turned its attention to Britain and the Netherlands, Hamburg was a vital link, with many British resident there. Other seaports such as Danzig also supported British communities.²⁰ Conversely the political, economic, industrial and intellectual attraction of Britain led to the spread of German communities there; Schaible's research indicates the great number of Germans from all walks of life whose interests and professions took them to Britain on short or long term visits.²¹ The large number of Germans resident in Britain brought many German theologians over as pastors of the numerous German congregations.²² Pastor Wendeborn, pastor of the German congregation on Ludgate Hill in London is the most influential example as far as travel literature is concerned. As "ein nur aufs Alltäglich-Praktische gerichteter Mann" and "höchst philiströser Mensch",²³ his works on Britain and British affairs were all the more useful as a practical guide for travellers such as Moritz, who even visited Wendeborn.²⁴ Elsasser also sees the phenomenon of racial affinity as a further cause for anglomania; if seldom directly acknowledged, he feels it had long been present between the German and British peoples.²⁵ Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the influence of English literature and philosophy was being strongly felt in Germany and this was not merely restricted to Shakespeare, but extended to such varied names as Fielding and Hume.²⁶

Evidence of this is to be found in the account of the English tour of 1819 of the educationalist and theologian and friend of Goethe, Dr. August Hermann Niemeyer.²⁷ Niemeyer, who had become fascinated by the British Constitution and history through reading the works of

Burnet and Hume, had studied during the 1770's, frequently mixing in English-speaking circles;²⁸ he opens his Reise nach England with the following account of his Anglophile education and background:

Von früher Jugend an hatte kein fremdes Land für mich ein so hohes Interesse als England. Viele Umstände vereinigten sich, es zu wecken und zu nähren. Meine erste Bildung fiel noch in die Periode, wo neben den zwar immer zahlreicher werdenden deutschen Classikern, doch die Uebersetzungen brittischer Dichter und Prosaisten zu den gelesenen Schriften gehörten, und dadurch einen sehr bedeutenden Einfluss auf die Richtung des Geschmacks und die Stimmung vieler Gemüther gewannen. In der Sammlung von Werken aus der schönen Literatur, woraus wir auf der Schule wöchentlich ein Buch erhalten konnten, standen neben Bodmer, Haller, Klopstock, Kleist, Gellert und den deutschen Wochenschriften, die Werke Miltons, Thomsons, Glovers, der englische Zuschauer, Hervey, Richardson; dann die erste deutsche Uebersetzung Shakespears von Wieland, und vor allen Young, dessen erhabene Melancholie sich allen nur einigermaßen zum Ernst gestimmten Jünglingen und Jungfrauen mittheilte; und wir griffen fast öfter nach dem Ausländlichen als nach dem Nationalen. So gelungen indess auch manche Verdeutschungen seyn mochten, - ich sehnte mich doch mehr nach dem Original, und je unschmackhafter ich damals, aus Unbekanntschaft mit ihren besten Werken, die französische Literatur fand, desto eifriger trieb ich die englische Sprache; - freylich bey einem Manne, der nur Wörter und Regeln auswendig wusste, dessen Lehrart übrigens eher geeignet gewesen wäre, einem Jüngling alle Sprachen zu verleiden. (29)

One can readily assume that such enthusiasm was widespread. Lambert sums up the 18th Century German anglomania which occasioned the frequent visits at this time:

Most of these were men of learning, schoolmasters, scientists or antiquarians, who wanted to study and emulate the features of British public and private life which they admired. The Anglophil German of the eighteenth century took somewhat the same attitude towards England as the 'Italianate Englishman' of the sixteenth century had taken towards Italy; he assimilated as much of the foreign culture as he could, and was proud to display it when he returned home. English literature, English liberty and English prosperity

- those were the magnets that attracted Germans to our shores.(30)

To compile an exhaustive list of German travellers or visitors in Britain up to the year 1800 would be a lengthy undertaking and to a large extent merely a digest of the above mentioned works. The following is a selective guideline only. There was a number of German travellers in England before the 18th Century and one can name for instance the Bohemian noble, Leo von Rozmital, who visited the country between 1465 and 1469 and the Silesian tutor, Hentzner, who accompanied his master to England in 1598. An important date in the 17th Century is 1634, the year of publication of Martin Zeiller's Itinerarium Magnae Britanniae, which was the first German guide book to deal solely with Britain and to include information on more than just London and its vicinity.³¹ There were many Germans in England during this century, prominent amongst them the friends, Theodor Haacke, friend and translator of Milton and co-founder of the Royal Society in London, and the poet, Georg Rudolf Weckherlin, both of whom finally settled in England.³² At this juncture the Royal Society's directives for travel deserve mention: the traveller was to adopt a scientific method, studying prescribed topics of enquiry and reporting the whole in a simple style.

Inevitably the events surrounding the Civil War and Charles I's execution were of prime interest to German observers in the 17th Century. By the turn of the 18th Century the literary developments in England were exerting a growing influence in Germany through the achievements of Steele and Addison, Richardson and Defoe.³³ Muncker observes, however, that even in the German 'Robinsonaden' there was little comment or opinion on matters British.³⁴ Three French writers were to have a greater direct effect on German travel accounts of England at this time, firstly the Swiss, Muralt, whose Lettres sur les Anglais et sur les Francais et sur les voyages, describing a journey of 1694-5, were published in 1725 (and in German translation in 1761), secondly Voltaire, whose Lettres Philosophiques were published in 1734, and thirdly l'Abbé le Blanc, whose Lettres concernant le gouvernement la politique et les moeurs des Anglais et des Francais first appeared in 1745.³⁵ Between them

these writers showed the educative and intellectual value of collecting and publishing such views and opinions. Of Muralt and Voltaire Muncker writes:

Aber auch der Einfluss jener ersten französischen Werke über England offenbarte sich nicht sowohl darin, dass die hier abgegebenen Urteile über englisches Volks- und Staatswesen nun etwa von deutschen Schriftstellern unmittelbar nachgesprochen wurden, als dass sich diese jetzt immer mehr mit den Verhältnissen des Insellandes, namentlich mit seiner Literatur, beschäftigten.(36)

England, especially London, was attracting visits from a growing number of Germans. The nineteen-year-old Albrecht von Haller visited London and Oxford in the summer of 1727, and Muncker shows that much of Haller's opinions were lifted straight from Muralt.³⁷ The young and less serious Friedrich von Hagedorn was in London for two years, from 1729-31,³⁸ though in his official capacity as private secretary to the Danish ambassador the wealth and diplomatic status he enjoyed accordingly affected the perhaps biased nature of his views on England. Muncker considers the opinions of Haller, Hagedorn and also those of the translator of "Paradise Lost", Bodmer, to have had a lasting effect:

Die Bewunderung, die Bodmer, Haller, Hagedorn für die englische Literatur empfanden, erhielt und mehrte sich noch bei ihren jüngeren Anhängern und ging allmählich in eine sichtlich wachsende Zuneigung zum englischen Volk und englischen Wesen überhaupt über.(39)

From this time on, while Klopstock was immersing himself in English literature and corresponding with Young and Macpherson, the German visits to England became steadily more frequent. Lessing's planned visit to England in 1756 was thwarted by the start of the Seven Years War, while the anglophile anacreontic poet, Johann Joachim Ewald, visited London for several months in 1757. Yet by the 1760's, even though English literature was still being avidly translated and emulated in Germany, more critical views were emerging. Even Klopstock, "der bisher überschwenglichste Bewunderer Englands",⁴⁰ sought to turn the tables: one-sided praise of England could be seen as betrayal of Germany. Yet this change of views in no way stopped the flow of German visitors to England and from the middle of the 18th

Century the trickle had turned to a steady stream. Some journeyed in delegations or on official visits, others to visit academic institutions or to study, but more and more visitors arrived in Britain simply to travel and observe, often financing themselves as tutors to wealthy young noblemen on "Bildungstouren". Of the more important figures at this time one may name Hamann, who was in England for over a year, from 1757-58, supposedly on a commercial visit, Justus Möser, who visited as part of a delegation from Osnabrück for eight months in 1763-4, the liberal reformer, Hardenberg, who was in England in his early twenties in 1772, and two writers whose works were to have a great effect on their successors, Helfrich Peter Sturz and the Göttingen professor of physics, Georg Christoph Lichtenberg. Sturz and Lichtenberg are amongst the first visitors to show themselves to be thoroughly versed in the English language.⁴¹ Sturz was in England for two months in 1768 in the Danish retinue of Christian VII and his pro-British views emerge from comment on literary, cultural and political matters, expressed in "meisterhaft geschriebenen Reisebriefen",⁴² which were published from 1777 in the 'Deutsches Museum', where Lichtenberg's "Briefe aus England" also appeared in 1776 and 1778. Sturz, who was convinced of the authenticity of Ossian, met Macpherson in London, saw the controversial manuscripts and heard Macpherson recite from the poems himself. Lichtenberg's knowledge of Britain was greater; he had visited London in 1770 and again for over a year in 1774-5 and displayed a great interest both in the theatre and in other parts of England outside London. He visited many cities and towns, including industrial sites, and in order to pursue his scientific studies spent several months in the country. This in itself was a novel approach, and while one might say that Sturz proved the literary potential of the "Reisebrief", Lichtenberg might be seen to have shown later visitors "how" to visit. Lichtenberg was one of the first of many Germans openly to agree with Hume's view that the English have no national character as such;⁴³ he was also to convey more positive knowledge of life in England through his commentary on Hogarth's engravings.⁴⁴

The last twenty-five years of the 18th Century saw frequent visits from Germany to England and as a consequence many German publications on England and British affairs. England featured dominantly in German

literature, too, with the Sturm und Drang adulation of Shakespeare and growing predilection for English characters, names and settings in both dramas and novels from Miss Sara Sampson on. That the character type of the "Theater-Engländer" was only a type, or that the only English feature of the English settings was their name, did not seem to matter: England enjoyed political freedom and this was its greatest attraction.⁴⁵ One of England's greatest admirers in this respect was the historian, Johann Wilhelm von Archenholz, whose pro-British England und Italien was published in 1785 as the fruit of the six years he had spent in England up until the year 1779.⁴⁶ 1780 saw the first of Pastor Wendeborn's publications on Britain, Beyträge zur Kenntnis Grossbritanniens vom Jahre 1779.⁴⁷ In 1782 Volkmann published his dry factual handbook, Neueste Reisen durch England, vorzüglich in Absicht auf die Kunstsammlungen, Naturgeschichte, Ökonomie, Manufakturen und Landsitze der Grossen; aus den besten Nachrichten und neueren Schriften zusammengetragen von D. Johann Jakob Volkmann, based on information he had gained from a visit twenty years earlier. That year Moritz made his famous and innovative visit to England, publishing the result the following year, 1783,⁴⁸ also the publication year of Johann Reinhold Forster's much less popular account in French of British affairs.⁴⁹ The journalist, Ernst Brandes, an acquaintance of Burke, was in England from 1784-5 and published the account of his stay in 1786, also the publication date of tours by Watzdorf and Klopstock's friend, the economist Johann Georg Büsch.⁵⁰ 1786 was also the year in which the Prussian reformer, the Freiherr von Stein, arrived to spend nine months in England. At this time events in France naturally coloured the bent of works on Britain; in 1787-8 Dr. Johann Christian Gottlieb Schaeffer accompanied the sons of the Fürst von Thurn und Taxis to England and showed himself to be anti-French and pro-British in his views, while Andreas Riem, whose Reisen durch England ^{was published} after the Revolution in 1798,^{50a} was a pronounced gallomaniac. Others such as Friedrich von Gentz, once supporters of the Revolution, became disillusioned and turned to Britain, Gentz, who himself was to be much admired by Pitt, becoming an ardent supporter of Burke. Georg Forster attempted a disinterested objectivity in his Ansichten vom Niederrhein, von Brabant, Flandern, Holland, England und Frankreich,⁵¹ the result of his travels in 1790 with Alexander von Humboldt, and although he does emerge on the side of France,⁵² he is enthusiastic about much in England, in particular the architecture, freedom of trade and charm of the countryside; at

the same time he sees both the advantages and disadvantages of the British constitution, education and parliamentary system. The latter was a source of much interest to many Germans and visits to parliamentary debates were one of London's great attractions, in particular those concerning contemporary events in America and France. Besides Hardenberg and Stein two other prominent figures in contemporary Prussian affairs were to gain much from visits to England, namely the civil servants, Theodor von Schön and the Freiherr von Vincke. Schön was in England in 1797-8 and even came to hold the view that it was necessary for statesmen to visit England, the country from which there was so much to learn. Vincke, who had previously visited England in 1800, studying English industry and agriculture and spending several months on a Suffolk farm, carried out a close study of the administration in Britain during a visit in 1807, although his findings were not published until after the Napoleonic Wars in 1815.⁵³

Meanwhile there was no shortage of systematic works on Britain. Karl Gottlieb Küttner published three works on English and Irish affairs in 1785, 91 and 96,⁵⁴ and Philipp Andreas Nemnich published the first of his two exhaustive works, which concentrate on commercial Britain, in 1799.⁵⁵ Christian August Gottlieb Goede, who was in Britain from 1802-3, published his much read book in 1806,⁵⁶ while Joachim Heinrich Campe produced his educational tour for teenagers in 1803-4.⁵⁷

The approach of the 19th Century saw English visits from a new sort of traveller. First amongst these was perhaps Sophie de la Roche, who spent five weeks in England in 1787 and published her Tagebuch einer Reise durch Holland und England thereafter.⁵⁸ Muncker gives a clear picture of the new tourist ardour which Sophie displayed:

Sie vergeudete aber auch keine Minute, besah auf den Strassen und in den Häusern, im öffentlichen und im Privatleben alles Erdenkliche, Kleines wie Grosses, besuchte Kirchen, Paläste, Landhäuser, Vergnügungsorte, Theater, Schulen, Sammlungen von Werken der Wissenschaft und der Kunst, Kaufläden, gewerbliche Betriebe und Fabriken, Kranken-, Findel- und Irrenhäuser, verkehrte auch mit vielen Männern und Frauen der vornehmeren und der höher gebildeten Gesellschaft, zu denen sie mehrfach schon von früher her nähere Beziehungen hatte, und erfreute sich selbst bei dem Königspaare der huldreichsten Aufnahme. Mit der nämlichen

Aufmerksamkeit betrachtete sie das Alltägliche und das Ausserordentliche und trug in ihrem Buch, oft freilich recht äusserlich, einen ungeheuern Stoff über alles Mögliche in der Weltstadt und im Leben der Engländer zusammen.(59)

This was how more and more visitors were to travel - as tourists. If Sophie was over subjective in her enthusiasm, Forster showed how it was possible to be objectively enthusiastic. The scientific and academic institutions throughout Britain continued to attract foreign visitors and medical men in particular published factual tours of visits to hospitals and other medical institutions,⁶⁰ but it was the growing awareness of nature, displayed first by Moritz, which was to open up new aspects of the British life and country; works such as the "Stimmungsbilder" of Esther Bernard and C. G. Horstig concentrated on the combination of Nature and Art, which were to become predominant interests in many of the tours which followed.⁶¹ From now on many intellectual and literary figures were to make their way to Britain for varying reasons and with varying results. Arnim was in Britain from the summers of 1803-4, August Wilhelm von Schlegel in 1814, 23 and 32, Fürst Pückler-Muskau in 1814, 15 and from the autumn of 1826 until New Year 1829, Chamisso in 1815 and 1818, Tieck in 1817, Alexander von Humboldt in 1814 in Friedrich Wilhelm III's train, his brother Wilhelm for a year in 1817-18 and again in the summer of 1828, Heine in 1827, the historian, Friedrich von Raumer, several times from 1835, Grillparzer for four weeks in 1836 and Theodor Mundt in 1837. Of these only Pückler-Muskau and Heine had a marked effect on British travel literature, although Raumer's works were widely read⁶² and the world tours of Chamisso and Alexander von Humboldt had a far-reaching effect on international scientific travel.

Heine's Englische Fragmente were published in the fourth volume of his Reisebilder in 1831,⁶³ while Pückler's Briefe eines Verstorbenen were published from 1830-32.⁶⁴ These vastly contrasting works show how varied the genre of travel literature had become, but while both were equally popular, Heine has seldom if ever been equalled in his polemic exposition of the genre, full of wit, satire and artistry. The more straightforward "Sittenforscher", Pückler, whose high social standing had ensured him entry into the British upper classes, provided the material which invariably held the interest of the wider

reading public, and although a master of the art of letter writing, his subject matter guaranteed his popularity without a need for Heine's polemic skills. Pückler's details of political, social, industrial, recreational and sporting life are enlivened by anecdote and personal comment and augmented by landscape description. Heine, in the foreword to the first edition of the Englische Fragmente, pays due tribute to Pückler's work. Having written of the comparative lack of first hand information on Britain, he continues:

Was Reisebeschreibung betrifft, so gibt es, ausser Archenholz und Göde, gewiss kein Buch über England, das uns die dortigen Zustände besser veranschaulichen könnte als die, dieses Jahr bei Franck in München erschienenen, "Briefe eines Verstorbenen; ein fragmentarisches Tagebuch aus England, Wales, Irland und Frankreich, geschrieben in den Jahren 1828 und 1829". Es ist dieses noch in mancher anderen Hinsicht ein vortreffliches Buch und verdient in vollem Masse das Lob, das ihm Goethe und Varnhagen von Ense in den Berliner Jahrbüchern für wissenschaftliche Kritik gespendet haben. (65)

Having acknowledged the worth of Pückler's book, Heine clearly feels justified in presenting his own Fragmente which have both different form and emphasis. The thirteen "Fragments" are clearly based on personal experience and opinion and he is at pains to deal with topical subjects, from the parliamentary opposition and National Debt to the Duke of Wellington and Walter Scott's Life of Napoleon. Some of the pieces had already appeared in 1828 and the fourth, "John Bull", bears the heading "uebersetzt aus einer englischen Beschreibung Londons". Thus the Englische Fragmente are more akin to journalistic correspondence and Pückler's travel diaries had no need to fear rivalry. Both in their separate ways saw negative and positive aspects of life in Britain and both contributed to a rise in the consumption and production of travel literature.

Heine's and Pückler's works can be seen as the culmination of the period which is generally considered the height of German travel literature. Looking back over this period and beyond Muncker writes:

Die allermeisten dieser Äusserungen über englisches Volk und englischen Staat vom sechzehnten bis ins neunzehnte Jahrhundert

sind nicht ausschliesslich durch sachliche Kenntnis, sondern ebenso sehr durch persönliche Empfindungen ihrer Urheber bestimmt, durch die Vorliebe für humanistische Wissenschaft, durch rechtlich-sittliche oder philosophisch-religiöse Ansichten, ja Vorurteile, durch literarisch-künstlerische Begeisterung, durch die kirchliche und besonders durch die politische Parteistellung. Aus eigener Anschauung waren mit England nur die wenigsten gründlich bekannt geworden, die über britische Verhältnisse sprachen oder schrieben.(66)

Having dealt with the years up to 1830, Muncker concludes by stating that the works of Pückler and Heine heralded a change, displaying for the first time,

wirklich genauere Kunde von Land und Leuten, einen aufschlussreichen, zuverlässigen Einblick in das ganze Leben des englischen Volks.

Diese beiden Werke trugen wesentlich dazu bei, die Gedanken unsrer Dichter und Schriftsteller über britisches Volk und Leben in neue Bahnen zu lenken.(67)

From the lack of secondary literature concerning those who followed Pückler and Heine, one might assume that some critics consider the genre to be of little consequence after 1832, yet study of even a few of the travel works after this date shows this not to be true. The very fact that writers of the standing and high reputation of Carl Gustav Carus and Fanny Lewald published accounts of their British tours in the 1840's and 1850's shows that the genre was still very much in vogue. As tourism spread, more parts of the British Isles became accessible and were incorporated into tours, but there were still those, such as Gustav von Heeringer,⁶⁸ who were content to confine their stay to London and environs. Others, such as Victor Aimé Huber,⁶⁹ ventured briefly into the industrial Midlands, in Huber's case to gain "eine Orientirung über die Erscheinungen ..., die man in England unter dem Ausdruck cooperative associations, in Frankreich als associations ouvrières zu bemerken pflegt",⁷⁰ As before, many included ^{accounts of} countries on the Continent with their British or English tours, chiefly Belgium, France and the Netherlands. Mention of some lesser known tours of England published during these years shows the variety of both form and content which was still present in the genre.

The young and recently qualified doctor, Ludwig Wolff, recorded his travels of 1824-5 through Germany, England, Switzerland and Italy in a series of light and youthful letters to his brother. On Wolff's early death, the latter saw to their publication in 1833.⁷¹ A conventional apology as the introduction to a travel journal or letters, claiming no original publication intent, was so common as to be expected, and Wolff's letters seem all the more genuine for being an exception to this; they are readable and entertaining. Another work equally readable to-day is Friedrich Saacke's Denkwürdige Erinnerungen of 1844.⁷² The book is a lively narrative describing the young man's journey from his home, the small mining community of Zellerfeld in the Harz, to Rotterdam and London, through England to Manchester and Liverpool, from where he sailed to Columbia, returning via Portsmouth some four years later. The nature of this journey shows the changes which were taking place in travel; a young man with little or no financial backing and of no social standing was now able to embark on such a journey, formerly restricted to scientists, adventurers and explorers. A very different account came from Johann Michael Kittel, "Concertist und Bürger zu Erfurt", who with his three daughters made up "Die Familie Kittel", a 19th Century precursor of the Trapp Family Singers, who travelled Europe giving concerts. The title of the book, the third part of which describes two months of concerts in England, is self-explanatory: Das merkwürdigste Lebensjahr der musikalischen Familie Kittel oder Kunst-Gesang-Reise im Jahr 1830 durch Frankreich, England und die Niederlande; nebst Zurechtsweisung und Auskunft: wie man sich in Deutschland und den angeführten Ländern mit Sprache, Passen, Gewerbscheinen, Zollen, Posten, Diligencen, Dampf-u.a. Schifffahrten einzurichten und zu benehmen habe.⁷³ It was fairly common to supplement a tour with practical information as implied above; the changes taking place in travel were still novel enough to warrant it. Kittel unashamedly borrows information from the travel works and handbooks of others, many of which more practical works were still being published. Nonetheless there is a certain immediacy about Kittel's account, since the nature of the visit was different from most; too many were publishing travel accounts for the sake of it and the result is an abundance of detailed and rather dry tours of London and the Midlands. Again and again the same information is offered,

concerning the many London institutions, the Thames Tunnel, the churches, the docks, Eton, Windsor, the new omnibuses and gas lighting, the character of the English, from royalty to beggars, and the notorious English Sunday. By the 1840's such works often only provided redundant information, and one might cite as an example Schönbein's Mittheilungen aus dem Reisetagebuche eines deutschen Naturforschers, which even in presenting "Reiseskizzen" from several years of travel in Britain and France in the author's youth, adds little of novelty. Other more systematic works were forced by their nature to keep up to date. These continued to be published; one such standard and much used reference work was Stein's five-volume Reisen nach den vorzüglichsten Hauptstädten von Mittel-Europa, published in 1828 and describing a journey of the summer of 1826. Again the subtitle reveals the nature of the work: Eine Schilderung der Länder und Städte, ihrer Bewohner, Naturschönheiten, Sehenswürdigkeiten u.s.w.⁷⁵

After the publication of Johann Georg Kohl's comprehensive Land und Leute der britischen Inseln in 1844, however, there was little new that could be added even within the class of systematic works on England. Travel accounts, too, had to meet high standards to satisfy the demands of an exacting reading public with a wide choice of travel literature at their disposal. In the introduction to his Reisen in England und Wales of 1844, Kohl acknowledges three classes of reader of travel literature concerning England. Firstly, there are those who never manage to make it across the Channel themselves, "die aber, am traulichen Heerde der Heimath weilend, doch gern einmal wenigstens ihre Gedanken ... auf Reisen schicken".⁷⁶ Secondly, there are the future travellers, who require guides and preparatory information. Thirdly, there are those who have travelled to England and harbour fond memories of their own visit; while they themselves may not have committed their impressions and opinions to paper they find it stimulating to read what others have written, regardless of whether they agree or disagree or learn anything new. Bearing all these readers in mind, Kohl shows how travel works on Britain had perforce to alter their emphasis. He concludes:

Ein solches Werk kann sich nicht einbilden,
den Wissenschaften von grossem Nutzen zu sein,
die theils von dem Alten längst übersättigt sind,
theils von den neuen Phänomenen und Erfindungen

mittels der zahlreichen Organe, die ihnen zu Gebote stehen, sofort Notiz nehmen. Auch der Geschichte und Politik kann es kaum neue Facta zu liefern oder Winke zu geben sich versprechen, da ihnen jetzt Tausende von trefflichen Federn dienen, die sofort über jede neue Regung berichten und jedes neue Ereigniss unermüdlich von allen Seiten beleuchten und kritisiren.(77)

Thus in his tour of England and Wales Kohl attempts only to recount the events of his journey, to tell of his feelings and thoughts, pleasures and acquaintances,

... mit einem Worte ein so lebendiges Bild der Reise und auf diese Weise auch des Landes und Volkes auf das Papier bringen, als ich es zu geben im Stande war, um auf diese Weise den drei oben bezeichneten Classen von Lesern so nützlich als möglich zu werden, - um die ruhig bleibenden Phantasiereisenden glauben zu machen, sie sässen mit mir im Wagen, - um mit der jüngeren Generation über das Land so zu sprechen, wie wir es jetzt gern sehen, und um mit denjenigen, welche die Reise wie ich wirklich ausgeführt haben, in Erinnerungen zu schwelgen.(78)

This, then, was the trend to which Heine and Pückler had pointed. Since Moritz and Sophie de la Roche subjectivity had gradually superseded the demand for factual objectivity. The ready availability of data concerning British affairs naturally curtailed the desire for it. To be original and successful the travel writer no longer had to find the best descriptive method for relating facts and figures, but instead the most appropriate medium for expressing his emotions and feelings as reaction to that which others had described adequately before him. Faced with this problem, Ludovic, whose Flüchtige Bemerkungen auf flüchtiger Reise durch einen Theil von Belgien, Holland und England was published in 1846,⁷⁹ wrote :

England und die Engländer sind von Deutschen seit Archenholz bis auf Paumer und Kohl so unzählig oft theils treffend und interessant, theils einseitig und falsch, theils, was schlimmer ist, langweilig, fade und plagiatorisch beschrieben worden, dass ... ich nichts weiter beabsichtige, als flüchtige Reisebemerkungen mitzutheilen, und weit davon entfernt bin, eine Charakteristik des englischen Volkes oder Landes zu geben.(80)

Finally, the 1840's and 50's saw two further causes for visits to Britain which, although seemingly at odds, both enabled travel works

of originality still to be written. Industrial espionage, under the guise of tourism, had long been present (to some extent even Pückler-Muskau could be seen as an industrial spy) but the political and social implications of industrial life were only slowly being recognised as events in Europe came to a head. Engels arrived in Manchester in 1842,⁸¹ and before returning to Germany in 1844 to write Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England, had met Marx in Paris. Meanwhile Georg Weerth had arrived in Bradford in 1843, come into close contact with Engels and written articles for the 'Kölnische Zeitung' which he later collected under the title Skizzen aus dem sozialen und politischen Leben der Briten.⁸² To some extent Weerth can be seen to have continued in the stylistic tradition set by Heine of employing humour and satire as critical weapons. Ironically industrial Manchester was to attract a host of very different-minded German visitors in the 1850's, some of whom then took the opportunity of travelling on to Scotland. Even if these visitors could not deny the conditions about them in Manchester, they had come there not to witness them but to escape into the world of art. The Manchester Fine Art Exhibition of 1857 followed the Great Exhibition of 1851, and the second and third of 1853 and 1855. There is no doubt that these exhibitions were amongst England's main attractions to foreign visitors in the 1850's.⁸³ The presence in Britain of the German Prince Albert and his close involvement with these exhibitions can only have strengthened links between Britain and Germany at this time.

If the English subject-matter was gradually being exhausted, however, the Scottish was not and the Germans played their part in the 'discovery of Scotland' from the turn of the 19th Century right on into the 20th.

CHAPTER IIISCOTLAND AS A TOURIST GOALa) SCOTLAND - THE FIRST TOURS

The emergence of Scotland as a tourist goal in the 18th Century has been discussed at length elsewhere;¹ in the light of the present study it is nevertheless profitable to give a brief survey of some relevant names and dates. It will be seen that while the German trend followed much the same pattern as the British, with two names having particular influence over the desire to visit Scotland, namely James Macpherson and Sir Walter Scott, two German literary figures also played a key rôle in this, namely Johann Gottfried Herder and Friedrich von Schiller.

After the upheaval of the '45 was past, the full impact of the new means of communication, opened up in the 1720's and 30's by General Wade's network of military roads, began to be felt. Thomas Pennant paved the way for tourists with the publication in 1771 of his Tour of Scotland in 1769.² Alongside the existence of Martin Martin's Description of the Western Islands of Scotland³ and Defoe's ever popular Tour Through the Whole Islands of Great Britain⁴ (which, however, was none too sympathetic towards the Highlands), Pennant's tour provided a novel, detailed and thorough guide book, based for the most part on experience rather than hearsay. The year after its publication Pennant toured the Hebrides and that same year, 1772, Dr. Joseph Banks visited Staffa, gave Fingal's Cave its name and revealed the wonders of the island to the world, (his account being incorporated into Pennant's second Tour). Dr. Johnson followed in 1773 and, inspired by Banks, the French geologist, Faujas de St. Fond, launched the Continental contribution to Scotland's 'discovery' with his visit to Staffa in 1784.⁵ The geological survey undertaken each year from 1811-21 by Dr. John MacCulloch was to result in his two much read works on Scotland,⁶ referred to in years to come by British and German travellers alike. Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland was also to become a standard reference work.⁷ Scotland's part in the Industrial Revolution had won international fame for such plants as the Carron Iron Works and names such as Watt and Telford, and the contemporary concern for

all branches of industry was reflected in another work by John Knox, who completed a Scottish survey for the British Fisheries Society in 1786.⁸

Although at first it was mainly scientists and fact-finders who visited the country, Scotland was attracting a new sort of traveller. By the last quarter of the century Edinburgh was already famed as a seat of learning and science and the site of inspiring new architecture, but increasingly the destination of the poets and artists was further north in the Highlands. Thomas Gray, in Scotland in 1764, found the Highlands impressive even after the Alps⁹ and Robert Burns made his Highland tour in 1787, collecting items from cultural rather than natural history.¹⁰ The champion of the "picturesque", William Gilpin, toured the Highlands in 1776¹¹ and Sarah Murray added her contribution to the growing appreciation of landscape in her Companion and Guide to the Beauties of Scotland, which she first published after her tour of 1796.¹² In 1797 Francis Grose's Antiquities of Scotland added a further dimension to the aesthetic attraction of the country.¹³ The increasing popularity of Scottish tours is attested by the publication in Edinburgh in 1798 of The Traveller's Guide through Scotland and its Islands and of Robert Forsyth's Beauties of Scotland in 1805-08.¹⁴ It took ten years for the artist William Daniell to complete the prints for his Voyage Round Great Britain 1813-23¹⁵ and his views of Scotland became known not only throughout Britain but also on the Continent. The following year, 1824, another artist whose impressions of Scotland were to become popular in Germany, Edwin Landseer, made his first visit. J. M. W. Turner had visited Scotland for the first time in 1801,¹⁶ William and Dorothy Wordsworth in 1803 and James Hogg made three Highland tours in the summers of 1802-4.¹⁷ The poets and artists defied convention and frequently enjoyed the land and its people at first hand by travelling on foot.¹⁸ Keats' "Pedestrian Tour" of Scotland took place in 1818, a significant year for Scotland's tourist industry in that it saw the publication of The Heart of Midlothian. In this respect 1810 had been the most significant as the publication year of "The Lady of the Lake"; Scott had toured Mull, Staffa and Iona that year, and in 1814, the year Waverley was published, he had toured the coast of Scotland

with the Lighthouse Commission, gathering material for "The Lord of the Isles" and The Pirate. By 1816, when Robert Southey toured Scotland with Thomas Telford,¹⁹ the 'picturesque travel' of Gilpin and Wordsworth was already out of date. Social change had played its part in this.

For some years coach services to and within Scotland had been increasing and improving. The Edinburgh to London coach, which had taken thirteen days in the middle of the 18th Century, had advanced to become the London Mail of 1830, taking forty-three and a half hours. By the same date the original Edinburgh to Glasgow coach of the 1760's, which had taken twelve hours, had been superseded by twenty daily five-hour journeys.²⁰ By the 1820's Telford's programme of road and bridge building was well under way, 1823 seeing the completion of the Caledonian Canal. Publishers saw the need for new and detailed guides. Steam travel brought with it companions and guide books, providing practical information in place of the more fanciful 'tours'.²¹ The first of Murray's Guides had been published in 1820, John Murray III being the first to use the word "handbook" in 1829. The following decade saw the publication of the much more complete and reliable guide book by George and Peter Anderson.²² Robert Chambers meanwhile published his Traditions of Edinburgh in 1824,²³ recognising the requirements of the more historically-minded visitors. It might reasonably be thought that events in Scotland, and particularly in the Highlands, in the 1830's and 40's were hardly conducive to tourism. The harvests had suffered under the wet summers of 1835 and 1836, and the traditional Highland industries of fishing and kelp burning were dying from lack of demand.²⁴ The social upheaval of the Disruption of 1843 only exacerbated the failure of the potato crop in 1845 and the ensuing famine. There is little need to enumerate the devastating results of the Clearances.²⁵ Yet in the face of all this the tourists flocked to the Highlands in ever increasing numbers.

For those of artistic or literary bent Scott remained a powerful magnet; the influential Ruskin first visited Scotland as a teenager on a Scott pilgrimage with his family in 1838. Yet it was



also the age of wealthy and reactionary landlords and sporting maniacs, and it was in the 1840's, too, that the Royal Pair 'discovered' Scotland, first touring the Highlands in 1842, and buying Balmoral in 1853.²⁶ Inadvertantly the Queen merely renewed the trend for fashionable Highland tours. But if Victoria and Albert were protected from the true conditions of life in the Highlands, one might have expected that other visitors, be they sportsmen or tourists, who encountered flagrant begging on the part of the Highlanders (and the people of the much visited Iona were particularly notorious for this), would have drawn some obvious conclusions. Such great changes had taken place in tourism, however, that it was easy for the visitor conveniently to ignore that which he or she did not wish to see. In 1846 Thomas Cook had made two preliminary visits to Scotland and was able as a result to publish the Handbook of a Trip to Scotland, which was to serve as a guide for his first Scottish tour later that year.²⁷ With the expansion of the railway network in the 1840's, the two excursion tours to Scotland organised by Cook in 1847 were by railway alone, with subsidiary trips to Glencoe and the Western Isles. By 1861 the whole system of tourist tickets in Scotland was in Cook's hands, with around 5,000 tourists a year travelling to Scotland with him.²⁸ Thomas Cook, therefore, while he did thousands of ordinary people a great service in enabling them to see Scotland, also helped indirectly, by focussing attention and money towards the 'sights', to obscure the plight of the Highlanders and those in the ever-growing urban slums of industrial Scotland. In this he followed in the footsteps of the precedent-setting Macpherson, Scott and even the Queen herself; all four in their way helped to fill the inns and hotels, keep the roads busy and ensure a steady income.

The tourist trend was self-evident. Of the eight different categories of visitors listed by Ogilvie in his history of the tourist movement in Britain,²⁹ the traditional visitors to Scotland, the businessmen, diplomats, seamen and merchants, were being joined in large and ever-increasing numbers by the holiday-makers. It should not be overlooked, however, that other trends were developing too. In the 1840's James Silk Buckingham was encouraging the

British, in the interests of self-improvement, to explore other parts of their country than the frequented resorts, and Scotland naturally featured highly in this. Much of the advice he gave his travellers was commonly adopted by visitors to Scotland, the Germans included:

He impressed on his imaginary tourist the old, time worn advice given to the Grand Tourist of the previous century - to take a good supply of books and maps, to hire a tutor, to study the geography, geology, mineralogy, botany and natural history of the countries visited; to investigate their history, antiquities and monuments; to note statistics of population, manufactures and commerce; and to observe the state of the arts and manners.

He also advised the making of drawings, the collection of specimens and the eventual formation of a family museum. Diaries should be kept and suitable athletics periodically practised.(30)

But it was inevitable that while Scotland continued as a popular holiday destination for years to come, the more adventurous travellers and tourists, the Thomas Pennants and Sarah Murrays of the mid-19th Century, would seek satisfaction further afield. Buckingham followed up his advice to explore the more remote parts of Britain by urging travel to Europe in the same vein; once Europe had been thoroughly toured, he advised travel to Asia and America. In Scotland meanwhile, Americans had long been numbered amongst the tourists,³¹ some, like Washington Irving, of Scottish parentage and ancestry, 'discovering' their roots and heritage.

Thus the cycle was complete. The Scots had set out to 'discover' Europe on the Grand Tour; they had returned to 'discover' their own country and were followed by the Europeans; they had emigrated to the New World and had returned to the Old to visit. And while Scots played their part in 'discovering' Germany, Germans played their part in 'discovering' Scotland.

b) THE GERMAN VIEW OF SCOTLAND

i. To 1800

The popularity of Scottish tours amongst Germans of the 19th Century can be seen as the result of a literary and aesthetic trend.

As such it runs parallel to the German preoccupation with England, which was primarily caused by the German enthusiasm for the advanced state of political and social development in that country. Heine's exclamation, "Land der Freiheit, ich grüsse Dich!"³² epitomised the politically fettered German's attitude to England, while his wry and satirical picture of the effect of Ossian on young German minds in the "Harzreise"³³ points to the different nature of the contemporary German preoccupation with Scotland. Yet the two trends were also inseparably linked. Many tours of Scotland were incorporated into tours of the British Isles, sometimes almost as an afterthought. For some the visit to Scotland was a recreational two or three weeks within the context of a more serious British tour, while for others, especially the commercial and scientific travellers, it was a tour of the Highlands alone which was seen as recreation. Within this framework only very few travellers chose to tour the Highlands seriously, unblinkerred by Ossian or Scott.

One does not need to look further back than the 18th Century to trace the roots of the German enthusiasm for Scotland in the 19th Century. Before looking briefly at these 18th Century trends it is revealing to know first what information was available to Germans before Ossian. Traditionally the country with which Scotland had had most direct dealings had been France. Trading links did exist, however, between Scottish and German, especially Baltic, ports; the arrival from Scotland in East Pomerania in the 17th Century of George Forster, great-great-grandfather to Reinhold, is indicative of a Scottish mercantile presence in Germany in the early 1600's. After 1715, when Jacobite emigrés from Scotland began to settle on the Continent, the numbers of Scots rose, although the majority sought refuge in the Netherlands or in Roman Catholic France, Italy or Spain. Of the latter one name stands out as being of particular significance to German history; after his part in the 1715 uprising, James Keith, afterwards Prussian Field Marshal, was to serve first in the Spanish and Russian armies before fighting so brilliantly for Frederick the Great in the Seven Years War.³⁴ The Scots mercenaries in the Thirty Years War^{had} also made their mark, both by their bravery and their striking dress. By tradition many British theologians were Scottish born and educated and

Johanna Schopenhauer's tutor and mentor, Dr. Jamieson, minister of the English-speaking congregation in Danzig, is a typical example. (The religious fervour of Celtic missionaries had of course been experienced long before in Germany during the evangelising crusades of the "Iro-Schottische Mönche"). It was not until the 18th Century that a pattern of mutual immigration developed between Germany and Scotland, but never to such an extent as between Germany and Hanoverian England. Of the Germans who settled in Scotland at this time many were musicians rather than merchants or businessmen. In comparison with Scots-French connections, therefore, the ties between Germany and Scotland before the mid-18th Century were weak. Common knowledge about Scotland in Germany was accordingly all the more scant until Ossian roused general curiosity.

There had of course been a number of early publications to include a certain amount of information on Scotland, but this was frequently inaccurate and seldom first hand. Sebastian Franck had pronounced the Scots proud, choleric, vengeful and superstitious in his Weltbuch of 1534,³⁵ while the second volume of Martin Zeiller's Itinerarium Magnae Britanniae of 1634, which has been referred to above, included a Scottish tour from a manuscript of 1609 by a "Count of the Holy Roman Empire".³⁶ Zeiller himself did not visit the country. Hume Brown considers Mercator's Atlas, which was printed in Düsseldorf in 1595, to give a fairly accurate picture of Scotland.³⁷ Cox cites two further works from the turn of the 18th Century which include information on Scotland, namely Das Neu-Beharnische Gross-Britannien, published in Nürnberg, 1690, and Das Vereinigte Gross-Britannien, oder Engelland und Schottland, which was published in Hamburg in 1716.³⁸ From the first Jacobite uprising to the close of the Seven Years War there was little cultural exchange between Scotland and Germany, but James Macpherson brought about a dramatic change.

Set against the background of the Gothic Revival in Germany, Ossian was bound to penetrate the German mind deeply. Europe's "second medievalism"³⁹ needed such a find: the 'discovery' of a Nordic bard, glorifying the heroic deeds of departed ancestors, in harmony with Nature and enshrouded in melancholy and mystery, fitted

the Gothic mood exactly. Robson-Scott describes this mood as "compounded of almost all the varied ingredients of eighteenth-century Romanticism or pre-Romanticism -graveyard poetry, the school of melancholy and night, Ossian, bardic verse, ballads and folksong".⁴⁰ Scotland, as Ossian's land of origin, could not fail to excite the German imagination. Robson-Scott points to the many buildings and parks in Germany created in the heat of enthusiasm for their British models, of which Inveraray Castle was a typical example.⁴¹ The fashion for the "englischer Garten", with its constructed wilderness and atmospheric ruins enjoyed enormous popularity in Germany.⁴² Freedom from rules, an aspect of Shakespeare so attractive to the Sturm und Drang, became the mainstay of aesthetic taste. While the architects and landscape gardeners were emulating the Gothic fashion in Britain, the poets, Klopstock above all, were enthusing over Young and Ossian:

The most striking features of Macpherson's Ossian are at the same time salient ingredients of the Gothic Mood. First, the melancholy of the landscape: the mist-clad hills, the wild deserted heaths, the stormy skies, the lonely foam-tossed seas and moonlit wastes of the Scottish Highlands. And secondly, the elegiac note: the frequent laments for the dead, the invocation of their ghosts, the shadowy figures of the noble warriors of the past, the atmosphere of old, unhappy, far-off things, and battles long ago.(44)

As Robson-Scott shows, the overriding 'discovery' for Klopstock in Ossian was a racial link, as manifested in the epigram, "Gerechter Anspruch" ; however erroneous, the idea that the Caledonians, too, were Teutonic boosted the German search for national identity. While Winckelmann was seeking a Classical heritage in the South, between them Klopstock and Herder turned attention to the North. The Scandinavian countries, home of sagas and legends, also became a focus of attention and were, like Scotland, to feature in the years to come as a popular destination for German tours.⁴⁵

Herder's importance in drawing the German attention to Ossian cannot be understated and has already been examined by Gillies.⁴⁶ The first German translation of the 1760 edition of Ossian appeared in 1762 and by 1765 Christian Felix Weisse was leading the Germans

against the French in the Ossian controversy. Gerstenberg's doubts as to the authenticity of the poetry redressed the balance,⁴⁷ but it was Herder who showed his readers how to reach an acceptable compromise in his Ossian essay, which appeared in 1772. In attacking the inauthenticity of the extant German translations of Ossian, in particular that of Denis, claiming that "unser Ossian gewiss nicht der wahre Ossian mehr sey",⁴⁸ he could state that "Ossians Gedichte Lieder, Lieder des Volks, Lieder eines ungebildeten sinnlichen Volks sind, die sich so lange im Munde der väterlichen Traditionen haben fortsingen können",⁴⁹ relying on his intuition to sense the vitality of the true original and the importance of oral culture. He thus turned attention away from the controversy towards the poetry itself. Goethe augmented the enthusiasm for the bard in his translations in Werther;⁵⁰ Werther was in turn to become so popular in Britain that Mrs. Grant, in her Letters from the Mountains of 1806, was to write of the wild autumn nights in the Highlands as "Werther nights".⁵¹ But while Ossian was a vital cause for 'Scotomania' in the late 18th Century, other works, too, were becoming known in Germany.

The news of Scotland's 'discovery' was being revealed in Germany through translations of the well known English travel works.⁵² Stuck cites a work entitled Schottländische Briefe, oder merkwürdige Nachrichten von Schottland und besonders von dem schottischen Hochlande &c. Aus dem Englischen Übersetzt von (Eobald) Toze, published in Hannover in 1760, and a further translation of 1776, Briefe über Schottland, besonders &c., translations of Burt's Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland.⁵³ Dr. Johnson's Journey appeared in German translation in Leipzig in 1775 as Reise nach den westlichen Inseln von Schottland,⁵⁴ while Topham's letters of the following year appeared in 1777.⁵⁵ Pennant's tour was translated by Ebeling in 1779-80⁵⁶ and Cordiner's Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland in a series of letters to Thomas Pennant of 1780 appeared in translation in Hamburg in 1783.⁵⁷ A further tour, "through parts of England and Wales", was published in German in 1781.⁵⁸ A translation of John Knox's account of 1786, "Über Ackerbau, Manufakturen, Fischereyen und Handel von Schottland, vorzüglich im Hochlande", was

included in Forster and Sprengel's 'Beyträge zur Völker und Länderkunde'.⁵⁹ Translations of Hebridean tours appeared from 1787, when Boswell's tour was published in German in Lübeck;⁶⁰ Anderson's guide⁶¹ was published in Berlin in 1791 and Buchanan's Travels in the Western Hebrides 1782-90 appeared in Berlin in 1795, two years after its London publication.⁶² Gilpin's Observations appeared in German translation in Leipzig in 1792, the year of their publication in London⁶³ and Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account was published in Leipzig in 1794-6.⁶⁴ Garnett's Highland tour of 1798 (published 1800) appeared in Lübeck in 1802,⁶⁵ Wedell's tour of Orkney in Weimar in 1827⁶⁶ and tours by Macdonald and Wilson in Leipzig in 1808 and 1837 respectively.⁶⁷

As well as these individual publications, many collections of travel literature included tours of Scotland, sometimes straight translations of the original English works and sometimes compiled by the editor from a series of works. Volume 8 of the Sammlung der besten und neuesten Reisebeschreibungen⁶⁸ had included a Beschreibung von Grosbritannien und Irland, und die grosbritanische Schifffahrtsgeschichte, possibly a translation of the same work as a further publication of 1780.⁶⁹ From 1769-73 the first of many editions of Büsching's Erdbeschreibung was published.⁷⁰ In the eighth edition of 1789, forty-one pages of the fourth volume deal with Scotland; the information is presented in the form of a systematic guide, with plentiful statistics and reference to the sources used.⁷¹ After an eight page introduction, providing facts and figures concerning the land, the people, their language, trade and industry, religion and law, the description is geographically arranged, divided into three sections, "Süd Schottland", "Das Mittlere Schottland" and "Nord Schottland", and within that the thirty-one shires and two stewartries are dealt with separately. The title of Volkmann's work of 1784 speaks for itself: Neueste Reisen durch Schottland und Ireland vorzüglich in Absicht auf die Naturgeschichte, Oekonomie, Manufakturen und Landsitze der Grossen. Aus den besten Nachrichten und neuern Schriften zusammengetragen.⁷² Volkmann fully acknowledges his sources, which include Pennant, Topham, Johnson, Cordiner and two further tours, Tour through Great Britain

and Modern British Traveller.⁷³ In addition he refers to William Guthrie's General History of Scotland of 1771 and John Lightfoot's Flora Scotica of 1777 as well as other more general works on Britain. Volkmann also acknowledges Büsching's Erdbeschreibung. In the foreword he writes:

Ueberhaupt sind sowohl Schottland als Ireland noch nicht hinlänglich von Reisenden untersucht. Da ihr Flor sich aber in der letzten Hälfte dieses Jahrhunderts sehr verbessert hat, so werden sie auch immer mehr an Wohlstand und Merkwürdigkeit zunehmen, und künftige Reisende anreizen, sich genauer damit bekannt zu machen. Gegenwärtige Grundlage kann alsdenn zur Ausführung eines weitläufigern und grössern Gebäudes dienen.(74)

Volkmann's account of Scotland is full, consisting of thirteen "Briefe" and 318 pages. It follows much the same order as Büsching's work, the first two letters giving general statistical information concerning church and state, trade and industry, and the remaining letters devoted to the separate shires.

During the last two decades of the 18th Century, while such handbooks as those of Büsching and Volkmann were being compiled from works in English, the first original works in German to give information on Scotland also began to appear. In 1783 Johann Reinhold Forster had included some short pieces on Scotland in his Gemälde von England⁷⁵ and in his work of 1785, Der Zustand des Staats, der Religion, der Gelehrsamkeit und der Kunst in Grosbritannien, Wendeborn also gives some information on contemporary Scotland. He writes for instance of the Church of Scotland and the Seceders, the high reputation of Scottish education, the character of Scots preachers and of the excellence of medical lectures in Edinburgh.⁷⁶ He also writes of the Scots' love of music, especially of their fondness for their traditional tunes and has high praise for the two Edinburgh Societies, the Royal and the Scottish Academy.⁷⁷ Wendeborn thinks nothing of refuting some of Dr. Johnson's evidence; in writing of his preference for the four Scottish universities to the English, he expresses his surprise that the English are not envious of the high standards in Scotland.⁷⁸ He continues:

Johnson beschuldigt die schottischen Universitäten, dass die Studirenden auf denselben nicht viel lernen, weil sie jung dahin kommen, und ehe sie Männer geworden, schon wieder weggehen. Diese Beschuldigung gehöret indessen zu den vielen Beweisen, dass Johnson das meiste, was er auf seinen schottischen Reisen gesehen, durch die Brille seiner Vorurtheile angeschauet habe.(79)

Wendeborn himself was proud of following the maxim - "Wer als Augenzeuge schreibt, hat nicht nöthig sich auf andere zu berufen".⁸⁰

Despite such advice many Germans evidently did read tours of Scotland before visiting the country; as far as Dr. Johnson's tour was concerned, his attitude to Ossian was bound to create the chief bone of contention for German readers.

Meanwhile German translations of French, Dutch, and Swedish tours of Scotland had also been published. Tremarec de Kerguelen's Relation d'un voyage dans la mer du Nord, which described his tour of the North Sea coastlines, including Shetland and Orkney, appeared in Leipzig in 1772,⁸¹ and part one of Gabriel Iars' Voyages metallurgiques, which included a journey to Scotland, was translated by Gerhard in 1777.⁸² Perhaps the most influential of the French works was Faujas de St. Fond's tour, which appeared in Göttingen in 1799.⁸³

Ossian was not the only aspect of Scottish traditional poetry to have focussed German attention on Scotland. The impact of Percy's Reliques is evident from Herder's Ossian essay, in particular in his translations of the ballads "Edward" and "Sweet William's Ghost"; the interest in Scots ballads can be followed through to Fontane and his fellow 'Tunnel Über der Spree' members of the 19th Century. The picture presented by Herder of a "wildes Volk" gradually came to signify the German notion of the traditional Scottish (or 'Caledonian') character and poetry:

Wissen Sie also, dass je wilder, d.i. je lebendiger, je freiwürkender ein Volk ist, (denn mehr heisst dies Wort doch nicht!) desto wilder, d..i. desto lebendiger, freier, sinnlicher, lyrisch handelnder müssen auch, wenn es Lieder hat, seine Lieder seyn!(84)

It only needed one man fully to justify Herder's cause - by 1805 Scott had published both his Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border and "The Lay of the Last Minstrel" and had shown how the 'discovery' of

traditional and historical material could serve to recreate a romantic past.

ii. After 1800

Until the end of the 18th Century there were still many more British and Scots touring Europe than there were Europeans touring Scotland. In the preface to his Journal of a Tour and Residence in Great Britain during the years 1810 and 1811, by a French traveller,⁸⁵ Louis Simond points to the sad lack of informative French travel accounts. In his view very few French travellers had toured Britain with an open mind and Simond even sees Faujas de St. Fond's tour in this light, considering it to be only of interest to a mineralogist. The abundance of travel works in English can only have had a beneficial effect on the reading public, providing first-hand information from genuine observation, and Simond hopes to redress the balance by publishing the unprejudiced views of a Frenchman with wide and unbiassed knowledge of the British Isles and of the English language.⁸⁶ It should of course be pointed out that Simond was married to an Englishwoman and had lived in America for over twenty years (with the result that he is referred to as a "Gallo-Amerikaner" in the German translation of his work),⁸⁷ but nonetheless his criticism was valid and could be levelled at both the French and the Germans. Of course more and more foreign visitors were travelling to Scotland by this date and the very fact that Faujas de St. Fond was accompanied on his tour by a fellow Frenchman, an Italian count and an American is witness to the growing fashion; yet at the same time the lure of the unknown was one of the chief attractions of Scotland, which to most Germans, if not a "terra incognita", was known only through Ossian or those of the above translations which they might have read. The advantage of travelling to a foreign country with completely fresh and unbiassed views is perhaps more evident in retrospect than to contemporaries and it is understandable that Simond was more concerned with the relative scarcity of European travel works on Britain than with the potential danger that overabundance might dispel spontaneity. Yet at the very time

when Simond was writing, a major event occurred which was to lure visitors, British and foreign alike, in ever-increasing numbers to Scotland - Scott published "The Lady of the Lake". The impact of the poem on contemporaries was unprecedented.

Scott's influence in Germany and his German contacts have been discussed elsewhere.⁸⁸ To assess the extent of his popularity it is enough to single out one event: there was such a demand for a new Scott novel for the Leipziger Messe of 1824 that Willibald Alexis could achieve instant success with his "pseudo-Scott" Walladmor.⁸⁹ The fact that Alexis himself, though a travel writer of some renown,⁹⁰ had never set foot in Wales, or even Britain, did not seem to matter. Ochojski traces the height of the German Scott vogue from 1820, the publication date of Ivanhoe, and points out that while the novels were still appearing anonymously in Britain, the German translations attributed them openly to Scott.⁹¹ The poor state of the contemporary German novel greatly contributed to the increasing market for productions by literary hacks, who answered the demand by moving from the "Ritterroman" to the "pseudo-Scott":

These Scott imitations were sub-literary works aping his manner, style, and subject-matter, but without ability approaching his. The same people who had concocted the pre-Scott 'Ritterromane' now wrote in the manner of 'The Great Unknown'.(92)

Thus general knowledge of Scotland, however misinformed, continued to spread amongst the German reading public.

Goethe's admiration for Scott in his later years is well known,⁹³ but it was Schiller who had further boosted the German interest in Scotland with the publication in 1800 of Maria Stuart. Muncker discusses the influence on Schiller of his bride Charlotte von Lengefeld's enthusiasm for the British, for English literature, but especially for Scotland.⁹⁴ The Germans really took Maria Stuart to their hearts, as is evident in all their Scottish tours and in this respect Schiller's name should be placed alongside those of Macpherson, Herder and Scott.

The extent to which the Germans appropriated aspects of Scotland's past in the search for their own national identity is evident in a sonnet by no less a figure than Wilhelm von Humboldt:

Auf Deinen Hügeln Ossians Harfe tönte,
 dem Sturm, von dem der Felsen dumpf erdröhnte,
 mischend den Laut der seelenvollen Klage
 am Meeresstrand, an nebelvollem Tage.
 Den Ruhm des Vaterlandes der Sänger krönte,
 nicht neuer Dichtung Trug sein Lied verschönte,
 er sang es selbst, dass dunkle Heldensage
 sein Mund zum späten Enkel feiernd trage.
 Hättest Du ihn nicht, Scotia, besessen,
 wär in der Zeiten Nacht Dein Ruhm vergessen,
 in wüster Kämpfe dunklem Irrgewühle.
 Doch weil wir gern dem grossen Sänger lauschen,
 erfreut uns auch Deiner Waffen Rauschen;
 der Thaten Ernst glänzt erst im Saitenspiele.(95)

It was inevitable that the Germans would not content themselves for long with reading the works of others; it was natural that more and more Scotland enthusiasts should want to visit the country and see the land of Ossian, Mary and Scott for themselves. The aim of the study of the resulting travel works is to ascertain to what extent prejudice governed the views of the German visitors - did they attempt to see Scotland as it really was, or did they only wish to find the "Caledonia" with which they were already intimate?

CHAPTER IVTHE GERMAN-SPEAKING TRAVELLERS IN SCOTLAND TO 1800a) BEFORE 1798

Although few in number, German travellers had visited Scotland before the last years of the 18th Century. In the 15th Century the Swabian knight errant Jörg (Georg) von Ehingen visited the country and was received by King James II and ^{his} Queen, Mary of Gueldres; his tour of 1458, which includes only a few lines on Scotland, was published in 1600.¹ During the reign of James VI in 1586, the Ulm merchant, Samuel Kiechel, intended to visit, but was put off by reports of the plague in the Scottish towns,² while Lupold (Leopold) von Wedel was in Scotland in 1584-5;³ Mary Queen of Scots was still alive and Wedel, who needed a passport to enter the country, was taken to see the scenes both of the battle of Pinkie and of Darnley's murder. He also visited Tantallon Castle and the Bass Rock and journeyed to Perth, where he had a sight of the King. Both he and Ferdinand Geizkofler, who visited the country in 1611,⁴ commented on the poverty in Scotland, though while Wedel found the Scots mean, Geizkofler considered them more open than the English. According to Cox, Otto von Hessen also came to Scotland in that year.⁵ The turn of the 18th Century saw a visit from the young businessman, Johann Eberhard Zetzner, who traversed the length of the British Isles from 1700-02 in search of commercial experience.⁶

There is plenty of evidence that Germans had found their way to Scotland during the 18th Century; the Hanoverian troops had played their part in quelling the Jacobite uprising and trade had long ensured that merchant vessels plied between Scottish and Baltic ports. Sarah Murray, for instance, describes an encounter with a heavily laden boat from Danzig in the Sound of Jura.⁷ She also gives evidence that German tourists were arriving in Scotland. During her Highland tour of 1796, while riding along Loch Ericht, she describes meeting "three German gentlemen who were on their road from the island of Staffa"; the party of four were mounted on Shetland ponies, with one bridle and saddle between them.⁸ Later she meets a "chaise containing three German gentlemen" in Glencoe and she goes on to relate how four years later, in 1800, she was to meet the younger

brother of one of these Germans at Loch Katrine.⁹ It was not, however until Emilie Harmes recorded her tour of 1800 that these German visitors began to publish accounts of their Scottish visits.

b) 1798-1800. Forerunners of the 19th Century Travellers - Barthold Georg Niebuhr and Emilie Harmes.

In the summer of 1798 Theodor von Schön, like so many Germans of his day greatly under the influence of Adam Smith, visited Scotland during his stay in Britain.¹⁰ That autumn, at the end of October, the future historian Barthold Georg Niebuhr arrived in Edinburgh to enrol as a student and he remained until the beginning of the following October. The account of his stay, as expressed in his personal correspondence, was published after his death in 1838 and in 'Tait's Edinburgh Magazine' in 1845.¹¹ Although his impressions of Scotland were not intended for publication, the visit of so eminent an academic can only have helped to rouse further interest in Scotland. The visit of Emilie Harmes¹² the following year was of a very different nature and without doubt contributed towards setting a precedent for future tours; in her attitudes and opinions Harmes must really be considered to belong to the 18th Century, and for this reason, even though her Caledonia was not published until 1802-3,¹³ I have not included it amongst the travels of 1800-60. As the immediate forerunners to the later travellers, both Niebuhr and Harmes are sufficiently important to merit some discussion here.

There is unanimous regret that the letters which Niebuhr wrote to his parents while in Britain were destroyed, since they were largely concerned with British politics, the State and the people.¹⁴ Those which survive were written to his fiancée, Amalie. It is in his later writings that he displays a special interest in the British Economy and Constitution, above all in the foreword he wrote to Vincke's Darstellung der innern Verwaltung Grossbritanniens,¹⁵ which in Elsasser's opinion shows "seine intime Vertrautheit mit dem englischen Staatsleben, und die Erkenntnis, dass die englische Freiheit mehr in der Verwaltung als in der Verfassung liege".¹⁶ Of his student

visit Niebuhr himself wrote towards the end of his stay in Edinburgh: "Diese Reise hat mich vielleicht zu einem tüchtigern Geschäftsmann gemacht, als ich bis dahin Anlagen dazu zu haben glaubte".¹⁷ It is interesting that he should have arrived at this conclusion, since his studies in Edinburgh were almost exclusively scientific, while his previous studies in Germany (at the University of Kiel and at Büsch's Handlungsakademie) had been more directly concerned with business.

Niebuhr had inherited his father's opposition to the French Revolution,¹⁸ and, bearing also in mind that Carsten had many useful connections in Britain, it was the obvious place for foreign study. He spent the best part of eighteen months in Britain, leaving Cuxhaven at the end of June 1798 and returning in November of the following year. In his letters he shows himself to be a young man of high expectations and a certain amount of impatience where personal contacts and relationships are concerned. Again and again he regrets the superficiality of his London acquaintances and their conversation. Like so many other foreign visitors he arrives in the city when many of its residents are on the point of leaving for the summer; as a consequence he finds much very dull, although the reputation of his father doubtless made things easier for him than for most. Nonetheless he was impatient to reach Scotland:

Meines Vaters Name, der hier sehr berühmt ist,
führt mich wohl ein, aber ich freue mich auf
die Zeit, die mich aus einer zu grossen Con-
spicuität in Schottlands Ruhe führen wird.(19)

The Scots whom Niebuhr encountered in England promised that he would find a marked contrast in Edinburgh and encouraged him to visit Scotland: "Ich bin auch völlig Überzeugt, dass alles in Schottland um ein Grosses anders seyn wird, und dafür bürgen mir mehrere Schottländer, die ich schon kenne".²⁰ He travelled from Cuxhaven to Yarmouth in the company of an eminent Scots doctor from St. Petersburg, Dr. Rogerson, who had treated Friedrich Stolberg and who gave him some letters of introduction for Edinburgh.²¹ In London he was to meet another Edinburgh doctor, Dr. Wright, and he was also impressed by a young man from Ayrshire who was setting out for the East Indies.²² Frustrated by London, his expectations of Scotland grew perhaps disproportionately high and he wrote: "Mich verlangt nach Edinburgh,

wo sich ein ganz neues Leben anfangen wird".²³

...und auf der Reise durch die blühenden Provinzen, die Felder des reichen und glücklichen Landmannes und die steigenden Höhen des Nordens wird sicher eine Belehrung und ein Vergnügen sich geschwisterlich abwechseln, bis sie zu dem gesitteten, gastfreien, denkenden Schottland führen, wo mir sicher wohl seyn wird.(24)

Travelling north by the mail, Niebuhr is struck by the contrast between British and German travel. On the one hand he notices the lack of footpaths - "selbst der gemeine Mann geht ungerne auf der Landstrasse zu Fuss ... und daher sieht das Land dem Durchreisenden menschenleer aus"²⁵ - and on the other he is surprised by the great speed of travel. Unlike many of his day he had no romantic illusions concerning the more meagre human dwellings, even using the phrase "eine unromantische Erwartung";²⁶ as he travels through England he is impressed by the cultivated state of the surrounding countryside, but on entering Scotland this impression fades. Yet he is an impulsive traveller, and in the same breath that he writes of the shocking filth of Berwick and the gloom of the surrounding countryside - "dürre, kahle, hohe Hügel, mit tiefen moorichten Thälern, und darüber ein undurchdringlicher Nebel" - he can also exclaim on approaching Edinburgh: "Das Land ist so romantisch, dass ich gewiss neue Freuden hier geniessen werde."²⁷

The greater part of the letters from Scotland²⁸ concern the subject which so preoccupied Niebuhr in London, namely the people he met and the frequently ensuing social frustrations. Even as a foreigner he seemed to expect instant intimacy and was often to be disappointed:

es ist dies ein ganz nationaler Zug, nicht bei dem zu verweilen, was uns persönlich, was das Herz erfüllt: es ist eben so wenig Sitte, dass sie mir erzählen, was ihnen am Herzen liegt, als es ihnen natürlich ist es von mir zu hören.(29)

He was grateful for the hospitality he received, however, and also appreciated the weight his father's name carried, above all with the hospitable and kind family of Francis Scott, who had known Carsten Niebuhr in Bombay.³⁰ His expectations of student friendships were frequently dashed; even his contact with his fellow student Lambe

proved something of a disappointment and he concludes:

Nach dem Herzen, nach der Innigkeit, mit der wir uns in Deutschland an unsre Freunde schliessen, suchst Du, denke ich, fast fruchtlos in England: Vereinzlung ist schon beim jungen Manne die natürliche Situation, wie sehr auch im Einzelnen Hochschätzung und Verehrung besonders in der Abwesenheit lebhafteste Ausdrücke von Zuneigung erwecken mag.(31)

Nonetheless he is full of praise and admiration for his friend Moorhouse, the medical student from Sheffield whom he met on the journey north and with whom he ^{shared} lodgings.³² As to his ability to speak English Niebuhr considered the foreign language no hindrance, writing "ich rede Englisch geläufig, obgleich mit fremder Aussprache".³³

Niebuhr omits to give the names of some of his acquaintances, most frustratingly when he expresses great interest in the character of a certain respected poet and former shepherd whom he meets, and one can only surmise that it was James Hogg.³⁴ He does name others, however, amongst them the bookseller Laing and Sir James Nesbit.³⁵ He writes more fully of those from whom he receives hospitality outside Edinburgh, namely Sir John Henderson, a mine owner and Spinoza enthusiast from Fife, the widely travelled Mr. Grant of Redcastle, by Inverness, Sir James Hald of Dunbar, the hospitable and friendly farmers from Haddington, Mr. Stevenson and the young Adam Bogun, Sir John Murray of Kirklandhill (and his pipe-smoking wife!), and the less hospitable member of the aristocracy, Mr. Buchan Hepburn.³⁶

He has much to say of the University and its teachers. Having attended the opening lectures at the end of October, he writes:

Die heutige Probe hat mich über allen Zweifel überzeugt, dass der Ruf dieser Universität vollkommen verdient ist, und dass die hiesigen Professoren als Männer von tiefen Einsichten, vollkommener Herrschaft über ihren Gegenstand und von einem ganz musterhaften Vortrage ganz meinen Wünschen entsprechen.(37)

He is soon to find exceptions to this, in particular in the inexperienced young medical lecturer Dr. James Home and in Professor Robinson, whose Physics lectures he deems at first superficial and elementary and later unnecessarily dense; Robinson's antipathy towards German academics merely serves to lower Niebuhr's opinion of him yet

further although he is to be pleasantly surprised by his Astronomy lectures in the New Year and corrects his judgement. He has high praise for his Chemistry lecturer, Dr. Hope, even if as a man he finds him stiff and formal, and there is no doubt in his mind that Dr. Gregory lives up to his great reputation. Through the winter Niebuhr concentrated his studies on Physics, Chemistry and Astronomy, making good use of the Observatory. Having sampled the elementary Mathematics lectures of Professor Playfair on Algebra and Geometry, he pursued the subject on his own and did not attend Playfair's lectures again until they had become more suitably advanced.³⁸

Niebuhr was ill much through the winter, with colds and scarlet fever. He had hoped to tour the Highlands during the summer months, but finds that three of the lecture courses he wishes to attend are held at this time. He soon dismisses the Natural History course, pronouncing the lecturer (Walker) an old fool, but he attends those of Rutherford and Coventry in Botany and Agriculture, though he is somewhat disappointed by the former.³⁹ It is from Coventry and Playfair that he receives attention and hospitality; Coventry invites him to stay for a few days at his home, Shanwell, near Kinross, while Playfair invites him to breakfast and accompanies him on a mineralogical ramble to Salisbury Crags.⁴⁰ Playfair's breakfast party prompts Niebuhr to be a little less fastidious about Edinburgh society:

Du kannst es Dir kaum vorstellen, mit welchem Antheil und mit welcher Achtung sie hier allgemein nach Vater fragen, und von ihm reden. Dies macht also das einleitende Gespräch in fast allen Bekanntschaften aus, und es zerstreut sich in andre von wissenschaftlicher oder historischer Natur, in denen mir es nicht an Ideen gebrechen kann, und der garstige Sauerteig von Politik, welcher uns in Deutschland jede Unterhaltung verdirbt - und bei der nicht geringen Unwissenheit unserer meisten Sprecher thun muss, da es ihnen sonst an Stoff fehlen würde, bleibt aus den Gesprächen der bejahrten und gut gesitteten Männer hier weg. Aber freilich wäre es eine blosser Wiederholung, wenn ich Dir über die Ausschliessung des Schönen, Interessanten, Geistreichen, von der Verbannung der Philosophie noch weiter klagen wollte, woraus wenigstens das Gute entsteht, dass neben dem Interessanten und Belebenden auch das Affectirte, Unempfundene, Flimmernde weg bleibt.(41)

Less than four months earlier Niebuhr had written of his express desire to avoid the company of intellectuals:

Ich suche keinen Umgang hier mit Gelehrten; denn was mir in ihren Vorlesungen oder Büchern, die an ihre Wissenschaft gehen, vorkommt, vermag mein eigener Verstand auszumitteln, und was dem oder meiner Anstrengung gebricht können sie durch Inspiration nicht ersetzen.(42)

Despite this pompous attitude, Niebuhr obviously does benefit from such company. He is particularly struck by the Scots' preoccupation with German literature:

In keinem Orte in England ist die Aufmerksamkeit auf deutsche Litteratur so gross wie hier, und die Zahl derer, die Deutsch genug wissen um etwas zu lesen, und Bücher in unserer Sprache anzuschaffen, ist nicht unbeträchtlich, aber sie kennen nur solche Bücher, als ihnen ein Ungefähr zur Kunde bringt.(43)

Kant, though often misinterpreted in Niebuhr's view, is widely known, thanks to the work of several native German residents in Scotland and Schiller is the most popular German writer.⁴⁴ As for English literature Niebuhr is profoundly disappointed: "Die Engländer scheinen in der That gegenwärtig keinen einzigen grossen Schriftsteller zu haben".⁴⁵ Despite the abundance of historians and philosophers he considers the only good writers to be in the field of Mathematics and Science and concludes that Germany is superior to Britain in its academic life. Such sweeping statements are tempered by other comments - Niebuhr speaks of his deep respect for the deceased Hume, whom Francis Scott had known well,⁴⁶ and throughout his stay in Britain he admits to being constantly reminded how behind Germany is in many respects.⁴⁷

Niebuhr's journey into East Lothian, where he finds the people more open and informal, gives him more gratifying insight into the Scottish way of life than he had hitherto received.⁴⁸ His landlord and ^{land-} lady in Edinburgh, a joiner and his wife, were rough, lazy and unfriendly, but thankfully not too dirty(!), while the family upstairs were more agreeable, a widowed iron merchant and his children, anabaptists, neither well off nor well educated, yet a happy family, welcoming and friendly and fond of music.⁴⁹ Generally the Scots' attitude to religion strikes Niebuhr more than their love

of music : "es giebt wohl kein Volk, das an Frömmigkeit mit den Schotten verglichen werden kann".⁵⁰ As for Amalie's illusions as to the character of the 'romantic' Scottish people, Niebuhr is at pains to correct them. In his visit to Roslin he shows himself to have little appreciation of the 'Romantic',⁵¹ and he displays a similar attitude to the Scots people; he tells Amalie of his plans for a week's holiday in Lanarkshire:

... zwar nicht mit Deinen Erwartungen vom Volk: ich weiss im Gegentheil, dass es sehr eigensüchtig, versoffen, faul und schmutzig ist. Welch ein Anblick ist ein Schottisches Bauernhaus selbst in der Nähe der Hauptstadt! (52)

The Highlands, he assures her, are not as she imagines. Moreover, it is impossible to appreciate the good side of the Highland people without a knowledge of Gaelic:

Deine Erwartungen vom Volk würdest Du so sehr betrogen finden, als Du mit ganzer Seele Dich der majestätischen Natur freuen würdest. Die Nation in Hoch- und Niederland soll dem Laster des Trunks ergeben und der gemeine Mann nicht ein Haar besser seyn als bei uns, ausser dass er sehr abgehärtet und kriegerisch ist. Der Bergschotte ist seit undenklichen Zeiten ein Wilder, und gegenwärtig, da er allmählich anfängt sich zu civilisiren, muss er, wie alle Wilden, sehr verlieren.(53)

But Niebuhr's hopes of seeing the 'real' Highlands are thwarted by a combination of events, the dates of the summer lectures, his illnesses (which he puts down in part to the unhealthy draughty lecture theatres),⁵⁴ and above all the persistently stormy weather and snow conditions. In the end he travels by mail and postchaise via Aberdeen and Nairn to Inverness to visit Mr. Grant and must content himself with hearsay: "Ich höre viel Gutes von dem Volk hier: ich kann aber nur hören, nicht selbst sehen".⁵⁵ Before being defeated by the weather, Niebuhr had fully intended to undertake a pedestrian tour from Edinburgh through East Lothian to the Tweed, across to Glasgow and north to Inverness. Even if contrary to custom, walking tours were accepted in Scotland, unlike England; they nonetheless posed considerable practical problems due to the weather and the high cost of coach travel.⁵⁶ After the miseries of his journey to Dunbar, Niebuhr gives

in to the advice of his friends and abandons his plans. A telling comment in an earlier letter implies that his heart was in his studies and not his travels:

Erfahrung giebt mir von Zeit zu Zeit die stärksten Belege zu der Richtigkeit meiner stets gehegten Vermuthung, dass Reisen mit allgemeinen Hinsichten, wie man sagt, um Menschen und Völker zu beobachten, äusserst dürftige Resultate darbieten.(57)

Yet his true hopes were even more unrealistic:

Ich hoffte irgendwo einen grossen Genius zu finden, dessen Gegenwart, dessen Freundschaft, was in mir vielleicht ihm verwandtes seyn möchte, beleben könnte, - eines solchen Schatten habe ich nicht angetroffen.(58)

With such a high opinion of himself it is hardly surprising that the friendships which the 22-year-old Niebuhr made while in Scotland scarcely lived up to his reiterated hopes of profound intimacy.

Although Niebuhr does provide some comment on fashion and custom, for instance on the convenience of wearing "rundes Haar" after the expense of London barbers,⁵⁹ he gives little description of Scotland itself,⁶⁰ concentrating instead on the people and his own reactions to them. His letters are thus primarily of biographical interest. While in Scotland he acquires a new awareness of Nature,⁶¹ but this is not to the detriment of his social awareness; he is outspokenly averse to the landowners' attitude to their tenantry.⁶² Nonetheless such comments are infrequent. Perhaps most importantly, he appears to mature during the course of his stay and returns home socially more realistic and with greater self knowledge.

Niebuhr's visit could scarcely have been more different from that of Emilie Harmes, who spent the winter of 1799-1800 in Edinburgh and toured the Highlands from the following June to September, for the most part in the company of James Macdonald. If Niebuhr's inclinations were unaffected by romantic notions, Harmes' were very different and it was in the tradition for which she laid the foundations that most of the 19th Century German travellers in Scotland followed. In many respects her tour bears interesting comparison with that of Johanna Schopenhauer three years later: both were well-to-do women of letters and of society, sufficiently educated to take account of industrial developments yet unable to view the Highlands in any other way than with preconceived visions of natural harmony

and Ossianic glory. This applies in particular to Harmes, whose entire three-volumed work, Caledonia, is devoted to her tour of Scotland and does not include any mention of her stay in Edinburgh.^{62a} Her attention is focussed largely on Ossian and she dedicates the work to Herder. The opening lines of the foreword tell much of the content of the work:

Möge Ossians Nahme, der in Deutschland eben so bekannt ist und vielleicht richtiger geschätzt wird als in Brittannien, möge die gefühlvolle Bewunderung seiner Gesänge, die meinen Landesleuten so viel Ehre macht, ihnen auch einige Theilnehmung einflößen, für das was eine Deutsche - die Erste die das Vaterland des ehrwürdigen Barden bereisete - dort gesehen, gedacht und empfunden hat!(63)

In supporting her dedication she points out that only certain parts of the work are directed at Herder:

Herder bedarf der Nachrichten und Bemerkungen nicht, die sie enthält, ich aber bedarf zu meinen Geistesarbeiten einer individuellen schönen Idee, die mir Haltung gebe, mir zur Norm diene von lebendigem Interesse und menschlicher Wahrheit. So wie die Alten ihren Werken den Nahmen einer Muse vorsetzten, so erlaube ich mir, meine hochländischen Gemälde und Träume durch einen Nahmen einzuweihen, der unauslöschlich in meiner Seele und am Altar meiner freundlichen Hausgötter steht.(64)

Harmes toured in the company of native Scots, and this fact alone is sufficient to separate her from the travellers who came afterwards. She is quick to acknowledge this advantage:

Ich genoss jedoch eines grossen Vortheils, dem ich es zu verdanken habe, wenn ich von den Eigenthümlichkeiten der Gegenstände die ich sah, einige richtige und charakteristische Züge aufzufassen und darzustellen vermogte. Ich reiste mit einem Sohne des Landes, einem schottischen Gelehrten, der auf einer der Hebriden geboren ist, seine erste Erziehung da erhalten hat und die Ersische Sprache vollkommen kennt. Dieser mein Reisegefährte, dessen ich oft in meiner Schrift erwähne, ist Herr James Macdonald. Sein Nahme wird verschiedenen meiner Leser durch einige Aufsätze im deutschen Merkur und durch die Anmerkungen, welche er der deutschen Uebersetzung des Faujas de St. Fond hinzugefügt hat, bereits bekannt seyn.(65)

During her Highland tour Harmes also enjoys the company of three ladies, Anna Macdonald, Macdonald's sister, whom he is accompanying to their parents' home on South Uist, a Miss J., and Miss Cecilia Macdonald from Perthshire.⁶⁶ While the advantages of Scottish company were certainly great, it also sets Harmes apart from her successors, who for the most part travelled as complete foreigners with only their own impressions to support their views.

Niebuhr's letters were published posthumously as extracts from a genuine correspondence, while Harmes constructed her account with a view to publication. She defends the final form as follows:

Meine Beschreibung hat weder die Form von Briefen noch von einem Tagebuche, weil ich mir vorstelle, es könne dem Leser an allem was blos Vehikel ist, an den Schluss- und Anfangs-Floskeln der Briefe, oder an den mechanischen Notizen, die ein Reisender zum eigenen Gebrauch in sein Tagebuch einträgt, nichts gelegen seyn. (67)

With this in mind she extracted from her journal and recorded conversations only "was mir einigermaßen les_enswerth schien".⁶⁸ Nonetheless the form is that of a journal, with seven sections, even if the headings are to some degree incidental. Part One has one heading, "Oban, in der Mitte Juny 1800", Part Two three headings, "Oban, im July 1800", "Kilphedir auf South-Uist den 25. July 1798" and "Killin Anfangs August 1800" and Part Three likewise three headings, "Kenmore in Perthshire Anfangs August 1800", "St. Martin, Ende Augusts" and "Calender [sic] Anfangs September".⁶⁹ This form places Caledonia as a direct forerunner of the majority of the travel accounts of Scotland in the years to come; it is predominantly autobiographical, factual yet not systematic, and is built round lengthy digressions and atmospheric poetry.

As to previous tours and other sources of information, Harmes refers frequently to Faujas de St. Fond, no doubt partly because Macdonald had edited the German version.⁷⁰ Garnett's Tour had recently been published and she points out that similarities, especially in the route taken, would be inevitable.⁷¹ Moreover, by the time she came to write the introduction in 1801, Garnett's Tour had also been published in German translation. She attacks Dr. Johnson for considering Scotland treeless and for the misconception of Highland

travel which his Tour conveys,⁷² refers also to Gilpin, to the Statistical Accounts of both Macintire and Sinclair, to Lettice for an account of the journey from Tyndrum to Kingshouse, and to Pennant, Faujas and Banks for accounts of Staffa.⁷³ Travelling with native Scots also made her more aware of Scots historians, writers and poets, and she refers to Buchanan, Smollett, Ramsay and Fergusson, Beattie's Minstrel and Thomson.⁷⁴ She does not hesitate to give free translations where she thinks fit, for instance of Smollett's "On Leven's Banks while free to rove" and an excerpt from Thomson's "Seasons".⁷⁵ She also provides examples of her own verse throughout. Her 'Reisebibliothek' comprises Beattie, Thomson, Macpherson, some Scottish geographical works and also Burns' poetry.⁷⁶ She is unusually aware of Burns as a poet, appreciating the importance of dialect:

Ich denke, Robert Burns ist der einzige
wahrhaft individuelle Volkdichter der
neuern Zeit, worunter ich die letzte
Hälfte des Jahrhunderts verstehe.(77)

In attempting to point to a German counterpart, she can name only Bürger and Voss. She follows this discussion with a long account of "The Cotters Saturday Night".⁷⁸

Macdonald's companionship not only gives Harmes an awareness of literature and language but also of other aspects of Highland life which were often to go unnoticed by her successors. Thus she writes of the lairds, their tacksmen and tenants, of kelp burning, of the Highland Society, of Pibroch, and her comments on whisky and toddy lead her into one of several lengthy digressions.⁷⁹ Naturally many remarks made by Harmes are to be found throughout the German tours of Scotland; she writes for instance of the excellence of the British post system, of Highland dress, superstition and second sight, of oat and barley cakes and the general uniformity of British food and of the paintings to be seen at Hamilton Palace and Taymouth Castle.⁸⁰

The account itself begins with a description of the mills at New Lanark and of David Dale.⁸¹ Harmes then visited popular sights, the Falls of Clyde, Hamilton Palace and Bothwell Castle.⁸² The latter prompts her to launch into an attack on Darnley, "der berüchtigte Verführer der armen Marie Steward":

Wer kann diesen Mahmen nennen, ohne eine
unwillkürliche Regung zärtlichen Mitleids?

Wer kann in Schottland reisen, wo man so viele Denkmähler von ihr und ihrem Leiden antrifft, ohne zu bedauern, dass die lebenswürdige, aber schwache königliche Schöne, von dem Fluche des Schicksals getroffen, der ihren Stamm Jahrhunderte lang unaufhaltsam und auf eine sehr merkwürdige Weise verfolgte, weder Tugend, noch Glück, noch Leben aus dem tobenden Ocean ihrer gefährlichen Lage retten konnte. Verdammt, in die Hände böser oder thörigter Menschen zu fallen, in einem Zeitalter, in einem Lande zu leben, wo die lieblichsten Gaben der Natur, Schönheit, Grazie, grosse Talente, Edelsinn und Herzengüte, ohne Unterstützung der Philosophie und sittlichen Ausbildung ihr zu nichts nützen, musste sie fallen, ein Opfer des Neides, und ihr eignen Schwäche. Es ist wohl nicht ganz National-Partheilichkeit, sondern richtiger Sinn und ächtes Menschengefühl, was die Schotten so wehmüthig und zärtlich an ihr Andenken bindet.(83)

It is no surprise that as a German, Harmes, who later writes of "die neidische, treulose Elisabeth",⁸⁴ should sympathise so emotionally with Mary. It is also to be expected that she will attack John Knox. She cannot reconcile herself to "des tollen Knox barbarischer Reformations-Eifer in Schottland":

Die Übertriebene Einfachheit, um nicht zu sagen, Vernachlässigung der presbyterianischen Kirchen ist in Schottland um so viel anstössiger und auffallender, weil so viel Geschmack und Pracht an alle andere Gattungen von Gebäuden gewendet wird.(85)

Even in the company of Macdonald, who, as minister of Anstruther, must surely have been able to defend the Church of Scotland, Harmes finds it hard to understand that one man alone, "ein überspannter Kopf", could have such a profound effect on a nation.

Harmes prefaces her description of Glasgow by saying that she would have much to write about if it were not for her personal dislike of urban progress and city life. Nonetheless she does display genuine interest in the industrial and medical institutions, viewing a "steam-engine" and a "singing-cylinder" and writing with some concern of hospitals.⁸⁶ Perhaps surprisingly she also compares Glasgow favourably with Edinburgh:

Es scheint mir, es herrsche in Glasgow ein ganz guter, beschränkter, rechtlicher Sinn, wenig Hang zu öffentlichen Ergötzungen und

wenig Fähigkeit zu feinern geselligen Freuden, doch ungeachtet des unverkennbaren, und sich durch die ganze Welt ähnlichen Handlungsgeistes, könne der Fremde mehr zwanglose Gastfreundschaft und einen lebhaftern Ton der Unterhaltung hier finden als im formreichen, vornehmen Edinburg.(87)

Her delight in escaping the city and travelling on into the country is self-evident. They travel up the Clyde to Dumbarton and Loch Lomond, where she begins to indulge her fancy:

Es ist merkwürdig, dass noch jetzt unter diesem Volke so viele Spuren von Ossians Manier und Gefühlsart zu finden sind.(88)

As they reach Loch Long her enthusiasm rises further:

Auch ohne den Ossian gelesen zu haben, ohne zu wissen dass er und sein Heldengeschlecht einst diese Felsen betraten, könnte man hier leicht in eine Ossianische Begeisterung gerathen und wännen:

"Geister der Helden in dampfenden Nebel gehüllt von Gipfel zu Gipfel schreiten zu sehen."(89)

At Dunniquoich she exclaims:

Geist des Menschen, Freund und Beherrscher der Natur! schwebe immer mit pflegender Liebe, mit bescheidener Schöpfungskraft über solchen Gegenden, wie diese an Loch Fyne.(90)

By Inveraray she is ecstatic.

They continue via Dalmally and Kilchurn to Oban. Harmer remains in Oban while Macdonald accompanies his sister to South Uist. This gives Harmer plenty of time to reflect, both on the literature she reads and on her surroundings. She feels quite justified in indulging in Ossianic moods:

Vielleicht bin ich selbst nicht ohne Vorurtheile, denjenigen freilich, womit der grämliche realistische Engländer Johnson hier reisete, grade entgegengesetzt. - Bergbewohner! Hirtenvölker! alte abgesonderte Stämme! patriarchalische Sitten! Vaterland des Ossian! Welche Zauberworte! Wie leicht, wie harmonisch müssen sie die scharfgespannten Saiten eines poetischen Gemüths berühren!(91)

It is typical of her age that she should use the word "realistisch" in a derogatory fashion; she is both fully aware and proud of her

Ossianic bias. As she stays in Oban Harmes gradually finds herself coming to like the barren countryside:

Dieses Morven, des grossen Fingals Vaterland und Königreich! Die majestätische Bühne seiner Heldenthaten, seiner schönen sanften menschlichen Tugenden!(92)

She is moved above all by Dunolly Castle and wishes she could impart something of it to Herder and Jean Paul. These thoughts lead her on to a digression on the coexistence of Ossian and Homer.⁹³

Harmes here inserts an account by Macdonald of a visit to Staffa with his sister. She then resumes the description of her own return journey with him to the East coast via Loch Linnhe, Glencoe and Fort William. Throughout the second part of Caledonia, which describes this stage of the tour, she devotes many more pages to Ossian, including a twelve-page translation.⁹⁴ Writing of her impressions of Glencoe, she reflects that perhaps she would not have enthused so extensively about Ossian had the weather not been so atmospherically dull and grey.⁹⁵

Part Three describes the return through Perthshire. The presence at Kingshouse of Irish tinkers causes Macdonald to advise travelling on to Tyndrum for accommodation, while the sight of the tinkers merely reminds the less prosaic Harmes of the works of Hogarth and Füssli. Later she remarks on the unusual charm of Killin, commenting that Scottish villages are seldom so attractive.⁹⁶ As they travel along Loch Tay to Kenmore she gives a character sketch of the Highlanders, a very different picture from that which Niebuhr had acquired:

Die Hochländer sind neugierig, leicht bekannt, gesprächig. Das misfällt ihren südlichen Nachbarn. Aber die natürliche Höflichkeit, das sanfte, einnehmende Wesen dieses Volks, ist doch wohl der kalten, egoistischen Würde der Engländer vorzuziehn. Schlimmer ist die Anklage des Müssig-gangs, der Unordnung und Indolenz, die ein so äusserst scharfsinniges und mit grossen Fähigkeiten ausgezeichnetes Volk doppelt trifft. Doch nur an häuslichem und ländlichen Fleisse fehlt es ihnen; denn wo giebt es bessere Soldaten, tüchtigere Schiffer? Man ändere ihre inländischen Verhältnisse, und es wird kein Jahrhundert brauchen, um fleissige Landwirthe und Manufacturisten aus ihnen zu machen. Jedes Gute findet leicht bey ihnen Eingang; Einfalt der Sitten und Armuth halten das Böse länger ab.(97)

Although Harmes is impressed by the cultivated state of Strathhtay, a deeper impression is left by Ossian's Hall at the Hermitage and at

the sight of the Braan and Rumbling Brig she launches into a thirty-one-page translation, "Die Schlacht von Lora".⁹⁸ She visits Blair Castle, Killiecrankie, the Falls of Tummel and Cecilia Macdonald's home (strategically situated between Birnam and Dunsinane), before reaching Perth and recounting the Gowrie Plot. As she travels through Perthshire and takes in the various monuments to events and deeds of the past, she reflects on the paucity of monuments in Germany, where only a few ruins are to be found in the south of the country:

Es fällt mir hierbey ein zu fragen: warum
ist der deutsche Boden so stumm? Warum
haben wir beynahe gar keine Denkmäler,
keinen Wiederhall früherer Zeiten, keinen
Erzählenden Volksgesang?(99)

This call would be answered by Arnim and Brentano, and, later, Fontane.

From Perth the final stage of Harmes' journey takes her to Callander and Stirling. She visits Stirling on a beautiful day and greatly enjoys the view and the walk,¹⁰⁰ but one senses that her emotions are still with Ossian. She visits Blairdrummond and Kincardine and writes with admiration of Lord Kames and his advanced methods of farming, but here her account stops. In the postscript¹⁰¹ she does not attempt a serious apology for halting fifty miles short of Edinburgh. Instead she reflects on her motives for writing and on the completed work:

Vielleicht hätte ich Wort halten können,
wenn ich nur erzählt, niemals poetisirt,
niemals raisonirt hätte. Dann aber hätte
ich lieber gar nicht geschrieben.(102)

Caledonia is an emotive work, inspired by Ossian. After its publication, in 1803, the year of Johanna Schopenhauer's tour, travellers had to look to additional aspects of Scottish life and character for publication material. Harmes had provided a work of Ossian adulation which served as a climax to 18th Century Ossian fervour. From now on, thanks mainly to Scott, Ossian would continue to play an important, yet no longer a predominant rôle.

CHAPTER VTHE GERMAN-SPEAKING TRAVELLERS IN SCOTLAND, 1800-1860a) THE VISITS AND TRAVEL WORKS

The travellers whose accounts are referred to in detail in this study were by no means the only German speakers to visit Scotland during the first six decades on the 19th Century. There were doubtless many who left no accounts of their visits and yet these unnamed visitors must have played some part in continuing the trend, whether by word of mouth or private correspondence long since forgotten and destroyed. In addition there were those who arrived in Scotland at this time to settle, and numbered amongst these were professional men, musicians, labourers and political exiles. Sailors and merchants would of course continue to visit the country, on long or short term stays, throughout the century. When considering the travellers mentioned below, the outstanding feature of the group is their variety, a variety which bears out Carus' exclamation:

Welche höchst verschiedene aber immer welche reiche und interessante Ausbeute würde nur geben die Reise eines Staatsmannes, eines Fabrikanten, eines Historikers, eines Geologen und eines Ökonomen durch die drei Reiche Grossbritanniens! (1)

The information concerning the travellers (and where relevant their published intentions regarding their travel works) is introductory and is supplemented by the biographical appendix. The order is chronological, according to the year of their visits.

Christian August Gottlieb Goede took advantage of the peaceful interlude enjoyed by Europe after the Treaty of Amiens in 1802 to visit Britain as travelling companion to the Legationsrat Baron von Blümner. They returned to Germany the following year and Goede published his work on Britain in 1804-5.² The work, which despite its title, England, Wales, Irland und Schottland, deals almost exclusively with London and environs, is barely digestible to a modern reader but was widely read and praised in its day. It belongs in the 18th Century tradition as a systematic and detailed account of English, rather than British, affairs, and as such can be compared with those of Archenholz and Wendeborn.³ There is no direct evidence that Goede visited Scotland but one could presume from the title of the work that

he did. In contrast the title of Dr. Joseph Frank's account of his British visit does indeed reveal the work's content: Reise nach Paris, London und einem grossen Theile des übrigen Englands und Schottlands in Beziehung auf Spitäler, Versorgungshäuser, Ubrige Armen-Institute, Medizinische Lehranstalten, und Gefängnisse.⁴ Frank, who visited in 1803, was the first of several medical men to publish an account of a 19th Century tour of Scotland. He supplements the information given in the title with the following explanation in the foreword:

Eine Reise, welche ich im Jahre 1803 nach England und Schottland in der Absicht vernahm, die Bekanntschaft ausgezeichneten Ärzte zu machen, die verschiedenen Lehrarten zu beobachten, vorzüglich aber die Spitäler, Versorgungshäuser und übrigen Armeninstitute, so wie auch die Gefängnisse dieser Länder zu besuchen, ist der Gegenstand des gegenwärtigen Werkes.(5)

In keeping with the authors of so many travel works, Frank claims that he never intended his work for publication. An apology of this nature is almost standard and only in very few cases can it be regarded as truth. Many of the younger travellers go on to justify publishing material despite their youth and lack of experience on the grounds that only youthful spontaneity can give an unbiased impression. Frank proceeds to do the opposite; as an established medical teacher he is thankful that he had not travelled ten years earlier, when, just recently qualified, he had been far too idealistic. Although Frank only visited Edinburgh and Glasgow, both cities are dealt with in some detail and their contemporary importance as medical centres is very apparent. Very little of the text is aimed at lay readers, yet the content is to-day of considerable interest to a social and medical historian.

Johanna Schopenhauer's visit the same year was of a very different nature. As indicated above, her tour was much more akin to that of Emilie Harmes. After Harmes she is the first of the 19th Century German tourists in Scotland. Goede gives no apparent evidence of an actual visit and Frank is attracted almost solely by the state of Scottish medicine; in contrast Schopenhauer 'toured' Scotland after the fashion of Gilpin, with the eye of an artist and writer. The resulting travel account is thus aimed at a very different reading public from the systematic travel works of her immediate predecessors. In the foreword to the second edition of 1818 she explains the

reordering and improvements which she had felt it necessary to make in the light of the unexpected success of the first edition:

Einfachheit und Wahrheitsliebe waren ihr einziger bester Schmuck, und sind es geblieben; nur durch Verbesserungen des Styls und der Sprache, durch Weglassung einiger unnützer Wiederholungen, durch mehrere Zusätze, wo diese mir nöthig schienen, habe ich nach Kräften gestrebt, sie noch würdiger zu machen des Beifalls, der ihnen über meine Erwartung zu Theil ward. (6)

She concludes with an explanatory dedication:

Ich wiederhole die Bitte, dieses Buch nicht mit zu grossen Ansprüchen zur Hand zu nehmen. Es enthält die einfachen Erzählungen einer Frau von dem, was sie in der Welt sah und beobachtete; sie wollen nur unterhalten, aber keinesweges gründlich belehren. Ich widme es vor allen den deutschen Frauen, denen es am leichtesten werden muss, meinen Sehpunkt zu treffen, und weiss gar wohl, dass nur die Art meiner Ansicht den Männern einiges Interesse für sie einflüssen kann.(7)

After the "picturesque" achievements of Harmes and Schopenhauer, it was not until nearly half a century later that another German travel work of any consequence concerning Scotland would come from the pen of a woman, the achievements of Fanny Lewald being equal in novelty by virtue of her social awareness. With the exception of an insignificant visit by Lewald's contemporary and rival, Ida Gräfin von Hahn-Hahn, Schopenhauer and Lewald are the only two women to feature as travel writers on Scotland in the period under study.

A figure of outstanding literary importance was to visit Scotland in 1804 and it is to be regretted that Achim von Arnim left no account of his tour; in this he followed the trend set by his fellow Romantics. As discussed above, travel played a vital rôle in the life and works of the Romantics, yet they seldom wrote directly about their travels. The evidence Arnim has left of his Scottish tour is to be found in several works, notably the novella, Die Ehenschmiede, and Die Abenteuer des Prinzen Karl Stuart, which appeared in 1809 as one of the tales in the framework narrative, Der Wintergarten.⁸ Arnim's source for the latter was evidently an 1802 publication, Ascanius, or the Young Adventurer;⁹ even if he shows bias towards his central figure, the fugitive prince, Arnim does not allow himself to become

caught up in a frenzy of pro-Jacobite emotion, concentrating rather on the gentler and more personal attributes of his hero and followers. After the twelve page "Einleitung", in which he recounts the events leading up to Culloden with surprising sobriety, the remainder of the account, under the heading "Die Flucht des Prinzen Karl", displays more and more features of a Romantic tale, especially through the insertion of atmospheric verses, notably after telling of "Miss Flora" and "Betty Burke" and of some of the other more endearing anecdotes connected with the Prince's lucky escapes in the Islands. Moreover, Arnim has the Prince himself sing all but one of the songs to his companions. The author's own footnotes refer to the publication of the first of these, "Stürmt, reisst und rast ihr Unglückswinde", in Des Knaben Wunderhorn, and of the third, "O wenn mein Liebchen die weisse Ros wär", he refers to H. Schubart's translations of "ein schottisches Lied von ähnlichem Durchklang" in his magazine 'Zeitung für Einsiedler'.¹⁰ The final pages show even more Romantic flavour, as is evident in the passage leading into the eight-page "Lied von der Jugend":

Seinen Feinden entkam er, aber sein Reich
sah er nie wieder, und seine Taten waren
geendet, so wenig er es damals noch glauben
mochte. Wir lassen ihm die Sterne und die
Erinnerung anderer grossen Taten, die auch
verschwunden, trostreich aufgehen, während
ein frischer günstiger Wind sein Schiff an
die rettende Küste Frankreichs gefahrlos und
schnell hintreibt. Die allgemeine Wehmut
mag ihn ergreifen, mit der ihm ein alter
Hochländer auf dem Verdecke vorsingt ... (11)

Yet Arnim also shows perhaps surprising insight into the state of Scotland in the aftermath of the '45, as in the following recognition of the enormous change effected in the Highland way of life:

Das innere Gesetz, das die Herren mit ihren
Stämmen verbunden, die Ehre der Gewalt über
Menschen, mit denen sie bis dahin wie die
Könige alter Zeit, als Häupter der Familien
verbunden, verschwand; es blieb nur noch der
Reiz des Eigentums, die Herren massten sich
den Besitzwert des Bodens an, den sie bis dahin
wie Fürsten geschützt hatten; sie suchten jetzt
die Vorteile eigener Ökonomie, um in London ihr
Glück auf anderm Boden zu machen. Die Ein-
führung der Schafzucht bedürfte weniger Hirten,
als die bis dahin gewohnte Rindviehzucht, grosse

Parks besetzten grosse Weiden, die armen Hochländer mussten aus dem Lande wandern, das ihre Voreltern gegen zwei Jahrtausende mit ihrem Blut geschützt hatten, viele gingen nach Amerika und fochten da für die Freiheit; die Fragmente der Lieder, von Macpherson gesammelt und verbunden, tönnten wie ein Nachhall ihres Todesseufzers durch ganz Europa. England erkennt jetzt, was dieser alte Stamm einer grossen Nation, gehörig geachtet, ihm für Sicherheit gewähren konnte. Damals sah es nur die Gefahr und wollte sogar Kleider und Sprache ausrotten.(12)

That Arnim was fully aware of the upheaval in the Highlands right up to the time of his visit in the early years of the 19th Century is apparent from the opening pages of Die Ehenschmiede, in which the narrator describes the sorry plight of a group of evicted Highlanders whom he meets on the road. Arnim is aware, too, of the complexity of the situation; while on the one hand the evicted are desolate at having to leave their home to make way for sheep which will be more profitable to their lord and master, the Duke, on the other they feel unable to go without taking leave of their family chief:

Nur ihr altes Haupt, den Herzog, wollten sie noch einmal sehen, damit sie ihn jenseits des Meeres nicht vergässen, auch ihrer Kinder wegen, damit diese sich noch rühmen könnten ihren hohen Stammherrn gesehen zu haben, sonst wären sie gleich auf kürzerem Wege zum Orte ihrer Einschiffung gezogen.(13)

They at least feel fortunate that while they were originally destined to learn the fishing trade on the coast of the Duke's land, they had since been offered emigration to Canada. Having heard their story, the narrator goes on to explain the title of the first section of the novella, "Der Empfehlungsbrief" - only after meeting this group, who, despite having been evicted, seemed to bear their esteemed chief no grudge, did he come to appreciate the true value of the letter of introduction to that gentleman which he had in his possession. Throughout the novella there is much to show of Arnim's first-hand experience of Scotland, the land, its customs, inns, and of course Gretna Green. Indeed Arnim himself reported that his knowledge of Scottish life and customs did come from "eigener Erfahrung";¹⁴ as such these writings must surely have contributed to the German knowledge of Scotland and may well have had a part in influencing the decisions of those who came after him to visit Scotland.

Arnim did, however, leave one poetical account of his Scottish tour; in an 1808 edition of the abovementioned 'Zeitung für Einsiedler' he published an "Elegie aus einem Reisetagebuch in Schottland".¹⁵ Despite his description of it as a "Reisebeschreibung" it cannot be regarded as such, unless it was indeed an excerpt from a genuine travel journal. As Muncker writes, "Sehnsuchtsvoll träumte er in Schottland von Italien, unwillig dass seine Gefährten ihn aus solchen Träumen in die unbehagliche rauhe Wirklichkeit zurückriefen".¹⁶ Even the opening phrase, "Genua seh ich im Geist", bears out Muncker's view: in both instances when Fingal's name is invoked, Arnim is unwillingly awakened from his Romantic dreams of the South. Thus lines 9-12:

Fingal! Fingal! klinget so hell, mir wird doch so trübe,
Frierend wahn ich mich alt, Jugend verlorene Zeit!
Dreht sich die Achse der Welt? Wie führt mich Petrarca zu
Fingal,
War es doch gestern, ich mein, dass ich nach Genua kam.

and lines 113-118:

Fingal! Fingal! riefs schon, muss ich erwachen in Schottland,
Bin ich noch immer kein Held, bin ich noch immer im Traum?
Muss ich kehren zur Erdhütt, keinen der Schnarcher versteh ich,
Muss mir schlachten ein Lamm, rösten das lebende Stück,
Mehl von Haber so rauch mir backen zum Brodte im Pfännchen
Und des wilden Getränks nehmen vieltüchtige Schluck ...

Yet even if he could not find the desired Romance amongst the Highland people, their smoke-filled blackhouses, oat cakes and whisky, overall Arnim's references to Scotland show him to have been both observant and receptive. He was in Britain from the summer of 1803 to the summer of 1804; although mostly in London, he also visited the Isle of Wight, and his tour of Scotland and Wales lasted some three months.¹⁷ Although in wider terms of his literary output Britain exerted little influence on him, his Scottish visit is of no little importance - he was the only writer directly connected with the Romantic Movement to visit the country.

The visits of Philipp Andreas Nemnich to Britain are primarily of commercial rather than literary interest. He makes no pretence at providing a more 'popular' travel account ("Meine Reise nach England hatte ganz andere Zwecke, als eine Beschreibung derselben zu liefern"),¹⁸ and accordingly Elsassar terms the earlier work of 1800 "ein Baedeker für's Wirtschaftsleben".¹⁹ His second tour of Britain took place from the spring of 1805 to the spring of 1806 and the resulting work, Neueste Reise durch England, Schottland und

Irland hauptsächlich in Bezug auf Produkte, Fabriken und Handlung,²⁰ provides a more detailed and thorough account of British industrial and commercial life than had hitherto been available to German readers. As such it is also of socio-historical interest to-day and provides a considerable contribution to the variety of literary, historical, medical and politically oriented visits and pleasure tours.

A visitor who can scarcely be regarded as a regular traveller, but whose account of his stay in Scotland is similarly of no little interest to the social historian, is Georg Holzenthal. His Briefe über Deutschland, Frankreich, Spanien, die balearischen Inseln, das südliche Schottland und Holland²¹ give a perhaps unique account of life as a German officer from 1809-14, captured as a French prisoner-of-war during the Napoleonic Wars. As he points out in his foreword, his life as a soldier, often on the march, brought him into close contact with all walks of life and a great variety of geographical situations. Of the positive contribution he feels able to offer he writes:

Ich übergebe hier dem Publikum eine Sammlung von Briefen, die Bemerkungen und Nachrichten über den cultur- und politischen Zustand der Länder und Völker enthalten, die ich im Laufe der angegebenen Zeit durchwandert habe. Wenn ich auch keine gelehrte Raisonnements oder Vergleiche geben kann, so glaube ich doch dagegen behaupten zu können, dass das, was ich liefere, Wahrheit, auf eigene Ansicht und Erfahrung gegründet, enthält.(22)

Holzenthal was in Scotland as a prisoner-of-war from January 1812 until February of 1814.

With the wars in Europe over, there was renewed interest in British affairs, as implied by such publications as Josef Görres' essay of 1815 on the Union of Ireland and Scotland with England. Travellers' interests became wider once more and this is shown by the visit of Samuel Heinrich Spiker in 1816. As a learned librarian, Spiker's interests were primarily in the literary and art collections of Britain, but he also allowed himself to indulge as a tourist, especially in the Highlands. Throughout his tour he was anxious to act scrupulously:

Wenn ich mich bei der Herausgabe derselben einiges Verdienst beimessen darf, so ist es das, nichts beschrieben zu haben, was ich selbst nicht sah, und bei der Beschreibung derselben nur meiner eigenen ungeborgten Ansicht gefolgt zu seyn. Aber auch so habe ich nur Andeutungen geben und dem Leser mit nichts behelligen wollen, was er selbst und besser hinzu commentiren mag.

He goes on to comment on his opinion of much contemporary travel literature:

Sollte man in meinen Darstellungen zu wenig Poesie finden, so muss ich offen gestehen, dass ich in manchen ähnlichen deren zuviel finde, und übrigens von mir selbst mit Material denke:

Quod vis, esse velis, nihilque malis.

Unfreundlich von einem Lande zu reden, in dem man mich freundlich aufnahm, und jedem, der ohne Vorurtheil es begrüsst, eben so entgegenkommt, konnte ich nicht über mich vermögen. Was mir minder vollkommen erschien, schilderte ich nach dem Eindrucke, den es auf mich gemacht hatte: dem wirklich Lobenswerthen und Trefflichen musste ich Gerechtigkeit widerfahren lassen.

...

Berlin, den 14. Febr. 1818 (23)

Spiker's opinion was widely respected and one can assume that his work had considerable influence. The young doctor, Isensee, visiting Britain twenty years later, shows something of the respect in which Spiker was held. He refers with gratitude to his acquaintance with a well known London doctor,

an den ich durch die mir gewiss unvergessliche Güte des auch in England eben so hochgeehrten als überhaupt im Auslande weithin bekannten Herrn Dr. S. H. Spiker in Berlin empfohlen war.(24)

Spiker was followed to Scotland by two medical doctors, Eduard Meissner and Carl Otto. I have found reference to a visit in 1818-19 by another Otto, also a doctor, and professor of medicine at the University of Breslau, Adolf Wilhelm Otto, but I have been unable to verify this.²⁵ Carl Otto was a German-speaking Dane from Copenhagen and Meissner, father of the poet Alfred Meissner, and married to a Scotswoman, Karolina May of Invermay, practised in Teplitz. Although both writers naturally paid much attention to medical institutions and developments, they, like Spiker, were happy to become 'pleasure tourists' while in the Highlands. The first of Heinrich Meidinger's two travel works on Britain, his Briefe von einer Reise durch England, Schottland und Irland of 1821, is in many ways more akin to a travel guide than the autobiographical accounts published by Meissner and Otto in 1819 and 1825 respectively.²⁶ This is even more the case with his methodical and systematic Reisen durch Grossbritannien und Irland of 1828; whatever truth there may be in his own assessment of Nemnich, namely that "ausser Handel und Gewerbfleiss war aber alles übrige für ihn nicht vorhanden,"²⁷ this later work can really only be classed with those of Nemnich.

At this juncture it is interesting to give Meidinger's evaluation of the works of some of his other predecessors, which he discusses in the foreword to the above work.²⁸ Of the 18th Century publications, he stresses the unreliability of Volkmann, whose material was all second-hand, and the restrictions of both Wendeborn and Archenholz, who dealt almost exclusively with London and environs. Although he praises Küttner's work of 1791-8, he finds it inevitably out of date and lacking in any information on Scotland. Of the 19th Century publications he is full of admiration for both Nemnich and Goede, though both have obvious limitations, Nemnich in subject-matter and Goede in geographical range. Of the remaining German works he considers only Schopenhauer, Spiker and Otto included information on Scotland; Meidinger finds Schopenhauer's style "sehr anziehend, leicht und gefällig in französischer Manier", but finds her lacking in thoroughness and too often "müde vom vielen Sehen".²⁹ On the other hand he finds Spiker "schätzbarer ... , ein sorgfältiger Aufzeichner, besonders in Beziehung auf Gegenstände der Kunst und Wissenschaft",³⁰ while he considers Otto's work to provide "ein guter und richtiger Leitfaden"

where medicine is concerned, but insufficiently informative about Scotland.³¹ Finally he regrets that Niemeyer had concentrated only on England:

Möchte nur ein solcher Mann, mit diesem Reichtum an Kenntnissen, dieser Wahrheitsliebe, klaren Lebensansicht und gereiften Erfahrung, ganz Grossbritannien durchreis't haben, um ein so lebendiges, getreues und vollständiges Gemälde davon zu entwerfen, wie es mir vor der Seele schwebt, ein Gemälde das noch für die späte Nachwelt ein bleibendes Denkmal des grossen Inselreichs, des ausserordentlichsten, freiesten und betriebsamsten, das uns die Geschichte alter und neuer Zeit vor Augen stellt, gewesen seyn würde. Von meiner Seite - ich fühle es tief - kann ein solcher Versuch nur schwach und unvollkommen ausfallen.(32)

One must agree with Meidinger on this point; however thorough his investigation and report, however informative and painstaking his method, as a whole his work lacks the personal touch which would allow it to rise above the status of a handbook. There are certain passages which stand out against this, but they are too scarce to give the work more than historical interest to-day. Meidinger is outspokenly pro-British, and as a result his works can be seen as examples of German "Anglomanie" as it survived the Napoleonic Wars. In both form and opinions his writings can be regarded as a late culmination of the 18th Century trend of systematic and unqualifyingly complimentary studies of Britain. With Schopenhauer, Spiker, Meissner and Otto, whose works were all published within ten years, from 1813-22, the trend had already turned towards travel accounts with emphasis on literary entertainment.

The first of the aristocratic visitors also toured Scotland in the early 1820's. The Austrian, Maximilian von Löwenthal, toured France, Britain and Germany after completing his law studies.³³ The itinerary of his tour can be compared with that of Johanna Schopenhauer as a tourist route, from Gretna Green to Glasgow, through the Trossachs to Staffa, returning via Edinburgh. Such a tour, with Edinburgh, the Trossachs and Staffa as the highlights, became more and more the norm. The architect, Carl Friedrich Schinkel, continued this trend in his tour of 1826. It is natural that his European tours to Italy, France and Britain should be regarded by critics primarily as "Kunstreisen", yet it may be pointed out that the account of his Scottish tour, in his letters and journal,³⁴ is neither more nor less 'artistic' than

the accounts of those of his compatriots with artistic inclinations; one thinks here in particular of Schopenhauer, Mendelssohn, Klingemann, Carus, Waagen, Förster and Ullrich. Thus many of Schinkel's comments are directly comparable with those of the two German artists who followed him to Scotland in 1829, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy and Karl Klingemann.³⁵ Indeed Löwenthal, Schinkel, Mendelssohn and Klingemann, although of differing ages (from Mendelssohn at 20 to Schinkel at 45) can all be regarded as tourists of similar interests. Wilhelm Horn, on the other hand, gave a very different account of Scotland after his tour of 1830. As a young doctor, Horn refers only to Wagner as a source reference; his tour, Reise durch Deutschland, Ungarn, Holland, Italien, Frankreich, Grossbritannien und Irland in Rücksicht auf medicinische und naturwissenschaftliche Institute, Armenpflege usw.,³⁶ is to be classed with that of Frank, both in content and in the author's preoccupation with age. Just as Frank had praised maturity and experience, Horn justifies his youth:

Man muss jung sein, um ohne Furcht und Rücksicht Das öffentlich auszusprechen, was als anstössig in Erfahrung gebracht, oder aus sichereren, häufig auch zwei_deutigen Quellen . . . entnommen, hier und da verletzen muss; ich bin jung, ich habe aussprechen wollen, was ich gesehen und gehört, ich habe gelobt und getadelt, ich habe meine Meinung gegeben, und bin häufig ein motivirtes Urtheil schuldig geblieben.(37)

In Horn's opinion youthful rashness can be either a fault or an asset, and it is up to the individual to use it to advantage. This view evidently held good for the young Victor Aimé Huber, who was in Scotland during the winter of 1823-4; having qualified as a doctor three years earlier, his travels abroad, in France, Spain, Portugal and Britain, were ostensibly to complete his medical education, but although Edinburgh was important to him in this respect, his main energies while abroad were directed towards the cause of the Liberals in Spain and studies of the life and culture of particularly the Spanish and Scots. The first six of his ten "Briefe aus Schottland"³⁸ are almost wholly concerned with the organisation and work of Edinburgh's charitable and educational hospitals and asylums and penal institutions. The remaining letters are entitled "Ansichten und Landschaften in Schottland" and deal more with Scottish life and culture. / In January 1828 the

pianist, Ignaz Moscheles, came with his family to Edinburgh on a concert tour. The visit is recorded in the posthumously published Aus Moscheles' Leben³⁹.

Friedrich von Raumer's two works on Britain, England im Jahre 1835 and England im Jahre 1841, have a different emphasis once more.⁴⁰ As a thorough and exacting historian, he is in some respects more akin to his 18th Century predecessors, except that the information he gives is based on his own personal research, or on tested sources such as Huber's widely acclaimed Die englischen Universitäten.⁴¹ In the foreword to his earlier work, Raumer is modest:

Ich übergebe diese Briefe, die neueren Verhältnisse Englands betreffend, dem Publicum nicht ohne grosse Scheu. Denn ob ich mich gleich von Jugend auf sehr viel mit englischer Literatur und Geschichte beschäftigte, und bereits im Jahr 1810 eine Schrift über das brittische Besteuerungssystem drucken liess; geht es doch über die Kräfte eines einzelnen Menschen hinaus, alle die wichtigen und mannigfachen Gegenstände welche ich diesmal berührte, erschöpfend kennen zu lernen.(42)

He is at pains to acknowledge his great debt of gratitude for all the help and hospitality he received while in Britain. On the one hand this doubtless contributed considerably to the worth of his report; he continues:

Andererseits habe ich den Inhalt der Briefe hintennach nicht geändert, sondern sie so abdrucken lassen, wie sie täglich geschrieben wurden; ja selbst einzelne Wiederholungen und Irrthümer sind stehen geblieben, weil sie zeigen wie der anfängliche unmittelbare Eindruck sich erst allmählig veränderte und läuterte.(43)

Moreover, Raumer acknowledges the achievements of previous travel accounts and does not set out to rival or replace them. In the letter from Ripon, for example, he prefaces his account of a British stage coach as follows:

Wo bleibt, ruft Ihr aus, die Reisebeschreibung? Habe ich denn schon eine versprochen? Und könnt Ihr nicht in Spiekers Reise, wann ich Euch nur die berührten Städte nenne, alles Merkwürdige genauer beschrieben lesen, als ich es zu geben im Stande bin?(44)

That Raumer's detailed study of Britain was widely read and consulted

by contemporaries is attested by Pulszky in his autobiography.⁴⁵ It is also borne out by references in Emil Isensee's tour, which was published the year after Raumer's first work, in 1837. Isensee refers to England im Jahre 1835 as "eins der für mich deshalb interessantesten Werke des gefeierten Verfassers ... , weil ich ganz zu derselben Zeit, doch leider nicht so lange als Er in England war." He continues:

Noch sehe ich diesen unendlich vielseitigen Bibliographen oder Bibliophagen (wie der türkische Gesandte ihn genannt) vor dicken Folianten sitzen, mit deren Durchsicht ich ihm im Britisch Museum zu London (April 1835) beschäftigt fand. Fände er es doch so verzeihlich, als es natürlich ist, dass so manche seiner Ideen hier sich reproducirt. Möcht Er öffentlichen Dank für Rath und Belehrung genehmigen! (46)

Although the work of a practising medical man, the alternative title to Isensee's Reisen in Schottland, England, Frankreich und Deutschland, namely Nord-West-Europäische Briefe. Skizzen aus dem Leben der Natur, Kunst und Wissenschaft, reveals it to be less of a medically oriented report than a tourist account. Isensee is well aware of the predicament as regards content which faces him as author and traveller. The following passage shows him to be truly concerned about his rôle as travel writer:

Es ist schwer, Personen, denen man sich verpflichtet fühlt, die Erfüllung ihrer Wünsche zu versagen; aber es ist noch schwerer, über den Grad mit sich zufrieden zu sein, in welchem unser Bericht Ihnen Genüge zu leisten fähig sein wird. Die Mehrzahl der Gegenstände ist weder so uninteressant, um sie vornehm zu übersehen, noch so interessant weise darüber zu klügeln. Um genau zu sein, müsste man freilich detailliren, um nicht zu langweilen, skizziren. - Was thun? - Die Welt liegt vor uns da! Was herausgreifen aus der unendlichen Fülle ihrer Erscheinungen? Wie sich sichern, dass, was unsere Aufmerksamkeit auf sich gezogen, auch der Ihrigen würdig erscheine? - Nein - - in der That, wir müssen Sie bitten, uns entweder jenes Versprechens zu entbinden, oder uns wiederholt, und zwar schriftlich, durch die Versicherung zu beruhigen, dass Sie uns keine Vorwürfe machen wollen, wo das Licht uns blendete, oder Nebel die Blicke trübte, die Eil' das ruhige Urtheil versagte und das vorübergehend

Anziehende mit dem bleibend Wichtigen
verwechseln machte, oder Täuschung gar
zum Irrthum verleitete! - (47)

The possible differences in attitude to potential material for a travel account emerge from visits the following year, in 1836, by the Bavarian, Major ^{Carl} von Hailbronner, and the young Hungarian and later statesman and revolutionary, Ferenc von Pulszky.⁴⁸ Hailbronner justifies any lack of polish to his work, Cartons aus der Reisemappe eines deutschen Touristen, on the grounds of recent and distant travels; he concludes his foreword by claiming valuable spontaneity and lack of bias:

Die Cartons oder Croquis, wie man sie nennen will, sind ohne alle Prätention geschrieben und als blosse Ergüsse der ersten Eindrücke anzusehen. Der Verfasser hatte sich besonders zur Pflicht gemacht, Alles, was ihm selbst aus frühern Reiseschilderungen nicht entgegengetreten, und was er vergebens bemüht war, vor Betretung fremder Länder zu erfahren, klar darzustellen. Manches finden wir hier ausgeführt, was früher schon aus brieflichen Mittheilungen in öffentliche Blätter, besonders in die alles Gemeinnützige so willig fördernde Allgemeine Zeitung übergangen war. (49)

As implied by his reference to his articles for the 'Allgemeine Zeitung', Hailbronner was already a seasoned travel writer who knew how to make his material attractive to his readers; the idealistic Pulszky, on the other hand, was much more concerned with relating the facts and conditions as he found them, and at first none-too-eager to see materialistic Britain in a favourable light:

Dieser nagende Wurm an den Freuden des Lebens hatte mir schon im Vaterlande manche Stunde verbittert, und nun war ich hier mitten unter den Utilitariern, hier wo, wie ich glaubte, nur der Körper herrscht und der Verstand, nicht der Geist, der nach dem Worte der Schrift allein lebendig macht. (50)

He goes on to admit freely that he soon came to repudiate his preconceptions; nonetheless the direct nature of the opening sentence of his work is startling in its impact and gains the reader's attention immediately:

Ungern war ich nach England gekommen - denn ich war müde und satt des unklaren, verwirrten europäischen Zustandes - ich

sehnte mich nach dem Orient, der Wiege
der Menschheit.(51)

As regards Scotland, Raumer had only seen Edinburgh and Glasgow, his projected Highland tour being cancelled on account of the weather, while Hailbronner and Pulszky completed the tourist route through the Trossachs to Staffa and Iona. They were followed in 1839 by the most eccentric of all the German visitors to Scotland in the 19th Century, also a member of the nobility and at 71 the oldest of the travellers, Baron Carl Theodor Maria Hubert von Hallberg-Broich. Hallberg-Broich wrote in a style peculiar to himself, full of sweeping statements and nonsequiturs, delighting in disparaging and provoking comment:

Mit der Beschreibung von Häusern,
Kirchen, Museen und vieler anderer
Sachen kann ich mich nicht abgeben,
sie gehören für junge Leute, welche
ihre ersten Schritte in der Welt
machen, und, wie auch ich ehemals,
alles merkwürdig finden, oder für
Gelehrte, welche dicke Bücher zum
Einschlafen für Geld schreiben.(52)

As communications improved, a tour through the Grampians to Inverness became more common, but Hallberg-Broich, not content with the extent of such a tour, travelled on from Staffa to Inverness, Wick, Orkney and Shetland, returning via Aberdeen.

The first visitor of the 1840's was another medical doctor, Karl Friedrich Heinrich Marx, who toured Britain fairly extensively in 1841. He gives a conventional apology in the foreword to his Erinnerung an England 1841;⁵³ his letters, written to his brother, professor of Physics and Chemistry in Braunschweig, were not originally intended for publication. As a result of the non-medical profession of the recipient, the content of Marx's letters is of wider interest:

Die an Ort und Stelle frisch empfangenen
Eindrücke sind hier mit der Lebhaftigkeit
eines davon ergriffenen Gemüths wieder-
gegeben; Menschen, Sitten, Lebensweisen,
Anstalten, wie sie gerade dem Blicke sich
darboten, geschildert; das Politische,
Historische, Statistische nur gelegentlich
berührt.(54)

Nonetheless Marx acknowledges that a certain amount of bias is inevitable and in this respect the accounts of other doctors such as Meissner,

Otto, Huber, Isensee and Carus are to a varied extent comparable.

Marx enlarges on this:

Jeder Reisende, und wenn er auch, wie man zu sagen pflegt, nur seines Vergnügens wegen reist, hat doch Eine bestimmte Richtung seiner Ideen und Kenntnisse, Ein besonderes Ziel, worauf er sein Augenwerk richtet. Der hat die Kunstsammlungen, jener die technischen Gewerbe, ein Dritter Handel und Schifffahrt vorzüglich im Auge. Bei dem Verfasser wird sein Lieblingsthema leicht herauszufinden sein. Er ist Arzt, und warum sollte er nicht das Aertzliche aufsuchen? Die Briefe sind jedoch an einen Nichtarzt gerichtet; darum ist alles speciell Medicinische schon deshalb ausgeschlossen. Aber dieses Fach besitzt zugleich eine Seite, die jeden Menschen angeht, und welche näher zu erfassen kein Gebildeter verschmäht. Wie in dem fremden, reichen Lande die Bedingungen für Gesundheit und Krankheit sich stellen; wie die Bildung der Aerzte beschaffen sei; wie sie unter sich und zu dem Publicum sich verhalten; wie dort das medicinische Studium betrieben werde; welche Institute und Sammlungen dazu vorhanden seien; welche Heilmethoden vorherrschen; was in Hospitälern, Irrenhäusern und Besserungs-Anstalten Eigenthümliches sich finde: das sind Fragen, die jedes menschliche Gefühl und Bedürfniss zu nahe angehen, als dass man Aufklärung hierüber, wenn sie nur nicht zu sehr in das Einzelne sich verliert, nicht gern vernehmen sollte.(55)

There followed, in 1842 and 1844 respectively, two of the most widely read of all the travellers, Johann Georg Kohl and Carl Gustav Carus.⁵⁶

In many ways their tours constitute a highpoint: they both provide detailed, informative and entertaining accounts of the country, its people and customs. Where Kohl, as a professional geographer and ethnographer, might be reproached for pedantry and an over-abundance of factual detail, the value of his methodical approach and meticulous care cannot be denied; Carus, on the other hand, was the more accomplished writer, yet by virtue of his status as physician in ordinary to the King of Saxony he was perforce restricted in what he saw. Carus was also some twenty years older than the painstaking Kohl and already enjoyed sufficient renown to be sure of his audience; nonetheless his tour of Scotland was part of his first visit to Britain and as such

was of considerable importance to him. As a professional travel writer Kohl feels no need of giving further justification for his publication than the interest of its subject matter:

Es giebt in unserem europäischen Länder- und Völkerbunde mehre Reiche und Nationen, die, obwohl klein, sich doch eines grossen und weit verbreiteten Rufes erfreuen.

Wie die Schweiz, wie Holland, so gehört auch Schottland zu dieser Länderclassen.(57)

Having written of both the poetical and historical attraction of Scotland and of the country's contemporary topical interests, he concludes:

Eine Reise durch ein solches an Erinnerung der Vergangenheit und an Spuren einer schöpferischen Gegenwart reiches Land kann nicht anders als ein mannigfaltiges Interesse gewähren, und sollte es auch nur eine so kurze und flüchtige Reise sein, wie sie mir im Herbst des Jahres 1842 vergönnt war, und wie ich sie in den folgenden Blättern dem deutschen Leser zu schildern versucht habe und hiermit zu überreichen und zu empfehlen wage.(58)

At this point reference should be made to an event of great importance to the Scottish tourist industry, namely Queen Victoria's first visit to Scotland in 1842. Travelling shortly after this, Kohl was made very aware of the significance of the Royal Tour and he also appreciated that German readers would show particular interest in 'their' Prince Albert's part in this. In the work which he published jointly with his sister, Ida, in 1845, Englische Skizzen, Kohl included a charming piece on the prevalent "Scotomanie";⁵⁹ these few pages come under the heading "Geselliges", in a subsection devoted to various of the English "Manieen". To describe the Scottish fashion which stemmed directly from the Queen's visit he even coins the word "Tartano-Plaideo-Reelo-Scot-Manie", revealing a sense of humour seldom evident in his more serious works.

A brief visit to Scotland by the writer Ida von Hahn-Hahn in 1846 can be mentioned here in passing. She left no record of her Scottish visit other than a few paragraphs in her autobiographical account of her conversion to Roman Catholicism and scanty mention in her correspondence.⁶⁰ While the religious significance of Hahn-Hahn's British tour was intensely personal, the external aspects of religion

in post-Disruption Scotland attracted the newly qualified Tübingen theologian, Julius Köstlin, to Edinburgh. The months he spent in Scotland in 1849 were expressly in order to study the Church, renowned in Germany for its progressive form of Protestantism. Even so he managed a quick visit to Staffa and Iona. Like Horn before him, Köstlin was concerned that he might have been too young to benefit fully from his visit, but he comes to a similar conclusion:

Man könnte fragen, ob nicht besser erst junge Männer von grösserer Reife und in anderer Stellung eine solche Reise unternehmen. Aber die Naivität der Jugend, verbunden mit ehrlichem Eifer, kam uns auch wieder zu Gute; sie liess uns nicht bloss muthig suchen und fragen, sondern wir fanden hiermit auch überall eine Aufnahme, für die wir jedenfalls überaus dankbar sein durften.(61)

Köstlin's "Mittheilungen über Schottland" appeared in 1849-50 in the German Protestant Church's Home Mission journal, 'Fliegende Blätter aus dem Rauhen Hause'.⁶² The three articles comprise a detailed and enthusiastic account of the Church of Scotland's extensive Home Mission programme. In addition Köstlin was later to recall his visit in his autobiography.

Until now only Harmes and Kohl had published self-contained works with Scotland as the sole subject-matter. This was to become more common in the 1850's and works by Brandes, Wichmann, Ullrich (in so far as his account of Scotland, though published by his editor together with his Italian tour, appeared posthumously), Fontane and Elze can be placed in this category. The schoolteacher and headmaster, Brandes, was a keen and observant traveller and this is already evident in his first published travel work, the account of his visit to Scotland in 1850.⁶³ That year also saw visits from the art historian, Gustav Friedrich Waagen, and the well known novelist and early women's rights campaigner, Fanny Lewald.⁶⁴ In its social awareness her Reisetagebuch, though not without influence of Ossian and Scott, shows the effect of 1848. There were of course many 1848 exiles in Britain at the time, some in Scotland; Lewald was to meet one of these, her friend Moritz Hartmann, in Edinburgh. Hartmann was to remain almost twenty years in exile and toured Britain, Ireland and France

extensively in the 1850's, visiting Scotland in the company of his old schoolfriend Alfred Meissner, who gives a brief account of the holiday in his autobiography.⁶⁵ Had it not been for the appalling conditions in Ireland, Hartmann might well have been moved to write a travel work on Scotland instead of, or as well as, his Briefe aus Irland. Erler's comments on Lewald's Erinnerungen aus dem Jahr 1848 could be applied to her account of conditions in Glasgow. In Erler's view, Lewald, who appreciates the world of difference between Berlin's privileged rich and their working class neighbours, "trägt ihre Vorstellungen über eine harmonische, bürgerlich-liberale Gesellschaft vor und gibt sich der Hoffnung hin, sie mit Liebe statt mit Kanonen und Guillotinen schaffen zu können".⁶⁶ This mood can also be detected in her British travels, although, as Erler goes on to say, "trotz dieser Illusionen sind ihr Vertrauen in das Volk, ihr Engagement für die Arbeiter bemerkenswert." Recognition of Lewald's insight also comes from Muncker, who calls her "die scharfsichtige deutsche Beobachterin", well aware of society's contrasts, both good and bad:

Sie beschaute in London und andern grossen Städten die sie besuchte (Edinburgh, Glasgow, Manchester, Liverpool), alles, was es zu sehen gab auf den Strassen und in Gebäuden, im öffentlichen und häuslichen Leben, auch an politischen und sozialen Einrichtungen. Mit der klaren Nüchternheit ihres ganzen Wesens trat sie der neuern Welt, die sich ihr hier auftrat, ohne phantastisch übertriebene Erwartungen entgegen, lernbegierig und liebevoll zugleich. Und immer inniger fesselte sie die "feenhafte Vielseitigkeit" Londons, so dass ihr schliesslich der Abschied von diesem ganzen "wunderbaren Wesen" nicht leicht wurde. (67)

Muncker goes on to comment that Lewald gradually came to praise Britain more and more as she grew older; above all she saw hope of success for the nation's future in self-government and through this could see justification for the British national pride, often offensive to German observers.

By the 1850's, too, the tours were all similar in route, taking in the traditional popular tourist attractions of Edinburgh, the Trossachs, Staffa and Iona, and mostly supplementing this with a journey up or down the Caledonian Canal and often through the Grampians. This is true of three of the four visitors to arrive in Scotland in

1851, the critics Ludwig Reilstab and Ernst Förster, and the student Rudolf Wichmann. The young geographer, Alexander Ziegler, however, concentrated on northern Scotland, visiting Orkney and Shetland; he justifies this on the grounds that to his knowledge no German traveller had been in those islands before:

Obgleich ich nur darstelle, was ich selbst erlebt, mit eigenen Augen gesehen, würde ich dennoch Bedenken tragen, damit vor die Oeffentlichkeit zu treten, wenn ich nicht hoffen dürfte, durch mancherlei Schilderungen, namentlich der von der grossen Weltstrasse abgelegenen, so viel mir bewusst, bisher von keinem deutschen Reisenden beschriebenen Orkney- und Shetland-Inseln, den Forschungen über den Norden Neues hinzugefügt, und durch Abhandlungen über die Weinalands fahrer, sowie über die borealen Vögel, Fische, Vierfüssler und Anderes manche wichtige Frage nicht bloss angeregt, sondern vielleicht auch der Erledigung näher gebracht zu haben. Ueberdiess wendet sich aber auch gerade jetzt der Zug der Reisenden mehr denn je dem Norden zu, an welchen uns Deutsche auch im Ganzen mehr Stammverwandtschaft und grösserer Contrast der Naturscenerien fesselt, so dass das Interesse für derartige Reiseresultate ein auch quantitativ erweitertes geworden.

Having travelled as far north as the 70th degree of latitude, he considers the material he has gathered to have extended his own knowledge to such an extent,

dass ich mich glücklich schätzen würde, wenn deren Veröffentlichung auch nur zum kleinsten Theile die Aufmerksamkeit des Publikums erregen und zur Verbreitung einer genaueren Kenntniss von diesen verhältnissmässig weniger bekannten Erdtheilen etwas beitragen sollte. (68)

This more scientific approach was not so evident in contemporary accounts of mainland Scotland. As an accomplished artist and critic, Förster writes entertainingly, as does the young Wichmann, who shows surprising insight; it is interesting to compare the four accounts of student life in Edinburgh, from Niebuhr in 1798-9, Huber in 1823-4, Köstlin in 1849 to Wichmann in 1851-2. As the result of the Great Exhibition in London, it is very likely that many more Germans found their way to Scotland in 1851 after visiting the Exhibition; such was the case with all four of those mentioned above, Reilstab, Förster,

Ziegler and Wichmann.⁶⁹

Förster presents his Kleine Wanderungen in England und Schottland as a part of his earlier writings which, not being directly related to either art or literature, had escaped publication. Nonetheless his profession had caused him to travel widely:

Es war natürlich und nothwendig, dass ich neben Gebäuden, Bildern und Statuen auch Menschen sah, und dass mich Land und Leute im Leben nicht minder interessierten, als in den Werken der Kunst. Was ich in dieser Hinsicht erfahren und erlebt, habe ich in die Form von Briefen gefasst, die - grösstentheils während der Reise geschrieben - wenigstens die Frische des Eindrucks haben.(71)

Of his eight visits to Italy he has chosen to publish accounts of two, in 1833 and 1837, giving only passing comment on art. The second visit coincided with the great cholera epidemic, a time of major upheaval for Italy. Yet in Förster's view the people were too superstitious and religious to help themselves. He sets his account of his visit to Britain fourteen years later directly against this:

Ein anderes Bild von ganz entgegengesetzter Färbung bieten die Briefe aus England. Hier herrschen Ordnung und Gesetz bis zur Pedanterie; Wohlhabenheit und Wohlbehagen bis fast zum Uebermass. Land und Leute jenseit des Canals sind uns weniger bekannt, als die jenseit der Alpen, und doch so interessant, in vieler Hinsicht uns verwandt und zum Vorbild geeignet, dass man mich wohl nicht ganz unbefriedigt auf meinen kleinen Wanderungen durch England und Schottland begleiten wird.(72)

Rellstab's Sommermärchen in Reisebildern aus Deutschland, Belgien, Frankreich, England, Schottland im Jahre 1851 is less easy for a modern reader to swallow. It is so overcharged with emotion and purple language that it is not always possible to extract anything of interest. Yet Rellstab does display a certain amount of social awareness and criticism, even if the verbose style he chooses to adopt, whether ironic mockery or not, is out of keeping with modern taste. As Erler remarks, referring to Rellstab's earlier (and popular) Empfindsame Reisen, in which the author "vor allem witzig-ironisch Reiselust und Reiseleid zum Besten gibt", Rellstab's "empfindsam" is very far from Sterne's "sentimental".⁷⁴ This misinterpretation of "empfindsam" leads to the aggravating "Märchen", to which Rellstab

frequently resorts as a convenient shield from reality rather than as a means of interpretation. As a "Mährchenschreiber" he likens himself to Peter Schlemihl and concludes his lengthy (nearly 600-page) account:

Ich muss mich zuerst des Worthaltens gegen den Leser rühmen. Ich habe ihm Sommermärchen versprochen und gegeben! Denn er schaffe mir einen Zauberer, der Schöneres, Erstaunenswürdigeres, Wunderbareres, Märchenhafteres in einem Monat zu Stande bringt, als uns das Reisepanorama gezeigt! Ich rede nur vom Stoff! Wie ich ihn aufgebaut in meinem Schaufenster, das ist etwas Anderes; darüber hat der Leser allein die Gerichtsbarkeit!(75)

There is at least one criticism which could not be levelled at Rellstab; with his frequent asides, exclamations and fanciful digressions, he at no time ignores the personal, whether from his own or his reader's point of view.

Like Ziegler, Moritz von Kalckstein was foremost a geographer and the account of his visit of 1852 is both well written and observant.⁷⁶ The same can be said of the art critic Titus Ullrich's account of his visit of 1857,⁷⁷ though, like many, he freely admits to unashamed Romanticism where Scott and Ossian are concerned. Ullrich had travelled to Britain expressly to visit the Manchester Art Exhibition and his trip to Scotland was as an afterthought, an escape from work and city life, the opportune realisation of a youthful dream. In his landscape appreciation he made a considerable contribution to the development of the travel account. Kalckstein makes both motive and justification for his Erinnerungen an England und Schottland quite plain:

In der Reiseliteratur über England existirt keine Behandlung die in conciser Form, mit dem Zweck eines Wegweisers in jenes schöne Land, gleichzeitig Anregungsmomente für eine durch den Reiz frischer, unmittelbarer Anschauungen fesselnden Lectüre darböte. In wie weit mir die Verwirklichung dieser Tendenz gelungen ist, muss ich dem Urtheil meiner geneigten Leser anheimstellen; jedenfalls aber hat mein Versuch das für sich, das ungetheilt mir angehörende Product eigener Anschauung zu sein. Einzelne Capitel berühren Gegenstände, die in andern Reisehandbüchern gar nicht aufgenommen sind.(78)

On the one hand he hoped to entertain and instruct those unable to travel themselves, on the other to provide a practical guide:

Ist es mir gelungen die Stelle eines gewöhnlichen Fremdenführers durch ein auch allgemeinen Interessen Rechnung tragendes Handbuch ersetzt zu haben, so ist das meinem Versuch vorgeschwebte Ziel erreicht. Es bedarf wohl kaum der Hindeutung dass eine Reiserelation nie ihren Gegenstand vollständig erschöpfen kann. Was man aber von einem Reiseausflug, in welchem Anregung und Erholung Hand in Hand gehen, voraussetzen darf, glaube ich annähernd erreicht zu haben. (79)

Kalckstein claims to have included subject-matter ignored by his predecessors, namely Kew, Madame Tussaud's and the Dioramas in London, and a rail excursion to Abbotsford in Scotland. He also sets out to prove that, contrary to general opinion, such a journey, if well planned, need not be expensive. A telling statement shows that he was indeed an accomplished traveller: "Allein die eigentliche Philosophie des Reisens scheint mir nicht in dem Wie Viel, sondern in dem Wie des Sehens zu beruhen." (80)

The correspondence of Helmuth Graf von Moltke and his English-born wife Marie is also of relevance here, since Moltke accompanied his prince to Balmoral in 1855 and left an account of the visit in his letters.⁸¹ The accounts of Carus and Moltke bear direct comparison with regard to their descriptions of family and social life of nobility and aristocracy in Scotland.

It is inevitable that much of the content of these later tours is to some degree a repetition, digest or translation of earlier works. For this reason reference has been made where possible to those guides and reference works acknowledged by the travellers. In this respect Theodor Fontane is less scrupulous than many; it is very evident that he draws largely on the works of others, in particular Black's Picturesque Tourist, Robert Chambers and, of course, Walter Scott.⁸² Perhaps contrary to expectations, however, Fontane, who visited Scotland with Lepel on a hasty fortnight's tour in the summer of 1858, does not appear to have been influenced by the tours of his predecessors. They only really coincide in itinerary and in the one aspect of Scotland which Fontane unashamedly sought - the Romantic Scotland. It was not within the scope of Fontane's

intentions to include an analysis of contemporary Scotland and he admits this unashamedly; 'his' Scotland was that which he had known since childhood, the world of Scott and of the ballads with which he was so familiar. It should also be taken into account that most of the chapters of Jenseit des Tweed first appeared as lectures and feuilleton articles during 1859 and early 1860 before Fontane finally found a publisher for the collected whole in 1860.⁸³ Of his predecessors only Ziegler had had excerpts from his finally published work printed in advance; in both cases these excerpts had therefore to be self-contained. In the context of the history of travel literature Fontane can be seen as one of the masters of the "Reisefeuilleton", culminating of course in his Wanderungen durch die Mark Brandenburg, on which he began work in 1859 while preparing his British impressions for publication. In the feuilleton Fontane drew heavily

on the legacy of his predecessors and this is brought out by comparison of Jenseit des Tweed with the earlier works discussed above; the combination of description and narrative, report and discussion, criticism and reflection, which to varying degrees had gone to make up the travel work of the late 18th and 19th Centuries was vital to Fontane. Yet, as Otto Drude points out in his essay, "Fontane und Schottland", Fontane's emphasis was new:

'Jenseit des Tweed' erschien nach den ersten Höhepunkten dieser Literaturform, von ihnen beeinflusst und ihnen in vielem verpflichtet. Und doch war dies ein Buch für sich, von besonderer Art. Fontane nahm die verschiedensten Tendenzen in sein Buch auf, die reine Schilderung, aber auch den erläuternden Vergleich, er verwies auf den geschichtlichen Hintergrund, suchte Verbindungen und Verweise und versuchte, den Bericht durch erzählerische Zwischenspiele farbiger und anziehender zu komponieren.(84)

Drude goes on to stress that Jenseit des Tweed marks a new beginning for Fontane, embarking late on his career as narrator rather than journalist and balladwriter; the form he had chosen was above all new to him himself, "eine bewusst und genau gewählte Mischung von Beschreibung, Anekdote und persönlichem Erlebnis, um als Ziel die Vergegenwärtigung des zu beschreibenden beim Leser zu erreichen"(85) His achievements within the genre of travel literature are also pinpointed by Erlar:

Diese Einheit von Handlung und Bericht, von Erlebnis und Information, von Vergnüglichem und Wissenswertem konstituiert das spezifisch Fontanesche Reisefeuilleton. Es bietet Geschichte in Geschichten, und der Schlüssel für diesen Zusammenhang von Reise und Geschichte findet sich in dem Satz, den Fontane gern zu zitieren pflegte: "Man sieht nur, was man weiss".

(86)

As Erlar implies, Fontane wrote only about that which was close to his heart and it is perhaps this beyond all else which gives Jenseit des Tweed its vitality and immediacy.

Despite modern recognition of the work's quality, Jenseit des Tweed did not enjoy outstanding success in Fontane's lifetime and was published in only one edition. Thus, when seen as a self-contained work, and not as an integral part of Fontane's entire literary output, it must be viewed within the context of contemporary German travel literature about Scotland. Fontane's was not the first attempt to capture the spirit of Scotland in a travel work, and as far as the reading public was concerned, he reproduced much material which was already familiar to them through the works of respected and established writers. These earlier works were naturally of varying merit, but while one might suspect some authors of attempting to take advantage of the popularity of both the subject-matter and the genre, others produced genuinely well written and well researched works with which their readers were well satisfied. To such readers Jenseit des Tweed may well have seemed superfluous or at best repetitive; nonetheless the critics were not slow to recognise Fontane's narrative skills. Fontane was also to add two new sights to the regular itinerary, Flodden and Loch Leven, and the essay which appeared in 1860, "Das schottische Hochland und seine Bewohner",⁸⁷ was additional proof to his readers that his knowledge of Scottish heritage and history was well above that of the average Scott enthusiast.

Finally mention must be made of two visitors to Scotland the year after Fontane in 1859. As the title implies, Karl Friedrich Elze's Eine Frühlingsfahrt nach Edinburg deals almost exclusively with Edinburgh, although three chapters do concern visits to Melrose

Abbotsford and Dryburgh, Edinburgh's immediate surroundings, and to Stirling, Glasgow and the Falls of Clyde. Since these three chapters comprise less than 50 pages of a work of over 250 pages, however, Eine Frühlingsfahrt nach Edinburg was considered superfluous to the present study, whose aim was to culminate with Fontane's Jenseit des Tweed. In no way does this seek to belittle Elze's contribution; as literary historian, Shakespeare scholar and translator, he played an important part in strengthening cultural links between Britain and Germany. Moreover, Elze's and Fontane's works are readily comparable, firstly since they share the same publication date and were even reviewed together, and secondly since they both rely heavily on Chambers' Traditions of Edinburgh as a source of reference.⁸⁹

A figure of far greater historical significance who visited Scotland in September 1859 was Friedrich Engels. He toured the country from Manchester, in the company of his parents, who were visiting from Germany. He was later to return to Scotland on holiday with his wife in 1877.⁹⁰ I have not found first-hand record of the visit; one can but surmise that Engels, a keen hunter, may well have found opportunity, like his contemporary, Turgenev, to indulge in the sport while in the Highlands. Sport aside, there is little doubt that political events in Scotland were of significance to both Marx and Engels, especially with reference to the Highland Clearances, against which Marx in particular wrote repeatedly and with great vigour.

German visits to Scotland continued on throughout the century but with the contrasting works of Ullrich and Fontane, the 19th Century German travel work on Scotland can be seen to have reached its height.⁹¹

b) GENERATION LINKS AND PERSONAL CONNECTIONS

It is of relevance to make certain observations on the age of the travellers at the time of their visits, since the generation to which they belonged often had a bearing on their attitudes and impressions. Broadly speaking the visitors after 1830 tended to be in their forties and fifties, that is of the same generation as those who had visited in the early part of the century, with dates of birth in the 1780's and 1790's. Thus Raumer, Hailbronner, Marx, Carus,

Brandes, Waagen, Rellstab, Förster, Moltke and Ullrich, visiting the country between the years of 1835 and 1857, were all in their forties and fifties; like the earlier travellers in their twenties and thirties, namely Spiker, Meissner, Meidinger, Otto and Klingemann, they were of a generation brought up on Ossian and at an impressionable age in their teens or twenties when Scott emerged as a strong influence in Germany. Of the three travellers born in the 1760's, two, namely Schopenhauer and Nemnich, were, as is to be expected, early visitors, while this merely forms yet another rule to which the eccentric 71-year-old Hallberg-Broich was an exception. Of those who visited after 1850 only Ziegler was in his twenties (though it may be assumed that Wichmann was of a similar age). Of the three youngest travellers, Mendelssohn (20), Pulszky (22) and Köstlin (23), it can be pointed out that the decision to visit Scotland was not theirs alone. Finally it may be casually observed that the travellers whose works were arguably the most influential as travel accounts - Schopenhauer, Kohl, Lewald and Fontane - were all in their mid-to-late thirties when they visited Scotland, with their most impetuous and impressionable years behind them, well able to judge from experience, yet not set in their ways.

It is also interesting to mention the personal links which existed between the travellers. It is inevitable that the literary and artistic climate of Germany in the first half of the 19th Century should have occasioned many cross connections. The well known publishing houses provided obvious literary links: Cotta, of Stuttgart and Tübingen, published Nemnich, Meidinger, Hailbronner, and nine chapters of Jenseit des Tweed in the 'Morgenblatt', in which Huber's "Briefe aus Schottland" had appeared in the 1820's. Brockhaus in Leipzig published Raumer, Schopenhauer, Lewald's later works, and in 1873, Heinrich Brockhaus' own account of his Scottish visit of 1867. Arnold, of Dresden and Leipzig, published both Kohl and Goede, while the publishers of two famous contemporary biographical reference works, in which many of the travellers feature, namely Meyer of Lemgo, who published Das Gelehrte Teutschland of Hamberger and Meusel, and Duncker and Humblot of Leipzig, who published the Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, published Brandes and the letters of Mendelssohn and Moscheles respectively. Duncker also published Carus. The publishers of the indispensable guides, Baedeker and John Murray, published the letters of Mendelssohn and Klingemann and Waagen's Treasures of

Art. Finally, Hailbronner, Pulszky, and Kohl all contributed to the 'Stuttgarter Allgemeine Zeitung'.

Of the personal connections one should name first and foremost those well acquainted with the magnetic Goethe in Weimar; Schopenhauer, Carus and Mendelssohn all knew him well; Löwenthal received an audience from him on his travels in 1822,⁹² while Rellstab was present when Zelter brought the twelve-year-old Mendelssohn to play for Goethe.⁹³ Mendelssohn was later to relate that "Louis Rellstab" once approached him for some biographical details, at which the composer had answered mischievously that he knew of nothing special save that he had been born on February 3rd;⁹⁴ one can deduce from this that Rellstab, who moved in the most distinguished artistic circles, was not always taken as seriously as he would have liked. Many prominent names feature in Rellstab's autobiography, the Schlegel brothers, Moritz Arndt, Grillparzer, Tieck, Jean Paul, Willibald Alexis, Maler Müller and various musicians and composers, including Beethoven, Weber, Liszt, Meyerbeer, Czerny and Hummel. Both Rellstab and Carus describe various recitals by Mendelssohn, both in Germany and in England. Mendelssohn was acquainted with the Schopenhauers in Weimar and writes with affection of Adele; Rellstab, too, tells of meeting both Johanna and Adele.⁹⁵ As a figure of far greater stature than Rellstab, Carus, who describes in his autobiography a visit from "Dr. Förster aus München" in 1837,⁹⁶ enjoyed genuine friendships with Goethe, Alexander von Humboldt, Tieck, Caspar David Friedrich and Friedrich von Raumer. Raumer, too, was a friend of Tieck and ^{an} associate of John Murray in London. As indicated, it was Murray who published Waagen's work on Britain; Waagen was evidently acquainted with Murray previously, since he provided the young Pulszky with a letter of introduction to the London publisher.⁹⁷ A connection can also be made between Schinkel and Waagen, as the former's biographer. Waagen was also related to Raumer, and while a student in Breslau lodged with the latter's brother, Karl, who, incidentally, had taught Carus. Isensee met Raumer in London and also acknowledged his debt to Spiker, who had given him a letter of introduction to the London doctor, Bisset Hawkins. Letters of introduction always provided vital links; in 1867 Heinrich

Brockhaus was to be glad of an introduction from Elze to one of the 'Scotsman' editors and through his publishing connections he also met both Black and Boyd. Despite their family differences, the doctor Eduard Meissner is of interest on account of his literary son, Alfred; both Alfred and Fanny Lewald were friends of Moritz Hartmann. Indeed the importance of Berlin as a social and literary nucleus in the 1840's and 1850's becomes all the more apparent when considering Lewald's personal connections. Family links introduced her to Varnhagen von Ense and his wife Rachel, the literary hostess, and Lewald's Jewish ties also secured her invitations from Fanny Hensel, in whose house she was to meet Hensel's brother, Mendelssohn, and Friedrich von Raumer. Lewald also knew Rellstab's cousin, Willibald Alexis, Liszt and Pückler-Muskau and she was to give Gottfried and Johanna Kinkel letters of introduction to Manchester and Edinburgh in 1851. In addition she had met Heine (who in turn knew Karl Friedrich Heinrich Marx).⁹⁸ Nor can Lewald's personal and professional rivalry with Ida Gräfin von Hahn-Hahn be ignored. Fontane and Keller both came across Fanny Lewald in Berlin at this time and a link between Fontane and Ullrich through Berlin's literary clubs of the 1840's can also be established. Fontane's correspondence with Lepel reveals meetings with Waagen in London.⁹⁹ Finally, it was Lewald's cousin, August Lewald, who published Fontane's essay, "Das schottische Hochland und seine Bewohner", in his journal, 'Europa', in 1860.

c) TEXTUAL SOURCE REFERENCES

In addition to the above personal links, it might be assumed that something of the reception of the individual travel works could be gauged from textual references in those of their successors. Such references, however, are scant. The only works to give exhaustive source references are those of Spiker and Ziegler, while Meidinger is the only writer to review the works of his predecessors in any detail. Spiker mentions many of the English topographical, historical and travel writers and refers also to Goede and to Nemnich, with whom he

does not necessarily agree. Of the popular English works Spiker refers to both Pennant and Sarah Murray. Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account is also commonly referred to,¹⁰⁰ but Pennant, Dr. Johnson, MacCulloch, and later Chambers and Black, are the most frequently mentioned English works. Ziegler naturally focuses his attention on later more specialised works, in both German and English, concerning the Northern lands he visits.¹⁰¹

Of the German texts in question, Meissner acknowledges the works of Emilie Harmes and Frank, Meidinger that of Goede, Raumer that of Spiker, and Isensee those of Horn, Raumer, Spiker and Carus. Pulszky freely acknowledges the popularity of Raumer and Pückler-Muskau and makes an interesting suggestion regarding the state of art in Britain, namely that someone like Waagen should compile a list of the paintings in the country;¹⁰² in less than fifteen years Waagen would be touring the country doing just that. Kohl is not slow to acknowledge English sources of information, but he refers to no German travel works; both he and Lewald frequently acknowledge the works of Robert Chambers, on which both Fontane and Elze were to rely heavily. Carus evidently gained information from Pennant, MacCulloch, Anderson, Martin and Buchanan amongst others, but mentions only one German travel work¹⁰³ in passing. Brandes uses guides by Murray and Wilson and refers to Scott's Tales of a Grandfather, while Waagen, who met Black, not surprisingly refers to the latter's guide. Reilstab's two guides, the standard handbooks of Black and Bradshaw, were obviously his constant companions. Fontane's previous knowledge of Scotland was already greater than most, but he evidently used Chambers, Scott and Black and knew the accounts of both Fanny Lewald and Ullrich.¹⁰⁴ Meidinger remains the only traveller seriously to consider the achievements of his predecessors; Niemeyer had been one of the few travellers in England to have done this before him, giving short appraisals of works by Volkmann, Nemnich, Moritz, Archenholz, Küttner, Wendeborn, Goede, Schopenhauer, Spiker and Bornemann.¹⁰⁵

One may conclude that any acknowledgement of such preparation was either considered superfluous or evidence of plagiarism, and therefore lack of originality; in a travel work, whose merits must

be judged according to contemporary and topical relevance and, above all, immediacy, such evidence would thus be regarded as a serious shortcoming.

An idea of the reception of the works in question may instead be deduced from the Scottish sections of certain geographical text books, compiled from a selection of travel works. Thus Harnisch's Die Weltkunde, of 1848,¹⁰⁶ drew on the Scottish accounts of Kohl, Carus, Raumer and a certain "Z", whose identity I have not been able to establish. Grube's Geographische Charakterbilder, which enjoyed more than one edition and was first published in 1850,¹⁰⁷ included excerpts from Kalckstein, Schopenhauer and Fontane, while Pütz's Charakteristiken, of 1860,¹⁰⁸ contained excerpts from Kohl, Hailbronner, Brandes, Carus and C. Ritter's Europa.

Finally the reception of the works in Britain can be attested by contemporary English translations, enjoyed by Goede, Spiker, Raumer, Kohl and Carus.¹⁰⁹ Waagen's work forms an exception, since it was first published in English. Perhaps the view held by Nemnich at the turn of the century, namely that the British have little if any interest in reading German travels of their country, thus became refutable in later years. Nemnich had written:

Die Beschreibungen reisender Deutschen durch England, finden so recht keinen Beyfall, so gern auch der Brite hören mag, was Ausländer von seiner glücklichen Insel halten. Dagegen achtet er die Reise von Faujas-Saint-Fond, obgleich sich seitdem manches verändert hat, sehr hoch; und Englands Verfassung von Lolme, bleibt ihm immer ein Hauptbuch. Oft habe ich den Wunsch gehört, dass doch Kotzebue einmal Grossbritannien durchreisen mochte.(110)

If Kotzebue never published a tour of Britain, then at least writers of the calibre of the five named above redressed the balance.

d) LITERARY FORM AND PURPOSE.

Comment should be made on the form of the works in question. Five of the above travellers did not set out to publish a travel work, but, even though the posthumously published letters of Schinkel, Moscheles, Mendelssohn, Klingemann and Moltke cannot be regarded as

self-contained works as planned by their authors, they can indeed be included as the genuine impressions of Scottish visits. The main body of the works under consideration are written in either epistolary or journal form or as straight narrative. There are four purely systematic works, those of Goede and Nemnich, Meidinger's Reisen durch Grossbritannien und Irland and Kohl's Land und Leute der Britischen Inseln. In certain cases the systematic approach can be seen to have influenced both the narrative and the journal forms. Thus Pulszky, whose tour is for the most part straight narrative, reveals the purpose of his visit to have been "der Gewinn eines lebendigen Bildes vom Nationalleben und die Auffassung der charakteristischen Züge des ganzen Landes"¹¹¹ and, accordingly, includes some further comment under the clearly defined chapter headings of "Weltkunst", "Literatur", and "Ueber einige Kunstsammlungen Englands".¹¹² Similarly Kohl and Lewald interrupt their respective travels with digested translations of a commentary on Landseer's "The Highland Drovers" and of Henry Glasston Bell's Life of Mary Queen of Scots.¹¹³ Despite the epistolary form with dated letter headings of Raumer's works, they must really be classified as systematic, since the emphasis is primarily on presenting a picture and discussion of the British Constitution, society, politics, industry, people and way of life. Waagen's Treasures of Art in Great Britain is also primarily a systematic work, with travel account inserted. Straight journalistic report is favoured by Köstlin in his "Mittheilungen über Schottland" and there is also a strong journalistic element within the narrative of Huber's Scottish articles. Despite such formal confusion, which is after all typical of the genre, for the most part the works can be divided by form into the two main groups. The epistolary and journal forms are adopted by Holzenthal, Meidinger (in his Briefe von einer Reise durch England, Schottland und Irland), Otto, Löwenthal, Isensee, Marx, Carus, Lewald, Waagen, Ziegler (in his "Bilder aus Schottland") and Kalckstein. The narrative form is preferred by Frank, Schopenhauer, Spiker, Meissner, Horn, Hailbronner, Pulszky, Hallberg-Broich, Kohl (in his Reisen in Schottland), Brandes, Rellstab, Wichmann, Förster, Ziegler (in Meine Reise im Norden), Ullrich, Fontane, and in the one autobiography consulted, that of Köstlin.¹¹⁴ The term "feuilleton" can be seen to apply to works in all classes, especially Huber's and

Ziegler's newspaper articles, Löwenthal's "Skizzen", certain of the chapters in Pulszky's account, and each individual chapter in Fontane's Jenseit des Tweed.

In conclusion the question can be asked: what motivated the travellers concerned to publish their works? The answers are as varied as the works themselves. The aim of the systematic works is self-evident; for instance, the subtitle of Kohl's Land und Leute der britischen Inseln, namely "Beiträge zur Charakteristik Englands und der Engländer", makes the writer's purpose quite clear. Löwenthal made his intentions equally apparent in the foreword to his Skizzen aus dem Tagebuche einer Reise durch Frankreich, Grossbritannien und Deutschland, dated 1825:

Ich [glaube] bereits durch den Titel dieses Buches genugsam angedeutet zu haben, dass darin nichts weniger als eine Reihe topographischer und statistischer Aufsätze, wohl gar ein Wegweiser für Reisende, ja selbst keine zusammenhängende Reisebeschreibung zu suchen sey. Es fällt mir nicht bei, etwas anderes bieten zu wollen, als einzelne, zerstreute Schilderungen, Ansichten und Bemerkungen wie Orte, Gegenstände oder Personen sie eben hervorriefen: Miscellen, welche aus einem weitläufigeren Tagebuche herausgehoben, und nach der Zeitfolge ihrer Entstehung aneinander gereiht worden sind.(115)

Whether such an explanation was accurate or not, it gave the writer considerable freedom of movement. Similarly Meissner, as a medical man, was well aware that there was little of novelty that he could report out of professional interest from his British tour of 1817. Nonetheless he wanted to write of his visit and was at least honest in his introductory remarks:

Nach Frank's so interessanter Reise durch England und Schottland scheint zwar das, was mir über diese beide Länder zu sagen übrig bleibt, vielleicht ... überflüssig, indessen ist es unter den schreibseligen Deutschen etwas sehr seltenes, dass der Schwächere sich deshalb vom Schreiben abhalten lasse, weil der Starke schon vor ihm denselben Bogen spannte.(116)

By the 1840's the market was overflowing with travel literature of varying form and value. While this doubtless encouraged some to add their own contribution, regardless of merit, it made others all

the more aware of the need for originality. As Marx was to write from Edinburgh in 1841,

Wer hier zu Lande öffentliche Sehenswürdigkeiten besucht, verliert bald die Neigung, einzelne Notizen zu sammeln oder aufzuzeichnen, denn dies ist in den unzähligen Handbüchern für Reisende sattem geschehen. An jedem nur einigermaßen merkwürdigen Orte werden Beschreibungen und Abbildungen aller Art zum Verkaufe ausgebaut und eine Zusammenstellung derselben zum Behufe eines eigenen Werkes über dieses Land würde eine an sich leichte Arbeit, aber für jeden, der die benutzten Quellen nicht kennt, wegen der enormen Masse des historischen und statistischen Materials, von imponirendem Effekte sein. Um nach eigener Lust zu beobachten und zu empfinden ist nothwendig, die fremden Commentatoren und Declamatoren von sich abzuwehren.(117)

There is no doubt that many were unscrupulous in their 'borrowing' of material, while others visited the country with a genuine desire to 'discover' it for themselves. Some wanted only to cash in on the opportune popularity of travel literature, while others really did have something new to say. In order to assess the extent of these trends, it has been considered expedient to discuss the works comparatively, according to content rather than form. Faced with such a diffuse genre as travel literature, it was felt that formal literary or artistic merit would only become apparent on examination of content.

The German travel work with Scottish subject-matter only came into being properly at the turn of the 19th Century, as a natural extension of the German travel literature on England. Its development ran parallel with the latter, but also with the English travel literature on Scotland. As such it belongs formally to both. As regards content, however, the 19th Century German travel work on Scotland can be seen to form a class of its own, deserving separate examination. This is attempted in Part Two of the present study.

PART TWO: THE TRAVELLERS' IMPRESSIONS OF SCOTLANDINTRODUCTION

The German accounts of travels in Scotland between 1800 and 1860 are marked by diversity of literary form, merit and purpose. There are only two factors common to all the works in question: each belongs to the genre of travel literature and each in its own way presents a valid picture of 19th Century Scotland. Thus, what began as a study of an aspect of literary history soon proved to be equally profitable as a study of social history. Rather than treating each work separately, I have instead taken an overall view of the various aspects of Scottish life and culture which emerge from the travel works as being of most interest, both to the travellers themselves and to a 20th Century reader.

The presentation of the texts has been considered of paramount importance. Working on the premise that the visitor often sees with fresh eyes, where possible the travellers have been allowed to speak for themselves. Only in the case of Fontane's Jenseit des Tweed has a text been taken as read.¹

In view of the fact that the texts under study are both numerous and little known, the decision was taken to incorporate a large number of quotations into the main body of the thesis. In order to avoid an excessive number of footnotes, the source references have been supplied immediately after each quotation. In most cases the works have been referred to only by author's name, and, where applicable, volume number. Where more than one work by an author has been consulted, however, abbreviations have been used which are cited at the beginning of the Notes to Part Two, Page 912.

CHAPTER I SCOTLAND - THE ROMANCE. HISTORICAL AND
POETIC ASSOCIATION

a) "ROMANTIC" AND SCOTLAND

Der Name Schottland klingt wie Poesie
 (Ullrich, 318)

In discussing the travellers' conception of the idea of Scotland as a poetic ideal, it is necessary to ask the question: What was understood by the word "romantisch"? To Ullrich and his fellow travellers of the 19th Century the very name of Scotland was evocative and epitomised much of what they termed "romantisch"; the word is accordingly one of the most common adjectives used to describe their most striking and favourable impressions. A definition is thus an important key to interpreting the travel accounts.

First and foremost it must be established that the modern pejorative and imprecise connotation of the word had not yet developed in the period under study. A precise definition of the word as used in the 19th Century is made harder by virtue of the fact that despite endless attempts at definition the connotation differs according to the context, whether artistic, literary or aesthetic. In the introduction to "Romantic" and its Cognates. The European History of a Word,¹ Hans Eichner points to three trends which are relevant to the present study: firstly, the British "discovery", in the latter half of the 18th Century, of "romantic" scenes in their own country, reminiscent of the landscapes of the 17th Century artists Poussin, Claude Lorrain and Salvator Rosa (references to all three are to be found in the German tours of Scotland);² secondly, the popularity of the epithet "romantisch" as used to describe the "English garden" cult in Germany and France; and thirdly, the influence of certain works of literature and criticism, amongst them Macpherson's Ossian and Percy's Reliques. Eichner also underlines the importance of Alexander von Humboldt's Vienna lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature of 1808; such public lectures were as yet rare in Germany but they were also influential. Emil Isensee, in praising the advantages of the British Royal Institution in this light, acknowledges the great pioneering contribution made in Germany by a handful of public lecturers, amongst them Humboldt, Fichte, Schlegel, Steffens, and as an

artist of the Romantic Movement, one of the visitors to follow Isensee to Scotland, Carl Gustav Carus, (Isensee, 241f.)

In his essay on the German history of the word "romantisch",³ Eichner defines four distinct periods: first, the century prior to the founding of the periodical 'Athenäum' in 1798, during which time the connotation was related to the root meaning of the word "romance", second, that of the Romantic Movement, with Schlegel's definition of "Romantische Poesie" as opposed to the Classical, third, the pejorative connotation given the word by opponents of the Romantic Movement, and fourth, as used to-day to define a period in literary history. He goes on to refer to a review by Manso of 1802, in which the authors of "romantic" travel works are slighted as those who are indifferent to truth. Yet it was also a question of supply and demand:

... when, in the last third of the eighteenth century the taste for the unusual, exotic, and marvellous increased and a large percentage of the German reading public began once again to prefer books that provided them with an escape from their humdrum existence, the adjective "romantisch" became increasingly popular in contexts that gave it such positive connotations as "imaginative", "eventful", or "stimulatingly unusual". (Eichner, op.cit., 100f.)

In this respect the huge importance of travellers such as Humboldt and Forster is self-evident; an abundance of unusual facts could now replace fiction. Immerwahr⁴ stresses the resulting significance for the word "romantic" of travel literature and the closely related literature of exploration. He, too, recognises the rôle of the "englischer Garten" and also of the work of Gilpin.⁵ Gilpin's key words, "sublime" and "picturesque", frequently find their way into the German tours of Scotland as "erhaben" and "malerisch". To them one can add "romantisch".⁶ From reading the accounts it becomes clear that while on the one hand these words had lost much of their original meaning, on the other they were unquestionably positive.

It is interesting to look at a contemporary definition of the word "romantisch". In the 1830 edition of Brockhaus' Conversations-Lexikon⁷ the southern origins of the word are stressed, with its roots in "romanisch": "Das Wort deutet auf südlichen Ursprung und auf jene wunderbare Zeit hin, in welcher die neuere Geschichte der südlichen Völker ihr schönes Jugendalter gelebt hat." (Brockhaus, 384) Under no circumstances should the word be confused with "romanhaft", however, welches oft im guten, grösstentheils aber im schlimmen Sinne alles vom Gewöhnlichen

Abweichende, das Idealische, das Phantastische, Seltsame, Verschrobene bezeichnet. (ibid)

Already the ease with which this can be translated to the world of Ossian is apparent. The "romantic" is seen to take a vital rôle alongside that which is "edel" and "gross"; in the history of Art, therefore, "das Romantische" merits the attention accorded the idyllic and noble simplicity of the Greek and the gigantic dimensions of the Nordic. Of the latter the text continues:

Dagegen, wie die ewigen Berge und Wälder und stürmischen Meere und der düstere geheimnisvolle Nebelgewand des Nordens, so ist die Poesie desselben, die erst die neuere Zeit in ihrer wahren Grösse zu würdigen gelernt hat, gigantisch, voller Riesen und mächtiger Helden, weit hinausschreitend über die Engen menschlicher Niedrigkeit und selbst der Form nach mit grossem, ernstem, furchtbarem Tritte einerschreitend. Und nun, wie freundlich und doch auch wieder nicht griechisch, ist die südliche, die romantische Dichtung! (ibid., 385)

There follows an account of the plentiful age of chivalry, of troubadours, knights, flowering gardens and colourful courts on the one hand, and of feats of daring and courage in the face of adversity, whether from wild tribes or dragons, on the other: "Merkwürdiger Geist der romantischen Dichtung, hervorgegangen aus dem Geist der Zeiten und Länder, da sie blühte!" (ibid., 385f.). But although all seems to be in opposition to the Greek and Nordic, there are aspects of the "romantic" in the mythology of both. Moreover, the "Romantic Age" did travel north to England with Arthur and Merlin. Germany, however, never possessed its own "romantic" tradition, according to Brockhaus, being a land eclectic in literary tradition and Nordic in language:

Hierdurch möchte sich wenigstens auch das Streben, das Romantische in den Kreis der Gegenwart zurückzuführen, erklären lassen, Leistungen, die sich vorzüglich in der Poesie, Malerei und Baukunst kundgethan und oft Verzerrungen und hohles Formenspiel hervorgebracht haben. (ibid. 387)

After these disparaging comments on contemporary misinterpretation, Brockhaus continues with a discussion of "Romanze" as "die eigentliche Dichtungsart der romantischen Poesie", as opposed to the Epos of Greek literature and the Nordic Saga, and also as differing from the related "Ballade", which, in its folksong character, gives a lyric account of that which might have occurred as one event in a saga.

With the above definition of Brockhaus in mind, it is not hard to follow the transition to Scotland as a "romantic" goal: Ossian opened up the world of heroic saga, Scott the colourful pageant of history, and the ballads the individual deeds of daring and bravery. It was no chance, either, that Fontane should already have composed "Balladen" and "Romanzen" before his visit to the land in which their events took place.

A less one-sided definition of "romantisch" is to be found in Grimm's Wörterbuch, the relevant volume of which was published over fifty years later.⁸ Grimm distinguishes first between the "romantic" attribute of something and "romantik ... als allgemeinbegriff die romantische richtung in der lebensauffassung vorwiegend aber in der kunst, deren vertreter und schöpfungen umfassend"(Grimm, vol.8, 1155). Similarly the distinction is made in Grimm between "malerisch" as that which has directly to do with a painter and his profession and that which is potentially attractive as subject-matter to a painter (ibid, vol. 6, 1507). Instead of Brockhaus' definition, "romantisch, d.h. sinnlich weich, reinlich und zierlich in einem schönen, bunten Farbenspiel des Genusses" (Brockhaus, 386), Grimm gives the now more generally accepted alternatives:

- a) von der welt der dichtung, zunächst wie sie in den "romanen" entgegentrat, im gegensatze zur prosaischen wirklichkeit
- b) im landschaftlichen sinne. In dieser bedeutung verzeichnet es ADELUNG ... das "romantische" in der natur ist dem gewöhnlichen, durch menschenhand in seinem charakter bestimmten entgegengesetzt
- c) von der poesie und poetischen lebensauffassung des katholischen mittelalters im gegensatz zum "klassischen" alterthum (Grimm, vol.8, 1155ff.)

Of the second definition Grimm notes that it has been in frequent use since the 18th Century. All three of these definitions can be seen to play a part in the travellers' conception of the word "romantisch" - the "romantic" definitely opposes the "prosaic", the word is also used to denote an enhanced natural landscape, and it often conjures up visions of a distant hazy past.

However diverse the interpretations and definitions of the word "romantic" have been, the Romantic Movement in Europe involving

varying and sometimes conflicting generations, principles and tendencies, the use of the word by the German travellers in Scotland in the 19th Century is more or less uniform. The assertion in Brockhaus that there are after all a few "romantic" aspects in the Nordic tradition is strongly supported. The legacy left first by Macpherson is vital to "romantic" appreciation of Scotland, since "romantisch" is used to denote anything which, as both Grimm and Eichner imply, excites the senses and aids escape from the prosaic reality of the present. Once Scott had taken this one step further by providing the history for historical association, everything the travellers saw and experienced could be immediately associable with some aspect of the Romantic ideal. Scotland, in particular its countryside, was to be seen through a pair of associative spectacles. Scott taught his followers to see through the present to the past, to evaluate present prosaicness or ruin by its past glory; the movement for which he set the example reached not only the artistic, literary and historical specialist, but also the amateur enthusiast. But while Scott could on the whole keep the balance between the contrast of past and present, many of his over-zealous disciples could not. The primary object quickly became of secondary importance to the ideas related to it. Thus the "romantic" aspect often took involuntary pride of place in the overall impression and it is sometimes difficult to separate the various aspects of the German visitors' "romantic" conception of Scotland in her past glory. Inevitably landscape, climate, literature, history, religion and folklore often merge. The border country is at once rustic, picturesque and desolate, famed as settings of ballads such as "Thomas the Rhymer" and battles such as Flodden Field, of Scott poems and of Burns' songs, and not least for being the home of Scott and Burns themselves. The Highlands are even more conducive to "romantic association", especially those parts of the country steeped in legend and folklore, above all Scott's Trossachs and Ossian's land of Morven. Edinburgh, too, was a haven for the historical enthusiast.

The service Macpherson and Scott did their country in drawing attention to her heritage and thus assisting in the rise of the tourist industry, often caused Scotland's natural properties, good or bad, to be ignored. Here William Gilpin had contributed towards redressing the balance in his earlier appreciation of the "picturesque", but in

the end it was up to each individual traveller to strike the correct balance between "das Romantische" and "das Prosaische". This, too, becomes a modern yardstick for judging the travel accounts - those writers who maintained a healthy balance can well withstand modern criticism, while those who allowed romantic indulgence to overbalance their works cannot. One further point should be made; the travel works which may seem overburdened with prosaic detail to a modern reader are nonetheless of definite sociohistorical interest and value, while a work whose author overindulged in "romantic" fancy (and one must cite Reilstab in this instance) has long since lost its interest other than as a product of its age.

Although many of the travellers show themselves to be well capable of using historical ("romantic") association to good advantage, it is only Fontane who consciously created his work around the associations and it is for this reason that Jenseit des Tweed forms the culmination of the works under study. Although the content of his work can be directly compared to those of his predecessors, in spirit it can be compared with only a few. He is above all selective; others may try to see and report everything and in many respects this is commendable, but what they gain in thoroughness they lose in immediacy and enthusiasm. Fontane is only enthusiastic about that which truly enlivens him, thus inspiring him to write well. One of the clearest instances of his method is to be found in his description of viewing the Crown Jewels in Edinburgh Castle; he did so perfunctorily, "pflichtschuldigst", with no sense of excitement at what he saw. In trying to analyse this, he asks:

"Woher diese Indifferenz?" Der Hauptgrund scheint mir der zu sein, dass diese Dinge in ihrer AllgemeinVerwendetheit den Reiz des Besonderen, sozusagen des Persönlichen verlieren. Alles Reliquienwesen müssen wir auf eine ganz bestimmte Person zurückführen können. (Fontane, 53)

He can only enjoy historical associations if they bring the past to life; perhaps more than anybody he is thus indebted to his sources, since without Percy, Scott, Chambers and Black he would never have discovered the vital specific detail.

"Romantic" can thus be seen to signify that which excites the senses, aids escape from reality and invokes historical association. Fontane's interpretation of the word "romantisch" is made abundantly clear in the

passage in which he describes the view from Stirling Castle, comparing it favourably with that from Edinburgh Castle. Such historical scenes cannot fail to evoke a feeling of "romance" in even the most prosaic beholder:

Das Gefühl, um dessen Erweckung es sich beim Besuche solcher und ähnlicher Plätze handelt, ist das romantische, und selbst der grösste Philister, der in Holyrood oder Edinburg-Castle eintritt, bringt ein gewisses Maass von gutem Willen mit, sich auf fünf Minuten poetisch anregen, romantisch stimmen zu lassen. Er wird seinen Zweck erreichen, seinen kleinen Hausbedarf befriedigen und sich um die grössere oder geringere Intensität dessen, was auf ihn wirkt, nicht lange sorgen und kümmern. (ibid. 164)

Yet to a man of Fontane's sensibilities this is only half the secret of "romantic association":

Ein feinerer Sinn aber, der auf diesem Gebiet wie ein sensibler Elektrometer ein Plus oder Minus zu unterscheiden weiss, wird, wenn er auf der Halbmond-Batterie von Edinburg-Castle Posto fasst, zu keinem ungetheilten Genusse kommen. Das Bild, das sich vor ihm gleichzeitig eine Fülle von Dingen zeigen, die den romantischen Traum, wenn auch nicht roh und plump zerstören, aber doch immerhin unterbrechen. Sein Empfinden wird zu keiner Einheit kommen. (ibid.)

//seinem Auge entrollt, an malerischer Schönheit dem Bilde, das Stirling Castle bietet, vielleicht überlegen, wird

The modern aspect of life in Edinburgh's New Town, the monuments and statues, the omnibuses, railway trains and steamboats, "alles das trägt einen fremd-modernen Klang in das alte Lied" (ibid. 165); even the historical Old Town is marred and defaced by modern dirt and cannot be appreciated in the state of clean simplicity that the "romantic" beholder desires. Fontane continues:

∴ Diesen Klang gewährt uns Stirling-Castle, zum wenigsten an jener Stelle seines Wallrands, über die wir uns jetzt hinauslehnen und in die untergehende Sonne blicken, die wie ein feuriger aber strahlenloser Ball über den Bergen des Hochlands hängt. Vor uns, in Schläge aller Formen und Grössen getheilt, dehnen sich bis zum Gebirge hin die Fruchtfelder der schönen Grafschaft Menteith; nichts unterbricht die stille romantische Sprache des Platzes, auf dem wir stehen, wohl aber ist es, als antworte ein Echo aus all den Feldern und Bergen her, die dies jetzt wie verzaubert daliegende Schloss in weiten Kreisen umziehen. (ibid.)

The above passage is vital to interpreting Fontane's approach to his Scottish visit. Firstly he separates the perfunctory "romantic"

beholders from those who truly appreciate the values of "romantic association". The contrast between them is underlined by the smallness of the expression "kleinen Hausbedarf" compared with the startling vitality of a "sensibler Elektrometer", not a simile one would expect of a "romantic" beholder, for whom hindsight might appear to be essential. Yet foresight is necessary, too, in order both to be able to distinguish the "fremd-modernen Klang" from "das alte Lied" and to evaluate that which is truly "romantic" by using all of one's senses. The eyes may appreciate the "malerische Schönheit" (Gilpin's "picturesque beauty"), but it takes more to see, hear, and even touch, taste and smell, the "romantic" and magic beauty of an historical site, with its harvest fields, mountains and castle glowing in the setting sun. Indeed it is as if one needs one further sense to hear the Echo, "die stille romantische Sprache des Platzes", that of romantic appreciation. And, having prepared his readers in this manner, Fontane is free to enumerate some of the historical associations of Stirling and its castle.

This attitude is typical of Fontane's narrative technique, in which the past is always set against the present. He does not shut out the prosaic, the "fremd-modernen Klang", where it presides, but freely acknowledges its presence, at the same time admitting his preference for any scene where the romantic dominates. Yet it must be "echte gesunde Romantik" as he expounds in his Walter Scott essay.⁹ It is not enough to indulge in romantic association for a mere five minutes at a site where romance is only half the picture. Instead the key word is "Einheit": all one's senses must be excited and satisfied by the overwhelming romance of a place. The romantic must be in harmony with its surroundings and it is Fontane more than any of his predecessors who appreciates this; too many of the travellers seek "das alte Lied" where the modern has taken over and to Fontane this means that they are only satisfying a trivial whim rather than a genuine need. He thus establishes both the meaning of the word "romantic", as that invoked by historical or poetic association and going beyond the "picturesque", and also the potential varying degrees of its interpretation.

b) PRECONCEPTIONS OF SCOTLAND

What were the visitors' preconceived notions of Scotland? Were they overridingly "romantic"? Did the Scottish tours dispel or augment these ideas? Of those who wrote at all of their preconceptions it can be seen that the majority are indeed "romantic" pictures of the Highlands, which for the most part the visitors were unwilling to abandon. Even the medical and commercial travellers, whose interests were primarily in Scottish science and industry, were often loath to see the Highlands in any but a "romantic" light. As an introduction to their accounts of the wider aspects of Scottish life, it is interesting to ascertain to what extent the travellers were influenced by the picture of Scotland promoted by Ossian and Scott and even Schiller. Few of the travellers after 1800 could match Emilie Harms' dependence on Ossian, but nonetheless it was seldom that the Western Highlands and islands were visited without Ossian being foremost in the minds of the travellers, and the same can be said of the Trossachs and Scott, of Holyrood and Schiller's Maria Stuart.

In the correspondence of Mendelssohn and Klingemann both display much excitement in anticipating their Scottish journey and it is to their credit that while they met with disappointments throughout their tour they remained determined to enjoy it. Mendelssohn's much quoted statement declaring his intention to visit Scotland, "Nächsten August reise ich nach Schottland mit einer Harke für Volksmelodien, einem Ohr für die schönen duftigen Gegenden, und einem Herz für die nackten Beine der Bewohner", is exuberant, typically good-humoured and shows above all that it was the Highlands that he wanted to visit. He continues, "Klingemann, da musst Ihr mit, es kann ein königliches Leben werden! Reisst die Hindernisse nieder und fliegt nach Schottland. Die Bergschotten wollen wir sehen ..." (Mendelssohn, FMB - KK Briefwechsel, 51). That Mendelssohn's enthusiasm was infectious is evident from a comment in a letter from Klingemann to Mendelssohn's sister, Fanny, the following month, April 1829; to Klingemann, homesick for Berlin in the London fog, it was as if Mendelssohn had brought something of that city with him to England:

Ein wahrer Meridian ist's in eine Blumenschnur maskiert,
der jetzt von dort herüber reicht, den wir alle halten,
und auf dem doch mit Lust Seil getanzt wird, lange volle
Monate hindurch, und das Ende davon reicht bis in die
Hochlande. W. Scott muss möglicherweise anfassen und
tanzt am Ende gar mit. (Klingemann, ibid. 52)

Later in the same letter he gives a hint that it might be the company of his young friend rather than the destination of their holiday which acts as the greater tonic for him himself:

Und Schottland! an unbesetzten Tagen beginnen wir baldigst, morgen, zu besehen was merk- und sonst würdig und unwürdig ist, für etwaige Tagebücher. Diese Lebensweise und Pläne versprechen goldene Tage - mit wahrem Vergnügen sehe ich ihn jetzt schon auf Tage abseits schwimmen im Welt- und Musikstrudel, weil ich genau die grüne Insel weiss, wo er landet, - mein Behagen an alle dem und an ihm ist grösser geworden, so wie er klarer ist. (ibid.,53f.)

The above reference shows that the joint diary they kept while in Scotland was not occasioned spontaneously, but planned as a light-hearted holiday pursuit, and in the midst of the frantic rush of concerts and recitals, the prospect of the journey seemed all the more desirable: "Ich kann Ihnen sagen, wir sehen uns an, und das Ansehen wird immer ansehnlicher, und die Aussicht immer weiter, und wir fabeln von Dramatischem, wenn nach dem H-Dur die Hochlande sich auftun - ..." (ibid.,56). Klingemann is receptive to Mendelssohn's artistic needs and is glad he takes to drawing for relaxation - his sketches greatly enhance the Scottish diary - but at the same time it may be that they hoped too much of the Scottish journey; from London in July Klingemann writes: "gelebt muss hier werden und produzieren lässt sich hier nicht viel, das kommt nachher im Land und auf den Bergen".(ibid.,57) Above all, however, their Scottish tour is a holiday, and they prepare themselves for it with excellent humour, Klingemann writing on 7th July:

Denken Sie sich, dass ich meinen Urlaub für Schottland noch immer nicht in Ordnung gebracht habe! Einstweilen soll's so um den 18. zum Ausbruch kommen und nicht so wohl Schottisch als Donquischottisch werden, - wir lassen uns Schnurrbärte dazu wachsen, - so ist's heute Mittag ausgemacht. (ibid. 58)

Fifteen years later, in the foreword to his Reisen in Schottland, Kohl was to point to Scotland's reputation in Europe. Having compared Scotland to Switzerland and Holland, as a small land with a small population but a large reputation,¹⁰ he writes:

...wie weit geht der Ruhm und Einfluss dieser Nation!
Wie hochgepriesen sind die Schönheiten dieses Landes!

Wie zahlreich die grössten Dichter, die Kriegshelden, die Könige, die Staatsmänner, die es erzeugte, von den Zeiten der Ossianischen Heroen, die dem römischen Reiche Gränzen setzten, bis zu denen des Robert Bruce und der von unserem Schiller verherrlichten schönen Königin Schottlands und bis zu unseren Tagen herab! (Kohl, i, "Vorrede", iv f.)

Kohl, however, ever concerned that he should give all sides to the picture, goes on to praise contemporary Scotland, and expresses sentiments seldom uttered so emphatically by his compatriots:

Auch in diesen unseren Tagen selbst steht Schottland wieder bewundernswürdig da und zieht alle Augen auf sich. Seit seiner Vereinigung mit England hat es sich mit Energie und Eifer in die ihm dadurch eröffneten Bahnen der Cultur und der Weltherrechaft geworfen und bietet seinen alten Nebenbuhlern, die es sonst Jahrhunderte lang in blutigen Kriegen bekämpfte, jetzt in vielen Zweigen der friedlichen Beschäftigungen die Spitze. Seine Städte wetteifern mit den britischen in Handel und Industrie. Sein Einfluss in den englischen Colonien ist gross. Ein verhältnissmässig sehr grosser Theil der klaren denkenden Köpfe und der literarischen Talente Grossbritanniens kommt aus Schottland. Die Volkserziehung im Lande hat sich auf eine höhere Stufe geschwungen als in England; Im Acker- und Gartenbau stehen die schottischen Farmers eben so an der Spitze wie die schottischen Schullehrer. Und die Natur des Landes selbst schmückt und verschönert sich täglich mehr und mehr unter den Händen seiner Bewohner, welche Wälder anpflanzen, wüste Striche bebauen, öde Thäler mit Gärten und Palästen füllen. (ibid., v f.)

Such open recognition of Scotland's modern achievements was rare indeed, and although evidently written after the tour itself, the passage reveals much about Kohl's attitude and expectations of the country before and during his visit. Moreover, as a professional traveller and geographer, he could not afford to indulge in "romantic" travel even if he had wanted; he recognises the romantic Scotland, but he does not travel there to visit it.

Carus, on the other hand, on a pleasure trip to Scotland, in 1844, the year Kohl wrote the above, freely admits to the poetic dreams of his youth. Once again this applies to the Highlands:

Da waren wir nun mit einem Male tief in den Hochlanden von Schottland! - Was mir schon in der Kindheit poetisch anklang umgiebt mich in voller gegenständlicher Lebendigkeit! - (Carus, ii, 195)

At the end of the chapter, which describes the journey to Inveraray, he refers once more to his "romantic" preconception of Scotland:

Jetzt war nun die Dämmerstunde herangekommen, war es wo mir das eigenthümliche Bild Schottlands wie ich mir es schon in früher Zeit geträumt hatte, zum erstenmale so recht lebhaft entgegentrat. - Graulicher Nebel über der See, auf der viele Fischerbarken schwankten, blaue Ferne, ungewisser Duft über hohe Berge ringsum gebreitet, und dunstiger halb wolkiger Himmel, an dem mit unsicherm Schimmer der Mond eben hervortrat. Am Wege dann mächtige Rothbuchen und Eichen, weiterhin das alte graue zinnenhafte Schloss und in der Ferne der kleine Küstenort Inveraray mit seinen weissen Häusern, und einem eben angekommenen Dampfschiff, - es gab ein durchaus eigenthümliches Bild, und wirkte in aller Beziehung anders als alles was ich vorher an englischen Küsten, in den Gebirgen von Wales und an den Seen von Cumberland erfahren hatte. (ibid., 202)

This was the Scotland Carus had known from Ossian and Scott - grey mist hanging over a loch, the moon rising through the mist in the blue distance, haze over the mountains, and a large grey castle presiding over the tiny village - and yet Carus is not blind to the 19th Century, for he includes a steamer in the scene. It is noticeable, however, that there are no discernable human figures in his picture - even the "romantic" fishermen are of secondary importance to their rolling boats. This is in keeping with Gilpin's teaching.¹¹

Reilstab, of the same generation as Carus, reveals that he, too, had long harboured "romantic" dreams of Scotland. At the end of his visit he writes:

Die schöne schottische Reise ist nun zu Ende! Sie verklingt mir leise, wie ein ferner Accord, verschwebt wie ein flüssiger Nebelsilberstreif! - Hinter mir liegen alle die schönen Bilder, die freundlichen, anmuthigen Gestalten; sie bauen dem Auge der Phantasie eine wahre Fata Morgana auf. Ich frage mich immer wieder: Ist es denn wahr? Hast Du wirklich alle die Landschaften, Städte, Orte, Felsen, Seen gesehen, die dir in lebendiger Einbildungskraft so viele Jahre vor Augen standen, die dich schon als die Sehnsucht deiner Jugend zogen und lockten? - Es war mir wie ein Traumbild, ein Märchen - ein Sommermärchen! (Reilstab, ii, 105f.)

To fully understand Reilstab's reaction to Scotland it is necessary to appreciate his conception of "romantic" association. I quote

the following passage in full, since in it Rellstab attempts to explain what others took for granted. It comes near the beginning of his account of his visit to Abbotsford:

Welche Erwartungen bewegen die Brust bei dem ersten Streifzug durch Berg und Thal des von dem zauberischen Duft der Sage, der Dichtung und Geschichtsumgebenen Schottlands! Schon der seltsame Klang der Namen weckt die phantastischen Vorstellungen. Seit der frühesten Kindheit haben uns Dichtungen bewegt, die auf diesem wunderbaren Gebiet sprossen, das die nordischen Nebel geheimnissvoll umhüllen, wo das stürmende Meer mit rauschenden Wogen die Felsenküsten dumpf umbrandet. Von Ossians Gesängen an, von seinen mächtigen Helden und schwermüthig reizenden Jungfrauen, bis zu den romantischen Bildern, die der grösste Dichter dieses Landes uns von seiner Heimath und seinen Landsgenossen gezeichnet, bewegt sich ein Kreis wunderbarer Ereignisse, Thaten und Gestalten in unserer Seele, die sämmtlich dem Boden des sagenberühmten Landes angehören, das wir jetzt betreten. - Vor unserer Phantasie steht das Bild eines in Nebel gehüllten Himmels, der kaum einzelne Sterne und den bleichen, verstohlen durchbrechenden Mondstrahl erblicken lässt - wir hören das schauerlich brausende Meer, - der wilde Fels beengt den wilderen Bergstrom, - der Sturm saust über die kahlen Haiden und jagt gespenstische Wolken vor sich hin! - Doch wie anders ist die Wirklichkeit! Die mildeste September-Sonne lächelt von blauem Himmel herab. Wir durchziehen das Land nicht gewaffnet, zu Ross, sondern eine bequeme Eisenbahn führt uns mit schnellen Flügeln hindurch, und der Zug geht zu der prosaischen Stunde des Tages, Vormittags 11 Uhr, (12) von Edinburgh ab. Wie sind wir getäuscht - und dennoch nicht! Denn es wird uns eine Fülle der reichsten und reizvollsten Eindrücke; doch allein solcher, die der vollen Kraft des Lebens, der gesundesten, tageshellen Schönheit angehören. Und nur weit, weit ab, wie hinter dem blaulichen Nebelschleier der Ferne, steht das ergraute Alterthum, stehen Sagen und Geschichte, und werfen einen leicht überhin schwebenden, ernsten Schatten in das sonnige Bild der Gegenwart (ibid., i, 272f.)

Although it seldom comes to the fore in Rellstab's work, it is this appreciation that "Wirklichkeit" and "Phantasie" must coexist, that the past is in fact enhanced by the present, which emerges as an important key to the success of a travel work on Scotland. And it is Fontane above all who uses his narrative technique to link past and present smoothly and to great effect. Fanny Lewald, perhaps less well versed in the study of Ossian and Scott herself, emphasises instead the importance of the tourist's guide book. The rôle of such an aid is vital in drawing the tourist's attention to historical association.

Near the end of her tour, on the journey from Taynuilt back to Loch Lomond, she acknowledges this:

Das Handbuch durch diesen Theil der Hochlande ist so interessant, dass man nicht weiss, ob man die Berge und die Ruinen am Wege betrachten, oder ihre Geschichte und ihre Sagen lesen soll. Meine Reisegefährten lebten und webten in dieser Welt, hatten die Gegend schon mehrfach besucht, kannten jeden Punkt, und machten sich eine Freude daraus, nicht nur die einzelnen Orte zu nennen an denen wir vorüber kamen, sondern auch die Balladen und Gedichte zu recitiren, mit denen ihre Poeten diesen Theil des Landes verherrlicht haben. Auch die Handbücher geben ganze Kapitel aus den Dichtungen von Scott, Wordsworth u.s.w. Es ist immer derselbe Zusammenhang der Gegenwart mit der Vergangenheit, des Lebens mit der Kunst, des Volks mit seinen Dichtern. - (Lewald, ii,533)

The advantages of previous knowledge of the history and literature were self-evident and Lewald's dilemma as to whether to look at her guide book or the scenery it enlarged on was no doubt very real. The ease with which the guide book could take over had given the Germans no little cause for amusement at the expense of British tourists, as this quip from Ludovic, travelling in England in the 1840's,¹³ shows:

Sie sind es, die man mit ihrem "Guide du voyageur" oder Traveler's companion gehen, stehen, fahren und sitzen sieht, immer mehr in ihr Buch guckend, als die Gegenstände betrachtend, auf welche es sie aufmerksam macht. (Ludovic, 154)

Ullrich, who wishes he could remember his Scott better while in the Highlands, is gently amused by the performance of his fellow travellers:

Die Gentlemen und Ladies nahmen ihre zierlichen Ausgaben des Walter Scott in die Hand, und man konnte daraus den Schluss ziehen, dass wir auf ein klassisches Gebiet gekommen. In der That war es so: wir näherten uns dem Terrain, auf dem ein grosser Theil des schönen Gedichts "die Jungfrau vom See" spielt. (Ullrich, 388f.)

Ullrich's journey was also the fulfilment of a wish - "ein alter Wunsch, ein Jugendtraum, war mir in Erfüllung gegangen" (*ibid.*, 396) - yet he does not lose sight of reality. In Glasgow he is excited by the names on the shops and factories, but forces himself back down to earth:

Die Namen, die man liest, verkünden sofort eine andere Nationalität und wecken die Erinnerung an alte Bekannte aus Dramen, Balladen und Romanen, die in Schottland spielen: MacFarlane, Macdonald,

Stuart, Duncan, Cameron, Lennox, Angus, Finley, Sinclair u.s.w. Man könnte sich in eine fremde Welt, in die Welt romantischer Poesie versetzt glauben, würde man nicht wieder auf Schritt und Tritt an die Prosa der industriellen Wirklichkeit gemahnt. (ibid., 328)

But Ullrich's overriding impression of Scotland remains that of his youth, since that is the Scotland he wanted to visit, whose landscape he wanted to appreciate and describe. At the start of his tour he makes this clear:

Der Name Schottland klingt wie Poesie. Er weckt die Erinnerung an die interessantesten Gestalten Walter Scotts, an die schönsten alten Balladen, an die seelenvollen, morgenfrischen Lieder von Robert Burns, und vor allem an die schwermüthigen Gesänge Ossians. (ibid., 318)

Similarly it is allusion to Scott which reminds Ziegler of his youthful conception of Scotland. As he approaches the Orkneys he writes:

Wie gern gedenke ich noch der Zeit, wo ich mit jugendlichem Leseeifer die Wikingerzüge von Snorre Sturleson ... sowie den "Pirat" von Walter Scott studirte und meine Phantasie mit romantischen Bildern jener geheimnissvollen Inseln von Thule bereicherte, welche den Schauplatz dieser Erzählungen bildeten. Wie schön und poetisch stellte ich mir diese Inseln mit den Pict houses, standing stones, mit den Wohnungen der Udallers, mit ihrer furchtbaren Brandung und gewaltigem Rust (Brandung), ihren wilden rocks (Felsen) und Fitfull-Head der Norna vor. Ich hatte das Land Rob Roy's (das schottische Hochland) besucht und schiffte mich in Aberdeen nach den Orkaden ein. (Ziegler, Reise, 189)

Wichmann's opening paragraphs, telling how he came to Scotland in 1851 via the Great Exhibition, leave his reader in no doubt as to his preconception of Scotland:

Also einmal im freien Lande der Briten, war der Drang unwiderstehlich, das schöne Land der alten Picten und Scoten, das Geburtsland des berühmten Walter Scott, des vortrefflichen Volkdichters Robert Burns, das Land der gewaltigen Thaten des Helden William Wallace, das romantische Schottland, mit eigenen Augen kennen zu lernen. (Wichmann, 1)

It is Fontane, the most accomplished of the "romantic tourists", who could truly appreciate the rôle of associative history and literature. In this excerpt from his essay, "Das schottische Hochland und seine Bewohner", which, despite his original intention to include it in Jenseit des Tweed, has a more critical and objective emphasis than

his travel account, he reveals the key to the success of Scott's depiction of the Highlands:

Die Schönheit seiner Küsten und Inseln, seiner Seen und Berge ist unbestreitbar gross, aber doch vielleicht nicht so gross, wie mancher versucht sein könnte, aus Walter Scott's chen Schilderungen herzuleiten. Nicht als ob diese Schilderungen der Wahrheit selbst entbehrten, gegertheils, sie zeichnen sich fast immer durch eine daguerrotypische Treue aus, die neben so vielem anderen zur Bewunderung hinreissen muss; aber es bleibt beim Leser selbst jener verzeihliche Irrthum nicht aus, der die Schilderung mit dem Geschilderten unwissentlich verwechselt und die Makellosigkeit, den Schwung und imposanten Vollklang der poetischen Beschreibung auf das beschriebene Object überträgt.

(Fontane, 391)

The reaction to Scotland did not depend on Ossian, Burns or Scott: they were vital links in the chain, but the final analysis could only come from the individual traveller.

CHAPTER II NATURE AND LANDSCAPE APPRECIATION

a) LANDSCAPE: APPRECIATION AND DESCRIPTION

i. General appreciation.

Mehrere Gesellschafts-Wagen mit Touristen kamen eben an, welche von hier das in der Nähe am Ausflusse des Loch Lomond anlegende Dampfschiff erreichen wollten. Nicht ganz im Lauf eines Tages werden so die weiten Ufer des Sees umfahren und besucht, und wie sonst nur Völkerwanderungen, so machen sich jetzt Naturadorationen massenweis, und gleich in Bausch und Bogen.
(Carus, ii, 196)

"Naturadorationen massenweis, und gleich in Bausch und Bogen": by the 1840's Scotland's landscape had won the country her fame and her tourist industry.

Landscape appreciation was an important part of any successful 19th Century Scottish tour. Before looking at the different reactions of the individual travellers to their surroundings, it is helpful to give a definition of the word "landscape". For the purposes of this study, the word can be seen to have two distinguishable, but closely related, interpretations, the first concerning the natural properties alone, the second the romantic associations. The latter, landscape seen through its "poetic" (literary or historical) associations, is not of primary concern in this chapter, although it is of paramount importance to the study as a whole and is dealt with below¹. The present chapter seeks to examine the travellers' perception of the natural properties of the Scottish landscape, and, in doing so, to assess firstly the descriptive skills of the writers themselves, and secondly the development in contemporary taste and perceptions. Since the travel route was mostly predetermined by convention or practicalities, any originality had to come from the descriptive powers of the individual; for the most part this meant an ability to qualify the standard epithets of "schön", "malerisch" and "romantisch". To achieve balance the travel writer must incorporate degrees of both subjectivity and objectivity. Ideally, in order to appreciate the intrinsic properties of Nature, the writer must be able to distance himself from established associative thought, to 'disassociate' himself, even if he too is to find himself involuntarily returning to

that association. On the other hand, having isolated the landscape from such preconceptions, he must be left free to translate his own personal and emotional reaction to his surroundings, whatever that may be, into verbal expression. Obviously, as communications improved and travellers gained access to parts of Scotland hitherto unvisited, such 'disassociation' became easier. At the same time this in no way meant that all travellers sought to look beyond the associations. After all, a wide range of both subjectivity and objectivity can be ascertained throughout the period of study, from the geographical descriptions of Nemnich at the beginning of the century to those of Ziegler in the 1850's, and from the intensely personal and associative interpretations of Meissner in the early years to those of Fontane in 1858.

Landscape description occupies such a large proportion of the texts under discussion that any analysis examining the approach of each individual traveller to the subject would perforce be lengthy and repetitive. It is only possible here to give a representative flavour of some of the more typical reactions.

In Germany appreciation of Nature had won gradual acceptance since its initial beginnings with Haller's "Die Alpen" of 1732, while Macpherson, Pennant, Gilpin, Wordsworth and Scott all drew attention to the scope for landscape appreciation, or, to use Gilpin's phrase, "picturesque travel", in Scotland. The tourist routes in Scotland were determined for the most part by the above writers; historical and literary allusion was the spice adding flavour to a few chosen sites. Thus the most common landscape appreciation arises from visits to parts of the country which had already enjoyed 'discovery' but could still be 'found anew': the imposing situation of both Edinburgh and Stirling, the Clyde and its waterfalls, the Western Highlands and the Great Glen, and, above all, the Trossachs. There are mixed reactions to the more barren landscapes of the Border hills and the Grampians, as there are to the climate and the typically Scottish phenomenon of rapid light changes. Only those with a true feel for "natural" landscape, as opposed to "romantic" scenery rendered "picturesque" by ruins and other man-made embellishments, were to show an awareness of the latter. Such an awareness did not necessarily correspond to a later date of visit.

The Scottish climate was a frequent barrier to unimpeded appreciation.

Rain and mist were uncalled-for inconveniences, even when the traveller knew that without them the scenery he had come to admire would lose so much of its attraction. The following comment from Kohl, as he travels up the Clyde, is a typical reaction:

Die Reise auf dieser Flussstrecke ... ist eine der schönsten Fahrten, die man sich denken kann, und es ist kein Zweifel, dass sie eine der berühmtesten und besuchtesten Flussfahrten sein würde, wenn sie nicht in Schottland läge, einem Lande, das von den Centralpunkten der europäischen Gesellschaften so entfernt ist. Es ist ein Jammer, dass ein so reizendes Land, wie Schottland ist, nicht mit einem schöneren Klima beschenkt wurde. Ein Land von einer so mannigfaltigen und interessanten äusseren Gestaltung, von einer so reizenden Abgränzungsweise mit der See kommt auf Erden nicht zum zweiten Male vor, und es hätte verdient, unter dem Parallelkreise der glückseligen Inseln zu liegen. Wie herrlich hätten ihm da auch alle die tief eindringenden Meerbusen zur Kühlung und Erfrischung dienen können.

(Kohl, i. 5f.)

Ziegler goes one step further and pities the Scots on account of their climate:

Es ist eine traurige Thatsache, dass ein so schönes Land, wie Schottland, ein so veränderliches Klima besitzt, dass die Einwohner an die schlechte Witterung ungefähr so gewöhnt sind, wie wir in Deutschland an die jährliche Wiederkehr der Schwalben. Man erzählt sich, dass ein Fremder, als er einen Schotten gefragt, ob es immer Regenwetter in seinem Lande gäbe, die Antwort erhalten hatte: "Nein, mitunter schneit es auch." In dieser Antwort scheint mir eine richtige Charakteristik der Witterungsverhältnisse dieses Landes zu liegen. (Ziegler, Bilder, 277)

Forty years earlier Holzenthal had noted disparagingly that the Scots' preoccupation with the weather determined even their conversation topic, "was bei uns selbst in der gewöhnlichen Gesellschaft für den längst abgedroschenen Anfang einer Unterhaltung hält" (Holzenthal, 216f.). He did not seek to relate this to the unpredictability of the Border climate, an aspect which Kohl was to appreciate on his visit in the 1840's. As Kohl and his guide travelled from Callander to Stirling, everybody they met greeted them with the words "Fine weather to-day, sir!", even though the only truth in this observation lay in the fact that there was neither torrential rain nor hail. Kohl muses:

In keinem Lande haben mir die Leute so oft und viel "Fine weather to-day," oder "a beautiful day to-day, sir!" ... gesagt, als in Irland und Schottland. So wahr ist es, dass wir Menschen immer von dem am meisten zu sprechen geneigt sind, was wir am wenigsten besitzen. Ich bin überzeugt, in Persien und in anderen

Ländern, die ein ewig klarer Himmel deckt, fällt es keinem Menschen ein, das Wetter zu loben. (Kohl, ii. 139f.)

It is not irrelevant to dwell on the effect of the Scottish climate on the visitors, since their appreciation of the landscape depended on acceptance of the climatic conditions. Those who could accept the weather with equanimity learned to appreciate the rapid light changes and vivid colour contrasts which so characterise the Scottish landscape. Hailbronner, for instance, was well aware of his good fortune in a sudden wind change, which made the voyage to Staffa possible for him on his 1836 visit:

Die Beleuchtung, welche in den wundervollen Farbenspielen vom dunkeln Vordergrunde bis zu den in die hellsten Silbertinten der Sonnenstrahlen sich auflösenden fernsten Gebirgen überspielte, war unbeschreiblich. Es ist in diesen Regionen keine Zeit zu versäumen. Rasch wechselt der Wind, rasch wechselt die Fluth, und um in das Innere der Höhen zu dringen, müssen die Minuten abgewogen werden. (Hailbronner, 319)

Mendelssohn had noticed this characteristic from Edinburgh seven years earlier: "Es ist aber hier schön! Abends weht kalte Luft von der See her, und dann sehn alle Gegenstände höchst scharf und klar aus, schneiden sich gegen den grauen Himmel deutlich ab, die Lichter aus den Fenstern blinken sehr hell ... " (Mendelssohn, Hensel, 241).

Nonetheless, surprisingly few were to comment on the importance of the wind in determining the character of the Scottish landscape. It is noticeable that it was the artists who most appreciated the play of light on dark. Thus Johanna Schopenhauer, travelling from Killin to Tyndrum in 1803, wrote of the contrasts of colour and shadow as the sun shone sporadically through the clouds, reflected in the waters of a burn. By the time the party reached Tyndrum the rain was torrential, yet, from the safety of the inn, Schopenhauer could still recognise the strange beauty of the unpredictable Highland weather:

Lange sahen wir zu, wie die schweren Wolken an den Bergen hinrollten, einzelne Streifen von Sonnenlicht bisweilen auf Momente die nackten Gipfel der Felsen verklärten und der Wind den Regen wild herumpeitschte. Gegen Abend klärte sich das Wetter auf, wir erfreuten uns des wunderbaren Spiels der Wolken, der Wirkung des schnell erscheinenden und wieder verschwindenden Sonnenlichts an den Bergen. Im flachen Lande kann man sich keinen Begriff von diesen magischen Erscheinungen machen. Die schweren Regenwolken schienen wie eine dunkle Decke auf den höchsten Gebirgen zu lasten, leichteres Gewölk zog

sich wie ein heller Schleier um andere tiefere Berge, verdeckte sie in diesem Momente ganz, rollte sich dann zusammen und verschwand im nächsten, oder zog pfeilschnell dahin in wunderbaren Gestalten, im ewigen Kampfe mit Sonnenlicht und Sturm, unendlich wechselnd mit Licht und Farbenspiel(2) (Schopenhauer, 325f.)

Some fifty years later Ziegler was to marvel at the light in the Shetland landscape, and to reveal, too, that Scott had played a part in opening his eyes to this:

Der Tag war herrlich, und die Luft, um mit Scott zu reden, gerade so bewegt, dass die kleinen wolligen Wölkchen, welche am Horizonte verstreut waren, nicht an einer Stelle blieben, sondern von Zeit zu Zeit über die Sonne hinweggehend, die Landschaft abwechselnd in dem Licht und Schatten erscheinen liessen, der oft einer kahlen, dem Auge unabgeschlossen erscheinenden Gegend, wenigstens auf einige Zeit, eine Art Zauber leiht, welcher etwas von der Mannichfaltigkeit eines angebauten und bepflanzten Gefildes verräth. (Ziegler, Reise, 341)

It was the first fine summer's day Ziegler had enjoyed in Shetland and it was to prove an unforgettable evening. His description of the sunset conveys much of the magic of the hour and, above all, the contrasts within the landscape:

In der zauberischen Lieblichkeit dieses Abends herrschte der Genius der einsamen Natur und Meer, Bucht und Flur lagen ruhig im Schatten des lieblichsten Friedens. Die Strahlen der Sonne waren, wie das auf Shetland nicht ungewöhnlich ist, durch einen silberfarbenen Nebel, der in leichten Wolken um den Horizont schwebte, gemildert und gebrochen, und dieser Nebelduft, welcher die von einem sanften, geheimnissvollen Glühen erfüllte Atmosphäre umhüllte und den starken Gegensatz von Licht und Schatten aufhob, liess selbst dem Tage die ruhige Färbung der Abenddämmerung. Die Sonne, dieser Segen aller Segen, glühte durch ein Wolkennetz von goldenem Flor, wie brennendes Erz in einem safranfarbigen Bette über den Horizont und die Natur lag in tiefer Ruhe. Eine einsamere Gegend, deren Eigenthümlichkeit durch die ungemaine Heiterkeit des Wetters, den ruhigen grauen Ton der Atmosphäre und das tiefe Stillschweigen der Elemente noch erhöht wurde, konnte man sich kaum denken. Die ganze Landschaft war von einem gleichsam Übernatürlichen Glorienschein umflossen. Noch einmal wiegten sich die Sonnenstrahlen neckend auf den vom leisen Luftzuge bewegten Wolken, dann sank die Sonne glühend roth in das Meer.

Der weisse Schleier des Nebels lag schaukelnd und gespenstisch über dem Wasser und den öden Moorstrecken, und die vom letzten Sonnenhauch beleuchteten Felsen bildeten wunderbare Gestalten. Ueberall brütete das Grauen der geheimnissvollen Einsamkeit - stumme unaussprechliche melancholische Schwermuth ruhte auf der Gegend. Das Auge erblickte die geheimnissvolle Verbindung von warmer Atmosphäre und kalter Landschaft, die kein Pinsel eines Malers naturgetreu darzustellen vermag. Ueberall lag

Schweigen und Oede und die Seele des Menschen ahnete
den Zauber der Arktischen Mitternachtssonne. (ibid, 341f.)

Here was a piece of description bound to excite any reader prepared to lose himself in a powerfully natural, if not supernatural, world. Certain phrases are reminiscent of Romantic description "in der zauberischen Lieblichkeit", "der Genius der einsamen Natur", "im Schatten des lieblichsten Friedens", "in tiefer Ruhe", "das tiefe Stillschweigen der Elemente", "Übernatürlichen Glorienschein", "der weisse Schleier des Nebels lag ... gespenstisch", "das Grauen der geheimnissvollen Einsamkeit" and finally "stumme unaussprechliche melancholische Schwermuth". What writer could then fail to evoke a Romantically inspiring scene, and, conversely, what reader fail to respond even to some of the Romantic overtones? The description is the more extraordinary for not being typical of Ziegler's style, which is informative and factual and mostly bare of such 'lapses'. Such was the effect of the Northern landscape upon him that the above description came as if involuntarily. And here, though in this Northern land there may not be many stars to contemplate at night, the Northern Lights more than recompense for that (ibid., 342f.); it is only when faced with elemental splendour that Ziegler forsakes the reason of science for the creativity of art. At the beginning of the Century Shetland's Northern Lights had been reported by Nemnich as something of social interest rather than natural beauty, for he noted only that the islanders believed that the "merry dancers" were a phenomenon created solely for their own amusement (Nemnich, 726). Evidently neither of the earlier topographical writers who had commented on the Northern Lights, namely Nemnich in 1805-6 and Meidinger in the 1820's, (Meidinger, Reisen, 76), felt free to move into descriptive prose as Ziegler was to do in the 1850's.

The passage quoted above from Ziegler may not have been typical of his style, but similarly descriptive writing was certainly common in others. Mendelssohn especially was able to combine the senses of movement and light in a direct manner. He writes from Blair Atholl:

Heut ist der trübete, traurigste Regentag,
Aber wir helfen uns, so gut es geht. Ganz
durchnässt ist Erde und Himmel, und Regimenter
von Wolken ziehen noch in Reih' und Glied
heran. Gestern war ein wunderschöner Tag;
wir gingen von Felsen zu Felsen, viel Wasserfälle,

dunkler Wald und Haide mit rothem Kraut; wir
 führen im offenen Einspanner des Morgens und
 gingen später einundzwanzig(englische) Meilen
 zu Fuss. (Mendelssohn, Hensel, 247)

His companion, Klingemann, was to make equal use of vivid verbs and personification:

Gestern zogen wir bergauf, bergab, der Karren
 meist zur Seite und wir nebenhersteigend, durch
 Haiden und Moore und Pässe aller Art, - die Natur
 hat hier so sehr für Letztere gesorgt, dass das
 Gouvernement weiter gar keine fordert, - unter
 Wolken und im dichten Staubregen durch's Hochland,
 räucherige Hütten klebten auf Abhängen, hässliche
 Weiber schauten durch die Fensterlöcher, Viehheerden
 mit Rob Roy's sperren zu Zeiten unsern Lauf,
 gewaltige Berge steckten, bis auf die Kniee, im
 Hochlandskostüm in den Wolken und guckten wohl
 wieder heraus, - man sah aber manchmal wenig.
 (Klingemann, ibid., 249)

Mendelssohn and Klingemann never allowed the frequent rain to spoil their artistic expression; Klingemann cheerfully continued to compose poetry, while Mendelssohn developed a new method of sketching in wet conditions. Yet they did not try to hide their relief on returning to the gentle corn fields of the Clyde, even though they had been happy to accept conditions for what they were:

Wir waren froh zusammen, haben munter gelebt, und
 sind so vergnügt durch die Gegend gewandert, als
 ob der Sturm und Regen, von dem alle Zeitungen
 berichten (und vielleicht auch die Berliner),
 garnicht da wäre. Er war aber da, Wetter hatten
 wir, dass die Bäume und die Felsen krachten.
 (Mendelssohn, ibid., 258)

Later, as he describes the journey on to Glasgow, Klingemann expresses well the mixed feelings with which many of the Germans experienced the Highland landscape:

Je länger und öfter wir aber zurückschauten, desto
 blauer und duftiger wurden die Berge, zu deren
 Füßen wir gelegen, alle tiefen Farben spielten
 und wir hätten sehnsüchtig werden und uns nach ihnen
 zurückwünschen mögen, wenn wir nicht gewusst hätten,
 dass es drinnen doch grau und kaltmajestätisch
 hergehe. Auf alle Fälle war's aber doch ein süßes
 Ade von jenen Höhen, die wir verleumden und lieben.
 (Klingemann, ibid., 261)

Seven years earlier, in 1822, Otto had been more fortunate in the weather for his Highland tour, enjoying continuous sunshine. Even the Grampians, which both Löwenthal, also in 1822, and Meissner, five years before, found extraordinarily barren and desolate (Löwenthal, 118 & Meissner, 270), were enhanced for Otto by virtue of the contrasts he witnessed on the journey from Inverness to Perth:

Seit langer Zeit hat keine Tagereise mir einen solchen Genuss gewähret, wie diese; selten hat eine so reiche Abwechslung der verschiedensten Naturscenen, anmuthiger und wilder, fruchtbarer und öder Gegenden, die aber alle in ihrer Art schön und romantisch waren, sich während eines so kurzen Zeitraumes meinem überraschten Blicke dargestellt! In einer sehr guten Gesellschaft, auch diesmal, wie auf allen meinen Reisen in Grossbritannien, an der Outside sitzend, genoss ich mit ganzer Seele jede Schönheit der Natur, deren eine hier die andere übertraf.

(Otto, 356)

The scenery never disappoints him, the Dell of Rothiemurcus seeming "das reizendste, fruchtbarste Thal" and Aviemore situated so idyllically, "wie sie nur die kühnste Einbildung zu schaffen vermag" (ibid., 357). Leaving the Spey behind does not mean leaving the fine scenery; indeed, as the country grows wilder once more, Otto is all the more ecstatic. The misspelt place-names hardly matter in the face of the enthusiasm with which he says farewell to the Highlands:

in engen, tiefen Schluchten rauscht hier der Fluss Garry; um sich nachher in den Tumble [sic] und, mit diesem vereinigt, in den Tay, welcher der Stadt Perth vorbeifliesst, zu ergiessen. Zwei Stationen hindurch führen wir durch diese dunkeln, öden und unfruchtbaren Gegenden, die aber nichts-destoweniger ihre eigenthümlichen Reize haben; plötzlich erweitert sich das enge Thal und die herrlichste Gruppe von Eichen- und Fichtenwäldern überrascht, wie durch einen Zauberschlag hervorgerufen, den staunenden Blick. Hier liegt Blair-Athol, der Sitz des Herzogs von Athol. Ueberall lächelte mir die reichste Vegetation entgegen; das liebliche Grün, welches ich nach den grauen Felsenmassen hier so plötzlich erblickte, ergötzte mein Auge. - Jetzt führen wir durch eine unbeschreiblich schöne Allee und erreichten die enge, im höchsten Grade herrliche und romantische Bergschlucht Pass Chilichranki [sic], welche ich allem vorziehe, was ich in den schottischen Hochlanden bewundert habe; die Schweiz und Italien können nichts Aehnliches aufweisen. Diese Schlucht wird von zwei Bergen gebildet, die ganz mit Fichtenwäldungen bewachsen sind; unten rieselt der Fluss, den aber die Bäume verbergen. Der Rückblick auf Blair Athol und die Felsen, die Aussicht auf die Berge muss jeden mit Bewunderung erfüllen. Mich ergriff ein unnennbares Gefühl; ich vermochte nicht es mit Worten auszudrücken!

(ibid., 358)

These two passages can serve as yardsticks for much of the descriptive writing occasioned by the Scottish landscape. Otto was first and foremost a man of medicine and was not given to effusion. The way in which he describes the landscape may well be genuine, but it is not original. The use of adjectives alone is proof of this, for the words "romantisch", "herrlich", "anmuthig", "lieblich" and "fruchtbar" on the one hand, and "wild", "öde", "dunkel" and "grau" on the other, recur with great regularity in all the accounts. Otto's conception of "romantisch" becomes clear: the phrase "schön und romantisch" merely confirms what he had written earlier of Loch Fyne. Having crossed the desolate and melancholy Glen Croe, he writes:

Mit Freude erblickten wir endlich den See Lochfine [sic], der sich hier, von Bergen umgeben, allmählig sehr romantisch entfaltet; an seinen Ufern entdeckten wir an diesem ruhigen wahrhaft idyllischen Abend das Dorf Cairndow mit einem guten Wirthshause. Hier übernachteten wir, waren aber des Morgens sehr früh an den Ufern des von den Strahlen der Sonne vergoldeten Sees, über welchen die hohen Berge ihre Schatten verbreiteten. (ibid., 353)

Some thirty years later, in 1850, Lewald was also to feel the confrontation of contrasts as she travelled much the same route. She was to describe Loch Lomond as "lieblich" (Lewald, ii, 535), but as she drove along Loch Etive the weather was cold, windy and wet, the fields of oats were grey in the mist and the few passers-by were wrapped in their plaids:

Die schlechten Hütten am Wege, die Weiber, die mit blossen Füßen vor denselben arbeiteten, machten das Bild nordischen Elendes vollkommen, und sowohl die Zahl der Wohnungen, als der Menschen war gering in dieser Gegend. Der grösste Theil des Landes war Haide, von Sümpfen durchschnitten, deren hohes Rohr im Winde schwankte, und von deren Ufern sich ganze Schwärme von Wasservögeln aufschwangen, wenn der Postwagen sich ihnen näherte. Riss bisweilen ein Windstoss die Nebel von einander, oder leuchtete ein Sonnenschimmer hindurch, so gewann man einen Blick auf die kahlen, schroffen Felsmassen des Ben Cruachan, und auf die ganze Bergwüste, die in wilder Grossartigkeit sich zu beiden Seiten des Weges ausbreitete. (ibid., 531)

While others allowed themselves to be blinkered by Ossianic preconceptions³ Lewald resisted this temptation. The absence of sunshine showed the wretchedness and poverty of the Highlands, where only wildlife could truly prosper. The phrases "das Bild nordischen Elendes" and

"in wilder Grossartigkeit" reveal that Lewald was one of the few who could appreciate both aspects of the Highlands, the wretched conditions and the romantic splendour. The splendour prevails, however, for she finally sums up her days in the Highlands as "prächtig" (ibid., 536).

Two words not used in the passages quoted above, but of great significance in the light of 19th Century appreciation of the Scottish landscape, are "erhaben" and "malerisch". Waagen, writing of the "grand melancholy" of the Scottish landscape (Waagen, 291), underlined one of the properties which most appealed to the visitors. Schopenhauer had revelled in the sublime grandeur of Glencroes:

Bei aller Oede trägt diese Gegend dennoch den Charakter unbeschreiblich erhabner Grösse. Die mächtigen Felsen stehen rings umher wie anbetende Riesen, in schauerlichem Schweigen; die rothe Blüthe des Haidekrauts bedeckt ihre kolossalen Konture mit einem Purpurmantel, ohne sie zu verhüllen; ihre Häupter umwogen ewige Nebel, die im Sonnenstrahl zur Glorie werden; ein leiser feuchter Duft schwebt über Berg und Thal, mit magischem Schimmer alles harmonisch vereinend.
(Schopenhauer, 337f.)

Not many travellers of the day could view such wild and majestic grandeur as a harmonious whole. In 1822 Löwenthal was to describe his journey through the Highlands in no little detail, yet for all the wild and desolate scenery of Glen Croe, Loch Awe, Ben Nevis and Oban, he considered that only the Falls of Foyers possessed the vital ingredient of sublimity. He enjoys using the adjectives "steilrecht", "furchtbar", "laut", "betäubend" and "weit", and adds that, even though the Falls were not full of water, "Dennoch, so viel auch zur Vervollständigung meiner Einbildungskraft überlassen war, erschien mir diese Naturscene - Staffa ausgenommen - als die erste des Hochlands, welche Wildheit mit wahrer Erhabenheit vereinigte" (Löwenthal, 114). Thus he stresses that "wild" and "erhaben" were complimentary, but not synonymous. Löwenthal also gives many indications of the conception of the word "malerisch". His description of the boat ride from Oban to Ballachulish can be seen as typical:

Meist hatte eine freundliches Lüftchen die Segel gebläht; es wurde am Abend zum günstigen Winde, der uns über des Oceans höher schwellende Wogen rascher dahin schaukelte. Zahlreiche Schlossruinen winken geisterhaft von allen Gestaden; je höher den Loch hinauf, desto herrlicher und wunderbarer, desto mannigfaltiger in Farbe und Gestaltung stellen die Berge des Hochlandes sich dar. Nordöstlich blickt, wolkenumhüllt, ihr König her, Ben Nevis, der höchste Berg Grossbritanniens. Eine prächtige

pyramidalische Spitze zur Seite eines stumpfen Bergkolosses prangt östlich am Gestade des Loch Leven. Höchst mahlerisch ist die Ansicht dieses Sees und solcher Umgebung von dem Hügel am Gasthause zu Ballachulish. (ibid., 107)

To deserve the compliment "höchst malerisch" the landscape must have a balanced mixture of wild mountains, romantic ruins and colour; in this instance the whole is kept in perspective by the sailboat on the one hand and the knowledge of the safety of the inn on the other. As such the passage can be compared with that quoted from Schopenhauer above.⁴ Mostly, however, Löwenthal's demand for colour was met only in landscapes possessing a rich vegetation such as the wild rose-bushes and trees of Loch Ness and the fine conifers of Blair Atholl (ibid. 114 & 118).⁵ The parks surrounding country seats were always welcome relief to the German travellers. To Löwenthal Loch Dich seems at first truly picturesque, with trees, ruins and a country mansion; moreover, "eben schallten die durchdringenden, idyllischen Töne der Sackpfeife von dort herüber, ein fröhliches Treiben verkündend ...". But a reminder of the harshness of the present jars upon the German's senses: "aber diessseits verletzte der Anblick elender Hütten der Dürftigkeit Auge und Gemüth auf's Tiefste" (ibid., 113).

Schinkel's 1826 tour of the Highlands followed much the same course as Löwenthal's four years earlier. Having described his impressions of Loch Lomond, he elaborates his idea of the necessary ingredients of a successful landscape picture:

Der Weg bis an das Ufer des Loch Fyne geht durch ganz unangebaute grüne, sumpfige Felsenthäler und zwischen völlig nackten Berggipfeln hindurch, und diese traurige Oede wird nur hier und da durch das Sprudeln eines Wasserfalls in tief eingeschnittenem Felsthale mitten auf grüner Bergwiese unterbrochen. Umsomehr entzückte uns der erste Anblick des Loch Fyne, den wir von oben herunter genossen. Ein angenehmes, in einem Park gelegenes Landhaus bildete zu diesem schönen Landschaftsbilde einen sehr malerischen Vorgrund. (Schinkel, iii, 101)

Two sketches illustrate Schinkel's diary at this point, one of the bare hills around Cairndow, and the other of the contrasting picture of Inveraray, complete with trees, castle, ruin, sailing boat and fisherman. He is delighted by the rich vegetation and varied tree growth of Inveraray, "für Schottland in der That auffallend üppig" (ibid.); in contrast the journey on to Oban seemed all the more desolate, "die Gegend bald wieder

ganz nackt und echt schottisch" (ibid., 103). This collocation, "naked and Scottish", reveals something of the contemporary expectations of the Scottish landscape. It was almost a bonus that Schinkel's party had to experience it all 'from within', since they were obliged to travel crammed into an open cart in pouring rain. Schinkel himself was one of the few to reflect on the never-ending struggle against the elements which was the lot of the locals; at least they benefited from the late light of the long summer evenings.

The West coast, with its "Ossian'sche Inseln und Klippen, die sich malerisch abenteuerlich und schauerlich durcheinander schieben" (ibid., 104), provided plenty subject-matter for the artist. Schinkel sketched several of the scenes round Dunolly Castle⁶. The mist of the Sound of Mull enhanced the artist's view, since it was complemented by sunlight:

Doch gab es hier und da herrliche Sonnenblicke, wo dann die Gebirge, die aus Fels und Sumpf bestehen, in ihrer ganzen Nacktheit bis zur Spitze gespensterhaft hervortraten. An der Küste sind die kahlen Felsen von schwärzlicher Farbe, mit Braun untermischt. Viele einzelne Felseninseln und Vorgebirge strecken sich in's Meer und tragen hier und da einmal einen alten Thurm oder ein Castell ... (ibid., 105)

Schinkel sketched the view of Ardtornish and was later moved to sketch "Einiges von den malerischen Linien von Tobermory und des fernen Ossian'schen Morven" (ibid., 106) on an evening walk on Mull.⁷

Schinkel's use of the word "malerisch" is not merely an indication of popular usage, for he sees each scene in terms of a landscape on canvas, and only complete as a landscape when there are certain human embellishments, whether a ruined castle, a modern country seat, a wooden footbridge, an ornamental plantation or a live group of people or animals. Although this attitude was conditioned by contemporary taste, Schinkel showed a marked awareness of each ingredient which went to make up a "picturesque" landscape. His most vivid account of his impressions of the Scottish landscape is to be found in a letter to his wife, dated 19th July from Liverpool. In it he describes his "grosse Land- und Meerreise in's schottische Hochland und zwischen den Inseln Ossian's, Mull und Morvern bis Staffa und Iona oder Icolmkill" (ibid., ii 160), during which he did not even suffer unduly from seasickness. He continues:

Welch eine Reise! Dieses wunderbare, wüste, menschenleere Land zwischen diesen schauerlichen Klippen, deren Höhlen von vielen Tausenden von Möven stets umschwärmt werden, wo die höheren Berggipfel fast beständig in Nebel gehüllt sind, wunderliche alte, ganz rohe Castells und Kirchen, spärlich im Lande vertheilt, auf den Vorgebirgen stehen und seit Jahrhunderten nicht mehr bewohnt werden; wo die Hütten der Einwohner wie die der Wilden aussehen, ein ärmliches Volk in oft mehrer Meilen weit auseinander liegenden Wohnungen haust, dennoch aber eine Art von modernem Anstrich hat; wo alles barfuss geht, aber doch Häubchen und beschleihte und bebänderte Hüte trägt; wo man oft, so weit das Auge reicht, keinen Baum sieht, sondern nur unendlich weit gestreckte Berglehnen und Thäler mit Heide und Morast und untermischten Felsen sich bis in die höchsten Gebirgsgipfel hinaufziehen, von wilden Schafen, den Ziegen ähnlich, bewohnt; wo man auf den Strassen in elenden zweirädrigen Karren, von einem Pferde gezogen, fortgeschafft wird! - - das Alles macht gegen das reich bebaute England einen sonderbaren Eindruck. Doch sieht man in den lumpigsten Orten und auf der Landstrasse, sowie an den wüsten Vorgebirgen, wo die Schiffer Passagiere einzunehmen pflegen, auch viele Leute wandeln, die ganz so fein wie auf einer Londoner Promenade gekleidet sind; wo diese wohnen, wo sie aus der Wüste herkommen, das begreift man nicht. Hier und da findet sich, wie eine Oase, ein Landsitz mit einem Baumpark, dessen Eigentümer sicher eine Landeseingeborner sein muss, um sich recht heimlich dort zu fühlen. (ibid., 160f.)

Some were to take this one step further and equate "picturesque" with "romantic". Such comments as Otto's of Edinburgh are common: "Das Meer, die hohen Berge und Felsen geben Edinburgh ein pittoreskes Ansehn; durch die anmuthigen Thäler und die kleinen Pflanzungen wird die Gegend oft ächt romantisch" (Otto, 299)

Even the matter-of-fact Kohl was to think involuntarily of landscape painting when faced with a scene enhanced by rich vegetation. As he leaves Scotland, his lengthy geographical account of the rounded Cheviots is dry and uninteresting (Kohl, ii, 229ff.), but, passing Langholm and the treacherous "moving bogs" of Solway Moss, the sudden sight of Eskdale brings his description to life. It seems to him a veritable oasis, the first scene since Stirling worthy of sentimental reflection, and so much so that he cannot resist sitting 'outside', even in the mist and rain. He even wonders whether he has ever set eyes on such a beautiful valley:

In der That, ich rieb mir die Augen, denn ich getraute mir nicht, hier in den barbarischen schottischen Borders an etwas so Liebliches und Schönes zu glauben. ... Seine Bewaldung ist die schönste von der Welt; denn sie besteht meistens aus herrlichen Eichen und Buchen. Und ein jeder dieser Bäume scheint uralt und urkräftig und ewig jung. So viele Tausende ihrer waren, so habe ich doch keinen gesehen, den ich nicht hätte abzeichnen mögen. Jeder schien sich eine malerische Stellung gewählt und seine Aeste wohlgefällig und den Regeln des besten Geschmacks gemäss entwickelt zu haben. Zuweilen weitete sich das Thal, und hübsche Wiesengründe breiteten sich aus zwischen und unter den schattigen Bäumen. Hie und da lag das verfallene Thurmschloss eines alten Border-Chieftains. Zuweilen blickten grasige Kuppen über den Bäumen und den Thalgründen hervor. Man sagt nicht um ein Haar breit zu viel, wenn man das ganze Eskdale eine ununterbrochene Galerie der schönsten Eichbaum-, Wiesen- und Flussgemälde nennt, so schön wie sie nur der Pinsel eines Hobbema oder Ruysdael hervorgezaubert hat. Vollkommen begreife ich es, dass in einem Lande, in welchem es solche Thäler giebt, jene beiden Maler so sehr geschätzt sind. Gar nicht aber begreife ich es, dass weder Hobbema noch Ruysdael dieses Eskdale betreten hat, da ihre Gemälde so treue Copieen dieser Scene zu sein scheinen. (ibid., 234f.)

Perhaps this passage says more about Kohl than about the relative beauties of Eskdale. Willing as he was to adopt the modern trend and visit the Highlands, moreover on foot, his tastes still lay with the rustic pastoral scenes of the previous century. A similar reaction was to come from Förster when he saw the lush, Southern growth of laurel, rhododendron, palm and oak in the Duke of Montrose's park at Buchanan, "der mir bei seiner lautlosen Stille leicht hätte wie ein Zauberwald erscheinen können" (Förster, 321). Carus displayed the same pleasure on finding healthy cedars growing in the well-kept grounds of Hopetoun House. The setting, against the background of wooded hills and the Firth of Forth, greatly appealed to his artistic eye: "Das Ganze hatte etwas, das in der Zeichnung an Bilder von Claude erinnerte - und das will immer viel sagen" (Carus, ii, 287). But Carus was also a scientist, and more than once he expressed his interest in the geological formation of Scotland. As regards the West coast and islands, he exclaimed: "Wie merkwürdig müsste eine genaue Untersuchung dieser Inseln seyn!" (ibid., 224), while he borrowed words from Goethe

on reflecting on the volcanic formations in the country: "dass der Mensch nur das zu verstehen vermöge, von dessen Entstehen er die Erfahrung habe" (ibid., 277). Kohl had seen Scotland's geological structure as being of paramount importance to the ethnographer. He saw the North West/South East divide as indicative of the social, moral, political and linguistic divisions of the country (Kohl, i, 2f.). But for all his sociological concern, Kohl was also receptive to natural beauty and colour. A clear autumn day gave him cause for some rare nature description:

Es war ein wundervoller heiterer, aber kühler Novembermorgen. Die kleinen Wassertümpel im Orte und auf der Landstrasse waren mit zartem Eise überdeckt, und die blendend weissen Gipfel der Berge zeichneten sich mit den schärfsten und feinsten Linien so hell und klar gegen den blauen Himmel ab, wie ich diese in dem grauen und nebeligen Schottland kaum zu sehen erwartet hatte. (ibid., ii, 85)

It was the view from Stirling Castle which was to move him deeply and he writes of it as the finest in Britain (ibid. i, 124ff.). Even then he shies away from describing it: "Der schottische Reisende möchte sich...wünschen, seine Leser hätten nie etwas von Stirling-Castle, vom Forth, vom Strathmore und überhaupt von Schottland gehört. Dann würde er gewiss am besten arbeiten und schildern" (ibid., 116). Since so many have described the view already, the travel writer is cautious in adding his own contribution and holds back. The reader, however, wants to know more and the situation becomes an impasse. As ever, Kohl is honest. He admits to a problem that others seldom acknowledge. It was only those with true literary or artistic talent who could add something new to an account of the oft described Scottish landscape, whether it be Loch Katrine or Staffa. He meanwhile chooses to stay on the safe ground of ethnography.

The delight in vegetation was clearly indicated by Ullrich, who eagerly alerted his senses to Nature on his 1857 visit. He describes the Trossachs:

Sie sind ein über die Thalsohle zerstreutes Chaos von phantastischen Felsgruppen und schroffen kleinen Hügeln, überwuchert von einer fast urwaldisch üppigen und wilden Vegetation, Birken, Eschen, Haselnuss, Hagerosen, Farrenkräutern, Ginsterbüschen, Gesträuchen der verschiedensten Art, alles durchflochten von Epheu

und anderen Rankengewächsen; ein Landschaftsgebilde von wahrhaft überraschender Originalität; ein seltsames, scheinbar undurchdringliches Labyrinth der Natur. (Ullrich, 389f.)

Had more of the travellers visited Scotland in August, their impressions of the Highlands as barren might have been alleviated by the sight of the heather in bloom. In fact very few seemed aware of the plant and it comes almost as a surprise to find Fontane describing it in such supremely Romantic terms as "'die blaue Blume' Schottlands" (Fontane, 189), even though he does so with no little mischief, deliberately romanticising his party's entry into the Trossachs. Over forty years earlier Meissner had been one of the few to take note of the thistle, which he knew as "das Sinnbild Schottlands", with a prominent place in the national coat of arms and in Ossian's poetry (Meissner, footnote, 234). Having learned that the genuine Scotch thistle is traditionally only to be found within the precincts of Edinburgh, Stirling and Dumbarton Castles, he searched for it at Stirling, but in vain. As he toured the Highlands, however, Meissner extolled the beauty of the heather, which prompted him to conclude that the best time to visit the Highlands was the end of August and the first half of September: "Nicht allein, weil dann die Witterung beständiger, sondern auch weil es die Blütezeit der Ericen ist, die indem sie die Gebürge beinahe bis an die Gipfel bedecken, ihnen dann eine rosige ungemein liebliche Farbe verleihen" (ibid. 278). Of the short tours and visits only Moscheles' fell during the winter months and the cold wind and snow of Edinburgh in January was for him a natural cause for regret (Moscheles, 191).

Attempts to describe the Scottish landscape caused many of the visitors to express a feeling of inadequacy. Perhaps ironically, those who did so were also those whose landscape descriptions were amongst the most vivid, and yet the very admission of being at a loss for words can be seen to go hand in hand with a heightened awareness of one's surroundings. Thus Otto, travelling from Inverness to Perth in 1822, finds words fail him on the last stage of the journey⁸ while Pulszky was to echo these thoughts as he travelled the same route in 1836:

Bei der Schwierigkeit durch eine Beschreibung eine wenn auch sehr entfernte Idee von einer Landschaft zu geben, schweige ich lieber ganz über die Einzelheiten dieser Gegenden und die wundervolle Schönheit von Perth, um so mehr, als sie nichts Charakteristisches und Eigenthümliches besitzen, und Reminiscenzen an schon gesehene Landschaften erwecken, so wie Mädchengesichter, in denen die Individualität durch die Schönheit verwischt wird, alle eine Familienähnlichkeit besitzen. (Pulszky, 174f.)

Similar comments were to come from Rellstab as he described the panorama from Edinburgh's Calton Hill (Rellstab, i, 245) and wrote of Loch Katrine as being beyond description. The sentiment becomes meaningless, however, when he continues: "Dennoch gebe ich die meine" (ibid, 338). Kohl and Wichmann were truly aware of their own shortcomings. Both admitted to feeling more at home in the gentler Lowlands than the Highlands. The former seemed familiar and lent themselves to repeated use of the adjective "lieblich" (Wichmann, 76 & 82). Wichman was moved by the sight of Loch Lomond - "ein überraschender und erhabener Anblick" (ibid., 72) - but the Highland landscape was beyond his ken: "Die reizenden Ufer des Loch Lomond, den wir bis zu seiner Südspitze durchfahren, zu beschreiben, will ich nicht versuchen, sondern, lieber einem Jeden, der für Naturschönheiten Sinn hat, bestens empfehlen" (ibid., 73). Wichmann was well aware that, were he to try to describe the scene, he would be up against fierce competition. Like Kohl, he knew his limitations.

The two women travellers express similar thoughts only after they have attempted to describe a scene. As a common artistic device, this of course allows the writer a certain amount of leeway. When suddenly confronted by her first view of Loch Lomond, some fifty years before Wichmann, Schopenhauer reacts in like manner: "Die ganze Gegend ist von so wunderbarer Schönheit, dass jeder Versuch, sie zu beschreiben, vollkommen zwecklos wäre; aber nie werden wir den Tag vergessen, den wir an diesen Ufern verlebt" (Schopenhauer, 342). Coming after her account of Glen Croe,⁹ Schopenhauer's appreciation of the Highland scenery can be seen to be of some original significance. It should be remembered that the Schopenhauers actually visited Scotland seven years before Scott published "The Lady of the Lake" and won the Loch Lomond area international fame.

Lewald was to react similarly to the view from Calton Hill, which she enjoyed on a hot summer's day in 1850:

Trotz der fast senkrecht hernieder fallenden Sonnenstrahlen konnte ich mich kaum von dem Platze losreißen. Ich wusste nicht, wohin ich mein Auge zuerst wenden sollte, denn jedes Einzelne war verlockend und doch der Gesamtblick das Schönste. Zur Linken die Salisbury-Crags mit dem Felsen Arthurs Seat, zur Rechten das Meer, die Stadt Leith mit den majestätischen Schiffen ihres

Hafens, die Seebadeorte Granton und Portobello, lieblich wie italienische Marinen; und hinüber nach den Städten und Flecken der Grafschaft Fife die reiche Zahl der Segelkähne und Dampfbote, welche Letztere von Viertelstunde zu Viertelstunde vom Ufer abfahren. Dann wieder das altersgraue Holyrood, die alte Stadt mit ihrer oft zehn Etagen hohen Häusern, das ernste, drohende Castel; und die Neustadt, mit dem prächtigen Museum, der Royal Institution, und all die Denkmäler und Kirchen, und das Leben in den Strassen, und die pfeifenden Dampfmaschinen der Eisenbahn von Glasgow, die in der Felschlucht zwischen der Altstadt und der Neustadt dahinsausen - es ist eben ein Bild, das sich nicht beschreiben lässt, und das man nie vergessen kann, wenn man es je gesehen hat. Der Eindruck verwirrte mich, mir schwindelte von der Mannigfaltigkeit und Pracht, aber ich hatte doch das Gefühl, als sei mir ein Glück wiederfahren, das ich geniessen und festzuhalten suchen müsste. (Lewald, ii, 200f.)

She attempted the description despite claiming misgivings, and achieved no little success.

Meissner's unashamed Scotomania is reflected in his enthusiastic appreciation of the countryside, especially on his 1817 pedestrian tour of the Highlands, "die ich unter die glücklichsten Erinnerungen meines Lebens rechne" (Meissner, 229), the description of which takes up much of his account. As he travels through the Trossachs to the North and West, the words "nackt", "wild" and "romantisch" abound, used with a relish completely foreign to such visitors as Wichmann. Meissner enjoys images: "es sieht aus, als wenn das zwischen sehr hohen Felsen eingeschlossene Thal in eine Bewegung gerathen sey, wie eine der Siedhitze ausgesetzte Flüssigkeit, und als wären diese Trossacks [sic] die erstarrten Luftblasen" (*ibid.*, 237f.). Wherever he goes he notes the contrasts which so characterise the Scottish landscape and even when he loses his way in a very wet Glen Coe, he seems to enjoy the "Ossianic" weather. There was, however, a limit to the extent of "romantic wildness" which even Meissner could take. The Grampians seemed utterly desolate:

Aber auch nur der, der 3 Tage über diese nackten Gebürge gewandert ist, kann sich eine Vorstellung von dem angenehmen Gefühl machen, mit dem man sich am Ende des vierten bei Blair Athol mit einem raschen Uebergange in eine wahrhaft paradiesische Gegend versetzt sieht. Die Gebürge hin an den Ufern des Garry sind nicht mehr schwarz, sondern mit üppiger Vegetation bedeckt, und so romantisch

wild die Gegend auch ist, so sieht man hier, was sonst nirgends in den Hochlanden, eine Strasse, längst der sich Dorf an Dorf reiht. (ibid., 270f.)

The comments Meissner goes on to make are revealing. He not only praises the enlightened attitude of the Duke of Atholl, but also subscribes to the contemporary view that Man can, and should, enhance Nature. There is a marked difference between this attitude and that of some of the later travellers, many of whom were coming to appreciate Nature entirely for its own intrinsic worth. Even Fontane did not require 'props' for his brand of romantic association. To Meissner "Natur" and "Industrie der Menschen" go hand in hand and only then is "die erhabene Natur" attained:

Giebt es Menschen auf der Erde, die wegen ihren Besitzungen glücklich zu nennen sind, so muss dieses der Herzog von Athol seyn, der diesen durch Natur und Industrie der Menschen gesegneten Winkel sein eigen nennt. Beinahe möchte ich glauben, dass die erhabene Natur auf seinen Besitzungen auch seinen Sinn humaner gemacht habe, als man dieses anderswo auf den Ländereien der reichen Britten findet. Denn während diese ihre Parks verschliessen, und allenthalben grosse Tafeln aufpflanzen lassen, auf welchen alle die, so ungeladen eintreten wollen, benachrichtigt werden, dass man Fussangeln und Fuchseisen gelegt habe, und falls dieses nicht abschreckend genug seyn sollte, hinzugefügt, dass man sie bei etwanigem Uebertreten nach der Strenge der Gesetze verfolgen werde, sind an den Parke des Herzogs keine solche Drohungen zu lesen. Die Wasserfälle des Flüssehens Bruar alhier, haben dem Dichter Burns eine Celebrität verschafft, der im Nahmen des Flusses eine poetische Bittschrift an den Herzog richtete, um sie zu bepflanzen. Das 20 Meilen von hier entfernte Dunkeld, durch das ich den folgenden Tag kam, gehört demselben Besitzer. Es wird mit Recht wegen seiner Lage für den schönsten Flecken in Schottland gehalten, und Natur und Kunst haben alles gethan, um ihn zu den romantischsten zu machen. (ibid., 271f.)

Fontane was to echo some of these thoughts later, albeit from a different angle. Meissner had been genuinely and deeply moved by the Highland scenery and was anxious not to exceed his natural limit. Thus he concludes his Highland tour, from which he returned to Glasgow via Crieff, Loch Earn and the Trossachs, with the following passage:

Ich Übergehe indessen diesen Weg von beinahe 90 Meilen, so viel Seiten er auch in meinem Tagebuche ausfüllen mag, und so angenehm auch die Erinnerungen

sind, die diese erhabene Natur in der Seele des Beschauers zurücklässt. Denn nichts ist leerer und unerpriesslicher als prosaische Beschreibungen von Gegenden, und nur den grössten Dichtern ist es gelungen, nicht indem sie auf descriptive Poesie ausgingen, sondern oft durch ein einziges glückliches aus der Natur gegriffenes Wort in des Lesers Seele ein Bild der zu schildernden Naturscene zu erwecken. An den Hochlanden vorzüglich müssen alle nicht inspirirten Beschreibungen zu Schanden werden, da einer ihrer Hauptreize in den wunderbaren meteorologischen Erscheinungen besteht. (ibid., 278f.)

Meissner had also taken note of Scotland's 'new' landscape, the industrial. It was with no great pleasure that he did so, for the transition from Highlands to Lowlands was marred for him on its account:

Aus den düstern melancholischen Bergen, die ich noch des Morgens durchwandert hatte, war ich schnell in einen der betriebsamsten Theile der Lowlands versetzt, statt des Nebels jener erfüllte hier der Steinkohlenqualm der Dampfmaschinen die Luft, und Fabriken über deren Eingang mit spannenlangen Buchstaben geschrieben stand: No admittance, reihten sich an einander. (ibid., 279)

The irony is implied: the rich of the urban and rural countryside alike allow no admittance.

Over thirty years later, in 1850, Lewald and Rellstab comment in varying manner on Glasgow's industrial landscape. From the blue sky of the friendly landscape along the banks of the Clyde, Rellstab expects a welcome from the city itself, but Glasgow lies under an ever darkening blanket of pollution:

Wie gespenstische Riesen erhoben sich die unzählbaren Dampfschornsteine ringsher, schwarz, grau oder bläulich, je nach ihrer Ferne, die letzten wie bleiche Spukgestalten halb verdämmernd. Der Dunstkreis ist viel trüber als der zu London, die Zahl dieser Verfinsterer - die Chimney's - unendlich grösser. (Rellstab, ii, 85)

Ironically, if one were to replace the word "Dampfschornsteine" with "Felsen", the above passage would be easily comparable with many of the German descriptions of the Highlands. Rellstab's senses were conditioned for a romantic landscape only. Thus a hot September day in the busy and noisy city of Glasgow cannot afford him the desired context in which to view the Cathedral:

Alles das ist nicht geeignet, die innere Sammlung

zu erhöhen, jene heilige Stille und Erhebung des Gemüths zu erzeugen, die zu solchen Orten und Umständen passt. Einsamkeit rings um, die Stille des sinkenden Abends, vollends eine Mondscheinnacht, sind der Hintergrund der Zeit und Stimmung, auf denen sich ein solches Gemälde mit der ganzen Stärke seiner Formen und Färbung uns darstellt. Von alle dem hatte ich nichts.
(Reilstab, ii, 92)

And yet there was rescue at hand: "Doch die Erinnerung an Walter Scott, der eine solche Stimmung meisterhaft vorbereitet, ergänzte das in der Wirklichkeit fehlende vollkommen" (*ibid.*). At the same time the two sights which Reilstab expressly desired to see in Glasgow were on the one hand the Cathedral, as described in Rob Roy, but on the other, "The great Chimney". Having seen both, the relief of being amidst the green and blue of the countryside once more is great:

O wie frei, wie selig athmet man da auf! Wie tief trifft hier Schillers Wort:

Der Hauch der Gräfte
Steigt nicht hinauf in die reinen Lüfte
Dem Qualm der Städte wälzt er sich nach.
Liegt eine Stadt der Welt im Qualm so ist es Glasgow.
(*ibid.*, 105)

Fanny Lewald's reaction is markedly different. Her visit to Glasgow could not arouse an aesthetic reaction, and so she allowed it to affect her social sense. Yet one scene proved an exception to this, namely the sight of the sun setting behind High Green and its monument to Nelson. Here was an industrial landscape worth appreciating:

Rund um die Wiese ragten Dampfschornsteine hervor, deren letzte Rauchwolken, blass und blässer, in immer geringer werdenden Zügen aufwallten. Das Neulicht stand am Himmel, die Sonne ging ungewöhnlich hell unter, und je tiefer sie sank, um so bunter färbten sich die Rauchwolken, so dass sie zuletzt wie lauter sich in Dunst auflösende Fahnen anzusehen waren. (Lewald, ii, 491)

One look at these chimneys a few years later and Fontane was to flee back to the more traditional beauties of Edinburgh¹⁰.

ii. The most commonly described landscapes

Particular landscapes and scenes were described again and again. Many tried to convey the general character of the Highlands, but beyond this the countryside most often described was, predictably, that round Stirling and Edinburgh, the Caledonian Canal and the Falls of Foyers, the Falls of Clyde, Dunkeld and the Pass of Killiecrankie, and, above all, the Trossachs, Loch Lomond and Glen Croe. Such of course was the regular tourist route. Most of the visitors sought to compare Scotland's scenery with Continental landscapes already familiar to them. In doing so, however, several realised that the Highlands in particular could not be compared with such mountainous areas as the Appenines, the Sächsische Schweiz or Switzerland, for they possessed a peculiar character of their own.¹¹

In 1836 Pulszky's Highland tour was accompanied by rain and mist. After having to abandon an attempt to climb Ben Nevis half way up the ascent, Pulszky evidently feels well qualified to describe the Highland scenery. The beauties of the Trossachs, in particular Loch Lomond and Loch Katrine, are familiar to all from the numerous descriptions of them, yet they do not give the typical picture of the Highlands gained on a trip on the Caledonian Canal. The journey is reminiscent of one down the Rhine, although the characteristic and picturesque Rhine villages are notably absent, the ruined castles lying in the valleys rather than high above the river and the yellow moor grass growing on the slopes where the Rhine vines grow (Pulszky 169f.). To Pulszky Lochs Linnhe, Lochy and Eil are truly Highland in character, while the Trossachs lochs are "mehr von allgemeiner, als von nationaler Schönheit" (ibid., 163). His description of the Great Glen region is evocative:

An beiden Seiten der engen Thäler, in deren Mitte an den Ufern der Seen eckige Kastellruinen verfallen, erheben sich unfruchtbare Berge, vom Fusse bis zur Spitze ein schmutzig gelber Moorgrund, von dem sich Hunderte von schäumenden Bächen wie dünne Silberfaden herabziehen. Die Formen der Berge sind kühn, steile Felsen, und zerbröckeltes Gestein machen ihr Besteigen mühsam, und der Nebel, der beinahe immer eine lichte Wolke um ihr Haupt zieht, vermehrt nur das Unheimliche dieser Gegend. (ibid., 163)

Moreover the waters are still, seldom disturbed by infrequent boat traffic,

and the banks have only a few houses and trees on them; even the hills are lonely, and while there is an occasional sheep or horse to be seen grazing on the slopes, one never catches sight of even a shepherd. The sound of a horse's hoof-beat on the road dies away only to be thrown back by the echoing hills and ruins, and the pale sky scarcely ever darkens, the sun attempting to rise even before three in the morning, while even by ten at night there is dismal twilight, neither dark nor light. This sense of twilight is predominant:

An bestimmten Formen, an Klarheit und Leben gewöhnt, findet man sich ganz fremd in diesen nördlichen Regionen und ihrem feuchten Klima; aber man sieht zu gleicher Zeit auch ein, wie das Ritterthum und das Mittelalter immer weiter und weiter von der modernen Zeit gedrängt, ihre letzte Zuflucht nur in diesen Gebirgen suchten und fanden, bis sie endlich auch hier untergingen. (ibid., 164)

It is an interesting observation, especially when one considers that so many of the foreign tourists at that time came to Scotland precisely to find the relics of that bygone age.

As geographers, both Kohl, in 1842, and Kalckstein, ten years later, attempted general comparative characterisations of the Highland scenery. Kohl comes to the conclusion that almost all Scottish lochs and glens are alike, the former very narrow, long and straight, and the latter wild and barren, while the intervening moorland is more desolate than he could have imagined. (Kohl, ii, 59f., 92ff. & 99). He describes only one glen, Glen Ogle, in any detail, and otherwise does not wish to repeat, or even remember, the names of the individual glens and peaks, "weil es sich nicht der Mühe lohnt, wo Alles wüste in einander fließt, die werthlosen Abtheilungen gehörig von einander zu sondern" (ibid., ii, 100). He begins to wonder whether those who had tried to put him off his walking tour, on the grounds that all the mountains, woods, lochs, rivers, burns, and waterfalls were the same and that he would soon suffer a surfeit, had not been right after all. Nonetheless, since so much of Scotland and its islands has this scenery, he feels bound to convey its character to his readers:

Die Hauptsache ist zunächst, dass man nirgends auch nur einen Baum oder Strauch gewahrt. Alles ist öder, kahler Grund. Sowohl die Spitzen der Berge als die Thäler und Einschnitte sind vollkommen nackt und wüste. Dabei ist Alles im

kleinlichsten Style wild. Nämlich alle Abhänge und Glens sind mit unzähligen kleinen und grossen Steinbrocken bedeckt,

(und diese sind meistens mit feuchten Moosen und Heidekräutern bewachsen und glitscherig, und tritt man zwischen die Steine, so tritt man in Morast. Hie und da zeigt sich zuweilen ein grünes Fleckchen. Man läuft mit Begierde darauf zu, weil man hofft, ein Mal den verwundeten Fuss auf ebene Wiese setzen zu können. Kommt man aber hin, so entdeckt man, dass das Grüne nicht munteres Gras, sondern trügerisches Schilf ist, unter dem sich Sumpf angesammelt hat, und mit Mühe muss man, um festen Grund unter der Sohle zu behalten, auf Felsen über dem Schlamm herum klettern. Dabei ist die Farbe der ganzen Landschaft dunkel und melancholisch. Das einzige dem Auge Wohlgefällige liegt auf den höchsten Spitzen, nämlich Schnee, und das einzige dem Menschen Nützliche auf den langen Bergrücken, nämlich Torfmoor, "Miurs" oder "Muir" (ich konnte es nicht recht entscheiden, ob die Schotten so oder so sprachen). (ibid., 100f.)

Lacking an artistic eye, Kohl saw none of the exciting contrasts of colour effected by rapid wind and light change. To him the Highlands were unwelcoming and monotonous, though it should be remembered that at this point he was travelling on foot on a track so poor as to be near invisible. By the time he was safely bedded in the comfortable 'Stuart's Inn' at the head of Loch Katrine, he was more than happy to take his mind off the "Wildnisse" by reading the copy of "The Lady of the Lake" provided for him (ibid., 121). As for the Trossachs proper, Kohl could not see in them the perfect beauty which patriotic Scots and Scottish writers claim they possess. He refers to an Italian, who, in comparing the Scots and Italian lakes, said that the former possess a black beauty, the latter a white; Kohl agrees, finding the lakes of the Trossachs beautiful, but not idyllic. He himself missed the blues of the Alpine views (ibid., 125 ff.).

Kalckstein's reaction was in many ways similar. As an amateur artist he took note of light change and colour, but otherwise he viewed the landscape as an observant scientist. Although his travels in Scotland were hardly extensive enough to justify the following generalised appraisal, written from the Trossachs, his remarks certainly stemmed from his own personal observations:

Die Natur aller schottischen Seen hat etwas bis auf die kleinsten Züge Uebereinstimmendes; kahle, nur am Fuss mit Haselnusssträuchern, Eschen und Eichen bewachsenen Abhänge, dunkle, von feuchten Nebeln bedeckte Wasserflächen, deren Längsaxen in einem merkwürdigen Parallelismus mit den gegen Nordosten reichenden Thälern der Gebirgszüge ausgespannt liegen, und diese trübe melancholische Physiognomie einer eintönigen Schattirung der Felspartien, denen der Lichtreflex und die üppige frische Farbenpracht südlicherer Gegenden, insbesondere einer rheinischen oder schweizerischen Landschaft fehlt. Dennoch ist der Eindruck solcher Natur, die an einen sauber und correct schattirten Kupferstich erinnert, gerade in dieser Fremdartigkeit ein erhabener, wenn auch kein die Sinne blendender, wie ein Gemälde, das uns durch die harmonische Verschmelzung seiner saftigen Farben fesselt.

(Kalckstein, 232)

"Fremdartigkeit" is evidently a key word here. It may seem incongruous that a scene so strange could give the impression of harmony, but this idea is not expressed solely by Kalckstein, and the word used by him and so many of his compatriots when describing the Scottish landscape which bears witness to this strange harmony is "erhaben".

The Trossachs, Loch Lomond and Glen Croe were the subject of countless descriptions¹². The reactions were varied. To Meissner the Trossachs were simply "diese unendlich romantische Gegend" (Meissner, 240). Kohl was fascinated by the trees on Loch Lomond's banks, oaks apparently growing out of sheer rocks, ash on the tips of cliffs and alder and rowans inextricably intertwined (Kohl, ii, 128ff.). Marx, though impressed, was glad to leave Loch Lomond, "da kann auch eine imposante Scenerie für die Dauer ein Bischen zu viel werden und einen ermüden" (Marx, 32). The combination of beauty and wildness was to move Kalckstein deeply. He describes Loch Katrine in terms of picture composition, Ben A'an and Ben Venue providing a perfect framework for the "reizende Skizzen" of the foreground. But the picture is not complete with merely bushes, trees, rocks, mountains and water, since it is alive with wildlife, eagles nesting high on the cliffs, waterfowl on the loch and a heron fishing on the shore. The writer's power of observation gives him the ability to recognise the peculiarity of the landscape:

Die Natur trägt hier das Antlitz einer feierlich ernstesten Schwermuth die in der Seele tief empfundene Akkorde anschlägt. Durch die trübe

Nebelatmosphäre drang hin und wieder ein matter Sonnenblick, der sein Licht auf den eintönigen Haiden reflektirte, welche mit Moorflächen und düstern Wasserspiegeln bedeckt waren, zwischen denen sich sporadisch zerstreut bemoostes Gestein erhob. Ferne ragten die dunkeln Spitzen des Lomond und anderer Bergkuppen wie himmelstürmende Giganten aus den über dem Thal gelagerten Nebeln hervor. (Kalckstein, 234f.)

Ullrich was to be impressed by the mobility of the Loch Lomond scenery. As his boat approaches the north end of the loch, he writes:

Von Moment zu Moment werden die Höhen düsterer und schroffer; man ist wie in eine tiefe enge Spalte eingeklemmt, aus der kein Ausweg möglich scheint; gleichzeitig nimmt die Oede und die Einsamkeit zu. Trotz des hellen Wetters streifen die Nebel unaufhörlich um die Berge, die hier mit Laub- und Nadelholz, dort nur noch mit einem grünen Moosteppich bedeckt sind, während höher hinauf der nackte graue Fels in die Luft starrt. Die Gipfel sind in den wunderlichsten und seltensten Formen von Ecken, Spitzen und Zinnen ausgezackt, was der Gegend eine sehr starke Eigenthümlichkeit verleiht. Die Luft weht so frisch, wie ein Urathem der Natur. Die Wolken, welche dann und wann vor der Sonne vorüberziehen, malen phantastisch gestaltete Schatten in das stille, grossartige Landschaftsbild. Immer tiefer und tiefer versinken Blick und Geist in stummes Anschauen. (Ullrich, 333)

As he travels on by coach from Inverarnan, the road reminds him of those which climb from Lombardy up into the Alps: "Es waltet hier die ganze belebende Frische der Bergnatur" (*ibid.*, 334). Together with this exhilarating mountain scenery goes a sense of desolation and loneliness and it seems a natural transition from the Trossachs to the wilderness of Ossian's country.

Ullrich had to wait, somewhat impatiently, until Inveroran for a real "Ossianic" landscape, but others took the route over Rest and be Thankful and found that quite wild enough. Glen Croe effected in Spiker a sense of "tiefe Melancholie" (*Spiker*, 268); he was one who was unable to share Johanna Schopenhauer's thrill at the very wildness of the scene.¹³ To Meissner the journey along the head of Loch Long and through Glen Croe took him "durch einen der wildesten und romantischsten Theile der Hochlande" (*Meissner*, 246). Like many others he was struck by the strange silence of the mountains¹⁴.

The tourist route took many of the visitors on from Glen Croe to Inveraray, Oban, Staffa and from there through the Great Glen to

Inverness and back down through the Grampians. Some, like Pulszky,¹⁵ chose to compare the voyage up the Caledonian Canal with the Rhine; it was as such that Hallberg-Broich found for once that he could enjoy the scenery, although each time he cares to imagine himself in Italy or Sicily, he is forced to remember he is in Scotland by the sad fact that the mountains are barren and covered only with green and dark rocks (Hallberg-Broich, 67f.). It followed that there are several comparisons between the Rhine Falls and the Falls of Foyers. Some were impressed, deeming the latter one of Europe's most spectacular waterfalls.¹⁶ Others were not; Wichmann, for instance, was far more interested in his fellow passengers (among them the ailing exiled Queen of France) than in the beauty spot (Wichmann, 38f.). Pulszky was favourably surprised, stating that while most of his party had no great expectations of the Falls of Foyers, having seen those of Terni Tivoli, Pissevache and Staubbach, the sight was all the more gratifying. Neither the height of the Falls nor the volume of water could compare with those of Switzerland, yet they remained most interesting because they blended so perfectly into the surrounding scenery:

In einer engen Schlucht, die hohe schwachbelaubte Bäume umgeben, stürzt über zerklüftete Felsenmassen, die hier und da von fahlem Moose bewachsen sind, ein beträchtlicher Bach, dessen Gewässer durch den Moorgrund, den sie durchfliessen, dunkelbraun gefärbt werden, wie ein gährender Wein, in den Abgrund, von wo die Gewalt des Sturzes den schweren gelblichweissen Schaum, der nur selten durch die Strahlen der Sonne mit dem durchsichtigen Farbenspiele des Regenbogens geschmückt wird, in die Höhe peitscht. - (Pulszky, 170)

He concludes by analysing why this sight should have so surprised him: "Nichts war natürlicher in dieser Gegend als ein Wasserfall dieser Art, aber eben darum war er um so überraschender, denn das Natürlichste erscheint uns gewöhnlich am wundervollsten" (*ibid.*). Carus was to be attracted to the scene as a painter and he wished he could have lingered there. Having viewed the lower falls, he continues:

Schöner aber war es, und ganz im grossen Style (etwa an den obern Fall des Reichenbachs erinnernd) als wir weiter am Berge hinaufgestiegen waren, und nun ein schmaler Fusspfad hinaus leitete auf eine jäh vorspringende Klippe, wo man tief in den Kessel des brausenden Falles hinabsehen konnte und wo die Sonne in dem dicht hier wogenden Wasserstaube den schönsten farbigsten Kreis-Regenbogen bildete den ich je gesehen zu haben mich

erinnerte. Gegenüber drängte der starke, auch braun (wie heller Porter) gefärbte, klare Gebirgsstrom aus seiner Felschlucht sich hervor, stürzte wohl einige 40 Fuss senkrecht hinab in die Tiefe, und bildete im Sturz schöne spiralig gewundene, mit hellerem Schaum gesäumte Wellen, bis er unter dem Wasserstaube und dem Regenbogen sich verlor. Es war einer der schönsten Fälle die ich gesehen, und mag wohl der schönste seyn der Grossbritannischen Insel... - Auch die Vegetation ist reich umher, die ersten Gentianen die ich in England und Schottland sah, blühten hier aus dem Grase. Die Waldung besteht wesentlich aus Birken und Kiefern. (Carus, ii, 240f.)

The Falls of Clyde were visited more frequently in the early years of the century¹⁷. Schopenhauer uses a common artistic device in her account of the beauty spot. She writes:

Ganz in Schaum verwandelt, stürzt er hier laut brausend von einer beträchtlichen Höhe hinab, über grosse Felsstücke, und windet sich dann zürnend und schäumend weiter durch das liebliche Thal. Die hohen, malerischen Felsen, bekränzt mit schönem Gesträuche und hohen Bäumen, von welchen wieder leichtere Ephenkränze hinflattern in der vom donnernden Fall ewig bewegten Luft, die grosse Wassermasse, die hier hinunterstürzt, der Kontrast des Schaumes, weisser als Schnee, mit dem dunkeln, im ewigen Thau stets frischen Grün, die Millionen Tropfen, die wie Diamanten im Abendstrahle blitzten, Alles entzückte uns und hielt uns lange fest. Wasserfälle soll man aber nicht malen, weder mit dem Pinsel noch mit der Feder; die Wahrheit dieser Bemerkung fühlt man am lebhaftesten, wenn man den Versuch wagt. (Schopenhauer, 350f.)

Having given of her best in describing the falls, the writer claims that such a scene is indescribable. To Spiker, who viewed the Falls of Clyde in a spectacular state after the rainy summer of 1816, they constituted some of the finest scenery he saw in Scotland (Spiker, 314ff.), though it should be added that he found little else to his taste in the Scottish landscape, apart from Edinburgh and Dunkeld, with their human embellishments.¹⁸ A few years later Meidinger found the Falls of Clyde much less impressive than those of Foyers', although, in keeping with Spiker's attitude, he approved of the mirror, strategically placed for the viewer's benefit (Meidinger, Reisen, 106). By 1850 Brandes was to find the mirror superfluous, since without any help from Man the Falls are already "ein Prachtstück der Natur" and "wird sicher jeden Wanderer bezaubern, wenn er auch alle Wasserfälle der Welt gesehen hat" (Brandes, 12). Brandes refers to Goethe's ballad, "Der Fischer", to support his statement that all rivers are enticing, and in describing the Meeting of the Waters of Clyde and Avon, he goes on

to say that such a conflux is even more fascinating. As to waterfalls, every one in the world is unique,

und der Fall des Clyde war mir darum so anziehend, dass ich den Strom in seiner Felsengasse weithin überschauen konnte, wie er noch kurz vor dem Abgrunde so ruhig und sorglos, gleich Rafaels Engelsgesichtern, hinlief, als wenn er gar nicht ahnte, dass er seinem Falle so nahe war. Dazu kam die herrliche Einfassung der grünen Waldnatur; und um das Romantische noch mehr zu heben, grade dem Sturz gegenüber, ein wenig unter meinem Standorte, blickte von dem steilen Rande des Kessels zwischen Laub der Bäume und Gebüsche melancholisch die Ruine der Burg Cora hervor, von welcher der Fall seinen Namen Cora Linn trägt. (ibid., 11f.)

Contrary to Meidinger's opinion, Brandes considers the Falls of Clyde more dramatic than those of Foyers; evidently the presence of the ruin tipped the balance in Cora Linn's favour.

If Loch Lomond, the Trossachs and the Falls of Foyers were frequently seen in terms of their literary associations, namely through Scott and Burns,¹⁹ the beauties of Edinburgh were extolled by all, often regardless of any poetic or historical associations, and often at great length. The most common approach was that of comparison with a European city such as Berlin or Munich, Rome or Naples, Athens or Constantinople. While the view from Stirling was admired by many, but not all,²⁰ the praise of Edinburgh's situation was unanimous.²¹ As Wichmann was to write: "Doch wer hat nicht von Edinburgh gehört, als von einer der schönsten Städte Eruopas. Eine passendere Hauptstadt für dieses romantische Schottland könnte man wohl schwerlich schaffen" (Wichmann, 2). The fact that Meidinger, who seldom allowed himself any sentimental indulgence, could write the following of the view from Edinburgh Castle is witness to this:

Die Aussicht von hier ist unvergleichlich und hat so etwas Magisches und Romantisches, wodurch sich die Seele unwiderstehlich und ohne dass sie sich selbst Rechenschaft dafür zu geben weisse, angezogen und gefesselt fühlt. Hier steigen duftige und seltsam geformte Berge empor, an deren Fuss sich dichtgedrängte Massen von hohen steinernen Häusern hinziehen, dort ruht der Blick auf grünen Wiesen und heiterer Landschaft und in der Ferne ergiesst sich der weite grosse Meerbusen ... wie ein Schweizersee, voll leuchtender Segel und mit Gebirgen umkränzt. Es ist ein Gemisch von Kühnem und Elegischem, von Grosseem und Wunderbarem, von Heiterem und Lieblichem, was in der Poesie wie in dem ganzen Leben der

Schotten, von der frühesten Vorzeit an bis herab zu unsern Tagen sichtbar ist. (Meidinger, Briefe, 126f.)

The panoramic view of Edinburgh and its surroundings from Calton Hill, and preferably at sunset, impressed the visitors above all²². There are many rapturous accounts of it, some laboured and over-detailed, others over-effusive, but all full of praise. In the 1820's Meidinger still needed the help of Man to appreciate a landscape, writing from Calton Hill:

Besonders bietet dieser Ort bei untergehender Sonne einen Standpunkt dar, wie man ausser der Höhe von Bristol keinen in Grossbritannien mehr findet. Was den Menschen hier am meisten ergreift, und den Eindruck der grossen schönen Natur unendlich erhöht, ist die rege Menschenwelt um ihn her, sind die zahllosen Bildungen und Werke dieser ewig erfindungsreichen Gattung, die die Erde unter dem himmlischen Band der Eintracht und des Friedens selbst im hohen Norden mit schöpferischer Hand zum Paradies umwandelt. (ibid., 136f.)

At much the same time, in 1822, Löwenthal found that Man could also mar the scene by his activities. Having described the ever-changing and varied panorama as "der wundersamste und herrlichste Anblick, welchen des Künstlers Phantasie sich nur erschaffen könnte" (Löwenthal, 124), he adds:

Doch selbst in dieser so prächtigen Stadt, in der Nähe des Meeres und so ansehnlicher Berge, in Strassen, welche füglich nicht breiter und luftiger gewünscht werden können, musste ich die unangenehme Erfahrung machen, wie darin bei regnerischer und nebeliger Atmosphäre dichter, unleidlicher, wahrhaft erstickender Torf- und Kohlendampf, alle Strassen erfüllend, zur Erde schlägt. (ibid., 125)

It was not the Athens of the North but Auld Reekie which left the lasting impression.

The following year the young student, Huber, also paid tribute to the view from Calton Hill. He singles out the green of the Pentlands, the water of Leith flowing into the Forth, the Kingdom of Fife beyond, and the sails and steam funnels of the numerous boats on the blue water. Yet for him, too, full appreciation of the scene is marred:

Meine Beschreibung von Edinburgh soll zeigen, dass dem Bilde nichts fehlt, als es durch entsprechende Menschen- und Viehgruppen belebt zu sehen, allein da ist leider ein hiatus valde deflendus, denn ich kenne in dieser Hinsicht keine unmalerischere, leblosere Stadt als Edinburgh (Huber, 887)

To so many of the travellers of this time no scene was complete without signs of human or animal life. (23) It is this aspect of a "picturesque" landscape which Huber was to compare with the scenes of Spain so familiar

to him:

Wahrlich, das einzige, was noch einiges Leben in das Edinburger Panorama bringt, sind die mit Menschen gefüllten und bedeckten Stagecoaches, die hie und da durch die Strassen rasselnd, und die Kutschen der grossen Welt - aber was ist das gegen den Einzug einer Karavane von Eseln und Mauleseln aus Andalusien, oder Valenzia mit ihren lustigen, bunten, bewaffneten harrieros, oder die abenteuerlichen Kabriolets, welche einem mit dem besten Witze, den sie aufbringen können, die Caleseros auf der Calle de Alcala anbieten, oder gegen die höchst ehrwürdigen Staatskarossen aus dem vorigen Jahrhundert, vor denen ein eben so ehrenfester Kutscher auf ein Paar Maulthieren herreitet, und sie sachte hinter sich herzieht. Hier stehen auch hin und wieder Reihen von Miethkutschen, und die Kutscher mit rothen Brantweingesichtern in abgetragenen Ueberresten modischer Fraks und Redingotten frierend. - Und doch liegt Madrid in einer Wüste und Edinburgh in einem Paradies. - Ob dieser Vergleich und diese Reminiscenzen aus Madrid in einer Beschreibung von Edinburgh wohl angebracht sind, weisse ich nicht, allein sie drängten sich mir unwillkürlich auf; das die letztere Stadt in dieser Hinsicht sehr verliert, wirst du einräumen - und wenn ich nun gar die noch regeren Gruppen und noch erhöhten Farben des Lebens in Sevilla, Granada u.s.w. dagegen halten wollte? - die Schlüsse, die aus diesen beyden Gemälden zu ziehen, will ich dir selbst überlassen.

(ibid., 889f.)

Soon after Huber's visit Schinkel was also to record his impressions of Edinburgh from Calton Hill. He had approached the city from Newcastle and had regretted the lack of mountain views; Edinburgh itself then seemed "ein isolirter Steinhaufen" (Schinkel, iii, 91). His main impressions of the Calton Hill view were recorded in a sketch, but an evening walk up Arthur's Seat moved him to more descriptive writing. It was a landscape complete with scenery and people:

Auf dem Gipfel trafen wir eine Gesellschaft junger Herren und Damen, sowie Landleute mit Dudelsäcken und vielfach ohne Hosen im vollständigsten National-Costüm, was zusammen eine recht pittoreske Staffage abgab. Aber über alle Beschreibung herrlich war der Beleuchtungseffekt der abendlichen Sonne im Meere, in welchem ein Dampfboot seinen langen Rauchsweif wie eine in Nebel getauchte Insel fortzog. Auch von diesem köstlichen Blick entwarf ich eine Skizze.

(ibid., 94) (24)

While Mendelssohn was to compare Edinburgh's setting with Switzerland, Hailbronner compared it with Naples; and while Mendelssohn saw the chief

difference to be in the Scottish mist and haze, Hailbronner missed the Italian sun and air. Yet by moonlight Edinburgh surpassed Naples:

Als endlich die Massen sich verliefen, als das Getöse der Unrath ausführenden Karren lauter tönnten, und die Nachtwächter in ihren schottischen Manteln und mit ihren breiten Laternen Meister der Gasse blieben, trat über den Höhen des Arthurberges der klare Mond hervor und beleuchtete eine Scene, die kaum eine orientalische Stadt bieten kann. Die Contouren der alten Stadt glichen mit ihren hohen Caminen den Zacken saracenischer Mauern und Castelle, und der ganze erhabene Hintergrund schien eine fortgesetzte ungeheure Festung, aus denen die wunderbaren alten Kirchenkuppeln wie Minarets hervorschauten. Aus dem ganzen Dunsthorizonte des bleichen Mondspiegels tauchten aber die unheimlichen Felsen des Castells und Caltonhills gleich Nebelgestalten auf; das ferne Meer warf einen magischen Reflex der silbernen Beleuchtung auf das schwarze, ringsumgränzende Gebirge, und ein ossianischer Duft legte sich über diese bleiche Geistererscheinung, durch welche die tausend und tausend schimmernden Gasflammen der magischen Stadt wie Gestirne ferner Himmel in Überirdischen Schimmer blitzten. Wahrlich, man pilgert so oft in das alte Rom aufs Colosseum, um die Mondbeleuchtung zu bewundern, man gehe und sehe Edinburgh von Caltonhill, wenn der Mond über den Zinnen seiner alten Stadt emporsteigt, und man wird kein schöneres Bild mehr verlangen. (Hailbronner, 335f.)

Not all the accounts concerned the actual landscape. In 1835 Isensee did not give a description of the view from Calton Hill at all, but, typical of his style, presented a series of digressive associations. As he looks down at Leith Walk, joining the town with its harbour, he writes:

Wer hätte, dies erblickend, nicht des Piräus von Athen gedacht und der Mawern, die beide verbanden und jüngst, bei König Otto's Einzug von Nevem mit Myrthen und - o wenn doch unverwelklichen! - Lorbeeren geschmückt wurden. Just in entgegengesetzter Richtung von meinem Platze aus, staunte ich Edinburge Castell an, das, wie die Akropolis über Athen, die Stadt beherrscht und weiter westlich bis nach den Hochgebirgen Schottlands hin, die erhebende Aussicht gestattet; zu jenen Hochgebirgen, deren kalte, reine Luft das menschliche Leben am häufigsten (?) bis über ein Jahrhundert fristen soll! Südlich lag Holyrood, unten vor mir, wo Maria Stuart's Rizio, wie sie später selbst, eifersüchtiger Gefühle Opfer fiel. Ihr Tod bleibt ein Schandfleck in der Geschichte Englands, dessen blühende Gefilde aus derselben Richtung her noch unverwischt mir vorschwebten. (25) (ibid., 131)

On climbing the Castle Hill in 1844, Carus was to exclaim:

wie lag nun dieses Edinburgh vor uns! - Ich habe nicht geglaubt dass mich noch eine Stadt begeistern könnte, aber diese hat es erreicht! - Selbst Rom und Neapel nicht ausgenommen, erkläre ich Edinburgh für die schönste und mächtigstwirkende von allen Städten, die ich kenne. - Das eigenthümlich Kühne, Prägnante dieser Formen macht mir abermals bemerklich, dass am Ende doch die Wirklichkeit Mittel hat, welche auch das abenteuerlichste Schaffen der Phantasie überbieten! - Steht man da oben neben den gewaltigen eisernen Kanonen aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert, und sieht links hinaus auf die blaue See in ihrer breiten Ausdehnung mit ihren Inseln und Schiffen, sieht vor sich Calton Hill, die zweite felsige Anhöhe der Stadt, mit dem hohen Nelson-Monumente und dem Anfange eines dorischen Tempels, welcher die Ähnlichkeit des Felsens mit der Akropolis von Athen vollendet, und blickt endlich rechts hin über die alte Stadt auf den Berg, welcher geologisch durch seine grosse Trappformation als plutonisch sich auszeichnet und bald als Arthur's Sitz, bald nach seinen Contouren, die sich fast gleich denen eines liegenden Löwen zeichnen, als Scottish [sic] Lion aufgeführt wird, so giebt sich eine Macht der Formen kund, wie kaum sonst irgendwo. -
(Carus, ii, 291 f.)

Like Mendelssohn, fifteen years before him, Carus was struck by the confrontation of old and new, strangely in harmony, the whole assisted by Man, yet essentially created by Nature. From Calton Hill on a fine day he concludes: "Hier ein Clima und einen Himmel wie Rom oder Neapel, und man könnte sich das Ideal einer herrlichen Königstadt nicht vollkommener denken!" (*ibid.*, 298).

In the 1850's the contrasting components of views of Edinburgh were to strike several of the visitors. Lewald's thoughts directed her to the social contrasts (Lewald, ii, 267ff.), but Kalckstein saw the whole in terms of landscape painting, writing of the effect of the hills and valleys. He saw the three hills on which the city was built as great natural assets; the architecture had merely enhanced and exploited natural beauty:

... diese Mannigfaltigkeit so heterogener Eindrücke giebt Edinburg ein so pittoreskes Ansehen, dass ich mich nicht entsinne, jemals durch den ersten Anblick einer Stadt in so frappanter Weise berührt zu sein. Edinburg trägt das Gepräge eines weniger prunkenden, als erhaben schönen Charakters; es ist die Stadt

einer exklusiven Vornehmheit; in der imponirenden Majestät seiner Erscheinung ein wahrhafter, recht eigentlicher Königssitz, vor welchem die grosse Zahl unserer deutschen Residenzen zu einer unbedeutenden Winzigkeit zusammenschumpft.

(Kalckstein, 188)

Rellstab's reaction gives further indication of his conception of "romantisch":

Immer wieder still stehend in staunender Betrachtung dieser grossartigen Mischung von Landschaft und Architektur, dieser Anlagen der Pracht und des Glanzes, mit jener grauen ehrwürdigen Alterthümlichkeit; dieser freien, kühnen Verschmelzung der romantischen, wilden Landschaft, der schroffen öden Felszerklüftungen, mit allem was die Rüstigkeit des Lebens und Verkehrs frisch sich regendes hervorruft ...

(Rellstab, i, 217)

Although Rellstab found that Edinburgh lacked Italy's clear air on the one hand, and a natural vantage point on the other, he, like Kalckstein, views the whole as "ein Rundgemälde im grossartigsten Landschaftsstil" (ibid., 221). He feels at a loss for words as he views the town from the Castle: "Ach trefflichste Leser, was vermag die Federzeichnung diesem Bilde voll der saftigen Farben und Formen gegenüber, in der heitern Sonne des blauen Septembertages!" (ibid., 220).

Förster's enthusiasm is even more readily conveyed to his reader. His description is emotional, but also clear and concise:

Ach! es ist über alle Beschreibung herrlich, und man getraut sich nicht einmal, lange nach einer Richtung zu sehen, aus Besorgniss das Bild von der entgegengesetzten Seite zu verlieren. Und das alles hat man auf einem kleinen Punkt! Ja, auf einer alten Kanonenkugel sass ich und drehte mich fast mechanisch rechts und links, und sah bald in die Tiefe, bald in die Weite, Gott verzeih' mir's, so gut wie gar nicht in die Höhe. Wer mag in die Wolken sehen, wo Himmel auf Erden ist? Fremde kamen und gingen - ich blieb. Es wurde deutsch neben mir gesprochen - ich sah mich nicht darnach um. Nur als eben die scheidende Sonne den Thron des alten Artus und seinen grünen Fussteppich mit Gold Übergoss und über sein Haupt einen leichten Purpurteppich spannte, und eine Gesellschaft Damen neben mir der Scene den Rücken kehrte und gehen wollte, packte ich die nächste - glücklicherweise war sie über die Gefahr einer gewaltsamen Entführung bereits hinüber - beim Arm, und bat sie, das Schauspiel nicht in seinem glänzendsten Augenblick zu verlassen.

Ich war auf diese Weise wieder mit der Menschheit in Verkehr getreten, und da ohnehin der Vorhang nun niederfiel, erinnerte ich mich, dass ich Briefe abzugeben hatte, und ging langsam in die Stadt hinab. (Förster, 303f.)

Although this is reminiscent in style of Rellstab's exaggerations, Förster's exuberance does not seem overdone; as an artist his senses were heightened and he saw the whole from the perspective of the canvas, like Schinkel a quarter of a century earlier. When, next morning, he climbs Calton Hill at first light, Förster finds the view of the "Wunderstadt ... viel malerischer, weil alles in geschlossenern Gruppen zusammentritt" (ibid., 304) Lacking paintbrush and colours, he feels unequal to the task of verbal description:

Vielmehr möcht' ich jedem der im Schweiss der Arbeit, im Staub der Geschäfte, unter der Last der Sorgen steht, und sonst einer Lebenserquickung bedarf, Flügel ansetzen zum Fluge hieher auf Calton-Hill, an einem Sommersonnenmorgen, wie der heutige. Wenn ich aber auch meine Hand von dem Rundgemälde zurückziehe, will ich mich doch nicht der Lust begeben, einzelne bedeutende Punkte in demselben mit Ihnen oder für Sie aufzusuchen. (ibid.)

The description which follows concerns the effect of the city's architectural style on the landscape as a whole.

If Rellstab had used his own somewhat restricted understanding of the word "romantisch" to describe Edinburgh, Ullrich was to elaborate on this. He was one of the few to visit Edinburgh at the end of his tour and he had looked forward to it with anticipation:

Alle Welt hat oft genug davon gehört, dass sich Edinburgh sowohl in seinen städtischen Prospekten, als ganz besonders wegen seiner ausgezeichneten Lage mit den schönsten Plätzen der Erde messen kann. Dieser Ruhm, der sich zugleich auf den landschaftlichen Rundblick erstreckt, dessen man von den vorhingenannten breiten städtischen Hügeln aus genießt, ist keineswegs übertrieben. Die Situation der Stadt ist eine ganz eigenartige. (Ullrich, 401)

As he continues to describe the city, Ullrich is reminded again and again of the Italian landscape with which he was already so familiar. Of the view from Calton Hill he writes:

Es ist eines der grössten und herrlichsten

Panoramen, in dem das Auge von diesem Punkte aus umherschweifen kann; Land und Meer, Berg und Thal, eben so reich an Abwechslung der Gegenstände, der Farben und Formen, wie durch die schönen Linien ausgezeichnet, welche den Horizont bilden; ein nicht unebenbürtiges, nordisches Seitenstück zu der prächtigen Rundschau auf der Höhe von Camaldoli bei Neapel oder auf dem Gipfel von Monte Cavo im Albanergebirge bei Rom. (ibid, 404f.)

Once more he has taken note of that which is so typical of Scottish landscape, namely "Abwechslung der Gegenstände, der Farben und Formen". But there is one other aspect of the landscape which is peculiar to Edinburgh and which makes Scotland's capital all the more enticing to European visitors. The sight of the city below him can only inspire Ullrich to highest praise. He begins the description with an expressive exclamation, "Und welch' eine Aussicht!" (ibid. , 402) and he concludes:

...das Ganze ein Anblick, eine Situation, so malerisch wie gewiss nur wenige Prospekte, und noch mehr, so originell und namentlich von jener Eigenthümlichkeit, auf welche kein anderes, als das Wort "romantisch" in seiner vollsten Bedeutung passt. Edinburghs Lage und Aussehen ist im wahrsten Sinne romantisch, und diese Romantik unterscheidet als charakteristisches Merkmal die Schönheit der schottischen Residenz von den Panoramen anderer Städte, die wie Neapel, Genua, Konstantinopel, Stockholm u.s.w. wegen ihrer herrlichen Lage gepriesen werden. (ibid., 403)

Thus Edinburgh's situation proves it to be a fitting capital city for a country much endowed with scenic beauty. More than most visitors Ullrich was able to enjoy and appreciate the landscape for its own sake as well as for its associations; the unsurpassed "Romantik" of Edinburgh and its surroundings was thus a fitting climax to his tour of Scotland.

Ullrich's 1857 tour marked a new approach, for the express purpose of his visit was landscape appreciation. Fresh from impressions of the Manchester Art Exhibition, his senses were ready alerted to Scotland's landscape. Having spent weeks in Manchester revelling in the art, but growing tired of his urban surroundings, he finds the transition from appreciating landscape painting to landscape itself both natural and welcome, "eine Erquickung in der Natur der schottischen Berge" (ibid., 317).

Ullrich makes his purpose abundantly clear. In no way does he wish, (after the manner of Reilstab), to make of his journey "eine Art von Novelle mit einem bunten Personal und einer spannenden Entwicklung" (ibid., 330). His objective is indisputable and he presents it as a *fait accompli* before his readers:

Ich wandte meine Aufmerksamkeit vorzugsweise der Natur, dem landschaftlichen Eindruck zu, um dessenwillen man ja eben zumeist die Hochlande besucht. Und diesen Eindruck zu schildern ist mein Hauptbemühen. Ich will es in schlichtester Weise versuchen, der Phantasie des Lesers Bilder der schottischen Seen und Berge, Ansichten schöner Punkte, kleine Aquarellen mit Worten zu malen. Oder vielmehr, ich will die Stimmung wiedergeben, welche aus der Konfiguration und dem Wesen der Landschaft hervordringt, den Akkord, dem die eigenthümliche Natur der Hochlande in der Seele des empfindenden Betrachters anschl.ägt.

(ibid.)

As with his fellow art critic, Waagen, the peculiarity of the Highland scenery was one of Ullrich's chief impressions of Scotland's landscape, its variety effected by sudden changes in the weather. The following passage, describing an early evening scene on Loch Linnhe, is typical of his style:

Von Südost erhob sich ein kräftiger Luftzug; der Regen liess nach, die Nebel huschten von dannen, die Küsten wurden klarer, die Wolken am Himmel zertheilten sich, die Sonne zückte zuerst einzelne gelbe, scharfe Lichter durch die feuchte Atmosphäre, bis sie zuletzt in voller Abendgluth hervorbrach. Es war ein glorreicher, wunderbar entzückender Anblick. Der frische Seewind reinigte die Luft. Die Küste zur Linken, in deren Nähe sich der Dampfer hielt, stand in der prächtigsten Beleuchtung. Sie bildet tausend kleine und grössere Buchten, vor- und zurückspringende Ecken. Bald treten die Berg- und Felsenabseukungen bis ans Meer heran, bald weichen sie landeinwärts, um einen breiten Uferstriche Raum zu geben. Das saftige, feuchte Grün funkelt förmlich im Abendschein und die grauen Felsen färben sich mit einem ins Violette spielenden Hauch. Geradeaus steuert das Dampfschiff auf die liebliche, in einer sanften Fläche hingestreckte Insel Lismore zu, die in einem matteren Chrysoprast_on schimmert. Weiter in der Ferne thürmen sich die hohen Spitzen der umfangreichen Insel Mull auf. Nach Westen hin laufen noch immerfort die Berge von Morven, denen sich die Sonne zuneigt. Die grosse Wasserfläche ist spiegelblank. Flatternde Möven baden ihre Fittige im goldigen Aether. Alles glänzt und leuchtet, wie nach einem Gewitter. Die ganze Natur athmet Klarheit, Frische und Erquickung.

(ibid., 347)

In his genuine enthusiasm, Ullrich has managed to convey just such "Klarheit", "Frische" and "Erquickung" in his description. He really allows himself to become involved in the scene he describes; all his senses are alert.

Later, Nature rises to the occasion on a trip to Staffa. The bright clear weather fills him with a feeling of exhilaration, a feeling which is all the more intensified once he is out on the ocean. Of all the travellers, Ullrich enjoyed Nature for Nature's sake:

Man merkt wahrlich, dass man auf dem eigentlichen Weltmeer, auf dem erdumspannenden Ocean fährt, auf einem Meere von ungleich grossartiger und energischer Aeusserung seines Wesens, als alle die kleineren Wasser, die man kennen gelernt, als das Mittelländische Meer, als Ost- und Nordsee. Man merkt es zunächst am meisten an dem Riesen-athem seiner Ruhe. Es war als ob die weite Wasserwelt einen Festtag feiere; so herrlich rollte weiter draussen alles Gewog im Widerschein der hohen Sonne, in unermesslichen, schimmernden, blitzenden Silberfluthen. (ibid., 353)

iii. Fontane and Landscape

By the time of Fontane's visit in 1858 appreciation of the Scottish landscape was nothing new to readers of German travel accounts. Gradually the travellers had moved from appreciation of "the mountain and the flood", as conditioned by Ossianic mood, to that of Scott association, and from preference for picturesque landscape, as advocated by Gilpin, with human embellishments where necessary, to a new awareness of Nature for its own sake. It was nothing new for Fontane to regard landscape solely in terms of its associations. Indeed, one could argue that it was a retrograde step; ever since Emilie Harnes German visitors in Scotland had been viewing the landscape through the eyes of Ossian and Scott. Fontane, with knowledge of at least some of his predecessors, (Ullrich above all), was faced with the problem of how to bring originality into his landscape description. He approached this effortlessly, since in his genuine enthusiasm he was able to use his narrative skill to add a spontaneity and directness to his account. It was as if he saw the old landscape, with its by now familiar associations, as new. At the same time he never lost sight of the present, while concentrating on the past. Before arriving in Scotland he was already better acquainted with the country's past than any of his predecessors, but he needed still to experience for himself the Scottish landscape, in order to complete the picture. As Charlotte Jolles points out, Fontane, in Jenseit des Tweed, gives both historical and scenic background to his ballads:

It was only now that Fontane was able to experience the scenic atmosphere. The relation of Scottish scenery and balladry was very obvious so that Fontane indulges in broad descriptions of scenery. Yet on the whole, in his ballads as well as in Jenseit des Tweed the human side has the predominance over nature.

(Jolles, Theodor Fontane and England, 92)

In a sense there are two landscapes in Jenseit des Tweed, that of the present and that of the past. Nature is the bridge between them. The "human side", of which Jolles writes, could also be seen as the "romantic" side. Thus, in contemplating the view of Edinburgh from the Castle Hill, Fontane concentrates on the contrast effected by Man each evening when the bright lights of the town are lit against the grey-black buildings and mist. The mist itself is "jener graue

Nebelschleier, der den Zauber dieser nordischen Schönheitsstadt vollendet" (Fontane, 15), yet, ironically, the magic is only truly complete when the lights are lit against the darkness and bring about "das Zauberspiel von Schatten und Licht" (ibid., 16). Later, when he walks to St. Anthony's Chapel, it is not the picturesque aspect of either the ruins or Salisbury Crags which he emphasises, but the "Anblick eines Bildes von eigenthümlichem Reiz" (ibid., 117), namely the three children and the young man at the well. Fontane's reaction is reminiscent of Marx's encounter with the young girl at the Falls of Bracklinn.²⁶ There is no reflection on the social implications of the scene, which is only enhanced by the discovery of the old man, lying with his bagpipes beside the dying fire. It is a romantic scene which could well have been written fifty years earlier and leads Fontane into a concluding paragraph of pure nature description. As such the episode is like an antidote to the startling 'discovery', earlier in the chapter, of modern Scotland's 'other' side. The Calton Hill monuments, commemorating the creators of this 'other' Scotland, had alarmed Fontane and he had escaped into Nature with relief. On other occasions the irony has a humorous note, directed as much at Fontane himself and his attitude to the landscape. His description of the moonlit seascape at Oban is conventional, although enriched by his imagery of the stage:

Zu der ewigen Schönheit des Oceans gesellt sich hier ein so besonderer Reichtum von flachen Inseln und hohen Vorgebirgen, dass man zweifelhaft wird, wem denn eigentlich das Terrain gehört, dem Land oder dem Meer, und in den Bühnenraum eines Riesen-theaters zu blicken glaubt, dessen ohnehin weit gedehnte Perspektive durch allerhand Seitencou-
-issen bis in's Unendliche zu wachsen scheint.

(ibid., 271)

Yet neither land nor sea can be foremost in the reader's mind, when the next sentence leads to a mundane conclusion and interruption:

Wir genossen in stiller Andacht des herrlichen Schauspiels, als das oft gehörte: "if you please, gentlemen, tea is ready", unsern Blick von der mondbeschiedenen Bucht zurück in unser Zimmer lenkte, dessen Tisch inzwischen zu einer leidlich wohlbesetzten Tafel geworden war. (ibid.)

It is almost as if Fontane is relieved to be able to return to the present and describe his fellow guests. This is quite different from the

comparable passage in Rellstab's work (Rellstab, ii, 23ff.).

Fontane seldom uses landscape description for its own sake, but to introduce the setting of a literary or historical anecdote. On driving through the Pass of Killiecrankie, for instance, he shows himself to be acutely aware of the natural beauties around him - "das ganze Bild war so reizend, dass ich begierig war, nichts von seiner Schönheit zu verlieren" (ibid., 217) - but, having described "die romantische Scene" (ibid., 216) in the light of Scott's Trossachs, it is clear that the scenic description is in fact leading Fontane impatiently towards recounting the events of the Battle of Killiecrankie and of the part played by Bonnie Dundee (ibid., 215ff.). For those of his predecessors who had appreciated the Pass of Killiecrankie, the natural beauties of the landscape had been predominant.

Fontane was careful to qualify his landscape descriptions. In contemplating the view from Inverness Castle, he relies on evocative and personal imagery rather than detailed and realistic description. The view is "sehr schön, und doch wiederum noch anziehender und reizvoller, als sie schön ist" (ibid., 233). At once the imagination of the reader is caught and it is no surprise that "noch anziehender und reizvoller" should be qualified by the inclusion of "romantisch". Fontane continues: "Ein romantischer Zauber liegt über dieser Landschaft, ein Zauber, gegen den sich auch der nicht verschliessen kann, der keine Ahnung davon hat, dass jemals ein König Duncan lebte, und ein Feldherr Macbeth, der ihn ermordete" (ibid.). The use of the word "romantisch" has thus led him easily to historical association, but this is only half the picture, for the present is not obscured by the past and both are interdependent. The mood evoked by the historical association is wistful and melancholic, "ein Ton stiller rührender Klage durchklingt das Ganze, wie das Gefühl eines scheidenden Frühlings, eines kurzen Glücks" (ibid.). But this mood lingers on into the present: the corn fields may seem golden and fertile, "aber die Fülle, der Segen ist nur ein Gast hier, ängstlich, schüchtern, immer bereit, den eingebornen Gewalten das Feld zu räumen, den Sturm und der Oede" (ibid.). It is the mountains not the cornfields that are truly in charge: "Die Natur nordlicher Gegenden kommt über ein Herbstgefühl nicht hinaus. Es war mir, als müssten die Sommerfäden still und

gechäftig an mir vorüber ziehen" (ibid.).

To Fontane's contemporaries the concept of "Natur" was bound closely to picturesque and romantic landscape description. This point is made clear in the review of Jenseit des Tweed in 'Das Deutsche Museum'²⁷. Fontane is seen to be a "Meister der landschaftlichen Schilderung". In evaluating this, the critic writes:

Sein Hauptaugenmerk und der eigentliche Gegenstand seiner Neigung bleibt aber doch immer die Natur oder richtiger gesagt das Landschaftliche, indem wir dabei zugleich an alle jene Bauwerke, jene Burgen und Schlösser, jene Ruinen und Monumente denken, die einer Landschaft zum edelsten und bedeutungsvollsten Schmucke dienen.

('Das Deutsche Museum', 26.7.1860, p. 143)

Fontane's perception of landscape had been influenced by Scott rather than Gilpin, but the picturesque elements were just as integral to a scene, since they held the key to the poetic past. In this light Herbert Knorr stresses the different objectives of Ullrich and Fontane in their respective travel accounts.²⁸ While Ullrich set out to "paint pictures with words", Fontane looked for historical and literary association in the landscape. Having found the poetic inspiration he sought, he could not separate Nature from the poetic associations: "Wie in der Mark so seien auch in Schottland Geschichte und Landschaft nicht mehr voneinander zu trennen, darauf wies Fontane immer wieder hin" (Knorr, Fontane und England, 40). One must therefore look to Fontane's technique to see how his method differed from other travel accounts.

The 'Lochleven-Castle' chapter (Fontane, 381ff.) gives all the ingredients of Fontane's landscape description in a few pages. First there is the literary quotation from Michael Bruce, then the rapid reminder of the castle's links with Mary Queen of Scots, followed by the sudden return to the present and the tourism trade and quick reference to the rail journey. Having taken his readers back to the time of Sir Patrick Spens, Fontane leaps forward once more to Kinross' Salutation Inn and the salmon trout, then back again to the age of Percy and Douglas, using his guide's reaction to lead easily into the main topic of the chapter, the story of Mary's escape. Throughout this Nature is useful to Fontane to create the mood, evoke imagery - "als spräche die Natur" (ibid. 382) - but above all atmosphere - "die Klänge eines alten Liedes schmeichelten sich in mein Ohr" (ibid.).

It is not the landscape itself that wins out in the end, but the poetic associations:

Ueberhaupt wird der Osten Schottlands ohne Noth auf Kosten des Westens vernachlässigt. Was dieser an Grossartigkeit der Formationen voraus hat, ersetzt der Osten reichlich durch Lieblichkeit, und Leben in der Landschaft, und durch jenen Reiz, den ihm Sage und Geschichte verleihen.
(ibid., 384)

One must agree with Helmuth Nürnberger's statement that "die Natur blieb für Fontane auch in Schottland ... Szenerie" (Nürnberger, Der frühe Fontane, 251), yet at the same time one must recognise that, however intangible, "Natur" was for Fontane the vital link between "Romantik" and "Prosa", past and present, the one constant in a scene of change. Fontane's attitude to landscape and poetic association was in itself nothing new, but the balance was different. Although he could well appreciate the natural properties of a landscape, this was never enough. Perhaps more than any of his predecessors in Scotland, Fontane needed Nature to lead him into the past.

iv. Conclusion

In conclusion it can be said that a general pattern of growing awareness of Nature's intrinsic beauties emerges, the earlier travellers preferring those 'romantic' scenes 'improved' by Man, the later visitors more able to appreciate natural beauty in a landscape. There were, however, exceptions to this. The topographical writers, Nemnich in the 1800's and Meidinger in the 1820s, despite liberal (or convenient) use of the word "romantisch", were concerned to report on the physical properties of the land, while Schopenhauer in 1803 and Meissner in 1817 displayed an unusual awareness of Nature. Several of the later visitors could not rid themselves of the idea that a landscape is enhanced by man-made (or 'man-destroyed') embellishments. Only Ullrich viewed the landscape solely in terms of Nature: to him poetic or historical associations enhanced an already beautiful scene and were almost incidental extras.

Three passages, from the 1830's, 1840's and 1850's, can serve to sum up. On his 1852 visit, Kalckstein was deeply moved on contemplating the waves at Portobello:

...welch' eine erhabene von Anmuth und gleichzeitig von Majestät durchdrungene Naturdichtung. Was bedarf es mehr als der Hingabe eines gläubigen Herzens an das Walten einer göttlichen Macht, welche die Menschenschicksale wie die Gesetze der Natur nach dem unerforschlichen Rathschluss ihrer ewigen Weisheit lenkt. (Kalckstein, 218f.)

Man must acknowledge Nature as the creator of any landscape and it is Man's duty to Nature to interpret and appreciate. Later Kalckstein was to be struck by the beauty of the scene he contemplates from his hotel bedroom in Princes Street. The flowers in the Gardens are in full bloom and the lights of the Old Town gleam across at him. Once more he becomes nostalgic, moved by the beauty of the night:

Die ganze Natur athmete eine tiefe, feierliche Stille und der über dem unvergleichlichen Bilde gewölbte Sternenhimmel steigerte meine Empfindungen zu den erhabendsten, heiligsten Ahndungen. In solchen Momenten sind wir uns mehr denn je des Waltens einer höhern Allmacht bewusst; es sind das Augenblicke einer tiefern Einkehr in uns, in denen ernste, heilige Vorsätze die Pulsschläge unseres Herzens schwellen. Mächtig ergriffen

und von unaussprechlichen Gefühlen bestürmt, ward es mir klar, dass dem Bewusstwerden eines solchen innern Glücks die Kraft der Veredelung und Heiligung unserer Menschennatur innewohnt. Meine ganze Vergangenheit wurde in mir lebendig und rief die Erinnerung an alle bedeutungsvollen Momente meines verflissenen innern Lebens wieder in mir wach, und auf den beflügelten Schwingen der Sehnsucht schweiften meine Gedanken nach meiner Heimath und sandten Grüsse nach meinen fernen Lieben herüber.

(ibid., 221f.)

This appreciation of Nature as the manifestation of a higher being, with power to touch the innermost self of Man, was of general and not Scottish concern, but for those who expressed similar thoughts²⁹ Scotland's landscape can be seen to have encouraged such reflections. It was in the Highlands that the travellers confronted Nature in all her power and, accordingly, it was with the Highland scenery that they matched their expectations. Despite any individual awareness of the peculiar properties of the Scottish landscape, the average German visitor continued to interpret "Scottish" as possessing those attributes already instilled in their minds by Ossian and Scott. The more they experienced "Ossianic" mists or came face to face with the Scott settings, the more enlivened their accounts became.

In 1836 Hailbronner gave his assessment of the Highland scenery:

Ich habe in keinem Gebirgslande solche wilde grausenerregende Bergschluchten und solche rauhe Landschaften gefunden, als in dem Hochlande. Und wo fände der Genremaler reichere Stoffe, als an diesen prächtigen Seen, dem Loch-Katarina [sic], wo das Fräulein vom See, und dem Loch-Lachy [sic], wo Waverley spielt, oder in den Schluchten des mit Schnee bedeckten Ben Nevis, oder auf den Morehills, [sic] oder an den prächtigen Katarakten von Foyers, oder in den wilden Berg- und Wasser-Stürzen von Southerland [sic], oder in den wundervollen Orkney- und Shetlandsinseln, oder auf den Hebriden, diesen Zauber-Eilanden Skye, Mull, und endlich in dem wundererfüllten Staffa, der reichsten und schwersten Aufgabe, die ein Maler lösen sollte und die noch keiner befriedigend gelöst hat?

(Hailbronner, 309f.)

Eight years later, in 1844, Carus also saw the Highlands as potential subject-matter for an artist. The journey along Loch Awe was enhanced by ruins and waterfalls, but it was the sight of Loch Etive

which made him bemoan the lack of time available for committing the Scottish landscape to his sketch-book.:

Im Vorgrunde die braunen, Seetang-bedeckten Ufer, die fliegenden Möven, darüber der graue Himmel, und im Hintergrunde die blaulichen Berge! - Es gab ganz merkwürdige Bilder von denen ich nur einige gewünscht hätte in Farben skizziren zu können, um Freunden und Bekannten die deutlichste Vorstellung von dem zu überbringen was man "schottische Gegend" benennen darf. -

(Carus, ii, 205)

b) WILDLIFE

An awareness of Nature did not always go hand in hand with appreciation of landscape. Undoubtedly many naturalists did visit Scotland during the period of study, but the German travel accounts show that one did not have to be an amateur naturalist to enjoy a Scottish tour. On his trip to Staffa in 1836, Pulszky refers to a botanist from the Isle of Man and a medical student, who searched for plants and shells respectively when the party landed on Iona (Pulszky, 156). Even if Pulszky himself was unimpressed by their zeal, such activities were certainly a regular occurrence on contemporary tourist excursions. Of the German visitors, however, even those who tramped the Highlands on foot - and one thinks of Meissner, Kohl and Wichmann in particular - paid scant attention to the wildlife, which was after all an important ingredient of the artist's landscape that they enjoyed. Wichmann did show a certain awareness in reporting from the North that, "In den Tagen, wo ich in diesen Bergen umherirrte, habe ich keinen einzigen Singvogel gehört, zuweilen nur sah ich einen verirrtten See- oder Moorvogel" (Wichmann, 42), but this was a negative reaction. Wildlife, especially the introduced game, was certainly in evidence for those who had eyes to see it. Even at the turn of the century Nemnich had taken note of the extent of Scotland's wildlife, from the many animals, especially deer, in the hills of Argyll and pine forests of Rosshire, to the abundance of rabbits on the islands of Coll, Orkney and Unst (Nemnich, 544, 594, 713, 719 & 728). In the woods of the Great Glen he saw both roe and red deer, large herds of goats and the blue and common hare, while he reports that on Canna "Ratzen in einer sehr beschwerlichen Menge" are to be found (*ibid.*, 590 & 714). He writes of the many seals, hunted by the locals, on the Caithness coast, especially in the caves between Duncansby Head and Wick, and also of the seabirds to be found on the imposing cliff coast between Aberdeen and Peterhead, especially at the famous and majestic site of the Bullers of Buchan and on the nearby island of Dunbuy (*ibid.*, 597 & 582), and on those islands where seabirds were an important part of the inhabitants' staple diet, namely St. Kilda and Orkney (*ibid.*, 718f.).

Most of the German visitors were inland dwellers, and as such, it is hardly surprising that accounts of seabirds are fairly common. Sights such as the birds on the Bass Rock were a real novelty. The fact that the Rock was featured, along with Edinburgh, Holyrood House and Staffa, as one of the "Kunst- und Natur-Wunder des ganzen Erdballs" in Strahlheim's Wundermappe,³⁰ shows that its fame was widespread by the 1830's. Before this date, too, there are German accounts of the Bass Rock. Namnich writes of the island's abundant bird life and gives special mention to the Scots or Solan Goose, the "Pelecanus Bassanus" (Nemnich, 489), and Meidinger was also to single out the gannet in his account of the Rock, with its sweet spring and green grass and many rabbits (Meidinger, Briefe, 123f.). Meidinger describes how the local people climb the cliffs to gather the down of the seabirds which they sell (ibid.). Strahlheim's description was to include an account of the bird hunting (Strahlheim, 318f.), a practice whose dangers and skills Nemnich had indicated in his accounts of St. Kilda and Orkney (Nemnich, 718f.). As if predicting Strahlheim's work, Huber referred to the Bass Rock as "wunderlich" when he sailed past it in the early 1820's. He was astonished to see the Rock rising so unexpectedly out of the water, "wie eine ungeheure Tonne, die Mitten im Meer schwimmt" (Huber, 877), and surrounded by the inevitable cloud of screaming, diving seabirds. He is reminded of Mucklewarth's account of his imprisonment on the island in Scott's Old Mortality:

Dass ein ehrlicher Mann, den man einsam auf diesen Felsen sperrt, beym Rasen des Meeres und dem wunderlichen betäubenden Geschrey der Vögel und eigenen wilden Gedanken etwas wahnsinnig werden kann, dachte ich mir ganz leicht. (ibid.)

Yet despite the noise of the birds, "der Bass erhebt sich still und ohne vorliegende Klippen aus dem Wasser" (ibid.). Recently a boat had sailed right into the island in thick mist but had escaped almost undamaged and Huber's ship sails so close that he feels he could reach out and touch it.

Another description of the Bass Rock comes from Carus, who sails past it on the steamer en route for home. Having described the impressive form of the rock, rising so abruptly out of the sea, he adds "er gewährt auch das grosse und eigenthümlich belebte Bild einer hochnordischen Vogelinsel im vollsten Maasse." (Carus, ii, 321).

He gives a lively description of approaching the island:

Denke man sich nämlich die hohe, unzugängliche, dunkle Felswand, und stelle sich vor, dass wenn man von fern herankommt, es zuerst zweifelhaft bleibt, ob alle ihre Ränder und Brüche und die Kanten vorstehender Platten nicht gleichsam weiss bestreut seyen, und zwar weiss, bald als wäre es etwa frisch gefallener Schnee, der auf allen Vorsprüngen sich angehäuft hätte, bald als wüchsen weisse Blumen längs all dieser Brüchen und Kanten. Sowie man dann näher gekommen ist und die Formen deutlicher werden, belebt sich diess Weiss, es bekommt Gestalt, ja es fliegt auf, kurz es sind Hunderttausende von Vögeln, welche hier in vielfältigsten Reihen sitzen, hier ihre Eier ausbrüten, hier als Junge ihre Schwinge prüfen lernen, von hier ins Meer tauchen, um ihren Raub zu suchen, im Ganzen aber hier immerfort ein selten nur von einem vorbeifahrenden Schiff gestörtes Leben vollführen. (ibid., 322)

The captain of the steamer had some shots fired against the Rock, so that his passengers could see the sight of the birds taking off, circling and diving, while thousands more sat tight on their nests; "es war ein Schauspiel, dem man gern Stunden lang zugesehen hätte" (ibid.).

Oft hatte ich mit besonderm Interesse von solchen Vögel-Republicen der Polargegenden auf Inseln und an Felsen gelesen, aber kaum hatte ich gehofft einen Anblick eines solchen Aristophanischen Staates noch auf dieser Reise zu erleben; man kann denken, wie sehr desshalb mich die Lust anwandeln musste, die deutliche Vorstellung von den hier wohnenden Geschlechtern, ihren Brütstätten und ihrer Lebensweise zu erhalten. (ibid., 322f.)

Carus shows himself here to be truly interested in the seabirds, guillemots, petrels, puffins and gulls, for which he gives both the German and Latin names. He goes into further detail over some of the birds' peculiarities and habits, adding:

Alles dergleichen nun einmal selbst in lebendiger Natur zu untersuchen wäre hier die schönste Gelegenheit gewesen! - Sie entschwand mit dem davoneilenden Schiff gleich so viel andern! (ibid., 323)

Earlier, on the boat trip to Staffa and Iona, he had noted divers off the coasts of Coll and Mull and had wished the wheels of the steamer had not prevented him catching some of the jellyfish (ibid., 212 & 223).

One can only surmise how Carus would have applied these interests had he been in charge of the itinerary and programme of his Scottish tour. It would seem that he based his account on his own findings only; had he consulted a guide book on the matter, he would surely have mentioned the gannet in his description of the Bass Rock. Some year later Ziegler was to make careful use of reference works, acknowledging his sources to be S. Lenz's Naturgeschichte, Die Vögel Deutschlands by H. G. Ludwig Reichenbach, and Friedrich Faber's Ueber das Leben der hochnordischen Vögel. He gives a similar description of the "Myriaden von Seevögeln" (Ziegler, Bilder, 361) which he sees on the cliffs of the Holm of Noss in Shetland, a scene which he describes again in his later Reise im Norden:

Wie das schwirrte und girrte, sumnte und brummte, krächzte und ächzte ringsum. Das betäubende Geschrei der Vögel und das schreckliche Getöse und Gebrüll der immer wieder heranstürmenden, weiss-schäumenden Meereswogen ist nicht zu beschreiben. Schiesst man mit einer Flinte unter diese schreienden, fliegenden Schneeflockenschaaren, so entsteht ein solches kreisendes Getümmel, dass sie fast die Sonne verfinstern und den Schützen mit ihrem Unrath ganz übertünchen. (Ziegler, Reise, 332f.)

To anyone who has witnessed such a scene, Ziegler's description, preceded by his account of crossing over to the Holm in the precarious cradle,³¹ cannot fail to be evocative. He proceeds to list the birds and displays considerable knowledge of them (ibid. 334-6), following this with a description of the Shetlanders bird-hunting on the cliffs; such a hunter he names "der schetländische Papageno" (ibid., 337). In the following pages he adds more detail to his lists of birds and writes, too, of the rich insect and mollusc life on the islands (ibid., 337-40).

To less scientific minds, the seabirds were part of the scenery rather than subjects worthy of closer study and attention. To Ullrich the white colour of the birds on the cliffs of Mull matches the white of the foam on the water to provide striking contrast to the dark land- and seascape: "ungeheure Schaaren von weissen Seevögeln, die hier dicht gedrängt bei einander sassen oder vielmehr an dem Gestein klebten, und die demselben das Ansehen geben, als wäre es mit flockiger Baumwolle umhüllt" (Ullrich, 352). To Lewald a similar scene on one of the rocks by Staffa reminds her of a flower-bed filled with countless white flowers. As the statutory shot was fired to announce their

arrival, "augenblicklich schwangen sich hunderte von diesen anscheinenden Blumen leicht geschwingt und schrillend in die Luft empor. Es waren Mövenschaaren, die hier rasteten" (Lewald, ii, 522). Like Ullrich, she, too, enjoys the spectacle without stopping to consider the birds themselves. Earlier however, she had been excited to spot an uncommon sight off the coast of Mull. She was sitting resting on a bench in the heat of the midday sun,

da sprang plötzlich Etwas aus dem Wasser empor, hoch, hellgrün, wie eine ungeheure Malachit-Masse erglänzend. Ich schnell auf die Füße. "Was war das? rief ich befremdet." Was? fragte der Steuermann - und in dem Augenblick tauchte es wieder hervor, sank eben so schnell wieder unter, und der Steuermann sagte: ein Wallfisch!" Es war ein merkwürdiger Anblick, der dadurch, dass er so plötzlich kam und verschwand, etwas noch Ueberraschenderes bekam. (ibid., 514f.)

Solitary whales were a rare sight and all eyes - of captain, crew and passengers - were concentrated on the spot where the animal had surfaced, but it did not reappear. It is the strangeness and surprise which Lewald relishes, rather than interest in the animal itself. She concludes, "ich sah wieder, dass ich doch zuweilen Glück habe, und dass es gut ist ein Sonntagskind zu sein" (ibid., 515). Meidinger is more matter-of-fact in his description of the porpoises he sees in the Firth of Tay. He tells how the fish follow the salmon, often swimming against the tide:

Diese Fische sind nicht selten 20 bis 25 Fuss lang, und erheben sich stossweise mit einem starken Geräusche über die Wasserfläche, indem sie das Wasser hoch empor spritzen, so dass man von ferne eine Anzahl Mühlräder auf sich zurauschen zu sehen glaubt. Zuweilen springen auch diese Thiere ganz in die Höhe. Oft findet man sie am Ufer im Sande stecken, wo man sie mit leichter Mühe fängt. (Meidinger, Reisen, 54)

Later he writes of the many seals on the northern coastline and describes how they are driven out of their caves by the "Judeln" of the locals (ibid., 71). Nor does he ignore the inland wildlife; as well as the game birds and animals in the North and West, he writes of the swans which cross from Ireland and are to be found on the Castle Kennedy Lochs near Stranraer (ibid., 72 & 114).

Perhaps surprisingly, Rellstab displays awareness of Loch Katrine's

wildlife. The only signs of human life may be the paths used by the wood and peat-cutters in winter, but the trees provide a home for others:

Nur der Vogel hat hier sein liebliches grünes Revier, und der Hase schlägt sein Lager auf, in dem dichten Birkengehölz. Der Hirsch ist auch hier schon verschwunden, und spiegelt nicht mehr, wie zu Schön-Ellens Zeiten, sein stolzes Geweih im klaren See, oder lockt den Jäger, dass sein Hifthorn mit Echo weckenden Schall durch die Berge tönte! - Doch der Auerhahn balzt noch in den stillen schattigen Gebüsch, das Birk- und Haselhuhn nistet darin, und bildet eine lohnende Beute für den Hochlandsjäger; Amsel und Drossel schlägt im Frühling, und die schwarze Krähe oder der graue Habicht schweben mit breiten Flügeln hoch im Gewölk über der Wasserfläche des Sees.

(Rellstab, ii, 4)

Despite the romantic associations, there is little doubt that Rellstab himself appreciated this aspect of Loch Katrine's wildness; "wild-romantisch" was after all a word he enjoyed using. As he walks near Inversnaid, he drinks in the solitude and it is an animal which proves to him the extent of the wildness. In the distance he hears the sound of boats and walkers:

Dies Alles konnte nur als Contrast dazu dienen, die Wirkung der Stille zu erhöhen. - Da raschelte es dicht in meiner Nähe; ein Füchsen streckte den Kopf aus dichtem Gebüsch, und huschte scheu über den Weg! - Das war der ächte Zeuge der Wildniss!

(ibid., 18)

It hardly matters whether the sighting of the fox was poetic licence or fact. Rellstab remains one of the few to recognise the individual species of animals and birds which were an integral part of Scotland's "Natur" and "Landschaft".

While it may seem surprising that the sentimental Rellstab should show an awareness of wildlife, it is perhaps equally surprising that Kohl does not. Occasionally he reports what others tell him, but this is more a mark of his conscientiousness than of any personal observation. As he crosses the Firth of Forth, he enjoys watching the gulls, but no more than he enjoys watching the boats. He reports what the captain tells him concerning the wintering habits of the many seabirds and ducks, which, at the time of Kohl's autumn visit, were beginning to congregate in the many bays of the area, but although he is told that there are

many different species, he does not investigate further. (Kohl, i, 95). Later, having described the wild, desolate nature of Glen Ogle, he remarks that such a spot in Ireland would surely be the home of a pair of eagles. His guide assures him that this is true of Scotland also, adding, "Alles, Herr, was hier in Schottland Ben heisst, das können Sie ohne Zweifel als den Sitz von Adlern ansehen" (ibid., ii, 93). But on this occasion they do not appear to see any and Kohl drops the subject.

Apart from Audubon's "grosse schönes Prachtwerk"³², a copy of which he sees in the Signet Library in Edinburgh (ibid., i, 62ff.), it is in the semi-wild animals kept in the parks of the great and rich, whether for reasons of whimsical pleasure or hunting, that Kohl shows more than passing interest. As he journeys on from Killin towards the Trossachs, he is surprised by the many pheasants which he sees in the fields by the roadside, as common, he remarks, as hens in a hen-yard. He finds them both more numerous and wilder than in Germany, where they must be kept in a "Fasanarie" during the harsher winter. In Britain they are fed outdoors during the winter and Kohl finds the Scottish green iron feeding-boxes "sehr hübsch und erfinderisch eingerichtet" (ibid., ii, 88), so much so that he proceeds to give a detailed description of them.

Die britischen Herren lieben es, sich in ihren Parks mit wilden Thieren zu umgeben. Daher haben sie immer Hirsche und Rehe in ihrer Nähe. Hier in den Gehölzen des Kenmoreschen Parks [at Taymouth Castle] hat man sogar Büffel einheimisch gemacht. Es sollen einmal zwölf gewesen sein. Auch Lamas hat man hier zu acclimatisiren gesucht, so wie amerikanische Bisons. Leider bekam ich auf meinen Streifereien keines jener Thiere zu sehen, die sich immer dann unsichtbar zu machen wissen, wenn man sie sucht. (ibid., 26)

Kohl describes how attempts had been made to reintroduce the capercaillie to the Highlands from Sweden, and he thinks it likely to be a successful project, due to the tree-planting in progress. He relates how several of the birds had been shot on the occasion of the shoot arranged in honour of Prince Albert. The Queen had asked to see one of them and enquired who had shot it; the head gamekeeper, who brought it to her, told her it was one of her husband's bag, whereupon it was stuffed and sent down to London. Kohl goes on to write of the white cattle:

Das merkwürdigste Beispiel aber von Hegung und Pflege wilder Thiere in Grossbritannien sind offenbar die noch hier und da gehegten Sprösslinge der ursprünglichen wilden Rindviehrace, welche Grossbritanniens Wälder vor Cäsar's Zeit erfüllten.

(ibid., 27)

He describes the animals, with their cream colour, black mouth and ears, long legs and erect horns and relates that they are by nature too wild to be kept indoors.³³ He knows of no other European country where such animals are kept, apart from Lithuania, where "Auerochsen" are kept in the Bialowyszer Wald.

Man kann den Engländern ein Verdienst daraus machen, dass sie selbst mitten unter ihrer Fülle von Cultur noch ein Plätzchen für ihre wilden Ochsen gefunden haben. Jedes Land sollte sich so ein Specimen von irgend einer in ihm untergehenden Erscheinung zu Conserviren bestrebt sein. Auch Breadalbane, sagte man mir, sollte irgendwo, ich weiss aber nicht mehr den Ort anzugeben, eine kleine Herde wilder caledonischer Ochsen besitzen. Die meisten hat in Schottland der Herzog von Hamilton.

(ibid., 27f.)

Kohl approved of this aspect of conservation, even if he did not seem so sure of the benefit of keeping bison and lama in surroundings so foreign to their own.³⁴

During his stay at Hamilton Palace Carus is shown the Duke's herd of white cattle. He, too, is told that they are a relic of Caesar's Britain. The herd, numbering 70, is allowed to run half wild, and when they exceed this number the surplus animals provide the Duke with a tasty meal.

Mit Vorsicht nur, und mit Zaunpfählen bewaffnet, konnte man allmählig ihnen näher kommen, und als wir nahe genug waren um sie deutlich zu sehen, liess unser Führer von einem Hunde sie langsam vorbeitreiben. - Es gab einen eigenthümlichen Anblick! besonders ein paar grosse Zuchtstiere, deren Kopf und Hals mehr grau und schwärzlich waren und die in ihrem gedrunghen Bau stattlich und zugleich gefährlich sich ausnahmen, fasste ich wohl ins Auge. - Für einen Thiermaler wäre diese wilde Trift und diese halb wilde Heerde eine prächtige Aufgabe gewesen! -

(Carus, ii, 186)

Indeed Landseer's paintings and drawings did much to bring Scottish wildlife, especially game, to the attention of both the British and the Germans.

Bird watching and animal spotting were still hobbies of the future, and conservation was still largely veiled behind the breeding of quarry for the rich sportsmen. An awareness and knowledge of game birds and animals and of those semi-wild animals kept in captivity did not necessarily mean a true awareness of Nature. Kohl knew where to go to find this, however, even if he himself was more interested in the Scottish people and their way of life. It is the village schoolmaster, he writes, to whom every traveller eager for knowledge should turn:

Denn sie stehen an der äussersten Gränze der gebildeten Stände und sind von denen, die da denken, vergleichen und raisonniren, diejenigen, welche der Grundbevölkerung des Landes sich am nächsten befinden. Sie haben die Kenntniss des Volkes und seiner Sitten eben so aus erster Hand, wie die Förster, die Jäger, die Fischer, die Pächter etc. die Kenntniss der Natur des Landes, der Thiere, der Pflanzen, des Klimas aus erster Hand haben.

(Kohl, i, 129)

a) TRAVELi. General Impressions

Das Reisen ist in neuerer Zeit so unendlich leicht geworden, Entfernungen zwischen Ländern in jetziger Zeit stehen gleich denen einzelner Provinzen vor 30 Jahren, und durch diese Erleichterung wird auch das Reisen selbst begünstigt und vermehrt.

(Horn, I, 1f.)

Horn's view may seem to be a statement of the obvious, yet, as a German, he had good reason to express it; writing in 1831, after returning from a two year tour of Europe and the British Isles, he had been made well aware of the ease with which even the less wealthy Germans could now travel abroad. Improved communications within the German-speaking lands had at last rendered the rest of Europe more accessible to them, revealing at the same time how far advanced travel was outside Germany, and especially in Britain. When one considers that the first highway in Prussia was not built until 1787, by which time General Wade's network of Highland roads had been completed, it is not surprising that the German visitors, most of whom came from Prussia, Saxony and the North, were favourably impressed.¹ The Dane, Otto, writing of his 1822 visit, provides a good example of such praise:

Das Reisen ist in England sehr unterhaltend; man fährt mit der grössten Schnelligkeit; die Postkutschen sehen so leicht und luftig aus, und können doch ungefähr 16 Menschen aufnehmen, denn die meisten wählen die auswendigen Sitze; die Pferde sind ausserordentlich schön und würdig; der Wechsel der Pferde dauert auf jeder Station nur zwei Minuten, weil die neuen immer bereit stehen; im Gallop fährt man die Anhöhen hinauf und hinunter; für die Mittagmahlzeit sind genau 30 und für die Abendmahlzeit und das Frühstück 20 Minuten bestimmt; trotz dem ungünstigen Wetter begegnen die Postkutschen, die von entgegengesetzten Seiten kommen, sich mit dem Glockenschlage auf der Station, wo eine die andere ablöset. Gewöhnlich fahren die Stage-coaches in einer Stunde zwei, mehre sogar drei dänische Meilen zurück; durch schnelleres Fahren sucht eine die andere zu übertreffen und mehre Passagiere anzulocken. Man würde sich wundern, dass ein so leichtes und schmales Fuhrwerk nur äusserst selten umgeworfen oder sonst beschädigt werden kann, wenn die Landstrassen nicht im höchsten Grade vortrefflich wären. In jeder Stadt sind mehre Stage-coaches, die täglich zu verschiedenen Stunden abgehen; man kann daher wegen des Weiterreisens nicht verlegen seyn.

(Otto, 281)

Despite the military roads, travel in Scotland, in particular the Highlands, had not always been so sophisticated. As the 19th Century progressed, however, so too did communications, thanks largely to Telford's extensive road, bridge and canal building. Even in the Highlands and Islands the visitors could be almost sure of reaching an inn by nightfall and the stage-coaches, if infrequent and uncomfortable, were fairly reliable. The use of Scotland's waterways was much praised by foreign visitors and the Clyde was to boast the world's first river steamboat; thereafter, in the 1840's and 50's, the rail links were rapidly established, so that Fontane, visiting in the summer of 1858, was able to travel on the Kinross line the day it was opened. Kohl, travelling from Dunkeld to Taymouth in 1842, truly appreciated the speed with which progress had come to Scotland. Having admired the autumn foliage of the larch trees, recently planted by the Duke of Atholl, he reflects:

Früher war hier Alles steinkahl. Dazu rollten wir auf einer wunderschönen Chaussee dahin. Ich kann nicht aufhören, mich darüber zu verwundern, welche grosse Umwandlung mit Schottland vorgegangen ist, wenn ich das Land, wie es jetzt ist, mit dem vergleiche, wie es früher war.

(Kohl, i, 223)

He goes on to comment that much of his idea of Scotland in the past comes from reading Dr. Johnson, whose description of the barbaric land is to be compared with contemporary German opinions of the Crimea:

Er reiste meistens zu Pferde, Hütten waren seine Nachtquartiere, Haferbrod seine Nahrung, Morast und Felsen seine Wege, unwissende simple Bergbewohner seine Reisebegleiter. Jetzt hat man gute Wege die Kreuz und Quer, gute Gasthöfe in Menge.

(ibid.)

Even though Kohl appreciates that Johnson, "wie viele Engländer, ein grosser Scotophobe" (ibid., footnote), was not always to be trusted in his opinions, he himself can see plenty of evidence of huge improvements in communications and conditions in the Highlands; by the time of his visit even St. Kilda had been connected to the outside world by a steamer service and the communication links formed "ein merkwürdig ausgesponnenes Netz von Verbindungen" (ibid.). Kohl sees these improvements as a tribute to great human endeavour and devotes the following page to a discussion of the contrast between

Scotland's present greatness and former insignificance.

Bearing in mind that the improvements of which Kohl writes were relatively recent in 1842, it is not surprising that earlier visitors were not so ready with praise. Before the stage network had been set up in the Highlands travellers were compelled to hire horses; to the wealthy Schopenhauers in 1803 this was small hardship, but Spiker, touring the Highlands in 1816, found travel both expensive and slow and the roads often very bad. With hired horses at 30/- a day and a driver who had to be tipped at an unreasonably high rate, his progress through the Highlands had been frustratingly slow - only eight or ten German miles (or 36 - 46 English miles) per day, a marked contrast to the south of the country or England, where, with fresh horses, one could cover from 14 - 16 German miles (64 - 73 English miles) in the same time (Spiker, 237 f.). Otto and Spiker are of the few who specify the mileage they give: not only were Danish and German miles different from English, but, as Wichmann points out, mileage was also measured differently in Scotland, one Scots mile being equal to two English, (Wichmann, 70). Because of this confusion of terms many German statements regarding travel are misleading.

Impressions were of course varied. To Hailbronner in 1836 the contrast in travel means between the Lowlands and the Highlands merely underlined the stark contrast in the character and life of those regions:

Das Klima ist sehr rauh, veränderlich, beinahe immer stürmisch und regnerisch. Man steht durch Kälte und Nässe bei einer Reise durch die Hochlande viel aus, und muss ganz besonders darauf vorgesehn seyn, da die gewöhnlichen Transportmittel ganz aufhören, und man meistens auf schlechte Karren oder aufs Fussgehen reducirt ist. Mit dem englischen Comfort hat es plötzlich ein Ende, und es bildet einen bösen Contrast, wenn man aus dem herrlichen Glasgow (welches übrigens das Schicksal der ganzen Westküste theilt, und von dem es sprüchwörtlich geworden, dass es dort immer regnet, und nur zur Abwechslung zuweilen schneit) über die reizenden Seen kommt und man sich in die westlichen und nördlichen Grafschaften Rosshire und Southerland begibt; dort stösst man plötzlich auf das dürftigste, unreinlichste, kümmerlichste Leben.
(Hailbronner, 310 f.)

But by 1836 great improvements were taking place and Hailbronner acknowledges this, especially praising the new road through the Grampians, along which the Royal Mail had been running for some months (ibid. 313).

As early as 1817 the Scotophile, Meissner, like Löwenthal five years later, had been full of praise for the great feat of engineering currently underway in the building of the Caledonian Canal (Meissner, 254f. & Löwenthal, 113). Indeed, Meissner found nothing lacking in northern communications:

Ueberhaupt ist die Grafschaft Inverness, die ich in ihrer ganzen Ausdehnung durchwanderte, und die bei einer Länge von 80 Meilen die grösste in Schottland ist, auch in Hinsicht menschlicher Werke eine der bewunderungswürdigsten. Vierzehn, grösstentheils vortreffliche Chausseen durchschneiden sie in allen Richtungen, und durch die drei Forts ... ward für die innere Ruhe des Landes gesorgt, indem der unruhige Geist der Hochländer hier einen Damm fand.

(Meissner, 255)

Meidinger, writing at much the same time as Löwenthal, had also seen fit to praise the roads, both in the Borders (Meidinger, Reisen, 113) and especially in the far North and West, recognising that the great improvements in agriculture went hand in hand with the establishing of communications: "Schon sind durch alle Theile des Landes treffliche Wege angelegt, und mit jedem Jahre geschehen neue Verbesserungen" (ibid., 73). He makes the same observations regarding the North East, commending the achievements of the 'Commissioners for Highland Roads & Bridges' and commenting with approval on the high standard and frequency of mail coaches between Aberdeen and Inverness. (ibid., 64f.).

As Hailbronner indicates, the weather played its part in dampening the spirits of the visitors; even the high-spirited Mendelssohn and Klingemann found it frustrating, Klingemann exclaiming, "wehe aber all den schlechten Inn's und alle den Regenschauern, die uns so oft zum Schweigen gebracht haben!" (Klingemann, Hensel, 264). It is to Rellstab's credit, over twenty years later, that despite missing a boat on Loch Lomond and losing a day's travel, he does not sympathise with those of his fellow tourists who can only complain of the trials of travel in Scotland and claim that it is "ein abscheuliches Land" and that

Es liege Tag aus Tag ein, Jahr aus Jahr ein, in Nebeln so dicht wie eichene Schiffsbohlen, - und die Reisebeschreiber und Poeten die Gott

weiss was von den Schönheiten des Hochlandes
und des Loch Lomond fabelten seien allesammt
verdammte Lügner und Flunkerer'. -

(Rellstab, ii, 37)

By this time, at the middle of the Century, there must have been many such fastidious tourists in the Trossachs and Rellstab did well to ignore them and instead wait patiently for the sun to emerge, trusting his landlord's assurance that the morning mist would indeed rise. At the time of Rellstab's visit, in 1851, the more primitive means of travel still used in the Trossachs could be seen as an adventure in the face of the widespread and modern steam travel elsewhere in the country. This was the case with many of the German visitors; an erratic coach ride along Loch Vennachar caused Rellstab to remark of the British, "mit Fahren haben sie den Lebendigen im Blut" (ibid., 9). Despite his long-winded and sentimental travel account, Rellstab does give some useful advice to the future traveller in Scotland: he repeatedly stresses the advantage of travelling light, aware that the large suitcase of one of his French companions had burdened that gentleman "wie ein Anker der ihn festhielt" (ibid., 7)², and he also confirms the invaluable help afforded the traveller by guidebooks such as Black's Economical Tourist and Bradshaw's railway guide (ibid., i, 190, & 291ff.). A further matter of concern, both to later travellers such as Rellstab and to the earlier visitors, was the hiring of a guide. This was most obviously necessary in the Gaelic-speaking areas of the Highlands, but it was generally recognised as standard practice in the towns, too, especially for those with little English or in the days before the widespread use of guidebooks. After hiring a young boy at the station in Glasgow, Rellstab points out that the practice is different on the Continent, where travellers expect to hire guides through inns and hotels (ibid., ii, 87f.). Letters of introduction were also of valuable assistance to visitors, in particular during the earlier decades of the century and for those who specifically desired contact with men of their own profession in the towns or cities.

The advantages of travelling alone were self-evident. Nemnich, touring Britain to study the commercial aspects of the country in 1805 and 1806, stresses the importance of trying to penetrate the 'real' Britain. The only way to do so, he says, is not to stay at a wealthy hotel but at a Traveller's Inn, where one can meet and talk

with the travelling salesman and businessman. Such an inn caters for these travellers alone and is quite comfortable, cheap and "ungeniert":

Mit den Travellers wird man bald bekannt, und sie nehmen den Fremden mit Vergnügen in ihre frohe Gesellschaft auf. Man erfährt von ihnen nicht nur das Lokale der Fabriken und Gewerbe des Ortes, wo man sich mit ihnen zugleich befindet, sondern auch das Merkwürdige ihrer Heimath, und alle Plätze, welche sie zu bereisen pflegen. So sammelt der Fremde manche Kenntnisse, die ihm sonst verborgen geblieben wären.

(Nemnich, . . . 82f.)

To Kalckstein there was no doubt that the solitary traveller both sees more of the country he visits and is able to digest more information (Kalckstein, 117). While the visits of such travellers as Kohl, Förster and Wichmann would appear to confirm this view, those who travelled in the company of others were able to share important reactions and impressions and one thinks in particular of the four visits of close friends and associates, Schinkel, Beuth and Dankelmann in 1826, Mendelssohn and Klingemann in 1829, Köstlin and Burk in 1849 and Fontane and Lepel in 1858.³ Naturally the visitors' mode of travel varied greatly, from those who travelled in private luxury, notably Schopenhauer and Carus, to those who took public transport where available and were not afraid to proceed on foot when necessary or desired. It may also be pointed out that relatively few visitors enjoyed the company of native Scots while on the move, other than guides or fellow travellers on public transport. Meissner's journey to Brodie Castle with Brodie's grandson and a friend and Otto's walking tour of the Highlands with a friend from Inverness are exceptions. For Fanny Lewald, as a woman, travelling alone had definite advantages in this respect; wherever she travelled within Scotland those to whom she had introductions and even those whom she met by chance did not hesitate to offer hospitality; it was only the voyage to Staffa which she undertook alone. Nonetheless the very fact that she ventured abroad in 1850 without a companion displayed a certain intrepid originality. Inevitably, too, travel was to some only a means of reaching their destination, while to others it was an eventful, interesting and provocative undertaking, even an art in itself. The doctor, Emil Isensee, even devotes twenty pages of his travel account to the "moralische" and "physische Wirkungen des Reisens" (Isensee, 17-22 & 23-37), stressing its therapeutic and

didactic value, as Fontane, in his very different way, was to do in his Alexis essay of 1872 and in the entertaining "Plauderei" of his old age, "Modernes Reisen".⁴ The traveller's impressions of Scotland necessarily depended on his or her attitude to travel itself.

ii. Walking Tours

Those German visitors who had read Moritz' Reisen eines Deutschen in England would have been well aware that walking was not considered a 'proper' way to travel in Britain towards the end of the 18th Century.⁵ Even in 1851-2 Wichmann, arriving at inns on foot, suffers poor treatment from landlords on that account, and remarks "da in England gewöhnlich nur die ärmsten Klassen zu Fuss reisen, bezeichnet man diese mit dem Ausdruck 'tramps' " (Wichmann, 94); it is only if a pedestrian traveller can be seen to be obviously wealthy from his dress that he is well received, and, as Wichmann himself discovers from experience, such a mode of travel is otherwise emphatically not "Sitte" (ibid., 93). But in the Highlands the situation was of necessity different and many of the visitors, Wichmann included, chose to travel in those regions on foot. Meissner, comparing English and Scottish walking tours in 1817, writes that the danger of being robbed or murdered always accompanies the former. He adds:

Alles dieses findet in Schottland nicht statt; Hunderte der Studierenden zu Edinburg und Glasgow durchziehen im August die Gebürge, und was anderswo eine Unbesonnenheit gewesen wäre ganz allein, und anstatt aller Waffen blos mit einem Regenschirme versehen eine menschenleere Gegend zu durchwandern, ist hier nicht mit der mindesten Gefahr verbunden.
(Meissner, 232)

To Kohl in particular travelling on foot was a vital way of gathering information:

Mann kann in diesen einsam schönen Gegenden, wo es noch keine besonders guten Wege giebt, nicht besser als in Gesellschaft eines munteren Hochländers zu Fusse reisen, weil man auf dem ganzen Wege nicht wie auf den grossen Chausseen der Ebene von Carossen belästigt wird, vielmehr immer nur auf Fussgänger trifft, und weil man so überall am Wege sich das Land recht in der Nähe beschauen kann.
(Kohl, ii, 30)

Twenty years earlier, in 1822, Otto had also been enthusiastic about covering the Highland ground in this manner, despite obvious drawbacks; "was wirst Du sagen", he writes,

wenn ich Dir erzähle, dass ich in drei Tagen 120 Meilen (22 dänische) gewandert bin? - Ich bekam aber nicht allein Blasen an meinen Füßen, sondern auch mein linkes Bein wurde so heftig angezündet, dass jeder Schritt mir die empfindlichsten Schmerzen verursachte. Da ich keine Lust hatte mich einige Tage in einem schlechten Wirthshause unterwegs aufzuhalten, fuhr ich meine Wanderung fort und vergass, im Anstaunen der Natur verloren, alle körperliche Schmerzen.

(Otto, 350)

Sometimes the hardships outweighed the compensations; in deciding to follow their Highland guide's advice to take the eight-mile-shorter old road from Kingshouse to Ballachulish, Otto and his companion soon regretted it, "denn es gibt wohl keinen schrecklicheren Weg auf der ganzen Erde, als diesen, der schon seit 40 Jahren gänzlich verwüstet gewesen ist" (*ibid.*, 353f.). For twenty miles they were forced to clamber over rocks and wade through burns where bridges had collapsed and crumbled; the outcome of this rocky scramble through Glen Coe was that Otto was unable even to stand next morning. With some difficulty they at last managed to hire a cart, normally used to transport calves and sheep, and were able to continue on to Fort Augustus.

Ten years earlier Holzenthal had also suffered from blisters and swollen feet, though he and his fellow prisoners-of-war were so delighted to be on shore again after a long and unpleasant voyage from Spain that any movement on dry land was a great pleasure; nonetheless the long months of imprisonment had weakened their physical condition and the march from Leith to Hawick was accompanied by severely aching legs and feet (Holzenthal, 202 ff.). It was also in the Borders, on his pilgrimage to Abbotsford, that Rellstab was to take to his feet nearly forty years later. Having taken the train to Melrose, he addresses his readers:

Ihr müsst zu Fuss gehen. Ich kann Euch nicht helfen. Ich bin so lange Eisenbahngefangener gewesen, dass ich endlich einmal meine Freiheit haben, auf eigenen Füßen stehen und wandeln muss. Die Spazier-Viertelstunde nach Melrose hat meine Lust so angeregt, dass ich ihr gar nicht widerstehen kann. Nur der Fusswanderer genießt eine Landschaft, ja eine Reise überhaupt, vollends eine schottische! - Also querfeldein,

durch Busch, Feld und Wiesen, Über Höhen und Thal ... sacht, sacht! -Dass wir uns nicht übereilen! Von einer Fusswanderung wie in Deutschland, ist in Schottland und England nicht die Rede. Bildet Euch nicht ein, etwa einen Pfad verfolgen zu können, frei von der Heerstrasse ab, hier durch ein kühles Gebüsch zu streifen, dort über eine Trift, einen Rain zu schreiten, ja nur unter einem Baum am Wege ausruhen zu können! Von alledem ist hier nicht die Rede. Die Theilung der Erde ist hier vollendet! Zeus hat Alles vergeben! Die Trift, das Feld, der Busch sind nicht mehr sein!

(Rellstab, i, 279f.)

Hemmed in by dry stone walls and hedges on either side of the narrow road, Rellstab, "der Postaster" (*ibid.*, 280), longs for an open German landscape, yet despite this he enjoys the walk in beautiful weather and describes it in typically emotional detail, dwelling in particular on a young girl behind him on the road. He allows her to catch up with him so that they can walk together and comes to a gratifying conclusion; the girl has no fear of him, but joins him willingly, presuming protection from a fellow traveller (*ibid.*, 281). By implication Rellstab compares Scotland in this light favourably with Germany. Later, as he returns from Abbotsford, he loses his way and finds himself on the wrong side of the Tweed; he begs a ride on a charcoal burner's cart and, crouching in an undignified manner, is thus able to cross the ford and join the road to Galashiels (*ibid.*, 286f.).

Had Rellstab so wished, he could have enjoyed the open spaces of the Highlands, where wading fords was a regular occurrence. Two years before him the young theologians, Köstlin and Burk, had spent a happy three weeks touring the Highlands, much of it on foot. Köstlin's account can be compared with the letters of Mendelssohn and Klingemann, although twenty years after the visit of the latter the standard of the inns had evidently improved:

Hin und wieder hatten wir lange, rauhe, einsame Strecken zu durchwandern, wo nur einmal schottischer Whisky (Branntwein) oder Milch und trockenes Haferbrot unterwegs zu finden war. Auf einem einsamen Wege, der auf der Landkarte als Militärstrasse bezeichnet war, mussten wir Bäche durchwaten, wo die Brücken weggerissen waren; lachend erklärten uns nachher Freunde den Zustand der Strasse damit, dass sie gegen die rebellischen Stuartischen Häuptlinge gedient, ihren Zweck also je_tzt längst

erfüllt habe. Dazwischen durften wir sicher sein, immer wieder auf Gasthöfe mit aller englischen Bequemlichkeit und Fülle an wohl angelegten Strassen zu stossen.

(Köstlin, 128)

Armed with a letter of introduction to the minister at Buchanan, Förster decides to walk there from Balloch; the letter is simply addressed to "near Glasgow" and he is surprised to learn in Balloch that his destination is still several hours' walk away:

Ein lahmer Herr, der desselben Wege ging, bot mir Gemeinschaft für ein Fuhrwerk an, aber mich packte meine alte Fusswanderlust und der Reiz vollkommener Einsamkeit in einem ganz fremden Lande, und so ging ich, nachdem ich mich über meine Richtung unterrichtet hatte, im schönsten und wärmsten Sommersonnenschein den schottischen Hochlanden zu. "Den Reiz der Einsamkeit" sollte ich in aller Völligkeit geniessen; denn keine Seele begegnete mir auf dem Wege, und weit und breit gab es nur Felder und Wälder, über die in der immer näher rückenden Ferne die schön geformten Häupter der schottischen Alpen hereinsahen.

(Förster, 320)

This Romantic attitude to walking maintains his high spirits despite the long walk, and even though he is at first denied access at the locked gates of the Duke of Montrose's park, through which he must cross, he takes it in good heart: "Ich glaube, ich stünd' noch dort, wenn nicht glücklicherweise die Zauberwurz des silbernen Schlüssels in der Tasche gerappelt und denn auch sehr leicht das verbotene Schloss geöffnet hätte" (*ibid.*, 320f.). Finally he admits that he was foolish to set out so ill-prepared, since he finds neither the minister nor his family at home; he does not let this upset him, however, and enjoys the hospitality and conversation of the elderly maid.

Unlike most other tourists of his day [1857], Ullrich was not prepared to sit out the Scottish Sunday in the Trossachs Hotel and decided to use the day to the full and walk to Stirling; as the only means open to him to reach town that day he "ergriff es mit einem herzhaften Entschluss" (Ullrich, 392). As he walks he reflects that, unlike the Germans, the British, despite their love of nature, fail to honour "die Reize des Morgens". The fact that the Scots did not rise early had been a cause for inconvenience for many of his predecessors, notably Schopenhauer, and the lack of service available

both in the early morning and on Sundays was a cause of frequent distress to Germans in Scotland throughout the century. Ullrich however accepted the situation calmly; he had prepared himself for such a walking tour by travelling with only one small knapsack, and although he reached Stirling that night very tired, having been unable to obtain a proper midday meal in Doune en route, his mood of the morning was consistent: "Der Morgen war frisch und schön, und es lag obenein etwas verlockendes in dem Gedanken, auch einmal auf diese Weise die Tour durch die Hochlande kennen zu lernen." (Ullrich, 392)

It was of course "Sitte" for any visitor, rich or poor, to walk to view famous beauty spots, such as the Falls of Clyde or the Hermitage at Dunkeld, but such walks were regarded as recreation; walking was becoming an ever more popular gentleman's pursuit in parks or mountains. In 1803 the Schopenhauers even climbed up the side of Ben Lawers in the swirling mist for a view with which they were at least fleetingly rewarded, while Spiker on a similar expedition, in 1816, was forced to turn back by unrelenting rain. And while, in 1851-2, Wichmann covered long distances on foot throughout Scotland, his ascent of Ben Nevis can be seen in a different light as recreation. Similarly, in the days before steamers, boat trips were no pleasure excursions to those travellers on foot, but a necessary part of their journey; Otto journeyed from Cairndow to Inveraray across Loch Fyne in a small rowing boat, where the Schopenhauers, in a hired carriage, had to journey the long way round by the head of the loch. Ferries were not always safe, as Meidinger points out after crossing the Firth of Tay in a flat and dangerous "passage boat", a journey for which he paid 6d. (Meidinger, Reisen, 54). The sentiments of Carus on a boat trip on Loch Lomond in 1844 were certainly different from those of a traveller who had to use a ferry boat as the only means of continuing his journey: "Bald schwankten wir von ein paar kräftigen Schotten gerudert im kleinen Nachen auf den hier nach der Tiefe zu schwarz gefärbten klaren Wellen". (Carus, ii, 197). In perfect weather they landed on Inchdavenock and while they climbed a heather-scented hill on the island, their boatman told them tales of his MacGregor clan. He continues:

Als wir von unserm Hügel wieder herabgestiegen waren, auch nicht vergessen hatten, von jenem seltsamen Archipel einen Contour zu entwerfen, stiegen wir

wieder in den Nachen und liessen uns noch um die ganze Insel herumrudern; die schwarzen klaren Wellen schaukelten uns anmuthig, ernst trat der Ben Lomond über der Belaubung des Zwei-Mädchen-Eilandes hervor, ein kleines Schiff mit braunen Segel stellte sich malerisch dazu, kurz die Fahrt war gar eigenthümlich und schön.

(ibid, 200f.)

The fact that the party sketch the view from the island is indicative of their attitude to this outing, and in describing it, Carus 'paints' with his pen, much more in the mood of Fontane's description of his boat trip to Loch Leven Castle some twenty-five years later.⁶

iii. Horse-Drawn Transport

For most of the above visitors, writing after the advent of steam travel, self-propelled means of travel, whether on foot or in a rowing boat, already belonged to nostalgia. In certain cases the same could be said for horse-drawn transport, since the main tourist destinations were soon linked by rail and steamboat; as far as the South of Scotland was concerned, the average tourist need never travel otherwise, but this was not to be true of the Highlands until after the dates in question. The travellers' attitudes to the more primitive means of transport in the North and West thus reveal much of their character. Some truly appreciate the conditions, while others complain, unreasonably expecting them to compare favourably with those in more accessible areas. Nemnich is amongst those who recognised fully the achievements of Wade:

Bewunderne und des grössten Danks der Reisenden würdig, sind die Military Roads, Wege, die von den Soldaten, unter General Wade, mit der beschwerlichsten Mühe und grössten Unverdrossenheit bearbeitet und gebahnt wurden; oft gehen sie über unzugängliche Berge, durch Sümpfe und Moor-gegenden u.s.w.

(Nemnich, 591)

As far as coachwork is concerned, however, Nemnich states the German claim to superiority, reporting that the first coach in Britain arrived as a curiosity from Germany in 1580; once it had reached Edinburgh, coach building had become one of the city's important trades (ibid.,133).

Nemnich tells of an order from Paris in 1783 for 1,000 carriages and reports also that at the time of his visit, in the first decade of the 19th Century, carriages were being exported from Edinburgh not only to Europe but also to the West Indies. He also reports that the Glasgow-London mail coach, covering a distance of 402 miles, took 63 hours (ibid., 536).⁷ Of the other early travellers Holzenthäl has nothing but praise for the condition of the roads and the efficiency of the post system in Scotland. He finds the four- or six-person post-chaises comfortable and accommodating and is especially impressed by the rôle of the post-guards, each of whom covers a distance of 49 miles. As a public service he finds their job invaluable:

Sie stehen oder sitzen hinten auf und sind mit einer guten Kugelbüchse bewaffnet; sie geben mit einer Trompete das Zeichen der Ankunft und Abfahrt und müssen für das schnelle Fahren der Postillions und das richtige Anspannen der Postmeister Sorge tragen. Die geringste Beschwerde gegen sie bei der nächsten Station wird sofort mit ihrer Absetzung bestraft.

(Holzenthäl, 226)

On the whole the travellers meet with few adventures while travelling by coach in Scotland. Mendelssohn and Klingemann have to alight to aid the inadequate strength of their horse on the poor Highland roads, but it is Fontane and Lepel, travelling nearly thirty years later on the Perth to Inverness Mail, who come nearest to an accident when the front axle of the coach sparks violently, causing much stopping and starting on the road between Kingussie and Aviemore, and delaying their eventual arrival in Inverness until three in the morning, (Fontane, 226ff.).⁸ Mendelssohn gives one of the liveliest accounts of a ride on a stage-coach in his letter from Liverpool, in which one typically breathless sentence of some 325 words describes the journey from Glasgow through the Lake District to Merseyside. Excerpts from the letter convey well the spirit in which Mendelssohn approached travel during his Scottish visit:

Da flog man weg von Glasgow, oben auf der Mail, zehn Meilen die Stunde, durch Wiesen und Schornsteine, die beide dampfen, in die Cumberland-Seen, ... so ging's bis Ambleside, da wurde der Himmel wieder finster, Regen und Sturm, wir aussen auf der Stage, durch die Hohlwege, an den Seen vorbei, bergauf, bergab wie toll jagend, so in die Mäntel

und Schirme gehüllt, dass wir nur die vorüberfliegenden Gitter, Steinhaufen oder Gräben zählen konnten, ... dann gestern durch Zufall auf getrennten Stageplätzen, so dass ich Klingemann kaum sprach, denn in vierzig Sekunden ist umgespannt, ich auf dem Bock neben dem Kutscher, ... hier ein Canal, da eine Eisenbahn, dahinter das Meer mit Schiffen, sechs volle Kutschen mit aufgethürmten Menschen nacheinander, Abends dicker Nebel, die Stages rasen, wenn's dunkel wird, durch den Nebel am Horizont weit und breit Laternen zerstreut, Windmühlenflügel, Fabrikenrauch von allen Seiten, einzelne Herren zu Pferde vorüberspringend, das erste Stagehorn tutet in b-, das zweite in d-dur, noch andre aus der Ferne hinterher, und da sind wir nun in Liverpool.

(Mendelssohn, Hensel, 261ff.)

Mendelssohn's enthusiasm is infectious; as he writes and the description of the journey unfolds, it is as if he cannot contain himself, unable to stop adding yet one more piece to the mosaic he creates. Thus he can include all sides to the picture, urban and rural scenery, fair and stormy weather, crop fields and factory chimneys, wet bodies and an inn fireside, conversations on the weather and Napoleon, the company of coachmen and old women, travellers of all sorts on land and water, and, as the climax, the stage-horns sounding through the dark and mist in the keys of B flat and D major.

Some years before, Meidinger, who was to note that in Scotland horses were harnessed with chains, not straps as in England (Meidinger, Reisen, 4), had described another such journey on a mail coach:

Von allen Seiten begegneten wir glänzenden Postwagen, mit geputzten Wahlherren, Musik und Fahnen besetzt. Die Schnelligkeit des Fahrens ist bekannt. Auf jeder Station stehen schon die geschirrten Pferde in Bereitschaft. Voll Ungeduld wiehern sie der Kutsche entgegen, treten und stampfen den Boden. Gewöhnlich ist im Winter eine leichte, wollene Decke über sie geworfen. In einem Nu ist umgespannt, 2 bis 3 Stallknechte ziehen die Decken weg, All right! ruft der Hintenaufsitzende guard(Wächter), und fort geht's im sausenden Gallop! Nur musste ich die armen Thiere bedauern, die tiefend und dampfend oft noch bergaufwärts traben mussten, und wohl schwerlich länger als ein paar Jahre in diesem Zustand aushalten.

(ibid., Briefe, 5f.)

Despite this speed, to which the Germans were unaccustomed, the journey to Scotland still took several days in the 1820's. Otto travelled for four days to reach Edinburgh from London, with overnight stops in both

York and Newcastle; he derived no enjoyment from this journey which was rendered all the more uncomfortable by stormy weather, hail and snow. (Otto, 282). Later, as welcome relief from his Highland walking tour, he was to derive much pleasure from the stage-coach journey from Inverness to Perth, even though it was very expensive (*ibid.*, 356).

Despite the frequently inclement weather, the Germans commented almost without fail on the outside seats of the stage-coaches. Raumer even finds it a subject worthy of philosophical discussion during the account of his journey north in 1835. He begins his discussion of "Postwesen", "Reisemethode", "Reisestunden" and "Leiden" as follows:

Outside und Inside, Inneres und Äusseres, Subject und Object; diese grossen Gegensätze bringt das englische Postwesen mehr zur Anschauung und zum Bewusstseyn, als irgend ein anderes in Europa. Den meisten Beifall findet (wie es sich in einem handeltreibenden Staate gebührt) die Aussenseite; ja selbst die Frauen und Mädchen verschmähen nicht beim Hinaufsteigen der sehr sonderbar abgestuften Himmelsleiter, ihre Waden als outside zum Besten zu geben. Vielleicht ist das für einen Kenner das Hauptvergnügen der ganzen Reisemethode.

(Raumer, 1835, 327)

Raumer is amused, however, that the advantages and disadvantages of travelling 'outside' are a matter of equal debate to the British as such political questions as the corn laws, prohibition and slavery. He himself sees it as a matter of cause and effect:

Weil sie vortreffliche Wege und die besten Pferde besitzen und am schnellsten fahren; so ist die Bauart und Sitzart ihrer Kutschen ebenfalls die beste, beides steht in nothwendiger Verbindung und folgt auseinander. Weil Korngesetze vorhanden waren, und Sinecuren und verfallene Burgen, so ist England gross geworden etc. etc.

(*ibid.*)

With the help of Hume and Locke Raumer goes on to discuss the 'a priori' and 'a posteriori' theories of travelling outside; with good humour he points out that the discomfort of the hard wooden bench, especially if one is perched on the edge of it or against the sharp corner of a piece of luggage, requires stoical resignation rather than affording epicurean pleasure. At times he himself had felt "in die Zeiten meiner Jugend und der preussischen Postbarbarei zurückgesetzt" (*ibid.*, 328), but at the same time he appreciates that improvements are under way.

He then compares the Prussian and British stage systems; he finds the new Prussian coaches superior to the British, yet in speed and efficiency the Prussians are far behind. And while the British have the finest horses, harness, roads and speed, and the Prussians provide the traveller with the assurance of a reserved seat, it is the French alone who can offer the traveller excellent food.

Praise of the outside seats continued. In 1817 Meissner had recommended all to travel outside:

Ich bedauere den Fremden, der aus Furchtsamkeit oder aus Bequemlichkeit auf eine andere Weise reist, denn er nimmt von der Natur und Kultur des Landes bei der Schnelligkeit des englischen Reisens nur sehr schwache Erinnerungen wieder nach dem Kontinent zurück.

(Meissner, 87f.)

Furthermore, outside travel was cheaper. For the 117-mile journey from Newcastle to Edinburgh, which lasted from 5 a.m. until 10 p.m., the coach company rivalry had brought the inside fare down to one guinea, and the outside fare down to a mere 15/- (ibid., 198).

Schinkel was to be much impressed on his 1826 tour by the fine four-horse stage-coaches with their outside seats (Schinkel, ii, 156ff.) and even the normally discontented Hallberg-Broich does not resent the 8/- he pays in 1839 for an outside seat on a 24-mile journey, since it is half the inside fare and enables him to see much more of the country and people (Hallberg-Broich, 21). Later he travels the 145 miles from Inverness to Wick through the night, a journey which takes seventeen hours and costs him 12/6d. less than the inside fare of £2/10/-. Although he disapproves of travelling at night; since it forces one to behave as the British do abroad, eating alone, waited on by their personal servants and then rushing off, "um ihr Vaterland mit einem gelehrten Werk über die Sitten und Gebräuche von Nationen zu beglücken, bei denen sie die Zimmer im Gasthofs und die Postillons gesehen haben" (ibid., 76), he gives a clear picture of this journey:

Inverness, es schlägt ein Uhr Nachts; die Wächter schreien nach allen Ecken, die Reisenden versammeln sich um den Postwagen, allerhand Kisten und Packe werden zusammen getragen und die Menschen kommen in vielerlei Mänteln und Kappen herbei, einige steigen auf den Wagen, andere in die Kutsche, der Führer im

rothen Rock mit Gold bläst in ein langes Horn zum Herbeirufen der Reisenden, der dicke Kutscher besteigt seinen Sitz. Alles ist fertig! sagt der Hornbläser, und wir fahren im strengsten Lauf nach Wick ...

(ibid., 75f.)

Despite being able to see little, he reflects that travelling at night has its compensations; most people are snoring oblivious in their beds, "während ich mit siebenzig Jahren noch über dem ausgebrannten Planeten umherrolle, und in Kraft es mit Jedem aufnehmen kann" (ibid., 76).

In 1841, the year of Marx's visit, the railway ran only to Darlington and from there he travelled by the Royal Mail to Edinburgh. He, too, approves of the outside seats, occupied by all but the unhealthy and elderly women; outside the traveller sees more and pays less. As a doctor he finds it a healthy practice:

Wann wird man in Deutschland diesen zweckmässigen Gebrauch nachahmen? Ich glaube, die Frische der Engländer rührt mit davon her, dass sie sich kühn jedem Temperaturwechsel aussetzen. Die Erkältungstheorie hat hier wenig Liebhaber, wenigstens auf den Postwagen. Hinten auf sitzt ein Mann mit einem rothen Rock und einer Trompete, womit er unterwegs Zeichen giebt, dass ausgewichen werden müsse. Der elegante Wagen, die vier prächtigen Rosse, das funkelnde Geschirr, der feingekleidete Kutscher mit saubern Handschuhen, liessen nichts zu wünschen übrig. Im sausenden Galopp gings durch die Stadt, obgleich daselbst gerade Viehmarkt gehalten wurde.

(Marx, 14f.)

If the railway stopped at Darlington, the stage-coach did not go beyond Callander, and Marx, who had been impressed by the speed with which he had been able to travel so far - from York to Edinburgh in nineteen hours, from Edinburgh to Stirling in five hours and from Stirling to Callander in three - was forced to hire a gig to see the Trossachs, the only alternatives being to go on foot or horseback. Anxious to make the most of a fine morning, he had to content himself with an early morning walk, since the cab did not arrive until 5 a.m. His driver cut an unusual figure:

Der Kutscher sah höchst possirlich aus; nicht gerade ein Mohr, aber auch nicht von der kaukasischen Race; wahrscheinlich hatte sein Grossvater, seine Kindheit am Niger verlebt. Nach gut emancipirter englischer

Weise trug er einen runden Hut und einen grünen Frack; der Schneider mochte seine Noth haben, den Schluss recht zu treffen, denn der Wagenlenker hatte einen kleinen Verdruss, um den er sich jedoch wenig zu kümmern schien.

(ibid., 31)

Not all coachmen were as colourful as this but those travellers who take their drivers and fellow passengers into account bring life to their descriptions. When travelling 'inside' to escape the rain, both Marx and Kohl find themselves in the company of friendly ministers and there are many instances where the visitors are grateful for assistance and interest on the part of fellow travellers. Kohl in particular relates many conversations, whether on the road or in inns and hotels. Wherever possible he travels outside, although the autumn weather forces him on occasion to seek "Schutz unter dem Dache meiner Hütte, meiner wandernden Hütte nämlich, ich meine den Postwagen" (Kohl, i, 127).

To Carus, travelling in comfort and private, also in the 1840's, the great improvements in communications in the Highlands were striking. He echoes Kohl's sentiments:

Welche Beschwerden mag es noch vor einem halben Jahrhundert gehabt haben in diesen Gegenden, durch zum Theil so unwirthliche Gebirge zu ziehen! - Jetzt fahren wir mit den schweren Reisewagen und mit den freilich meist vor auszubestellenden guten Pferden, im raschen Trabe dahin; Überall sind die Strassen gut erhalten und an den wesentlichen Stationen finden sich die besten Gasthöfe.

(Carus, ii, 206)

When the King's party hires an old stage-coach to travel from Banavie to Inverness, Carus cannot resist the temptation of sitting 'outside'. Throughout their tour so far he had often gazed in silent wonder at the 'outside' passengers speeding by, men, and women too, crowded together, "wirklich halb in der Luft, so dass ich nun diese Gelegenheit nicht vorbeilassen konnte, einmal die eigne Erfahrung zu machen. Bei den guten Strassen ist die Sache nicht so übel als sie aussieht, der Überblick der Gegend ist sehr hübsch von da oben, und wer nicht bei schwankenden Bewegungen, wie sie in dieser Höhe nicht fehlen, leicht von Schwindel befallen wird, mag sich ganz gut da oben befinden können" (ibid., 229f.) For women travelling on the coach box meant throwing modesty to the winds. Lewald, when persuaded by her hosts

to go for such a drive in the Queen's Park in Edinburgh, writes:

In allen solchen Dingen ist man in England ganz ungenirt, ohne Rücksicht auf "die Leute" nur für seine eigene Bequemlichkeit besorgt. Auf dem Platze der Bedienten hinter dem Wagen auf dem Kutschersitz, and auf dem Rücksitz, fahren, während Männer den Fond einnehmen, Damen, wenn Wetter oder Licht ihnen diese Plätze angenehm erscheinen lassen.

(Lewald, ii, 266)

Once she has been persuaded by the man to ride in this manner herself, she admits, "so habe ich denn auch auf meinem ungewohnten Platze die Gegend vortrefflich übersehen" (*ibid.*). The same year Brandes was also to enjoy the view from an outside seat, "welches nicht wie in Frankreich der schlechteste, sondern der beste Platz ist, mit 4 bequemen Sitzbänken für 16 Personen und der freien Aussicht über Berg und Thal" (Brandes, 29). On a sunny day he thoroughly enjoys the ride through the Trossachs to Oban pulled by four fine and fast horses on good and smooth roads. The smooth ride enables him to devote his attention to the scenery. Rellstab, too, enjoys a ride outside when travelling from Stirling to the Trossachs. As usual his account is over-dramatised, but there is no doubt that by 1851 coach travel in Scotland provided a more than lively contrast to the now common railway:

Peitschenknall! Froher Schnall! Der Wagen rollt vor! Die Coach! Innen und Aussen gefüllt! Wir haben noch Platz auf der Out-Side, hoch genug, um Arm und Bein, zu niedrig, um den Hals zu brechen beim Umwerfen. Aber nur vorwärts! Desto lustiger wird die Fahrt! - ... Wir sitzen! - Vorwärts! Huy! Die Pferde fliegen - es ist doch ein anderes Fahren mit lebendigen Rossen, als mit dem todten Dampfungeheuer voran! Wir werden nicht so schnell fortgeführt, aber es scheint schneller, und auf dem Schein kommt Alles an im Leben, - im Leben ein Traum!

(Rellstab, i, 318)

Indeed the preoccupation with dream and reality dominates Rellstab's account of Scotland, since his lengthy description of the Trossachs is overburdened with sentimental and romantic fancy concerning his fellow travellers, notably a young girl whom he christens "Blondine" or "Blondchen", her sketching companion, "Lady Album" or "Lady Crayon", and his 'rival' for their company, a young man whom he calls "Katz". The two ladies are not present on this occasion, however, and Rellstab

is forced to concentrate on the journey, the account of which is punctuated by a recurrent phrase, repeated an unnecessary seven times, namely "Desto lustiger wird die Fahrt!" Nonetheless the ingredients of the ride which impress him are the same as those which were to strike Fontane seven years later, the crowded benches, the ever-increasing load of luggage, the cramped discomfort and the unbelievable fact that more and more people clamber on at each stop. Reilstab feels moved to suggest to the Berlin 'Polizei-Präsidium' that a dozen cab and omnibus drivers should be sent every year to Stirling, "um die ächten Principien wahrer Fahrkunst zu erlernen" (ibid., 319):

Ich glaube, die lex Scotiae über das Coachfahren lautet Paragraphus 1: Wenn, auf der Station angelangt, noch ein Radnagel hält und ein Passagiergebein ganz geblieben ist, so hat der Auriga vehiculi den Strang verwirkt. - So wenigstens fuhr unser Wagenlenker. (ibid., 319f.).

The account continues in like vein for several pages, with Reilstab expressing amazement that the "hexenbesessener Coachmann" (ibid., 325) had not overturned or damaged his vehicle. In describing the bumps, he uses a simile related to his profession as music critic: "Wir flogen wie die Klavierdämpfer, wenn der Deckel aufgehoben ist, immer gerade aufwärts" (ibid., 326). If he could have restricted himself to such comments, all would have been well, but, as usual, Reilstab overburdens his account with an excess of purple language.

Occasionally the travellers were forced to ride in some vehicle completely unfamiliar to them. Reilstab describes an unusual six-seater gig which he terms a "Rädermaschine" (ibid., ii, 8), one of a variety of carts and carriages "von verschiedenster und seltsamster Art" which meet the steamer on Loch Lomond, while Mendelssohn and Klingemann, travelling alternately by steamer and road from Inveraray to Glasgow, find themselves first "auf eins der lebenswürdigen Fuhrwerke von offenem Bergcharakter, die Carts heissen" and then in a "Dampfkutsche", "ein lächerliches Fuhrwerk mit einem hohen Schornstein und einem Steuer" (Klingemann, Hensel, 254f.), which, despite appearances, is drawn by horses. Nearly thirty years later Ullrich, travelling in the same parts, from Oban to Inveraray, was to be equally surprised by the transport available:

Diese Fahrgelegenheit war jedoch ausnahmsweise herzlich schlecht und dem unstäten Klima völlig unangemessen; man schwebte in dem offenen Wagen, auf allen Sitzen nach aussen gekehrt, halb und halb in der Luft und musste sich durch equilibriumistische Vorsicht im festen Gleichgewicht zu erhalten suchen. Zwölf Personen nahmen auf diesem elenden Gefährt Platz, darunter meine vier deutschen Reisekollegen und ich.

(Ullrich, 368)

From Inveraray, however, the outside seat of the regular stage-coach "liess nichts zu wünschen übrig" (*ibid.*, 381) and he could enjoy this ride to the full. Having had to sample four different modes of travel within the space of one day on his journey to Inveraray in 1822, Löwenthal had been well qualified to describe each. In his view the two-wheeled Highland cart - "das gewöhnliche, jämmerlich zerrüttelnde Fuhrwerk dieser Gegenden" (Löwenthal, 96) - did at least have the advantage that the traveller could enjoy a panoramic view. The same could be said of an open rowing boat, and Löwenthal did not hesitate to hire one where necessary, even if it meant being carried ashore by one of the oarsmen (*ibid.*, 97).

Löwenthal reflected on another aspect of coach travel on his departure from Scotland for York:

Von dem Städtchen Haddington bis Dunbar ... rannte ein armer Teufel gleichen Schrittes mit der raschen Kutsche neben derselben her. Ein solcher Mensch, der für einige Pence seine Lunge verkauft, gehört mir in die Classe der Boxer; eine Betrachtung, die in mir jeden Funken Mitleids erstickt. Aber auf die Theilnahme des Engländers darf er mit Sicherheit rechnen, da er ihm in dieser seiner Bettelweise zugleich ein kleines Fest in einem Geschmacke gibt. - Bei Berwick ging es auf schöner Steinbrücke über die Tweed, und Schottland lag mit all seiner Wildheit und Schönheit hinter mir.

(Löwenthal, 134)

Löwenthal's last experience of Scotland was comparable with Isensee's first, thirteen years later in 1835. Travelling the same route north, from Berwick to Edinburgh, they were joined by a "Begleiter ganz eigener Art" (Isensee, 112). Not only were the horses several hands higher than those of Mecklenburg, but this man suddenly leapt on to the coach with a leap as high as any horse's. The character in question was apparently a self-appointed guide, from Leith, who travelled at the coachman's discretion and throughout the journey displayed remarkable

garrulousness. Isensee contrasts his "blind" monologue 'outside' with the elegant conversation of a French banker which he experienced 'inside' after it had grown dark. His remarks are typical of his own garrulous style:

O des volubilen redeseligen Schotten, unter den schweigsamen Englishmen. Die guthmüthige Seele stellte, wie Sie deviniren, eine Art blinden Passagier dar. Eine Mischung verschämter und, wegen des, muthmasslich ihm selten gebotenen Fahrens, freudiger Gefühle belebte die drei Zungennerven nach beiden Seiten mit einem Eifer, der das vom unerlaubten Fuhrwerk belastete Gewissen im dankbaren Wortstrom entladen zu wollen schien. Als wir gegen Abend Ruinen eines alten Schlosses sahen, wo Maria Stuart sich zuweilen aufgehalten, entgleiteten dem Heraufkömmling in familiärer Traulichkeit sogar einige Equivoquen, die uns, als Ausdrücke der untersten Volkmeinung über das Leben jener Königin, mancherlei Notizen lieferten. "She has had," rief er, nach dem Lustschloss hinzeigend, "here every night an other husband." Sie sehen: Vox populi vox DEI.

(ibid., 112f.)

Whether Isensee's assessment of the non-paying passenger from Leith was correct or not, his account remains entertaining. He himself was undeniably impressed by the stage-coach journey from Newcastle, by the speed of the big bay horses, with their gleaming harness, by the comfort of the coach and the excellence of the roads. There were drawbacks, however; outside travel might be cheaper, but it was also dirty and exposed to all weathers, and the almost obligatory tips demanded by the coachmen - and given "aus einer Art gezwungener Freigebigkeit" (ibid., 102) - could make the journey expensive. The horses were changed every ten to fifteen miles, and each time the coachman expected a full shilling, refusing a mere sixpence. In 1842 Kohl was also to report on the high cost of travel in Scotland, especially in the Highlands. He reckoned the tenpence he had had to pay for a lunch of Athole Brose and oatcake in a village on Loch Tay was "so theuer ... als irgend etwas in der Welt" and was little comforted to learn that Victoria and Albert had been given the same on their recent tour (Kohl, ii, 66). He could not understand the high prices: a breakfast, which might cost 2/- in an English inn and 1/- in an elegant London club, cost 3/- in the Highlands, the cost, too, of a night's lodging (normally from 2/- to 2/6 elsewhere). Even though it was late

in the year and he was the only traveller, he had to pay a driver from 6/- to 8/- daily, and most drivers were very dissatisfied if they did not receive more. A two-wheeled gig cost at least 1/- a mile and the extortionate tips - "what the driver expects" - could bring a journey up to 7 or 8/- per German mile. Kohl could find no reasonable explanation for this:

Ich konnte mir diese Preise bei so armen Leuten, wie die Bergschotten es sind, nicht recht erklären. Es ist auch nicht wahrscheinlich, dass diese Preise bloss auf dieser sogenannten fashionablen Tour existiren; denn wären sie weiterhin bedeutend niedriger, so würden sie auch auf der fashionablen Tour durch Concurrenz bald herabgedrückt werden. Welcher Contrast besteht in dieser Hinsicht zwischen Schottland und dem sonst in so vieler Beziehung ihm ähnlichen und gleich armen Norwegen!

(ibid., 67)

An account of a coach ride which rivals that of Fontane in liveliness and narrative description comes from Förster, who travelled from Loch Katrine to Stirling on the outside of a coach in 1851. In introducing his description, he prepares his readers for what is to come: "Die Fahrt, die nun begann, gehört zu den wunderbarlichsten, die ich jemals mitgemacht habe" (Förster, 337). This is quite an admission for one so widely travelled as Förster. He admires the fine coach and four handsome horses, and like everyone else is anxious to climb on top to admire the view:

Ich hatte meinen Sitz unmittelbar hinter dem Kutscher, und damit die beste Gelegenheit, die seltenen Eigenschaften dieses Mannes, seine feinen Manieren, wie seine Stärke und Gewandtheit, seine Belesenheit, wie seine scharlachrothe Uniform ganz in der Nähe bewundern zu können. Die Pferde berührten kaum den Boden, der Wagen flog; in der Landschaft wechselten wilde und liebliche Stellen, und die ganze Gesellschaft schien sich äusserst behaglich zu fühlen.

(ibid., 337)

This contentment is soon dispelled when they reach an inn and have to accommodate a crowd of new passengers:

Es waren sehr geistreiche Physiognomien unter den Männern, und die Ladies waren von bezaubernder Schönheit; allein ich gestehe, nachdem ich zwölf Personen in das Innre des Wagens hatte einsteigen sehen und überzählt, dass wir unser sechszehn oben auf dem Wagen sassen, hatte ich vorläufig nur noch

ein arithmetisch-stereometrisches Bewusstsein,
und ein gewisses Gefühl von Unbeweglichkeit.

(ibid.)

When they are told that the inn is housing several injured passengers from Stirling, whose coach had upturned the day before due to overcrowding and the carelessness of the driver, the feeling of unease is heightened. Once all is loaded, the journey continues, "und zwar ganz im Tact des bisherigen Presto":

ja es schien, unser Rothrock sei nun erst in seinem Element, und warm geworden. Nun erinnerte er an die Ellen-Insel im See, an die Bucht, wo das Fräulein den König in den Nachen genommen; dann wies er nach den Heimathbergen des Rodrik-Dhu und der Höhle des Douglas, sprach bald in Prosa, bald, und zwar äusserst geläufig, mit den Versen Walter Scotts, vergass aber keinen Augenblick, weder die Pferde zu treiben und zu lenken, noch uns auf die Aeste der Birken und Ulmen aufmerksam zu machen, die häufig, wenn nicht uns selbst vom Wagen, doch unsere Hüte vom Kopf zu streifen drohten.

(ibid., 338)

The account continues with lines quoted from "The Lady of the Lake", interspersed with the coachman's warning cries of "Die Hüte! Gentlemen!" and "Hüte und Köpfe! Gentlemen!". As they dodge and duck and feel Scott's "der Eichen und der Birken Schatten", they come suddenly on a narrow bridge and are told by their coachman that it was here that "der Tölpel John" had upset his coach the day before, whereupon the man whips his horses even harder, continuing all the while to point out the famous sites from "The Lady of the Lake", "ohne einen Augenblick seine Pferde oder unsere Hüte oder Hüte und Köpfe ausser Acht zu lassen" (ibid., 339). Förster can only conclude: "Und so erlebte ich wieder einmal ein Stück vom Glück des Dichters, der im Herzen seines Volkes lebt, und ihm Augenblicke Stunden und selbst Tage der Begeisterung sichert" (ibid.). The journey was not over yet, however, and further luggage was loaded in Callander and Doune, where two of the horses were unharnessed; despite a heavy rain storm, a veritable pyramid of luggage and a horse that now stumbled, the coachman continued as before. Förster felt an accident to be inevitable, "wenn nicht unser poetischer Rothrock mit der Seelenruhe eines Schiffcapitäns uns zugesprochen hatte":

Das ist denn einer der Augenblicke, wo ich tausendfach die Erfindung der Eisenbahnen segne, da ich mit einer Bestie von Locomotiv, sie mag keuchen und

schrauben wie sie will, doch nicht das Erbarmen zu haben brauche, in das mich jeder Postgaul wirft, und gar, wenn er hier mit seinem Kameraden, ausser dem Wagen und der Baggage, noch achtundzwanzig Personen über Stock und Stein, durch Wind und Wetter ziehen muss.

(ibid., 340f.)

In the five pages in which he describes this precarious ride Förster thus manages to bring the Trossachs to life, both as the setting of Scott's poem and as a modern day tourist site. Like Mendelssohn's, his account is bursting with energy, yet he refrains from the overstatement or exaggeration to which Rellstab resorts. Finally, despite the adventure and the opportunity it gave him to see such famous countryside, he admits that he is a child of his day and cannot honestly condone coach travel as being either of sentimental or of romantic value.

iv. Steam Travel

Die Engländer bemühen sich auf jegliche Weise das Reisen und die Bequemlichkeit der Reisenden und somit auch ihren eigenen Vortheil zu fördern. Ueberall lassen sie zu festgesetzten Stunden in den schönen Gegenden, wo es möglich ist, Dampfschiffe gehen, und wo die Wasserstrassen aufhören, stehen sogleich Wagen bereit und fahren in die Berge hinein.
(Brandes, 42)

Brandes' praise of the convenience of Scottish travel comes as an introduction to his account of sailing up the Caledonian Canal. By the year of his visit in 1850, even though the railways were rapidly being established, travel by water featured greatly on a tour of Scotland. The rapid growth in trade, the great canal building and the tourist desire to visit the inland lochs and islands made the period under study Scotland's age of steam travel. In 1816 the first steamer crossed the Channel and five years later there were as many crossings as there are today. Many visitors arrived in Scotland by boat, whether from Ireland, like Kohl, from London, like Wichmann, or from the Continent, and nearly all of these visitors would at some stage travel within Scotland by steamer, whether up the Forth or Clyde, in the Trossachs or Great Glen, or from Oban to the islands.

During the first decades of the century packet boats, sloops and smacks were still very much in evidence. By 1816, Spiker, who describes the latter sailing between Leith and Germany on the east coast (Spiker, 223), could also witness much activity in ship building on the Clyde, where he saw many new steam boats. He was impressed by these as they were different from the regular steamers, longer than usual, with two masts to cater for strong winds and wheels that could be raised four feet, right out of the water (*ibid.*, 304). He himself had travelled from Glasgow to Greenock in a steamer, and was well able to appreciate the advantage of a sail since those steamers with sails had overtaken them with ease, while their own boat had struggled against a strong wind, the journey taking an unnecessary five and a half hours. Although the boat was slow, however, Spiker was impressed with her fittings, the first class cabin providing passengers with every comfort and requirement, including draughts, cards, chess boards, newspapers and books, for the use of which the passenger paid 4/-. The other cabin, "für die geringeren Leute bestimmt" (*ibid.*, 302), was at the opposite end of the boat and was furnished only with two long tables and benches.

Two years earlier Holzenthal had been transported by one of the Leith smacks to Harwich, from where he and his fellow prisoners were transferred to a transport ship to Holland and eventual freedom. He is impressed by the packet boat, describing its dimensions and fittings, sleeping quarters and service. The passenger, who pays four guineas for the latter, receives breakfast, a midday meal of soup, vegetables and meat and ale, an evening meal of bread, butter, cheese and tea, and also rum or whisky. Holzenthal, after years as a prisoner-of-war, evidently finds this luxurious, and feels quite safe in the hands of the humane and friendly Captain Crichton and his crew. The boats are privately owned and sail twice a week to London, renowned for their speed. Nonetheless they too are at the mercy of the winds and their voyage is delayed two days while they lie idly at anchor (Holzenthal, 235ff.).

A few years later, in 1817, Meissner highly recommended travelling on one of Leith's smacks as the cheapest and most comfortable way of reaching London from Edinburgh. Four or five boats completed this

voyage per week:

Der Preiss für die ganze Reise, die gewöhnlich 5 oder 6 Tage währt, ist jetzt durch die Konkurrenz mehrerer Gesellschaften, die solche Smacks ausrüsteten, auf 3 Guineas herabgesetzt worden. Der Reisende findet dafür ausser einer vortrefflichen Kost alle nur erdenkliche Bequemlichkeiten, und die Schiffe selbst, die fürs Schnellsegeln gebaut sind, werden mit den geschicktesten Matrosen bemannt. (Meissner, 285)

Meissner was also well aware of the advantages of the new steam travel. He found it gratifying that Glasgow folk could now escape the factories on an excursion to Inveraray for a mere ten shillings, while the elegance of the steamer in which he himself travelled from Edinburgh up the Forth to Alloa moved him to write a glowing account similar to those of Spiker before him and Meidinger after (ibid., 247 & 233).

On Meidinger's first visit to Britain, in 1820, he writes of the rivalry between the British and the French packet boats, praising the superiority of the former. As he crosses the Channel he sees many wrecks from recent storms (Meidinger, Briefe, 2f.), but although he writes of the dangers of the Scottish coast in such weather, he himself enjoys a peaceful crossing from Glasgow to Belfast later in the year, fully confident in the modern advances of steam travel. He is much impressed by the newly completed "Superb", the largest steamer ever built in Europe, which he sees on the Clyde and describes in some detail. Like Spiker, he is taken with its fine fittings and comforts and optional use of the two-masted sail, but above all he is impressed by the modern advances in engine safety and foresees that the improvements will ensure a great growth in steam travel. Of the Clyde he writes, "Hier ist das Land der Dampfboote, die von allen Seiten mit schnellem Ruderschlag vorüberreilen, und schon in der Ferne durch ihren kometenartigen Schweif in der Luft kenntlich sind" (ibid., 166). Finally he also acknowledges Scotland as the home of the inventor of the steam engine, James Watt (ibid., 167). In his later work Meidinger was to give complimentary accounts of both the Forth and Clyde and the Caledonian Canals, of Wade's roads and the coach and steamer connections (ibid., Reisen, 58,75,81,91 & 93). The busy Clyde waterways were to impress the visitors throughout the century; in 1817 Meissner reports that twelve or more steamers, each filled with people, depart and arrive daily on the Clyde (Meissner, 283) and Klingemann writes of seventy steamers in Glasgow in 1829 (Klingemann, Hensel, 255),

while over twenty years later Förster was to write :
 "Auf dem Clyde wimmelte es von Schiffen, und auf den Schiffen von Menschen, dass ich mich anfangs nicht zurecht fand" (Förster 319).
 On such journeys the tourists had to share their boats with native Scots, luggage and animals, and this they sometimes resented.

By 1822, the year of Otto's visit, pleasure steamers were already running on Loch Lomond and Loch Katrine and he writes that one sails round the loch once a day from the 1st of June. Having abandoned his walking tour, he enjoys a pleasant and comfortable journey from Fort Augustus to Inverness by steamer (Otto, 355), but he was to be less comfortable travelling from Glasgow to Belfast:

von den Reisenden erkrankte einer nach dem anderen;
 ich lag in meinem Bette, das Rasseln der Räder und
 die schaukelnde Bewegung des Schiffes verstatteten
 mir keinen Schlaf, ich war aber der einzige, der
 nicht seekrank wurde. Mehrmals ging ich auf das
 Verdeck; der Anblick der Maschine, die durch
 eigene Kraft, ohne Hilfe der Menschen, den Elementen
 trotzte und sich den Weg bahnte, gewährte mir viel
 Vergnügen. (ibid., 360)

In these relatively early days of steam travel the passengers, Maidinger, Spiker and Otto amongst them, were disturbed by the unaccustomed noise of the wheels and the engine, but no amount of familiarity could dispel sea sickness and several visitors suffered from it in Scotland. Both Schinkel's and Mendelssohn's artistic inclinations were numbed by seasickness on stormy passages to Staffa; much as Schinkel would have liked to have partaken of breakfast or sketched the seagulls, he felt too ill to do so (Schinkel, iii, 106f.), while Klingemann gives a lively account of the sea's effect on his fellow passengers, who, like his "Reisepechbruder" Mendelssohn, nearly all succumbed to the malaise, leaving the crew to eat breakfast on their own (Klingemann, Hensel, 250f.). Ten years later, in 1839, Hallberg-Broich undertook the same journey to Staffa, sailing first from Glasgow to Oban "in zahlreicher Gesellschaft mit vielen schönen Mädchen" (Hallberg-Broich, 67). The pages which describe this journey are typical of his style; there is no apparent order and he moves, whimsically, from one subject to the next. Having described the Glasgow monuments to Nelson and Watt, "der, wie bekannt, den Dampf und die Eisenbahnen in ein System gebracht hat" (ibid., 65), he reflects on the results that time and war have had on travel. Like his predecessors, he is impressed that the steam boats are run by private companies but sees this as the natural outcome of

misgovernment - in running up the huge national debt, the government had only increased the private wealth of those who had amassed it during the war and in turn these had refused to sink their money in overtaxed property. To Hallberg this is a vicious circle: "Endlich aber wird doch einmal der Höhepunkt erreicht, von welchem die alles verheerende Last auf die Staaten und Menschen herunter fällt" (ibid., 66). Squandering misgovernment had led to the collapse of all the great powers of the past, Greece, Asia Minor, Turkey, Egypt and Rome, and in Hallberg's view Britain is on the same path. Germany, however, has found the unerring means to avoid this, through the police force, population register and censorship, "nachdem wir wissen, dass die Rebellion der Griechen und der Sturz des Dey von Algiers durch die Pressfreiheit entstanden ist" (ibid.) Similar digressions, seemingly so out of place in a tour of Scotland, are to be found throughout Hallberg's account. The sight of the monument to Henry Bell (whose "Comet" had been launched from Port Glasgow in 1812) brings him back to his voyage down the Clyde, but, instead of the normal praise of the beauty of the scenery and the efficiency of the travel means, he maintains his disparaging point of view:

Selten sieht man zwischen diesen öden Bergen ein kleines Plätzchen kultivirter Erde, und noch seltener Menschen; alles ist öde gleich dem ewigen Chaos, die ganze Natur ein Grab. Ewiger Regen und Kälte waren unsere Begleiter auf den schmutzigen schlechten Dampfschiffen. Die Eisenbahnen, wie die Dampfschiffe, sind in ganz England weit hinter denen am Rhein und in Belgien zurück, sehr theuer, und das Essen und Trinken schlecht. Die ausserordentliche Höflichkeit der Engländer gegen Fremde kann nicht genug gerühmt werden, nur stossen und treten sie andere auf die Füße, ohne die mindeste Entschuldigung vorzubringen; sie sind immer allein in der Welt. (ibid., 68)

Even where he does find room for praise, Hallberg always feels the need to qualify it negatively. Later on his tour he journeys by steamer to visit Orkney and Shetland and returns from Lerwick to Aberdeen, after a rough three-day crossing. His description of the steamer is proof that this was not yet a tourist route:

Nachdem ich endlich alle Merkwürdigkeiten gesehen und mit schrecklicher langer Weile gekämpft hatte, meldete mir der Kapitän des schmutzigen Dampfschiffes, dass er hundert Kühe, hundert Schafe, zehn Pferde und eine Menge Gänse und Hühner geladen und Abends sechs Uhr nach Aberdeen abdampfen würde, wobei es dann an Musik nicht fehlte, welches uns um so unangenehmer, da das Wetter schlecht, die See sehr hoch ging und der Genuss von Rostbeef und Häringen endlich zum Eckel wird. Unterdessen musste man den Magen doch damit vollstopfen, da sonst nichts zu haben war.

(ibid., 82f.)

Only Ziegler followed Hallberg-Broich to the Northern Isles. He, too, experienced the rough waters of the Pentland Firth but accepted it with equanimity:

Triton blies lustig in seine Muschel und "es tanzten die Wellen, es drohte das Meer, das taumelnde Schiff zu verschlingen". Sturm, Regen, Wind und Nebel scheinen hier eingebürgert zu sein. Endlich war der tückische Canal durchschnitten, South Ronaldshey [sic], die südlichste Insel der Orkaden, tauchte aus den Fluten empor und unser Schiff lief bald ... in den Hafen von St. Kirkwall [sic], der Hauptstadt der Orkneys ein.

(Ziegler, Bilder, 169)

For the majority of the visitors, travel afforded a unique chance to reflect on Scottish life, to watch not only fellow tourists but also native Scots at close hand, and to witness the effects on the country of the advances in communications. It is natural that they dwell on the subject at some length. Visiting the country in 1826, Schinkel writes:

Seit zehn Jahren haben sich allein in Glasgow sechszig Dampfboote für diese Nordgegenden etablirt, und bei dem regelmässigen Gange derselben erhalten diese weitgedehnten Wüsten nun so viel Verbindung, dass ihr Charakter sich bald bedeutend ändern wird und schon jetzt angefangen hat, ein civilisirtes Ansehn zu bekommen. Diese Fahrzeuge sind stets voll Schotten, die in die südlichen Gegenden gehen und sich in den neuen Prachtstädten Glasgow und Edinburgh umsehen wollen, oder voll Südländer, die das Hochland aus Neugierde besuchen. Vor fünfzig Jahren müssen die beiden oben genannten Städte ebenfalls noch den wüsten Charakter gehabt haben; denn wunderbar contrastiren in diesen Städten die steinernen Hütten, mit Stroh gedeckt, in den alten Theilen mit den Prachtstrassen voll Palästen, zwanzig Fuss breiten Trottoirs aus den feinsten Steinen mit Eisengittern und Gaslaternen-trägern usw. England ist seit fünfzig Jahren, als so

lange die Maschinen eigentlich ihr Wesen treiben, um das Doppelte und an vielen Orten um das Drei- und Vierfache in sich vergrössert und verschönert worden. Dies ist eine ausserordentliche Erscheinung, die jedem aufmerksamen Reisenden zuerst auffallen muss. Der Gipfel ist aber auch gekommen, und die Speculation hat sich übertrieben ...

(Schinkel, ii, 161)

Although far more openminded and reasonable than Hallberg-Broich, Schinkel and Hallberg essentially hold the same view - however advanced and splendid modern progress has rendered Britain, the upward trend cannot continue.

Ten years later, in 1836, Hailbronner and Pulszky travelled on several steamers in Scotland. Pulszky is impressed by the eight locks at the head of Loch Lochy on the Caledonian Canal (Pulszky, 165), but it is Hailbronner who gives the fullest account of contemporary steam boat travel in Scotland, devoting some fifteen pages to a description of their voyage to Staffa, the boat in which they travel, the service they receive on board, and their fellow passengers. Like the majority of the German visitors he is surprised by the extent of the communications network:

Zunächst den Amerikanern haben es die Schotten am weitesten im Bau der Dampfschiffe gebracht, und man findet hier alles vereinigt, was Sicherheit und Comfort bieten kann. Man glaubt in London das Höchste in der Entwicklung dieser herrlichen Verbindungsmittel gesehen zu haben. Allein die Ufer, Seen und Canäle Schottlands zeigen hierin noch weit erstaunlichere Resultate, und die Geschwindigkeit und Eleganz der schottischen Schiffe ist als überwiegend anerkannt. Doch nicht allein auf dem grossen caledonischen Canal, der übrigens durch seine 26 Schleusen so theuer und langwierig wird, dass die Waaren leichter die grössten Umwege machen, als ihn befahren: nicht bloss auf den grossen Seen und nicht bloss in den grossen Handelsstädten Glasgow, Leith und Inverness, diesen Stapelplätzen für alle Welttheile, finden sich Schaaren von Dampfschiffen, welche zu allen Stunden nach allen Richtungen dahin fliegen, sondern man findet auf allen Küsten, in allen Häfen täglich Dampffahrzeuge, um nach den Shetlands-, Orkneys- und Hebridischen Inseln zu gelangen, und nur Einen Plan gelang es uns nicht auszuführen, nämlich nach Island zu fahren, wozu sich bereits eine zahlreiche Gesellschaft zusammengefunden und einem Dampfcapitän hübsche Anerbietungen gemacht hatte.

(Hailbronner, 323)

Hailbronner points out that despite the technical advances, the steamers are still not yet safe on the ocean, requiring only a high sea to set them off balance and stop their engines. Nonetheless he finds them the last word in comfort: "Die neuesten schottischen Dampfschiffe sind ausserordentlich lang von Bord, und von einer Festigkeit und Bequemlichkeit der Einrichtung, welche alles hinter sich lässt, was man hierin in England findet" (ibid., 324). Like Spiker, he goes on to describe the first class furnishings, the elegant balustrades and sofas, the dance floor, the mahogany tables and tasteful seats, the library with its up-to-date newspapers and journals, excellent copper engravings on the walls of the areas in which the ship sails, writing materials, cushions on which to lie down, "und, was besonders angenehm ist, die decentesten Ableitungscanäle für urplötzlich seekrank werdende" (ibid., 324f.). All this and more is to be found in the "Conversationssalon, welcher für mindestens achtzig Personen Platz bietet, in grösster Eleganz vereinigt, wobei sich von selbst versteht, dass alle Böden und Treppen, ja selbst Waterclosets mit Teppichen, und alle Wände mit Spiegeln ausgelegt sind" (ibid., 325). The elegance and taste, "von keiner Nation übertroffen", is also reflected in the separate diningroom (a great improvement on the English ships), the ladies' lounge and diningroom and the sleeping quarters. Hailbronner is not so complimentary about the adopted American custom of changing clothes on board, since he sees this as emphasising the select nature of the first class society. He is impressed by the cleanliness of the second class facilities, in which domestics, horses and merchandise are transported, and is full of admiration for the care and attention paid to passengers to ensure their comfort and safety. His major complaint is that the English passengers (as opposed to the Scots and Irish) behave towards each other and their fellow travellers in a cold, reticent and heartless manner and only alter this demeanour in the company of foreigners. The ladies are forward and friendly, however, and also admirably hardy in contrast to their German counterparts:

Besonders zeichnen sich die Damen in Härte gegen Unwetter aus, und man muss erstaunen, wie gleichgültig sie gegen Sturm und Regen sind. Die englische Erziehung beider Geschlechter arbeitet vorzüglich auf Abhärtung, und man darf sich deshalb nicht wundern, auf den Outsideplätzen der öffentlichen Kutschen und

auf Schiffsverdecken junge zarte Mädchen, so wie Matronen zu finden, die sich dem grausamsten Wetter mit Indifferenz preisgeben.

(ibid., 327)

Once the company has become acquainted, the women are sometimes included at meal times; Hailbronner describes both breakfast and dinner on board, but it is the evening social, centred round a steaming teapot or hot toddy, which he relishes most. As for the cost of such travel, competition keeps it well below practical terms; for one hundred miles, which would normally cost one pound, Hailbronner pays only five shillings. As he remarks, somebody was bound to suffer sooner or later, though it had not yet come to the state of stage-coach travel, for which he had once had to pay nothing at all, in accordance with the company's advertisement, "NB Outside what you please, Inside detto!" (ibid., 329).⁹

From Hull to London the steamer fare had sunk to four shillings, while it was only fifteen from London to Edinburgh. This situation had altered by the time of Ziegler's visit in 1851; on the three-hour voyage to Iona Ziegler paid twenty-five shillings for first class passage with breakfast and lunch and he comments that this was typical of Scotland's unusually high prices and fares (Ziegler, Bilder, 214)

By the 1840's the situation on Scotland's waterways was changing. Carus, who was greatly interested by the building and the functioning of the canals, points out that it had become a matter of honour to continue with the building of the Caledonian Canal. The Government, unable to meet the costs, had only completed it on that account, since the canal itself, now that the recent wars were over, had outlived its usefulness, (Carus, ii, 234f.). By now the canals also had to compete with the railways and in 1842 Kohl indicates that their era was already passing:

Vor zwei oder drei Jahren gab es auf dem Clyde die grösste Zahl von Flussdampfschiffen, die seitdem etwas abgenommen hat, weil die Dampffahrt auf dem Lande (die der Eisenbahnen) mit ihr in siegreiche Concurrenz getreten ist. Die Eisenbahnen an den Ufern der Flüsse verschaffen überall der Gaa den Sieg über das glatte Reich des Neptun.

(Kohl, i, 9)

Kohl himself was happy to travel at the mercy of both deities; indeed, he of all the visitors made use of the greatest variety of travel means in Scotland, journeying on foot, by cart, coach, "minibus" [a two-

wheeled four-seater used in Edinburgh)¹⁰, barge, steamer and rail. Where forty years before Nemnich or Goede would have given a formal description of the vessel, Kohl's account of his companions on board the steamer from Belfast to Glasgow is enough to give a clear picture of the journey:

Einige schottische Herren von der Linnenlinie, einige von der Seidenlinie, eine paar "cottonwiners" ..., "cottonweavers" ... und "cottonbleachers", und einer, der, als ich ihn um sein Geschäft befragte, mir sagte, er sei in der Wollenlinie (I am in the woolen line) - dies waren meine Gefährten auf dem ersten Platze des von einem gewaltigen Sturme geschaukelten Dampfschiffes, das in den letzten Tages des Oktobers von Belfast in Irland nach Glasgow in Schottland hinüberfuhr. Arme Irländer, die zu den fabricirenden Städten Schottlands hinüberwanderten, um dort zu suchen, was sie in ihrem eigenen heimatlichen Paradiese nicht finden konnten, Arbeit und Brot, nahmen, in Lumpen und in eine trübe Wolke von Sorgen gehüllt, den zweiten Platz ein, und der übrige Raum des Schiffes war mit totem und lebendigem Vieh, mit Geflügel, Putern, Hühnern, Schweinen und Ochsen angefüllt, die wir Menschen alle glücklich priesen, da sie weder von Sorgen, noch von der Seekrankheit geplagt wurden.

(ibid., 1f.)

It is with the above passage that Kohl opens his account of his Scottish travels; his use of salient detail can be seen to be closely related to the style which Fontane was to adopt in describing his steam boat journey on the Forth. It is not the boat itself which makes the voyage what it is, but the passengers and cargo. A comparable passage in Wichmann's account describes a wretched voyage from Dublin, in which the 'cargo' consists of a miserable shipment of soldiers' wives and children, who are so ill that three infants perish and are thrown overboard (Wichmann, 95f.). Fanny Lewald conveys much life through her account of the journey to Staffa. She had to get up at 4 a.m. and travel through the chilly dank streets of Glasgow to catch the boat, where she found her fellow passengers fighting the cold, hunched up in their coats and pulling one shawl after another out of their luggage in an attempt to keep warm. Despite a plaid, a fur coat, galoshes and a veil, she herself froze. The scenery soon occupied her, however, as did the activity at Loch Gilphead, where all had to disembark to make their way to the Crinan Canal in a variety of horse- and donkey-drawn carts which were waiting on the shore. The prospect of this cramped journey caused Lewald and some others to hand

their luggage to the steward and walk the distance. She waited to watch her companions change vehicles:

Wir unterhielten uns ... das Laufen und Suchen, das Ordnen des Gepäcks mit anzusehen, von dem, da die Engländer im Lande mit vieler Baggage reisen, und das Schiff sehr voll war, solch grosse Haufen am Ufer umherlagen, dass man nicht begreifen konnte, wie das alles in einem schmalen Kanal-Boote unterzubringen möglich sein werde.

(Lewald, ii, 505)

She then gives a lively description of the stuffy journey on the six-horse barge with elegantly liveried jockeys. A change of position was impossible since the baggage took up all the available extra space:

Ich sass in der Mitte des Raumes vor dem Steuer, und auch da war es so enge, dass man trotz der brennenden Sonnenhitze nicht daran denken konnte, einen Schirm aufzuspannen. Meine nächste Nachbarschaft bestand ausser dem Professor de V., in einem stattlichen, aber hochbetagten Lord mit einer ältlichen Tochter, die lebenswürdig vorsorglich um ihn beschäftigt war, und zwei Neffen des Lords. Da wir uns gut vertrugen, brachten wir durch gemeinsame Bestrebungen zwischen unseren zwölf Füssen ein neutrales Terrain zu Wege, einen roten Nachtsack, auf dem wir sechs Personen der Reihe nach die Beine ein bisschen zur Erholung ausstrecken konnten, wobei aber der alte Herr von uns Allen sehr bevorzugt wurde, der seiner Seits sich immer etwas von der Erholungszeit abzog, um einem kleinen Hunde, den er auf seinen Knien hielt, ein Paar Minuten freier Bewegung auf dem Nachtsack zu bereiten.

(ibid., 506f.)

Lewald was impressed by the even tempers of her fellow travellers:

Bei dieser Fahrt, die in der grossen Hitze unbequem genug war, zeigten die Engländer sich im hohen Grade lebenswürdig. Nicht eine Klage habe ich gehört; Niemand fand die Hitze zu gross, seinen Platz zu eng; Niemand sagte, was nahe genug lag, dass es von dem Bootfahrer Unrecht sei, mehr Leute mitzunehmen, als das Boot bequem fassen konnte. Man lachte über die wunderlichen Positionen, stieg, wo es sich thun liess, an's Land, um eine Strecke voranzugehen, und Alle waren froh, wenigstens mitgenommen worden zu sein.

(ibid., 507f.)

In Lewald's experience the British never complain where it would be fruitless to do so, but suffer in silence; when a complaint would be effective, however, they never hesitate to voice their opinion! Even though the next day also proved wet and misty in the morning, the

weather cleared before Lewald succumbed to sea sickness and she was able to enjoy the Oban to Iona trip fully, sitting on the deck in the sun.

Both Brandes and Rellstab were to undertake similar journeys, conveyed in a variety of vehicles between steamers. Brandes is scarcely able to find a seat on the "Omnibus" from Dumbarton to Loch Lomond, since it is filled with people returning from market; that he is the sole tourist on this particular leg of the journey is evident from the fact that by Balloch he is the only passenger left. The following day he continues his journey to Oban by steamer and stage-coach and finds himself once more amongst the tourists. For his ensuing voyage to Staffa he pays one pound and is thoroughly satisfied, especially when he compares the speed of steam boats, "die, wenn auch kein Wind die Segel bläht, wie ein Pfeil die krystallinen Wasser durchschneiden" (Brandes, 34), with that of sailing vessels. Journeying along the Forth from Edinburgh to the Trossachs, Rellstab finds himself first on a train, then on a busy steamer, then in a crowded barge, next in a stuffy omnibus, and finally in a coach. In Granton he is peeved that he has to carry his own luggage and pay twopence to use the pier; in the crowd and rush he loses his hat, drops his ticket and has to pay for another. Once the crowds have disembarked at South Queensferry, he and his fellow tourists in first class can enjoy the trip in comfort. He describes some of his companions, the pretty blonde (her first appearance in the Sommermärchen), two elderly ladies, one with a sketch book, one with a guide book "dicker, als das Corpus juris" (Rellstab, i, 298), a fat gentleman in the best seat, and a variety of passengers in plaids, travelling coats or, like himself, in greatcoats; altogether there are some thirty first class passengers and as many second class, women with empty market baskets, a pretty farm girl, and several farm workers and tradesmen. The worst is still to come:

Ich habe in mancher Omnibusschachtel gegessen!
Allein ein solcher enger, finsterer Glaskasten,
wie der, in dem ich, von meiner blonden Nachbarin
getrennt, zu ganz fremden Reisebestandtheilen
gewürfelt wurde, ist mir zwischen beiden Wende-
kreisen und in der ganzen gemässigten und Polarzone
des Erdballs noch nie vorgekommen! Alles war Glas

ringsum, und kein Fenster zu öffnen! Die Sonne (es war drei Uhr) brannte wie in den Hundstagen. Wir sassen in einem Treibhaus, wo Kohlrüben hätten zu Ananas werden müssen!

(ibid., 306)

In the cramped heat he has every sympathy with a young mother who, quite unperturbed, laughingly feeds her thirsty and screaming baby in front of all present. But if Rellstab had earlier complained of delays, he is also able to appreciate the irrationality of such an attitude:

Eigentlich ist ein Reisender ein rechter Thor! Wir befanden uns in der wunderschönsten Landschaft, und wir gebärdeten uns, als sei es das grösste Unglück, einige Stunden länger darin zu verweilen, während wir doch bloss zu ihrer Beschauung hergekommen waren!

(ibid., 304)

By a later stage of the journey, when they miss their connection in Bowling, Rellstab and his companion have learnt their lesson; the next steamer is not run by the railway company and so they have to pay for the journey for a second time, yet it is only sixpence, the wait is not long and there is much to watch, as a heavily laden 'spectators' boat from a local regatta is just unloading an estimated ten to twelve hundred passengers on the pier. Rellstab is forever amazed at the hectic speed with which British passengers disembark and on this occasion he is also impressed by the fact that all classes are mixed together with no segregation. He devotes three pages to describing this spectacle (ibid., ii, 81 ff.). Of all British travellers Rellstab, like Hailbronner before him, finds the English and Scots women the best tempered (ibid., 67)

Six years later Ullrich also travels this Glasgow to Bowling and Loch Lomond route by steamer and rail. Like Lewald he leaves Glasgow in the cold early morning, catching the steamer from the Broomielaw. Apart from remarking on the dress of a kilted Highlander, the first he has seen, he consciously concentrates his attention on the landscape and scenery and not on relating "eine Art Novelle mit einem bunten Personal" (Ullrich, 330).. Ullrich had openly come to the Highlands to witness the wonders of nature and as an art critic this was what he was best qualified to describe. Nonetheless he does take note of other aspects of travel in Scotland. Having boarded the Inverness steamer at Banavie, he finds himself distressed by the length

of the wait occasioned by the many locks on the Caledonian Canal. After describing them in fair detail, he concludes that the only antidotes to the boredom suffered by the passengers are good company and good weather, both of which he lacked. Like Pulszky before him (Pulszky, 165), he finds his fellow travellers in Britain uncommunicative, and in Scotland in particular he finds the boats dirty and unreliable; the steamer to Inverness was small and dirty and its deck stank of its cargo, herring, tar and animal skins (ibid., 313f.). As compensation Ullrich later enjoyed perfect weather for his voyage to Staffa and with only forty to fifty tourists on board the steamer, the whole mood of his account is different, (ibid., 350ff.). He was to note, too, that the patrons in the Trossachs Hotel were by no means all tourists (ibid., 391); with the improved communications the Trossachs could now be visited in one or two days and did not require a longer stay. Despite his reservations about much of Scottish travel, Ullrich is quick to acknowledge the high standard of communications within the country. Travel to and in Scotland is not as expensive as contemporary Germans believe and "im Lande selbst fehlt es zwischen den Hauptpunkten nirgends an bequemen, raschen Verbindungen und Beförderungsmitteln, je nach der Oertlichkeit, durch Eisenbahnen, Dampfschiffe und Personenwagen oder Kutschen" (ibid., 319)

Even if Ullrich expresses distaste for the toddy he is forced to drink while waiting for the steamer to pass the lock at Aberchalder (ibid., 345), the food on board the steamers generally met with the German approval. Hailbronner, Brandes and Rellstab all describe meals on board. Brandes finds the fish and meat served at both breakfast and dinner plentiful (Brandes, 34), but Rellstab, squashed between strangers, ladies who seem to have come on the voyage only on account of the meal of steaming tea and coffee, toast and roast beef, is frustrated that he cannot extricate himself from the crowd to view the scenery (Rellstab, ii, 64f.). When he finally plucks up the courage to address the assembled company, he finds his much applauded speech to the "reizendste Ladies of the Lake" to have been fruitless, for he subsequently finds himself alone on deck with a view only of Loch Lomond's morning mist (ibid., 66f.). Hailbronner had at first found the size of the breakfast on board the steamer too much to take, but he was soon

to realise that the sea air takes little time to work up a fresh hunger and he describes the food with pleasure, well able to understand the appetites of his fellow passengers which he had at first thought most indecent! The breakfast served was fresh herring or salmon, tea, eggs and cold mutton, while dinner was a pleasant affair, the captain saying grace beforehand and the starter again being the excellent local salmon. "Hiebei Butter, und die alles corrigirende Harveysauce. Und nun drängen sich die ewigen Muttonchops, Roastbeefs, und andere enorme Fleischmassen, welche jeder Fremde wohl thut, den hier durchaus gut zubereiteten Fischen nachzusetzen." (Hailbronner, 328).

In most respects Fontane's attitude to travel differs little from the majority of his predecessors. He brings his account of steam boat travel alive through choice description of his fellow passengers, notably the old blind fiddler and the peevish English couple on the boat from Edinburgh to Stirling, and the Highland chieftain at Lochgilphead on whom, unlike Ullrich, he dwells at length. Yet Fontane does not only hark back to the days before steam travel, when Highland dress was common, but fully recognises the service that steam travel, as provided in particular by the Hutcheson steamship lines, had brought the country. Echoing the sentiments of several of his predecessors, he writes:

Man muss wissen, von welcher äussersten Unwirthbarkeit und Unzugänglichkeit diese schottischen Westküsten noch bis vor zwanzig Jahren gewesen sind, um die ganze Bedeutung der Verbindungsstrassen einzusehen, die Mr. Hutcheson hier geschaffen hat.
(Fontane, 266)

In recognising these modern achievements, Fontane does not dwell on them at any other point; to him means of transport are incidental to events and personal reactions and sentiments. He studies those who travel rather than the travel methods themselves; in this approach he follows Mendelssohn and Klingemann, Kohl, Brandes, Förster and Rellstab, yet in his choice of salient detail, which he then contrives to weave into his historical and romantic account, he outdoes them all. It is through describing the people he encounters that he connects past and present; in this way his account of the coach ride round Loch Katrine

can be directly compared with that of Förster, while his description of the steam trip up the Forth far excels the equivalent passage of Rellstab, who seeks only to give a sentimental interpretation of the present.

Finally, for those who travelled in the 1840's and 1850's the railways were a regular means of travel, but even for Rellstab it was difficult to view such a modern invention with any brand of sentimentality. It was always possible to look back on travel by coach or water with nostalgia, but the railways could be seen as nothing other than a product of a modern technical age. From the days when Nemnich, in 1805, praised the new, useful and highly important invention of "Iron Roads" (Nemnich, 64), there had been great advances in Britain and the Germans were not slow to recognise this when in Scotland. In 1844 Carus only needed to pass under one of the railway viaducts on the Glasgow to Edinburgh line to launch into praise:

Sind doch alle die Werke der englischen Eisenbahnen von einer Macht und Grösse der Ausführung, welche das was man von colossalen Strassenbauten bei den Alten sonst anzuführen pflegte, nur als ein Kinderspiel erscheinen lässt! - Berge zu durchsetzen, unter Städten durchzufahren, Brücken über bewohnte Ortschaften hinzuführen, über sumpfige Ebenen zu bauen und Höhen zu überwältigen. Alles das findet man ausgeführt, und alles haben die andern Nationen von England gelernt! - Wird doch bald die ganze britische Insel von einem Netz von Eisenbahnen, wie sonst von Chausseen, überzogen seyn!

(Carus, ii, 282)

One wonders what Carus would have thought to discover that so much of the foreseen railway network would in the next century meet the fate of first the steamships, then the canals - namely, disuse. In 1839 the contrary Hallberg-Broich had compared the efficiency of the British railways unfavourably with those of Brabant (Hallberg-Broich, 15), but Carus' open admiration was a more common German response, though most of those who gave accounts of railway journeys concentrated, like Fontane, on people rather than machines and as a consequence were not always complimentary.

In 1841 Marx was only able to travel by rail as far as Darlington, but by 1850, the year of visits by Lewald and Brandes the lines to the North were established. Brandes travelled by the North Western Railway on the Glasgow line, leaving Euston Square at 10 p.m. and reaching

Lanark the following day at two in the afternoon, while Lewald travelled up the east coast from Euston to Edinburgh. Brandes paid three pounds for a second class ticket and had as his travelling companions half a dozen Scottish tradesmen, returning home from London; as the first Scotsmen Brandes meets they are hardly his idea of romantic Highlanders, since they get out at every station for a drink and are consequently rowdy throughout the night. One of them is surprised to discover that Brandes is not a French businessman but a German travelling to Scotland to see the mountains, about which he as a native seems to know little (Brandes, 8). Brandes is relieved to be separated from these companions and grateful to their successors, an elderly and decent gentleman and his wife, for giving him much information, without which he would never have known to change trains for Lanark (*ibid.*, 9f.). Later on his tour Brandes was able to travel from Aberdeen to Edinburgh by train, via Dundee, Perth and Stirling, a route formerly little travelled by tourists (*ibid.*, 54ff.).

Lewald gives a vivid picture of the journey north from Euston to Edinburgh, and her account bears interesting comparison with that of Fontane. She chose to travel second class, not for lack of funds, but because she did not relish the prospect of twelve hours in the heat and the lavishly upholstered comfort of first class (Lewald, ii, 155). Second class travel provided her not only with an opportunity to see more of the countryside but also with a wider variety of travelling companions: "in den Wagons Viehhändler und Pächter zur Rechten und zur Linken, und sie sah eben so derb und verbauert aus, als bei uns". It was market day in York and conversation in the train revolved round cattle and prices, which causes her to remark, "es war mir aber unterhaltender, als hätte ich von der Oper und all den Herrlichkeiten sprechen hören, die ich selbst kenne" (*ibid.*, 183), an attitude, in however supercilious a frame, that is to be commended in a well-to-do traveller. She tells of an unruly but entertaining Darlington family travelling to Newcastle, and of a nine-year-old boy, whose parents in India had sent him "Overlandmail" to school in Britain. This gives rise to an observation on the independence of British children travelling alone, a fact which had also been of surprise to Goede back in 1803, when, twice a year, at the start of the school holidays, all the mail

coaches were filled with such children, traversing the length and breadth of Britain quite alone (Goede, i, 204). The Darlington boy tried to throw his hat out of the window and the boy from India wanted to share his sandwich and sweets with Lewald - such are the small personal details which enliven her account.

At twenty one guineas Lewald found the journey from London to Edinburgh very expensive but quick (six hours from Newcastle to Edinburgh). Although fast and extensive, the British railways were also dangerous. Lewald finds the need for the "Railway Passengers Assurance Company" disturbing. A passenger can either insure himself for separate journeys or for the whole year, at costs of £2 annually for up to £1,000 for first class travel, £500 for second class, and £200 for third class, for which one pays five shillings. Insurance costs for one day are threepence for first class, one penny for third. Lewald is not surprised that many passengers take out insurance, since in the short time she had been in Edinburgh, there had already been two accidents, one major, on the Edinburgh to Glasgow line. The fourth class carriages had left the rails and eight people had lost their lives. Lewald is shocked by the supercilious attitude to this loss of life:

Bei der Gelegenheit bin ich an den Engländern wieder einmal irre geworden. Hätte man des Unfalls überhaupt nicht geachtet, weil bei so grosser Frequenz der Eisenbahnen leicht ein Unglück geschehen kann, hätte man gesagt: "In einer Schlacht fallen mehr Menschen!" so hätte ich das wohl verstanden. Aber man sprach überall davon, jedoch ohne grosses Bedauern, denn: "es war Alles nur (fourthclass people) Volk aus der vierten Klasse, und also kein so grosser Verlust!" Und das habe ich von Männern gehört, die sonst menschlich sind und achtungswerth, so weit ich sie kenne.

(Lewald, ii, 300f.)

Lewald's own humanitarian sense was outraged. Nonetheless she does find Germany's railway network far behind that of Britain and is pleasantly surprised that the railway lines, as extensive even as the German roads, tracks and footpaths, do not mar the countryside, which retains "jener Charakter friedlicher Ländlichkeit". She recognises the established nature of the British railways:

Die Eisenbahn hat übrigens hier bereits aufgehört ein Sonderwesen zu sein, was sie bei uns noch immer

ist. Man kennt hier all die Sicherheitsanstalten nicht mehr, nicht mehr die Ueberwachung der Bahnhöfe, damit das Publicum nicht Schaden nehme durch die Locomotiven. Man bewegt sich auf den Bahnhöfen, zwischen den Maschinen so frei, wie auf allen anderen öffentlichen Plätzen, und es bleibt jedem überlassen, sich vor Wagen und Pferden, selbst zu hüten.

(ibid., 184)

This lack of order, unknown to a German, had struck Lewald earlier when travelling on an excursion train:

Wir erreichten die Eisenbahn gerade noch im Augenblick der Abfahrt, aber wie polizeilos es dort zuging, davon kann ein Deutscher sich keinen Begriff machen. Personen mit Billets der ersten Wagenklasse mussten bei dem Andrang der Menschen zufrieden sein, in der zweiten Klasse untergebracht zu werden, in manchen Coupees waren drei, vier Leute mehr, als sie eigentlich fassen konnten. Aus den nächsten Waggons hörten wir das schreiende Singen betrunkenener Männer, und der ganze Eindruck war so wüst, dass es mir leid tat, ihn ... in mir aufnehmen zu müssen.

(ibid., i, 54f.)

The disadvantages of travelling on an excursion train were more than evident to Förster, journeying on the Great Northern Railway from London to Edinburgh in the Exhibition year of 1851. The unreliability of English trains had already struck him when travelling in the London area and he introduces his account of the journey north with the words: "Mein Unstern wollte es, dass ich die gerühmten englischen Eisenbahnen in ihrer Vorzüglichkeit auch diessmal nicht kennen lernen sollte." (Förster, 284). His train is delayed by an excursion train, whose departure time was for some reason the same as the regular service; the passengers had paid only five shillings for a special Exhibition Excursion ticket from Edinburgh and Förster is evidently affronted that on their account he is denied the service due him as a full fare paying passenger (ibid., 285). During the journey he converses with a fellow passenger on the German railways; his companion criticises the latter for their lack of speed and sees the cause of this to be the fact that they are state-run, while Förster answers that, although slower, they are more efficient and reliable. They arrive in York four hours late. Nonetheless he does later praise the Edinburgh to London line, which had brought the two cities within twelve hours of each other (ibid., 301). Förster adds other arguments in favour of the German state run railway system. In order to make a profit, a private company

spends as little money as possible; not only are the facilities lacking but more generally the result is "eine Entgeistigung der Landesphysiognomie" (ibid., 287), whereby the railway buildings do nothing to enhance the aesthetic value of a town's architecture as they do in Heidelberg or Karlsruhe. On no account should use be gained at the expense of beauty, whether in the north of Britain or the south of Germany:

Wäre diess die Aufgabe, die ganze Erde würde in eine Lüneburger Heide und das Leben in eine Aktiengesellschaft verwandelt; denn die Geldfrage drängt sich in jede Unternehmung, und selbst der letzte Ort, den man der Kunst übrig lassen möchte, der Ort der Gottesverehrung, kann sie entbehren, wie die Reformierten beweisen, die Unitarier, die Quäker, die Presbyterianer und die ersten Christen, wenn nicht noch viele Andere.

(ibid., 288)

Nonetheless it is disheartening for the traveller in Britain to see nothing but a bare station building as he passes a town, although Förster does also acknowledge that the British stations have some facilities which those in Germany lack, namely ladies' waiting-rooms and public toilets. Yet even the refreshment rooms could only offer him stale cake and sherry on his journey north.

Travelling some months earlier Rellstab's feelings of admiration for the large glass structures of the British stations had outweighed those of aggravation at not being told to change trains in York and then finding himself, tired and hungry, on the opposite side of the station from the refreshment rooms. He is grateful for help from an old lady and fellow passenger and also from a station official, and even an hour's wait in Newcastle in the dark is alleviated by tea and cakes in the refreshment room, where a fine log fire is burning (Rellstab, i, 204ff.). Later on his tour Glasgow station confirms his opinion that the British railways are well run; he is particularly impressed by the left luggage service (ibid., ii, 90f.). Rellstab is the only traveller to mention the indispensable Bradshaw, although he finds the railway guide sufficiently confusing to persuade him to travel from Stirling by steamer rather than rail (ibid., i, 291).

Thus it can be seen that the method of travel to and within Scotland was central to the visitors' impressions of the country; without knowledge of their attitude to travel vital contextual appreciation is often lost.

b) ACCOMMODATION, FOOD AND DRINKi. Accommodation

Die Gastfreiheit wird ohne allen Anspruch ausgeübt. Die schottische Küche nähert sich mehr der Französischen, besonders in Hinsicht der Suppen, welche vortrefflich sind. Noch nirgends habe ich so gute Erdbeeren gekostet, als in Schottland. Diese Frucht ist im Überflusse vorhanden. Schottland sticht indessen in mancher Hinsicht nicht vortheilhaft von England ab. Besonders vermisst man die Reinlichkeit und überhaupt den soliden Luxus der Engländer. (Frank, 215).

Frank's impression of the reception he received in Scotland in 1803 was to a large extent shared by his successors; the Scots were generally considered an hospitable people, their food was on the whole well liked, but their inns and hotels often fell short of their English counterparts. Schopenhauer praised the British inns in the chapter of her Reise entitled "Englische Gasthöfe":

Die Annehmlichkeiten eines solchen Gasthofes in England kennt man auf dem festen Lande nicht ... Durchgängig, auch in den Städten, sind die englischen Gasthöfe sehr lobenswert: Zimmer, Betten, Bedienung, Reinlichkeit übertreffen alles was man in anderen Ländern in dieser Art antrifft, aber wir möchten fast behaupten, dass die guten Gasthöfe auf dem Lande wieder die in Städten in dem Masse übertreffen wie jene die deutschen.

(Schopenhauer, 251f.)

The fact that the Scottish inns could not always provide such service did not appear to disturb Schopenhauer, who seems to have been quite ready, almost eager, to accept a certain primitive closeness to nature when in the land of Ossian. The Scottish inns may not always have compared favourably with the English, but, as with the methods of transport, they were often superior to the German and accordingly impressed the foreign visitors favourably. They were frequently surprised that inns were to be found at all in many of the out-of-the-way places. Their one complaint was always the same - food, heat and privacy were not to be had on order. While Robert Southey, on his tour of Scotland with Telford in 1819, would often put in a good eight or ten miles before breakfast, the fact that late arrivals and early departures more often than not meant going without sustenance never ceased to fill

the Germans with horror. Nor was the traveller by any means always guaranteed a bedroom to himself, let alone a sitting room or parlour. Noise and dirt frequently accompanied a stay at a Scottish inn. But the travellers suffered this with remarkable equanimity; it was part of the general expectation that the Highlands should be remote and primitive. To many the inns were the nearest the visitor came to seeing anything of the everyday life of the Scottish people, and to those with connections in Scottish society, the inns were in turn their only opportunity of seeing the lower classes at close quarters. Many of the generalisations uttered by German travellers on the Scottish people, their customs and manners, result from encounters in inns and hotels.

Edinburgh struck most of the Germans as a friendly town. Some were more fortunate than others; Lewald had the good fortune to be invited to stay with one of the town's leading citizens, while the King of Saxony's party enjoyed the hospitality of the Earl of Morton at Dalmahoy, and others, too, met with a warm reception. Both Otto, in 1822, and Lewald, nearly thirty years later, give glowing accounts of the Edinburgh landladies with whom they lodged:

Auch in Edinburgh habe ich eine Wohnung bekommen, wie ich mir hier keine besser wünschen könnte. Unsere Wirthin, eine sehr gebildete Frau, thut alles Mögliche, um meine Wünsche zu befriedigen; das Essen ist so reichlich und der Bequemlichkeiten sind so viele, dass ich nicht begreife, wie sie bei dem Preise (2 Pfd. Sterl. wöchentlich) bestehen kann. (Otto, 293f.)

There were two drawbacks, however. Seven others were lodged in the house, which was not as clean as Otto had grown to expect from his London lodgings. As he says, a different idea of the meaning of "comfortable" seemed to prevail in Edinburgh; the rooms were bigger but not so well decorated and the company seemed less inclined to assemble in a friendly fashion round the fire. In 1822 Edinburgh had little of the cosmopolitan nature of London. On arriving alone in Edinburgh in 1850, Lewald was also taken with her landlady, Mrs. Pearson; she was hardly an educated woman, but she made a good impression on Lewald as "eine alte, sehr ehrwürdig und gut aussehende Bürgersfrau" (Lewald, ii, 194f.). She was at great pains to do all she could for her lodgers and was genuinely distressed when Lewald told her that

she would have to seek rooms elsewhere, if nothing could be done to alleviate the unpleasant smell from the gas lighting which had pervaded her room on the first night. Lodged in a room on the other side of the house, Lewald feels so at ease that she even allows herself to hear Mrs. Pearson's entire life history and cannot feel annoyed with the old lady when she knocks late next night to give her a piece of the wedding cake of her former lodger, who had that day been married.

Wichmann, who was to find the teetotal atmosphere of a temperance hotel too much to take, moved to lodgings off Princes Street. He found the solitary existence of a rented room lonely, and, as an impecunious student, only narrowly avoided an unpleasant scene with his landlady, when she came to demand prompt payment of rent which he did not have. In vain he tried to assure her that she would receive the money as soon as he had been paid for a poem he hoped to publish. She showed little sympathy, even when he recited the poem ("Burschikose Liebe") to her, and only when a surprise and opportune offer of a job in Musselburgh arrived did she change her tune, expressing regret at losing her lodger (Wichmann, 49ff.). That same year, 1851, Förster, thirsting for his accustomed German beer, also found the temperance hotels hard to take, although he was grateful for a friendly welcome, excellent service and reasonable costs, and as a result of his first experience of one in York, always sought out a temperance hotel thereafter (Förster, 289ff.). His description of that first encounter, and the pretty maid's horror at his ordering a beer is amusing. In Edinburgh he was recommended Milne's Temperance Hotel. The previous year Brandes had stayed at Sinclair's Temperance Hotel in Waterloo Place and was similarly impressed with the service, although he did not find the prices 'temperate':

Dieses Mässigkeits-Hotel, in welchem man übrigens nur in sofern mässig ist, dass man keine Spirituosa, auch kein Bier, Porter oder Ale bekommt - man trinkt gar nichts oder Sodawasser - und in welchem die Preise grade nicht mässiger als anderswo sind, ist nach englischer Weise comfortable, hat schöne Zimmer und kann Reisenden, die nicht Essens und Trinkens wegen reisen, empfohlen werden.

(Brandes, 59)

When he returned late in the evening from a day trip to Melrose, he found that his room had been given to someone else; the chamber maid had misunderstood him. But Brandes did not complain, since he was

given another much better room without further ado. Fontane also had reason to be grateful for the "Commercial and Temperance Hotels", despite their notoriety, since their unpretentious modesty made them accessible to a wider range of patrons; he had little respect for the "temperance" aspect however (Fontane, 10f.).

Most of the visitors seem to have stayed in hotels in or close to Princes Street and this remained the case throughout the century. In 1805 Nemnich lodged in Princes Street (Nemnich, 492), while Schinkel stayed in a Princes Street hotel in 1826, (Schinkel, iii, 91), as apparently did Mendelssohn and Klingemann in 1829, and Johnstone's Hotel, in which Fontane and Lepel stayed, was also in Waterloo Place. In the foreword to Kalckstein's work, the author even reproduces his bill from Greeliche's Hotel in Princes Street, in order to support his statement that travel in Scotland, and in particular hotel accommodation in Edinburgh, was in no way as expensive as generally supposed in Germany. He paid £1/2/6d. (eight Prussian Thaler) for three nights, meals and service in Greeliche's Hotel and considered this less expensive than the equivalent in Berlin (Kalckstein, vi f.). Although Spiker does no more than mention that he stayed at Macgregor's Hotel in Princes Street, he seems to be one of the very few who gained access to an Edinburgh coffee room; although newspapers were available here, he found the New Exchange Coffee Room in Leith poorly managed in comparison with English institutions of a similar nature (Spiker, 223). To the Germans the British coffee rooms were evidently inferior to the French; both Goede in 1802 and Otto twenty years later, compared these institutions at some length. Meidinger was also to report on the Edinburgh coffee-houses in the 1820's (Meidinger, Reisen, 30). Bearing in mind Chambers' description of tavern dissipation in Edinburgh at the turn of the century,¹¹ it is small wonder that Goede reproaches the British for shutting all foreigners out from their conviviality! Since access to such meeting places was rare indeed, the foreigners' impressions stemmed mostly from their visits to regular inns and hotels. Few of the Germans actually stayed in Glasgow, contenting themselves instead with a visit to one or two of the factories, hospitals or museums there. Nemnich, however, gives an account of the Tontine Coffee Room (Nemnich, 524), and ten years later Spiker stayed at the Tontine Inn, then only

thirty-five years old; he was very impressed with it, though not surprisingly its adjoining tavern fell short of German expectations:

Dieser Gasthof ist als ein Zusammenkunftsort aller der Bewohner von Glasgow, welche mit dem öffentlichen Leben in Berührung stehn, zu betrachten. Das Gebäude selbst hat ein sehr altväterisches Ansehen. In dem bedeckten Gange, welcher das untere Stockwerk bildet, werden die Börsengeschäfte abgethan, und das öffentliche Lesezimmer, zu welchem jedem Fremden ohne Ausnahme der Zutritt gestattet ist, *) und in welcher man von der Strasse eintritt, ist fortdauernd mit allen möglichen in- und ausländischen Zeitungen, periodischen Schriften u.s.w. versehen; ohne Zweifel ist es eine der ersten Leseanstalten in Grossbritannien. ... Fortdauernd mit Lese-lustigen und mit Personen angefüllt, welche diesen Ort um der Geschäfte willen besuchen, gewährt derselbe ein eben so Überraschendes, als unterhaltendes Schauspiel. Der jährliche Preis für die Benutzung dieser Anstalt ist für Einheimische 1 Pfund 5 Schill. (ungefähr 8 Rthlr. 8 ggl. unseres Geldes.) - Aus dem Lesezimmer führt eine Seitenthür nach dem Gasthofe selbst, der obgleich einer der ersten in der Stadt, für den ruheliebenden Fremden, wegen des unaufhörlichen Treibens in demselben, nicht ganz angenehm seyn dürfte.

[footnote]*) Eine beinahe unerhörte Sache in England
(Spiker, 279f.)

In the large towns the travellers either lodged privately or put up at the better hotels, but in the country they had no choice, and it was only occasionally when an inn was full, or when there was none, that they lodged in private homes. There are numerous accounts of nights spent at inns all over the country, and these are seldom derogatory. In 1817 Meissner, who stayed at Geddes' Hotel in Inverness, was astonished by the elegance of that town's inns and hotels, "wie man dergleichen nur in wenigen Hauptstädten Deutschlands antrifft" (Meissner, 259). The grandest and most comfortable of all the hotels seems to have been at Inveraray; in 1816 Spiker found it palatial (Spiker, 263), while Ullrich, forty years later, wrote:

Nur das Haupthotel "Argyle Arms", unmittelbar am Ufer mit dem prächtigsten Blick über den See, kann die Honneurs einer herzoglichen Residenzstadt leisten; ein höchst stattliches Gebäude - mit allerdings eben so stattlichen Preisen.

(Ullrich, 375)

Inveraray was also always remembered for its herring; Klingemann wrote:

In Inverary war ein treffliches Wirthshaus und braves Unterkommen; eine schwarzlockige schöne Wirthstochter schaute als Schild über dem Schilde in den Hafen hinein, in dem die frischesten Heringe um neun Uhr Morgens noch lebendig schwimmen, um eine Viertelstunde darauf schon gebraten in den Kaffee getunkt zu werden. Künftige

Reisegefährten fragten uns theilnehmend unsere gehaltenen Leiden und zerrissenen Stiefel ab. (Klingemann, Hensel, 254)

Carus, too, was impressed by the Inveraray herrings:

Um neun Uhr rollten wir herein in das Gasthaus von Inverary, (Inn and Hotel stand mit grossen Lettern an der bedeutenden Fronte des Hauses) wo die eleganteste Einrichtung uns empfängt und wo die frisch gerösteten Häringe (Man betrachtet sie als die besten von England ...) keinen unbedeutenden Theil ausmachten an einem späten aber ausgesuchten Diner.

(Carus, ii, 202)

It was seldom indeed that the King of Saxony's party received anything but VIP treatment. Once installed in the inn at Oban they were cheered by a colourful crowd which gathered under their window; they were frequently greeted on their travels by renderings of "God save the Queen", a clarinettist doing the honours even at 1 a.m. as they drove through Fort William, and, on returning to Oban after their tour of Staffa,

die Begrüssung des Königs am Piere [war] so feierlich als sie der kleine Ort nur irgend zu bewerkstelligen vermochte. Kanonengrüsse donnerten (man hatte von einem kleinen dort liegenden Schiff eine Schiffskanone geborgt), Flaggenstöcke waren am Ufer aufgesteckt, und eine zahlreich versammelte, aber sehr in Ordnung sich haltende Menge konnte im Hurrahrufen nicht enden. Dabei hatten einige Männer, namentlich der Wirth des Hotels, sich und ihre Familie in stattliches Hochlandscostum geworfen; kurz der ganze Empfang machte einen herzlichen Eindruck! (ibid., 224)

The reception which awaited both Ullrich and Fontane in Oban is in marked contrast to this. Both found Oban's many hotels full and had to seek private lodging. Ullrich fared better than Fontane, in the back room of an elderly shopkeeper's two-roomed house, (Ullrich, 348) while Fontane's experience at the hands of the imposing Brunhild figure, Mrs. Mackay, although frustrating at the time, provided him with material for much animated narrative (Fontane, 269 ff.)

The remoteness of many of the inns continued to surprise the visitors throughout the century. Schopenhauer was pleasantly surprised by the inn at Dunkeld, "[wir] fanden gegen unsere Erwartung einen sehr guten Gasthof in diesem abgelegenen Winkel der Welt" (Schopenhauer, 309), while Spiker was greeted by a heavy thunderstorm as he reached the town, which made the cleanliness and comfort of the inn all the more welcome (Spiker, 235). Later, on reaching Arrochar, Spiker was again impressed by the cleanliness of the inn (ibid., 268), and from his description of Cameron's Inn at Killin, it is not surprising that the

Schopenhauers had found it idyllic: he found the service excellent and the house itself, with its superb setting, more like a nobleman's mansion than an inn. Earlier he had remarked on the presence in the inn at Kenmore of a Broadwood piano, the only musical instrument he could ever discover in any of the Scottish inns (ibid., 246 & 244).

There were numerous less pleasant experiences to be had in the Scottish inns. Even the King of Saxony's postilion lost his way on the road from Glasgow to Balloch and the party was forced to put up with meagre lodgings and a mere cup of tea, having woken the unsuspecting staff of the inn from their sleep (Carus, ii, 194). Klingemann had not been over impressed with the Highland inns as he and Mendelssohn had found them thirty years earlier in 1829:

Abends, wenn es dunkel wird und der Sturm sich aufmacht, findet man doch ein Wirthshaus mit Betten und einen Raum, den man nicht gerade mit den Viehtreibern zu theilen braucht, sondern mit schiessenden John Bulls - läuft auch mal ein Huhn durch die Stube, schreit auch mal unter uns ein Schwein, so beweist das doch, dass man am nächsten Morgen ein frisches Ei und etwas Schinken zum Frühstück haben wird ...

(Klingemann, Heneel, 260)

Mendelssohn found the conditions in the Highlands even more wretched than Klingemann; his description of the inn at Tummel Bridge, however, is less gloomy:

Wilde Wirtschaft. Der Sturm heult, saust und pfeift draussen hin und her ...; wir sitzen hier ruhig am Kaminfeuer, das schüre ich von Zeit zu Zeit an, dann flackert es auf; übrigens ist der Saal gross und leer, an einer Wand tröpfelt's nass herunter; der Fussboden ist dünn, da hallt das Gespräch aus der Knechtstube unten herauf, die singen betrunkene Lieder und lachen; dazu Hundebellen, zwei Betten mit purpurnen Vorhängen, an unsern Füßen statt der englischen Pantoffeln schottische Holzschuh, Thee mit Honig und Kartoffelkuchen, eine enge, gewundene Holztreppe, auf der uns die Magd mit Schnaps entgegenkam, trostloser Wolkenzug am Himmel, und trotz alle des Wind- und Wasserlärms, trotz des Knechtgesprächs und Thürklappens ist es still! Still und sehr einsam! Ich möchte sagen, dass die Stille durch den Lärm durchklingt. Eben geht die Thür von selbst auf. Es ist Hochlandsschenke. Die kleinen Jungen mit dem Plaid und den nackten Knieen und bunten Mützen, der Aufwärter im Tartan, alte Leute mit Zöpfen sprechen alle unverständlich Gaelisch durcheinander.

(Mendelssohn, ibid., 247f.)

Mendelssohn here gives a very definite sense of being a visitor in a foreign land, a fact which certain travellers, expecting the cosmopolitan nature of London to be present throughout Britain, were slow to recognise. The Schopenhauers experienced a similar scene, though with no less good will, at Luss. Drunken Highlanders had taken over one of the downstairs rooms, dancing reels amongst themselves, unperturbed that the girls had all escaped, to the out-of-tune accompaniment of a screeching fiddle and a set of pipes. Fortunately Schopenhauer, although she found the scene "gar nicht erfreulich", was sufficiently inspired both by the charms of Loch Lomond countryside and of the drunken landlord's pretty young daughter not to mind, (Schopenhauer, i, 342ff.). While staying in Oban over twenty years later in 1826, Schinkel and his companions were to find the noise from the drunken Scots below them so excessive, that they feared a murder had been committed (Schinkel, iii, 104).

While some travellers waited in vain for service, others were rewarded by their patience. Spiker had to wait long before he and his companions were even admitted to the inn in the small village of Arost on Mull, and even longer till they were secured beds, but this was hardly surprising. In 1816 foreign guests were surely a rarity to the landlord at Arost and his inn was filled with seamen and fisherman. Six years later Löwenthal was to describe the Arost landlord as "ein höchst geschwätziger und selbst behaglicher ... Spekulant auf Fremde" (Löwenthal, 102). The man's house was one of only two in the place and served as shop, posthouse and inn. The previous day the Austrian had been far from gratified at his reception in Oban. Against his will his host had insisted on lighting a peat fire, a regular British practice which Löwenthal found irksome, especially when, as on this occasion, it was not cold. The landlord may have been attentive,

Aber die Behandlung, die mir sonst in diesem Oertchen widerfuhr, hatte nicht viel Erfreuliches. Glaube nur ja Keiner, dass in diesem fernen und vor noch nicht einem Jahrhundert patriarchalisch gastfreien Gegenden Gastwirth, Karren- und Boot- vermiiether und wer immer, von dem der Reisende abhängt, es in der Kunst, ihn zu schnüren, minder weit gebracht habe, als der unverschämteste Wirth auf dem besuchtesten Fleck des Continentes. (ibid., 101)

Other Highland inns which are described by the travellers (especially the later visitors of the 1850's) are the Balloch Inn, which Brandes finds large, clean, well furnished and very full (Brandes, 24ff.), the Banavie Inn, which Brandes compares with the former and Ullrich finds surprisingly "stattlich" (Brandes, 45f. & Ullrich, 342), the famed Trossachs Hotel, where many stayed and which Rellstab considered "ein prächtiges Castell" in contrast to its far less salubrious competitor, ten minutes' away (Rellstab, i, 334f.), and inns at Fort William, Loch Carron, Inversnaid (which Rellstab likens to an isolated Alpine Swiss hotel - ibid., ii, 19f.), Taynuilt and Dalmally.¹² More than other travellers Ullrich expresses surprise at the existence of solitary inns, although he is aware that such hostelries as the Cladich Inn on Loch Awe rely for their survival on parties of sporting gentlemen (Ullrich, 373). As he travels from Balloch by steamer and coach to Fort William, he is impressed first by the elegance of the hotel in Tarbet and then by the friendliness of that at Inverarnan; as the journey continues, however, he is struck by the ever-increasing loneliness of the countryside and its few scattered houses, of which most seem to be inns:

Man befindet sich in einer absoluten Einöde.
Keine Spur von Menschen, Ortschaften und Verkehr.
Alle Pfade des Verkehrs abgestorben bis auf die
eine Strassenader des Touristenweges. Höchstens
begegnet der Wagen einmal einem einsamen Hochlands-
jäger oder einem müssigen Angler-Touristen, der mit
seinem langen Fangwerkzeuge auf der Schulter irgend
ein verborgenes Wasser aufsucht, um seiner Eremiten-
Passion mit vollster Lust zu fröhnen. Die Menschen
wohnen in diesen nordischen Gegenden weit auseinander
und scheinen in ihren Fernen einander kaum zu ahnen.
Die wenigen Wegstationen, Crianlarich, Tyndrum, Inver-
ran und Kingshouse, welche den Zwecken der Reisenden
dienen, liegen weit auseinander; sie bestehen meist
nur aus einem einzigen Gebäude oder Gehöft und sind
die einzigen menschlichen Stätten, welche die Strasse in
diesen verlassenen Gegenden berührt oder deren man über-
haupt ansichtig wird. Doch genießt man hier, obwohl von
aller menschlichen Civilisation entfernt, zu seiner Be-
wunderung ein reiches und englisch comfortables Diner, das
wie durch Zauber in die Bergwüste getragen zu sein scheint. (ibid 334f.)

The "hermit" himself, Hallberg-Broich, was less complimentary about the service in the inns, although his remarks apply to both Scotland and England; he found the beds too big (Hallberg-Broich, 46 & 74), the rooms too small, the service too slow and the food, when it eventually arrived, "halb gesotten oder gebraten" (ibid., 59). He objects

to the monotony of the fact that all hotels throughout Britain have maps of the country on the walls and bibles in the bedrooms. The traveller is forced to read and write in the public parlour, since the "Weltsbett" in his room leaves him no extra space; in Inverness, however, Hallberg has no reason to regret this, since he comes into conversation with some gentlemen who had toured Germany, and although they ridicule the German passport system, they idolise Hallberg's own King of Bavaria, unable to praise him enough for his service to art and literature (ibid., 74). Hallberg also objects to the fact that the traveller must proceed quite alone; he may see other people in the inns, but while they will politely answer any questions, this is as far as the communication goes. In any case the traveller will find all the information he requires posted in the streets, on the transport vehicles and buildings or in the inns. Writing of Edinburgh, Hallberg regrets the apparent lack of public meeting places such as coffee-houses, beer or wine bars, where the visitor could learn of the country's customs. Moreover, politeness is taken for granted; Hallberg reports that he once saved a lady from a falling horse but received no thanks for this dangerous act. Finally he attacks the unreasonable tipping demands of the staff at the inns; the waiter, chamber-maid and servant boy all demand about eighteen Kreuzer a day, while the coachman of the Mail demands twice that, none of which they deserve (ibid., 60f.).

Some tourists always complain more than others, however; while Ullrich spends "einen leidlich comfortablen Aufenthalt" in the inn at Fort William (Ullrich, 341), Wichmann does not allow himself to be put off by the conditions in the same hotel. Having climbed Ben Nevis and got lost and soaked through on the descent, he was glad of a meal of Scotch Ale and kippers and grateful for any bed:

Das Zimmer, in dem ich schlafen sollte, war nun aber gerade kein Feenpalast, und diente den guten Leuten, die zugleich eine Krämerwirtschaft hatten, zur Aufbewahrung von alten Häringstonnen, welche einen unausstehlichen Geruch verbreiteten, in dem ich zu jeder andern Zeit wohl schwerlich würde haben schlafen können, doch nach solchen famosen Turnübungen schlief ich den Schlaf eines Gerechten in kurzer Zeit. (Wichmann, 36f.)

Earlier visits to Iona and Staffa would sometimes mean a night in Tobermory, and it was on such a stop-over that Hailbronner and Pulszky found themselves in perhaps the most surprisingly pleasant of all the

inns. It is interesting to compare the two accounts of the visit, since they reveal how differently two men could interpret the same circumstances. The younger but more serious Pulszky writes:

In einem reinlichen Wirthshause fanden wir englisch-starken Thee und gutes Nachtquartier, nachdem wir noch am Ufer einige Gänge nach den Höhen gemacht hatten, von bettelnden lustigen Kindern verfolgt wie in Italien. Das Wirthshaus gehörte zwei hübschen Mädchen, deren Eltern beide gestorben waren, aber trotz dem, dass sie jetzt ein Dutzend junge Leute bewirtheten, ging alles so decent zu, wie es nur in England möglich ist, wo die weibliche Würde so hoch geachtet wird. Eine unserer Wirthinnen war vorzüglich hübsch und ähnelte der Mirandolina von Goldoni. Aber die Nähe von Staffa, und die Ungewissheit des Wetters beschäftigte die ganze Gesellschaft viel mehr, als die hübschen Augen dieser gaelischen Schönheit. -

(Pulszky, 150f.)

While the learned Pulszky refers to an Italian dramatist, yet keeping his mind firmly on the wonders of Staffa which lay ahead, Hailbronner has no qualms about adding some sentimental drama himself:

Auf unserer Fahrt von Oban nach Tobermory, dem Hafen von Mull, fand sich eine ganz vortreffliche Gesellschaft zusammen, wie man sie in England selten findet, und in diesen fernen kalten Gegenden kaum erwarten darf. Die Bewunderung Aller concentrirte sich auf ein junges blühendes Hochlandmädchen, ein Raphaelisches Madonnengesicht, vom Rosenschimmer jugendlicher Blüthe übergossen, züchtig, anständig, ja würdevoll in ihrem Wesen. Sie war allein an Bord gekommen und keiner wusste, woher sie kam, wohin sie ging. Es war schon beinahe dunkel, als wir landeten, und da das einzige Wirthshaus besetzt war, so suchten wir in einem Privathause Unterkommen, wohin wir gewiesen worden. Man gab uns sehr hübsche Zimmer und bald vereinigte uns das Diningroom zu einem fröhlichen Mahle. Deutsche, Schweden, Franzosen, Americaner, Ungarn und junge Engländer sassen hier traulich beisammen und liessen die Flasche herumgehen. Wer schildert aber unser Erstaunen, als die Thüre sich öffnete und mit dem Theekessel die Unbekannte vom Schiffe hereintrat. In weissem Nachthäubchen und dem knappen Hauskleide sah sie noch unendlich reizender aus. Gesenkten Blickes empfing sie die Ausbrüche der angenehmsten Ueberraschung und erzählte uns mit der grössten Unbefangenheit, dass sie nebst einer im Alter fast gleichen Schwester nach dem Tode ihrer Eltern das Haus allein fortführe. Und in diesem Hause logirten 10 bis 12 tobende lustige Reisende, und kein kühner Laut der Unbescheidenheit war zu hören, so hohe Achtung flösst das edle patriarchalische Wesen dieser

Hochländerinnen ein. Die Reinheit der Sitten steht hier mit der tiefen, alles durchdringenden Religiosität im schönsten Eunde, allein nie hat das stolze schottische Dampfschiff M'Gregor eine schönere und tugendhaftere Schottin getragen, als dieses Zaubermädchen, das uns alle entzückte, und uns die Abreise nach dem herrlichen Staffa fast schwer machte.

(Hailbronner, 329f.)

A figure of such innocence and beauty was welcome material to a Romantic traveller in the Highlands and Hailbronner, as the more experienced travel writer, knew how to catch the attention of his readers.

Since they were less remote, the Lowland hostelries were naturally less memorable to the German visitors, although some gain particular mention; Meidinger, for instance, praises those in Port Patrick (Meidinger, Reisen, 115). By the time of Rellstab's visit, thirty years later, Victoria's tours had left their mark throughout the country; after eating in the Victoria Hotel in Galashiels he comments, "man reise heut zu Tage, wohin man will in England, in das kleinste Dorf, ich wette man wird ein Victoria-Hôtel finden, wenn nicht zwei, drei" (Rellstab, i, 288). If not "Victoria" there was sure to be a "Queens Hotel", such as he stays in in Edinburgh (ibid., 212) or a "Hotel Royal" as he encounters in Stirling, "ein so sauberes, zierliches, wohleingerichtetes Haus, als wir nur irgend wünschen können" (ibid., 307). In 1835 Isensee had described the Hotel Royal in Edinburgh as the noblest of the city's hotels (Isensee, 116). In earlier days only those inns in frequented areas in the Lowlands deserved such praise; thus Spiker was able to enjoy a warm bath from the sulphur springs in the elegant spa of Moffat, while he found the inn at Lockerbie one of the worst in Britain, though he omits to say why (Spiker, 320f.). Schopenhauer, however, as a lady of society with corresponding expectations, had not been impressed by Moffat thirteen years before Spiker in 1803, even though she conceded that the spa was much frequented and pleasantly situated. She concludes that it was definitely not one of those spas commonly visited to alleviate boredom:

Wir bemerkten keine Anstalten zu den hergebrachten Badelustbarkeiten, weder zu Assemblies, noch zu Bällen, noch zu Schauspielen, und schlossen daraus, dass wohl nur Kranke herkommen, denn für körperliche Gesunde scheint nicht gesorgt zu seyn. (Schopenhauer, 355)

That the travellers' opinions depended on their own values is shown also by Holzenthal. On the prisoners' march from Leith, when still accustomed to Spanish imprisonment, they had found the two inns in Middleton perfectly adequate; on their return march to Edinburgh in 1814, however, after two years of relative comfort in Hawick, they were to find the inn at Bankhouse excellent, but in Middleton the conditions now appeared "abscheulich" to them (Holzenthal, 234).

The fullest account of hotel accommodation in Scotland, as compared with Germany, comes from Brandes, after his stay in the Commercial Inn at Hamilton. Arriving exhausted from a 300-hour journey from Cologne, he is well able to appreciate the service he receives here. Like Hallberg-Broich, he is struck by the size of the beds, broad enough for four people and so high that steps are needed to climb into them. The white cotton bed-cover is so tightly tucked in that he wonders whether it is not nailed to the bedstead and finds it hard to climb inside. Asking why the beds are in the middle of the room instead of along the wall as in Germany, he is told that this is to prevent rheumatism from damp walls. Although like other Germans he regrets the lack of a stove in the rooms, he notes that the open fireplaces are neatly covered in summer by strange and colourful paper guards, and he admires the carpeted floors and, above all, the washing facilities;

Äusserst angenehm ist der Ueberfluss an Waschwasser, mit welchem man in deutschen Gasthöfen oft so sparsam aufwartet. Ich fand fast überall in beiden Ländern [Scotland and England] auf dem Waschtisch zwei mächtige Kannen von weissem mit blauen Blumen geziertem Porcellan mit Wasser gefüllt, dazu eine volle Flasche mit zwei Gläsern, zwei grosse porcellanene Waschbecken und immer zwei Handtücher und Seife; das Nachtgeschirr von bedeutendem Umfang und nicht so klein, wie bisweilen bei uns, wo man in neuerer Zeit zu glauben scheint, der Deutsche hätte das Trinken verlernt, da ihm doch diese Tugend seiner Alvordern gewiss verblieben ist.

(Brandes, 15)

Kohl shows the other side to this picture when he lists some of the complaints the British lodge when travelling in Germany; he is prompted to do so on hearing a lecture given by a charlatan doctor in the Moray Arms in Doune. Next to temperance the doctor praises ventilation and Kohl remarks, "wenn man das Register der Klagen über unsere teppichlosen

Zimmer, über unser Schwarzbrot und unseren Sauerkohl, über unsere kurzen Betten, über unsere dumpfigen Öfen durchgeklagt hat, so kommt zuletzt auch die Ventilation an die Reihe" (Kohl, ii, 149). With this perspective in mind, Brandes' praise is all the more admirable.

ii. Food and Drink

Brandes continues his account of accommodation in Scotland with a description of the meals he is commonly served. In Hamilton he is served breakfast by a pretty maid whose cap is secured by a flower garland and this naturally adds to his pleasure. She brings the meal in on a huge tray, laden with hot water, tea, a milk jug, sugar basin, butter, slices of toast, two boiled eggs, fried fish and roasted meat. Brandes describes this in full, since it is typical of the plentiful Scots breakfast, so different from the German. Sometimes he even receives two sorts of fish or meat and he is struck, too, by the way in which the butter is presented, unsalted and often floating in water. The meal served in the evening is similar, but Brandes does not care for the midday meal, which he seldom eats, with its huge roasts, peas and beans. He finds the meat too rare, the vegetables leathery, and the soups, when served at all, unappetising "Bouillon, wie in Frankreich, mit allerlei Werk darin" (Brandes, 16). He is amazed that napkins are not offered, even at dinner. As for drink, only stout or ale was available; costing from sixpence to one shilling a glass. Brandes' bill in Hamilton comes to three shillings for the evening meal, two for overnight accommodation, two for breakfast and 1/6d. to 2/- for the services of the "Stewart, Chambermaid und Boots". With Brandes' bill of 1850 and Kalckstein's of 1852 in mind,¹³ it is small wonder that Fontane and Lepel resented the extortionate fee charged them by the old washerwoman in Oban, fifteen shillings for a wretched room and nothing more. Later on his tour Brandes was to meet two Scotsmen who had spent some time in Dresden and had been baffled by the abundance of cutlery set at meals for each course; despite his earlier remarks on the size of the Scottish roasts, Brandes agrees:

Allerdings ist es wahr, in Schottland und England wird wenigstens in den Gasthöfen viel einfacher gespeiset, indem man nur ein oder einige tüchtige Fleischstücke aufträgt, und der Gast, wenn mehrere Braten da sind, gewöhnlich doch nur von Einem zu geniessen pflegt, und somit unterscheidet sich die englische Küche freilich von der deutschen und französischen. (Brandes, 52)

Brandes also comments on one further difference between the two countries' meal customs. In the Banavie Inn he finds the long tea table set for all the guests together, the only time he was to witness this in Britain. The Germans often found the solitary table settings irksome. A surprise was also to greet Brandes in the lower storey of Nelson's Monument in Edinburgh, where he found a welcome restaurant, with coffee, sodawater, ginger beer, bakedwares and sweet cakes on sale (*ibid.*, 65). On another occasion he writes of the Scottish toddy, which he encountered in the inn at Hamilton, enjoyed by "eine schottische Trinkgesellschaft von Kaufleuten", who were seated round a round table in the middle of the room discussing business. The hot water, whisky and sugar was placed in the centre of the table and each man helped himself; "Dies, sagte mir später ein Engländer, der gern auf die Armuth des Hochlandes stichelte, sei der Schotten National- und Wonnetrank" (*ibid.*, 20).

Brandes covers all the aspects of Scottish food which struck the German visitors, the large breakfast, the sizeable roasts, the choice of fish or meat with every meal, the tea and toast, the baking, and the ale and toddy. The Scottish breakfast gained most attention, even if it was only to be had at a late hour. Schopenhauer was distressed to discover that breakfast was never served before 7 a.m., when often only the boot boy was up, and Rellstab, on arriving at the Queen's Hotel in Princes Street at 5 a.m., also had to wait for his meal, since only the boots and the chambermaid were about. Moreover, the hotel was full and he was shown to a basement room in a neighbouring building, which, although clean and elegant, was cool and dark "wie das Grab" (Rellstab, i, 213). Since no one is up he climbs into bed and sleeps for two hours before repairing to the 'coffee room' next door, prompted on reflection of this misnomer to remark that the British coffee is nationally as bad as the tea is good (*ibid.*, 214). Rellstab and others soon realise that in order to accommodate the late hour and

the large size of the Scottish breakfast, it is advisable to take an early morning walk beforehand; only then can the hotel guest manage "zwei wahre Alpen-Colosse" of ham and roast beef (ibid., ii, 35).

Breakfast, once served, was almost invariably appreciated. In the 1820's Meidinger writes from Keith that there are several good inns in the area, whose miserable exteriors belie their interiors. This, he reports, is typical of the small towns in Scotland, whose inns are often surprisingly clean, friendly and carpeted. Of particular note are the breakfasts served, tea, smoked meat, eggs and excellent trout (Meidinger, Reisen, 66). Some twenty years later, Kohl was to remember the Scottish breakfast as "ein Fisch- und Scone-Frühstück" (Kohl, ii, 219). He describes it after a breakfast invitation from the minister at Muthill. While in Germany breakfast is taken at a sufficiently early hour that one does not wish to be seen in company, breakfast parties in Britain, between nine and ten o'clock, are common:

In Schottland ist so ein Frühstück wieder eine ganz eigene Affaire. Zuerst ist der dabei gehaltene Familiengottesdienst noch viel länger und feierlicher als in England. Alsdann, was die Speisen betrifft, so ist Fleisch dabei nicht so häufig; dagegen spielen Fisch, Süßigkeiten und Backwerk eine desto grössere Rolle. Fisch fehlt fast nie bei dem schottischen Frühstück, und ich muss gestehen, ich finde dieses Gericht, besonders so wie es in Schottland bereitet wird, ohne piquante Sauce, bloss auf dem Rost trocken gebraten, als ersten Imbiss, etwas nüchtern. Eben so unbegreiflich nüchtern sind die sogenannte "Barley-skones" (Gerstenkuchen). Es sind dieses platte, runde Kuchen, welche aus Gerste und Wasser bereitet werden, und die das Feuer kaum von Weitem beschienen zu haben scheint; denn der Teig ist so unghahr, dass einem das Mehl noch zwischen den Zähnen hängen bleibt. Dagegen fand ich den Honig in diesem nordischen Lande so süß und gewürzig wie in anderen blumenreichen Ländern.

(ibid., i, 14of.)

The minister tells him that due to the unusually warm and dry summer that year (1842), his bees had even swarmed twice. The honey apart, the fish and scones must have been fairly unpalatable, since it was unlike Kohl to complain.

Carus, however, enjoyed nothing but the best on his visit two years later, in 1844. At a luxurious breakfast at Dalmahoy he was to find the table set as for a full dinner, with cold meat, fried fish, breads and scones, boiled eggs, ham, honey and

marmalade, of which he writes:

Die Schotten schreiben sich eigentlich die etwas zweideutige Ehre zu, diese luxuriosen, mit so viel Speisen besetzten Frühstückstafeln erfunden und sie den Engländern gegeben zu haben. Übrigens gewöhnt man sich wirklich gar bald daran und genießt früh schon die heterogensten Dinge, ohne irgend Beschwerde davon zu empfinden.

(Carus, ii, 288f.)

Lewald, who was frequently invited out to breakfast while in Edinburgh, was also impressed by the meal in the inn at Taynuilt: "Eier, Muttonchops, geröstete Häringe, Weissbrod, Haferbrod, Thee, Kaffee, Butter, Alles war vortrefflich, der Preis von anderthalb Schillinge wirklich gering für das, was man erhielt" (Lewald, ii, 532). While visiting friends in Argyle in 1851, Wichmann also became acquainted with the custom of being invited out to breakfasts:

Manche Reisende erklären sie für die besten, die es überhaupt giebt, jedenfalls sind sie ausgezeichnet und vortrefflich. Auf einem solchen Frühstückstische findet man feines Brot von Hafer- und Gerstenmehl als Brötchen, Kuchen (cakes), Zwieback(biscuits) und geröstete Brotschnittchen, ferner Eier, Rennthier-, Hammel- und Rindschinken, geräucherten Lachs, Marmalade (eine Art Saftmus) und viele andere Leckerbissen. Ein echter Schotte genießt aber jedenfalls zuvor noch sein oatmeal porridge, einen suppenartigen Brei von Hafermehl, welcher mit einer Mischung von Sahne und Buttermilch genossen wird. Es ist dies ein Nationalgericht der Schotten.

(Wichmann, 30f.)

As well as writing of the oat and barley cakes, (which he, like Meidinger before him, was to liken to the Jewish "Matzen" (ibid, 42 and Meidinger, Reisen, footnote, 86), and of which Schopenhauer had grudgingly written, "mit der Zeit könnte man sich wohl daran gewöhnen" (Schopenhauer, 328)), Wichmann is one of the very few to mention porridge, haggis and Scotch broth. Of the latter he writes that it is a favourite meal in Scotland and rightly so, while of the haggis he says that it, too, is a favourite national dish,

das sie über Alles lieben und das der Volksdichter Robert Burns sogar besungen hat ... Dieses Gericht besteht aus klein gehackten Ueberbleibseln von Hammelfleisch, gemischt mit Hafermehl und Schmalz, in dem Magen eines Schafes gekocht, in welchem es auch auf den Tisch gesetzt wird. Für mich war es unverdaulich, und ungeniessbar, wenn ich an die Art seiner Zubereitung dachte.

(Wichmann, 57f.)

Wichmann also enjoyed two further common dishes in Highland inns; smoked herring in Fort William and fresh salmon in the inn at Loch Carron (ibid., 36 and 43). Of further traditional foods, Förster sampled grouse in Edinburgh and was offered the unfermented "damper" bread in The Manse at Buchanan (Förster 323), while Rellstab tasted hare soup in Stirling, and was to remark of a meal at the Inversnaid Inn that, while the mutton was tender, the peas were like bullets (Rellstab, i, 317 and ii, 60). A bottle of porter and a mutton chop made a fine lunch (ibid., i, 289). The Scotch mutton in particular was frequently commented on; Förster enjoyed "süssduftenden Lammsbraten" in Stirling, for instance (Förster, 341), and Ullrich's old landlady in Oban cooked him a mutton chop on a spit over the open fire (Ullrich, 367f). Meissner thought little of another sheep-dish which he had encountered at Brodie Castle in 1817:

Die parritch [sic], eine Art von Haferbrei ist ein Lieblingsessen der Schotten, um das ich sie aber eben so wenig als um ihre geräucherten Schaafsköpfe beneide. Der, so Humpry Clinkers Reisen gelesen, wird sich der lächerlichen Besorgniss erinnern, die dort das Kammermädchen hegte, welche glaubte, dass man in Schottland durchaus blos von letzteren lebe.

(Meissner, 268)

When accompanied by a crofter's whisky, however ("den die Hochländer leidenschaftlich lieben"), Highland oatcakes were quite acceptable to Meissner (ibid., 240).

Although luncheon was not a main meal in Scotland, it was enjoyed by some. Lady Campbell and her daughter gave the King of Saxony and his party a midday meal on their visit to Kilravock and Cawdor, though Carus terms it "ein leichtes Frühstück" (Carus, ii, 251). Fanny Lewald seldom mentions food, but she was frequently asked out to all meals, and she does remark in passing that she and her companion, "Herr Sp.", were served an excellent luncheon in the station hotel at Stirling (Lewald, ii, 322). The King of Saxony was served only the best; even though the party arrived at Hamilton Palace around midnight, they were served "das eleganteste Diner auf reichem Silber" (Carus, ii, 182), and at Taymouth they were treated to a lavish feast, at which the fine oak carved sideboard, the abundance of silver, lights and servants seems to have impressed Carus more than the food itself. Only one

thing marred the occasion in his view, namely a piper "mit seinen näselnden schrillen Tönen" (ibid., 264f.). Hallberg-Broich of course had found much more to criticise, and writes of the private eating habits of the Scots:

In den Privathäusern leben sie wie in den Hôtels: abgekochte Fische, ein Stück gebratenes Ochsen- oder Schafffleisch, Erdäpfel, in Wasser abgekochten Blumenkohl, gelbe oder weisse Rüben, Bohnen, Erbsen, Kraut, alles in Wasser abgekocht ohne Geschmack, dann Aepfel, überdeckt mit gemeinem Brodteig, und ein Pudding, der, wie alles Uebrige, nicht gar gekocht ist; so fand ich es in England überall und täglich dasselbe. Das nennen sie ein herrliches Mittagessen, und sehr comfortable, wenn sie stundenlang saufen, und bei ihren vielen Gesundheitten ein Geschrei anfangen, als wenn man in den gemeinsten Kneipen wäre. (Hallberg-Broich, 88)

Even the abundance of herring and salmon, which delighted most visitors, aggravated Hallberg, who once more indicates the monotony of Scottish food: "Auch verfolgt mich in den Wirthshäusern täglich der Salm zum Essen, dann wird viel Honig und eingemachte Früchte bei jedem Mahl gegessen" (ibid., 74f.). When he discusses the diet of the ordinary Scots people, the random connection of Hallberg's thoughts and prose also becomes apparent:

Die Speise des gemeinen Mannes ist gewöhnlich ein Brei von Habermehl mit Wasser, sehr dick gekocht; wer es hat, giesst Milch, Oel oder Butter darüber, sie nennen es Brose, und es ist vom Kuskussus der Araber wenig verschieden, die Schottländer haben Eckel vor dem Schweinefleisch, auch essen sie keine Aale wegen der Aehnlichkeit mit den Schlangen. Die Schulen sind in Schottland für den Armen sehr vernachlässigt, die wenigsten können lesen, sogar in den Städten. (ibid., 56f.)

This is typical of Hallberg's style, with valid points of view and observations marred by sweeping generalisations and non-sequiturs.

After a two-year stay amongst Border farming folk, Holzenthal had been more qualified to comment on the food of the ordinary people. He writes: "Vielleicht ist die Lebensart der Schottländer, mit Ausnahme ihres Hanges zum geistigen Getränke, bis in die mittlern Classen, eine der frugalsten und gesundesten die man sich denken kann" (Holzenthal, 217). He describes how the Scots rise no earlier than nine, (the lower classes breakfasting of porridge, the upper taking tea, bread, butter and cheese), take lunch (of over-boiled potatoes and smoked herring) around two, drink tea between five and six, and eat supper between eight and nine. The wealthier households cook meat twice a week and make

soup from the mutton or roast pork to last for several days. Holzenthal compares the pork [or ham?] with the Westphalian, although unlike the latter it is never eaten dried and raw in Scotland. Tea is accompanied by thin bread or oatcakes with butter and cheese, while the evening meal in the less wealthy families consists of potato or oatmeal broth and in the better-off houses eggs and fish and a bottle of beer. Holzenthal is surprised how little tinware he sees in Scottish kitchens, where nearly all the crockery is china and displayed on dressers. The spoons are mostly of horn, while only a few spoons and kettles are of pewter. Forty years later Förster was to be utterly baffled by the table settings in the Scottish inns. Having marvelled at the wonders of his bedroom's washing facilities, with running water in the basin, he devotes two light-hearted pages to table customs, in particular to the confusing use of the different knives and spoons, the cause of much embarrassment to foreigners (Förster, 344f.). Marx was also to comment on the differences in table manners, stressing that the sugar lumps must always be taken with tongs, that both hands must be used for eating, the fork in the left, the knife in the right, and that the knife must never find its way into one's mouth. As a doctor, he puts the healthy and strong appearance of the wealthy down to the amount of meat they consume, commenting, "Bekanntlich verbrauchen die Taucher, wenn sie animalische Kost oder spirituöse Getränke geniessen, mehr Sauerstoff, als wenn sie von Vegetabilien und Wasser sich nähren" (Marx, 37). Marx also notes two customs previously unknown to him, the demand of the waiter that he bring a pair of (used) slippers before the guest retires to bed, and the custom of brushing one's own hat, for which purpose a brush is to be found every morning in the coffee room. He expresses surprise that gentlemen, otherwise so particular, should be prepared to wear old slippers, especially in the inns of lower standard, but feels bound to conclude, "ländlich, sittlich" (*ibid.*, 36). Holzenthal is moved to make the same remark with regard to the Scots' drinking habits: "Man hat nicht nöthig, lange unter den Schottländern sich aufzuhalten, um bei ihnen gleich den andern nördlichen Völkern ihren grossen Hang zum Trunk zu entdecken" (Holzenthal, 218). Every spare penny goes towards a bottle of ale or porter: "Betrunken seyn ist hier zu Lande keine Schande, denn man sieht es alle Tage zu häufig; niemand nimmt Notiz davon, und man kann wohl sagen: ländlich sittlich!"

(ibid., 219). Holzenthal goes on to describe the ritual of toasts, telling how the people first drink a glass of delicious gooseberry wine after tea, after which the host starts the round of toasts with whisky punch.

Nemnich gives a factual account of all the different drinks in Britain, supplying facts and figures concerning the brewing of the various wines and beers and the history of tea and coffee in the country. At the time of his tour, at the turn of the century, coffee had scarcely been introduced to Britain 150 years and Nemnich's opinion that the British made it badly is a criticism still levelled by foreigners today, more than 150 years later. Fifty years after Nemnich, Ullrich thought little of the drink he was offered in Oban: "Der Himmel hatte ganz die Farbe des Getränkes, welches ich zum Frühstück genoss und das sich in unerhörter Verwegenheit Kaffee nannte" (Ullrich, 368), while Rellstab remarks that although he repairs to the "Coffee Room" in the Queen's Hotel in Princes Street for breakfast, this is misleading, since they serve only tea, "der überall auf der britischen Insel eben so gut, als der Kaffee schlecht ist" (Rellstab, i, 214). Later he is to observe that next to tea, the favourite drink of the British is soda water (ibid., ii, 76). Rellstab had accustomed himself to the British tea-drinking habits and looks back with especial pleasure to a cup of tea served him on a September evening in a hotel on Loch Lomond (ibid., 24). That tea was consumed in great quantities in Scotland is attested by Nemnich, who reports that twenty million pounds were being consumed per year in England and Scotland alone. At Monzie Nemnich was served broth "hirtenmässig" in a wooden bowl with a horn spoon, an oatcake and a tin mug of whisky (Nemnich, 559), but on a similar occasion ladies were offered milk: Lewald and Miss Chambers were served oatcakes, milk and water by the porter's wife at Hawthornden. Afterwards Lewald even held the opinion that oatcakes, if freshly baked, could taste very good! (Lewald, ii, 314). Stiff and sore from unaccustomed walking through the Highlands on his 1822 tour, Otto had found the available sustenance lacking:

Einige fast rohe Kartoffeln, und ohne Salz! -
waren alles, was man uns zu geben vermochte.
Ich bat um Milch, man brachte mir Ziegenmilch,
ich wollte sie soeben trinken, als ich darin
eins der kleinen Tierchen entdeckte, welche

unter dem Vergrößerungsglase wie ein Schwein
aussehen! Ich eilte hinaus und löschte meinen
Durst aus einem Bache!

(Otto, 354)

The reader is left to wonder how his croft-dwelling hosts regarded this reaction to their hospitality. In general, however, Otto praises the Scots hospitality and finds life in Edinburgh very similar to that in London:

Der Caffee ist hier ebenso schlecht wie dort; die Zubereitung der Kartoffeln ebenso vorzüg_lich. Das Frühstück besteht immer aus Thee, weich gesott-
-enen Eiern, kaltem Rindsbraten oder Schinken; Mittags bekommt man gewöhnlich Suppe. Ihr Branntwein ist der berühmte Whisky, der stärker als der englische Brandy oder Gin (Geneva) ist, aber nicht so wohlschmeckend; im Punsch ist er aber vorzüglich, und wird von den Hochländern in grossen Quantitäten getrunken. Die eingemachten Sachen von Apfelsinen, die in Schottland bereitet werden, sind berühmt; sie werden gewöhnlich Morgens und Abends zum Thee genossen.

(ibid., 296)

Otto's impressions of Scottish fare in the 1820's are typical of the average foreign visitor: coffee was bad, tea good, breakfast plentiful, and marmalade, in particular, worthy of note. As for the alcoholic beverages, whisky and toddy gained most attention.

The highest tribute paid to Scotch ale comes from Förster, whose thirst for a good German beer was at last assuaged in the Highland Hotel on Loch Katrine. It mattered little that the hotel itself resembled a hut rather than an inn:

Wie erstaunte ich, Bier, wirkliches herrlich aussehendes, offenbar ganz frisches Bier auf dem Tisch stehen zu sehen! Ich konnte mein Entzücken nicht verbergen, und brachte unwillkürlich durch den Ausdruck desselben die ganze Gesellschaft in Fluss und mich ihr so nahe, als wäre mir ein Unfall begegnet. Eigen! fünf Wochen lang war ich täglich in den Glaspalast gegangen, ich hatte in London die Oper besucht und Vauxhall, war nach Greenwich gefahren und nach Richmond, nach Windsor und Hamptoncourt, und mit Tausenden in Berührung gekommen, ohne eine Bekanntschaft zu machen. Nun aber setzte Einen der liebe Gott in so einer schottischen Bergschenke oder auf einem Dampfboot mit einem Dutzend Menschen zusammen - es müsste wunderbarlich zugehen, wenn man da keine Eroberung machte. In einer halben Stunde hatten wir uns gegenseitig

alle erobert. (Förster, 333)

One bottle of Scotch ale had brought three young men from Cincinnati, an Englishman, a Cuban, a young couple from New Orleans, a Glaswegian, a few more English, and a lone German together!

Whisky

Conviviality amongst the Scots, however, centered around whisky. Scotch whisky, then as now, forms a subject on its own. Its very obvious presence in Scotland never goes unmentioned, from Nemnich's report of stills and distilleries (Nemnich, eg. 496 & 553), to Kohl's account of his Highland companions in the Trossachs partaking of "einen tüchtigen Dram" on the shores of Loch Vennachar, "in einem sehr romantisch an der Spitze dieses Sees gelegenen kleinen Whisky-Hause" (Kohl, ii, 120). Holzenthal is particularly amazed at the women's capacity for drinking the spirit:

Der Lieblingstrank, und dieses auch bei den Weibern, ist Whisky-Punsch, und unglaublich ist es, mit welchem Wohlbehagen sie dies Getränk hinein schütten und nicht eher damit aufhören, bis sie betrunken sind. Dieser Punsch, der ihnen über Alles geht, besteht aus weiter nichts als aus Whisky (aus Gersten und Kartoffeln gebrannt) weissem Zucker und warmen Wasser. (Holzenthal, 218f.)

Holzenthal was only in the Border country, however, and a whisky punch or toddy was generally the drink of the Lowlanders or wealthy; the Highlanders drank whisky neat and their capacity for holding vast quantities of it never ceased to surprise travellers in the Highlands. As Holzenthal implies, it was also disturbing: drunkenness was very prevalent, wherever one travelled in Scotland. Raumer also concerns himself with the problem of alcoholism in Scotland, though he sees the high number of gin shops (one per twelve families in Glasgow) and the unnatural strictness of the Scottish sabbath as prime causes for the high level of alcoholism and also, therefore, for the extensive poverty. Having thus addressed more serious problems, he turns to his own more personal opinions of the shortcomings of life in Britain, in which food and drink play a major rôle:

" - - Wie denn auch sey, in dreierlei Richtungen (so scheint es mir) verderben die Engländer ihren Geschmack, oder können ihn nicht erwerben: Erstens hinsichtlich seiner Speisen, durch den Pfeffer und

den überstrengen Mostrich oder Senf, welche beide Gewürze überall vorherrschen und die Zunge abstumpfen. Zweitens hinsichtlich seiner Weine; denn sobald der mit Branntwein versetzte Cherry und Port hintergeschluckt ist, kann man nicht mehr unterscheiden was nachfolgt. Drittens ist der völlig unmusikalische Sonntag, ein zureichendes Mittel . . . die Engländer in ein unmusikalisches Volk zu verwandeln"

(Raumer, 1835, 387f.)

It is after receiving a sermon of rebuke from the host of an Edinburgh temperance hotel, where he had unwittingly asked for a bottle of Scotch ale with his meal, that Wichmann reflects on the alcoholism in Scotland; he sees the climate with its bracing sea air as a possible reason for it. In Scotland many of the drinks he encounters are the same as in England, such as ale and porter (although he finds the Scotch ale sweeter and stronger than the English), heavy Spanish wines, popular amongst the upper classes, and a hot grog made from French brandy. Whisky, however, outrules them all and this accounts in turn for the presence of the teetotal Temperance Hotels. He describes his own impressions of the drink:

Dieser Whisky, in dem romantischen Schottland auch mit dem poetischen Namen "mountain dew" (Berg-Thau) bezeichnet, ist ohne Zweifel gewiss der stärkste, trinkbare Branntwein, der von schwachen Sterblichen genossen werden kann und für Fremde und Nichtkenner ein höchst heimtückischer Trank.

Rein getrunken, presst dieser unschuldig, weiss aussehende Whisky einem solchen unwiderstehlich die Thränen aus den Augen und durchbrennt sein Inneres mächtig; als Toddy zubereitet, d.i. Zucker, heisses Wasser und Whisky, fließt er schon sanfter hinunter, obgleich sein Geruch anfangs vielleicht nicht einen Jeden angenehm berührt; beim zweiten, dritten Glase jedoch gewöhnt man sich schon daran, und wer dann als Fremdling und Uneingeweihter noch ein viertes Glas versuchen sollte, dürfte wohl nicht leicht ohne fremde Hülfe seine Wohnung erreichen.

(Wichmann, 5f.)

Others were less willing to sample the national drink; at Inver-snaid, while Marx's fellow passengers refreshed themselves with a glass of whisky, he himself was well aware that caution was necessary: "Um der Landessitte eine Libation darzubringen, nippte ich an einem Glase" (Marx, 34). Ullrich was not even prepared to go this far and complained in Abercalder when there was only toddy available in the inn; he describes it as "eine Art Grog aus heissem Wasser, Thomas-Zucker und einem

abscheulich nach Rauch oder vielmehr nach Creosot schmeckenden Branntwein (Whisky)" (Ullrich, 345). Raumer, in praising the excellence of Scotch ale, writes, "Dies übertrifft in Schottland bei weitem Alles, was ich in England unter diesem Namen getrunken habe. Desto weniger behagt mir der Whisky, den ich nicht über meine Lippen bringen konnte," (Raumer, 1835, 377). Kohl, who, as ever, had done his homework, stresses the importance of the malt and "the smell of the peat-ræk" in a good whisky punch (Kohl, i, 222). He omits to tell whether it was to his own taste. Twenty years before, Meidinger had described the "General's hut", or "Half Way House", by Castle Urquhart, a drinking stop which had originally served as a military inn but now was merely a solitary smokey hut where a traveller could not even find a bed, although food was available, "und vor allem das erste Bedürfniss der Hochländer: guten Whisky". Having described a toddy, Meidinger continues:

Je mehr der Whisky nach Rauch schmeckt, desto höher steigt er bei guten Kennern im Werthe. Die Hochländer sind so sehr auf dieses Getränk und auf Schnupftabak versessen, dass, als man einst einen derjenigen fragte, was er sich wohl von allem in der Welt am liebsten wünschte, derselbe antwortete:
 A kirkfull of sneeshin and a well full of whisky.
 Man fragte ihn hierauf weiter, wenn er dieses hätte, was er sich wohl alsdann noch wünschte; nach einigem Besinnen erwiderte er mit fröhlichem Gesichte: dann möchte ich wohl noch mehr sneeshin und noch mehr whisky. Ich gebe diese Anekdote, wie ich sie hörte.
 (Meidinger, Reisen, 82)

While the importance of the whisky export trade between Edinburgh and London was already evident at the turn of the century (Nemnich, 483f.), whisky's significance to Scotland's own consumers, in particular in the Highlands, was equally apparent to Carus on his visit in 1844. He is amused that an Inverness alderman should find it necessary to ensure that the provost of the town should be introduced to the King not only in his official capacity as first townsman, but also - and, it is felt, more importantly - as the foremost whisky distiller of the Highlands. The esteem in which whisky was held could also be a nuisance to such a distinguished visitor as the King of Saxony: as the party passes Fort Augustus, the local innkeeper comes up to the King and asks him, if not to drink from, at least to touch with his lips, a whisky quaich which he offers him. In order to rid himself of the man, the King is forced to do so against his will (Carus, ii, 243f. & 237f). To his surprise,

Carus finds he rather likes whisky, at least in the form of a toddy; even the unavoidable peaty taste can be enjoyable. Late in the evening, after dinner, their host in the inn at Banavie brings them "eine Flasche der ächtesten Whisky - dieses schottischen Nektars, von dessen Bereitung in den Hochlanden, Landseer ein hübsches, auch durch den Stich vervielfältigtes Bild gegeben hat" (*ibid.*, 230). Such acknowledgements to Landseer's contribution to general knowledge of Scotland are fairly common. Carus continues:

Es ist eigentlich nichts als ein äusserst starker Kornbranntwein, welcher aber auf besondere Weise von jenem, aller ächt schottischen Haushaltung charakteristischen Torfgeruch, stark imprägnirt ist. Vermischt man heisses Wasser mit Zucker und etwas von diesem Whisky, so giebt es ein angenehm erwärmendes Getränk, welches nach irgend einer in den feuchten Nebeln dieser Berge vollführten Wanderung oder Jagd ganz behaglich und wohlthätig wirken muss. Selbst der sonst widrige Torfgeschmack bekommt so etwas eigenthümlich Piquantes! - - ja ist es nicht überhaupt sonderbar dass die Endpunkte des Widerwärtigen und des Entzückenden oft sich so ganz nahe liegen können!
(*ibid.*)

One might well apply this last comment of Carus to the whole subject of accommodation in Scotland in the first half of the 19th Century; as long as the travellers were prepared to accept an inevitable degree of dirt, peat smell and lack of variety, there was plenty of pleasure to be derived from visits to Scottish inns and hotels, even earlier in the century. The reputation of Scottish hospitality could always be saved by some redeeming factor, whether whisky, marmalade or simple friendliness. In this light Kohl was one of the travellers whose character was best suited to a tour of the country, since he accepted the facts for what they were and complained little. This comes out in his description of the accommodation he found in Muthill:

[ich] fand in einem kleinen Wirthshause allen wünschenswerthen Comfort, eine gefällige und redlustige alte Wirthin, ein freundliches reinliches Zimmer, ein Bett, wie gewöhnlich in England, einen halben Acker gross, und Milch, Whisky, "Porridge" (Haferbrei) und eine warme "Brose" (Fleischsuppe), kurz Alles, was man sich in Schottland nur Schönes wünschen kann.
(Kohl, i, 129)

As long as the drunkards in inns and hostelries wore kilts, plaids and danced to the bagpipes and the innkeepers' daughters spoke a little English with their soft-tongued Gaelic, the travellers reacted to the impetuous side to the Scottish nature, albeit with occasional condescension, with surprising good humour. Where women went barefoot and oats, barley and potatoes were the only grown crops, one could not expect a daily feast enjoyed in comfort and privacy at every inn, and most of the German visitors were able to appreciate this.

CHAPTER IVLIVING CONDITIONS AND CONTEMPORARY AFFAIRSa) Living Conditions

Allgemach, hinter Gretna Green, fängt der Charakter der schottischen Landschaft an, sich geltend zu machen ... Statt der massiven Dächer auf den ländlichen Häusern beginnen Schilf- oder Strohbedachungen sich häufig zu zeigen und zugleich scheint die freundliche Sauberkeit der Wohnplätze abzunehmen.

(Ullrich, 327)

Ullrich's impression that the standard of living fell north of the Border was shared by the majority of the German visitors. The observations most commonly made concerned the lower classes of the population; a visit to a Highland hut was inspired not merely by curiosity but also by the still strongly felt influence of Romanticism. Somehow the abject poverty of the crofters provided tourists with a link to an otherwise lost Ossianic past. Moreover, where any traveller could enter a Highland dwelling if he so wished, access to the homes of the better-off was impossible without an invitation. Of the German visitors only a few had introductions to Scottish families of the middle classes, and these were mostly professional men, who had arrived in the country supplied with vital letters of introduction to their Scottish colleagues. Without such introductions the travellers could only judge from a distance; thus, while Ullrich notes the elegance of the gentry's summer country mansions, he can only do so from afar, but he could experience a Highland hut at close quarters (ibid., 337 & 395). Beyond this the visitors could only learn something of how the hotel and innkeepers led their lives.

The more distinguished of the travellers, notably the King of Saxony and his retinue, were received in style by members of the Scottish nobility, whose life style was easy for their European counterparts to understand. Moltke describes a visit to Balmoral, while Carus gives accounts of visits to Hamilton Palace, Kilravock, Taymouth Castle and Dalmahoy. Life in Balmoral was simpler than Moltke experienced in either Buckingham Palace or Windsor, where he had met many of the Scottish nobility, and the adjective he uses to describe it is "ungezwungen" (Moltke, i, 327). The new house was not yet complete at the time of his visit, in 1855, and Moltke himself is given rooms in the old castle, where he enjoys a log fire, turtle soup and a pint of sherry.

It is not a member of the Balmoral household but his prince's own valet who shows him to his rooms; Moltke expresses surprise that the Royal Family should live in relative modesty at Balmoral, with only a skeleton staff, entourage and one government minister, in this instance the young Duke of Argyll, "ein echter Schotte mit roten Haaren" (*ibid.*, 300). During his short stay, Moltke finds time to describe dancing in the ballroom decorated with antlers, the informality of the household's dress during the day, the formal dinner in the evening (at which he is seated opposite the Queen and at which German is the dominant language), and certain individual members of the nobility with whom he comes into closer contact. Moltke's overall impression is of a relaxed atmosphere brought out by his phrases "ein reines Familienleben", "die völlige Zwanglosigkeit" and "ein rechtes Familienleben" (*ibid.*, 300 & 301).

Carus' description of the dinner given in the King's honour at Taymouth in 1844 and of the festivities which had been held there in celebration of Victoria and Albert's visit two years previously gives a clear picture of the lavish style of living amongst the nobility. After dinner the party moves through to the splendid Gothic hall, where they first hear a pianist give a Beethoven recital on the grand piano, then watch a dancing display (Carus, ii, 264f.). Touring Scotland during the autumn months following the Royal Tour of 1842, Kohl was not to find entry to Taymouth so easy. Nothing daunted, he glibly tells of his method of penetrating the castle, which was closed to the public. Having been refused entry to Scone Palace, he is determined to gain admission to Taymouth. The letter he describes was presumably composed in English:

Ich setzte mich daher sofort hin und komponirte folgenden Brief an die Marquise:

"Mylady!"

"Erlauben Sie, dass Ihnen ein Fremder mit einer Bitte naht, und gestatten Sie ein huldreiches Gehör einem Wanderer, der in dieser späten Jahres- und Abendzeit an die Pforten Ihres Palastes pocht.

"Ich komme von dem fernen Gestade der Donau und von den entlegenen Ufern des Meeres, das man das schwarze nennt. Ich wollte, ich könnte sagen, ich käme noch weiter her.

The letter continues for several paragraphs in excessively obsequious style and concludes:

"Allein ich vermages nicht, die Hoffnung darauf völlig aufzugeben, und wage es hiermit,

an Ihre Huld zu appelliren und an Euere Ladyship die Bitte zu richten, dass auf Ihren Befehl die verschlossenen Pforten sich mich eröffnen mögen, und der hunderttägige Helios mir alles zeigen dürfe, auch selbst das, was das Innerste Ihres Palastes enthält. Für die gnädige Gewährung dieser Bitte wird Ihnen stets, mit Dank erfüllt, ergeben bleiben das Herz eines reisenden Philosophen." (Kohl, ii, 3ff.)

The ruse works and, unabashed, Kohl advises all foreign travellers to do likewise when faced with a similar situation. Once inside the castle, Kohl is amazed by the splendour and riches:

Das Innere der Zimmer und Hallen von Taymouth Castle zeigte mir eine der bewundernswürdigsten und reichsten Hauseinrichtungen, die ich je gesehen, und hier in dem Centrum der Hochlande, in der Mitte zwischen den kleinen Rauchhütten (Reekhouses) der Bergschotten, eine solche Fülle von ausgesuchtem Luxus und Geschmack aufgehaust zu sehen, erregte unser Erstaunen im höchsten Grade. Ich sah auf jedem Schritt, den ich machte, dass die Leute vermuthlich nicht übertrieben hatten, wenn sie mir sagten, dass die Besitzungen der Breadalbanes in ununterbrochenem Laufe vom östlichen zum westlichen Ocean in gerader Linie hundert englische Meilen weit gehen.

(ibid., 21)

While it is understandable to Kohl that estates of this magnitude should exist in Russia, it astonishes him that they also exist in a country as small as Scotland: "Vielleicht giebt es kein Land in der Welt, das eine so mächtige und begüterte und so wenig zahlreiche Oligarchie gehabt hat und noch hat, wie Schottland" (ibid.). It is the "Eigentümlichkeit des Luxus" rather than the extent of it which impresses Kohl in Taymouth Castle. He considers that of all other nations, the British understand best how to combine ancient and modern "ohne dass dadurch doch der Aechtheit und Alterthümlichkeit des Geschmacks irgendetwas an Interesse entzogen würde" (ibid.). He is impressed especially by the woodcarvings at Taymouth, and by the abundance and superb quality of carpets, curtains and wall-hangings and paintings. Though not genuine, even the suits of armour are excellent reproductions, one having belonged to a French king and another to an Austrian archduke.

Twenty-five years before Kohl, in 1817, Meissner had had good cause to commend the way of life of the Scottish gentry after his stay

with the Brodies of Brodie Castle. Their hospitality impressed him as much as the two crofters who had offered him drams on the road to Inveraray, or the four young men who had shared their breakfast picnic with him on the slopes of Ben Lomond (Meissner, 240, 246 & 244). He arrived to stay at Brodie Castle only on the strength of a chance encounter with Brodie's grandson on the road to Inverness. Although he had earlier remarked that any traveller who was contented with little should stay with the crofter, James Stuart, and share his oatcakes and whisky (*ibid.*, 240), when faced with the style of living in Brodie Castle, he himself had no qualms about enjoying it. He gives a happy picture of life in the Brodie household:

Nur in dem Lande, wo Gastfreundschaft zu Hause ist, kann ein, im wahren Verstande von der Strasse aufgelesener Fremde, wie ich hier war, mit solcher Herzlichkeit aufgenommen werden; obgleich ein Fussreisender nach deutscher Art und Weise auf einem vornehmen schottischen Landsitz, wo die Eleganz und selbst der Luxus der Hauptstadt sich finden, nur eine traurige Figur macht, so thaten diese vortrefflichen Menschen alles, um mich zu bewegen, mein Bleiben auf mehr als ein paar Tage auszudehnen. ... Merkwürdig war es mir zu sehen, wie der Britte von Stände sein Stadtleben soviel als möglich auch aufs Land überzutragen sucht. Jeden Morgen, wenn die Familie sich zum Frühstück versammelte, lagen die neusten Londner Zeitungsblätter auf dem Tisch, die in 5 Tagen von der Hauptstadt anlangten, obgleich die Entfernung von derselben nahe an 600 Meilen betrug. So wie dort herrschte in den zwei Toiletten fürs Frühstück und Mittagessen dieselbe Eleganz, und jedes Mal erschienen bei letzteren die Bedienten in weissen Strümpfen. (*ibid.*, 267f.)

Of middle-class town life we hear very little. Lewald was in the best position to comment on the life of the educated classes in Edinburgh, staying as she did with Robert Chambers and his family in Dean Terrace, but even she does not reveal much. She comments on two aspects of Edinburgh life which struck her as remarkable, firstly the gas lighting, which she saw as potentially dangerous. An Italian professor, staying also with the Chambers, frequently and absent-mindedly blows the gas-light out at night instead of turning it off, so that next morning the house is filled with the smell of gas. Fanny only hopes he will not then proceed to light a candle!

Diese Gefahr ist die Schattenseite der sonst so

zweckmässigen Zimmerbeleuchtung durch Gas, welche man hier sehr geschickt anzuwenden weiss. Nicht nur, dass das Gas in die schöngeformten Kronleuchter und Quinquet geleitet wird, man lässt es auch durch Kautschukröhren, die mit einer der Tapete anpassenden Seide bezogen wird, in tragbare Lampen strömen, welche man von dem Mittlestisch bis in die entfernteste Zimmerecke mit sich nehmen kann. Die Kautschukrohre wird nach der Grösse der Stube eingerichtet, und steht die Lampe mitten in dem Gemache, so liegt die, mit Seide besponnene Röhre, in Kreisen sich ringelnd, daneben auf dem Tische. Ich habe die Vorrichtung schon in mehreren Bibliothekszimmern gesehen, die hier so wenig als in England irgend einem wohleingerichteten Hause fehlen. (Lewald, ii, 240)

Secondly, Lewald comments on the size of Edinburgh houses. On the whole they are larger than in London, and, as a result, it is not uncommon for individual flats to be let. Life in the Chambers' house was very free and easy. Besides Fanny there were three other guests and all was done to assure them of a comfortable and undisturbed stay. The youngest Chambers' children had even been sent with their governess to Portobello to be out of the way.

Man sieht sich nur bei und kurz vor oder nach den Mahlzeiten, wenn man nicht für irgendeine bestimmte Verabredung zusammenkommt; und es fällt den Wirthen nicht ein, ihren Gästen den leisesten Zwang aufzulegen. (ibid., 239)

Fanny is most impressed with this tolerant attitude.

As a town Edinburgh made a favourable impression on the foreign visitors, though to the city dwellers like Otto, used to Paris and London, it was too small and quiet. The less pleasant sides to life in Edinburgh were better hidden than in Glasgow. The contrast between the Old and New Towns of Edinburgh did not escape notice, however. Describing the view from the Bridges in 1803, Johanna Schopenhauer writes:

Tief im Abgrunde sieht man ... Strassen die dort unten liegen, wie im Erebus, denen Sonne und Mond fast nie scheinen, und deren Dächer noch lange nicht bis zu der Grundlage der Brücke hinaufreichen. Die Menschen, die dort wandeln, erscheinen, von oben gesehen, wie Gnomen. Es ist unbegreiflich, wie man im Angesichte der schönen neuern Stadt diese unfreundlichen Wohnungen ertragen kann.

(Schopenhauer, 275).

As an architect, Schinkel was struck both by the elegance of the New

Town and the squalor of the Old. He describes a walk which emphasises this gulf between old and new.

Nach dem Mittagessen unternahmen wir noch eine Promenade um das Castell herum zum alten Grass Market, wo ein Pferdemarkt geringster Sorte stattfand, und viele Schindmähren von Bettlern hin- und hergeritten wurden. Die Spelunkenhäuser an diesem Markte sind vom Lumpenvolk bewohnt, und das Castell sieht stolz darüber hinaus. Der Contrast mit der eleganten Neustadt ist wahrhaft entsetzlich. ... Durch schlechte Strassen, worin die abenteuerlichsten Steinhütten stehen, gingen wir zu besseren Theilen der Stadt hinter Heriot's Hospital weiter und kamen hier an das Palais und den Park eines Lords, die sehr stattlich aussahen.

(Schinkel, iii, 96)

Ten years later, in 1836, Pulszky was also moved to pass similar comments (Pulszky, 180f.), and even by 1842 this contrast does not seem to have altered much. Having marvelled at the riches and splendour of the New Town and the distinguished nature of its inhabitants, lawyers, professors and members of the nobility, who prefer the equally cultured yet less expensive life in Edinburgh to that of London, Kohl is persuaded by a German compatriot to take a walk through the Old Town and see how 'the other half' lives:

"Denn thun Sie dies nicht, so kehren Sie wahrscheinlich, wie so viele andere Fremde, nach Deutschland zurück und loben die Pracht dieser englischen Städte, die Gastfreiheit ihrer Bewohner, die herrlichen Dinners, und was weisse ich was noch sonst, und vergessen gänzlich der Armen, wie die Engländer ihrer vergessen. Ich sage Ihnen, wenn Sie mit mir in jenen Häusern herum kriechen wollen, da werden Sie unerhörte Dinge sehen, wie Sie sich noch nie gesehen haben. Denn es existiert dort menschliche Zustände, Schmutz- und Elendscenen, wie sie in einem ordentlichen Staate gar nicht vorkommen, und gar nicht vorkommen dürfen." (Kohl, i, 50)

Kohl's own impressions bear this out and he says that he would indeed consider the living conditions in the Old Town of Edinburgh the most wretched on earth, if he had not already seen poverty, squalor, misery and destitution elsewhere in the world, in particular in the Polish cities. He is certain, however, that the conditions in Edinburgh are peculiar to that town and arise from the unique way in which the Old Town was built. Kohl had never in his life seen narrower streets

than the Edinburgh closes, breeding places for both crime and disease. Even by 1842 cholera had not been eradicated and Kohl tells a story from the time of the great cholera epidemic, when police had forced their way into a fourth floor room only to discover some pigs, which had grown so fat that they could no longer get through the door and had to be lowered out of the window. Lured by a strange fascination for this area of town, Kohl visits it several times, both by night and day. Altogether his social awareness is far greater than most of the other travellers and he rightly attacks the wealthy citizens of Edinburgh for allowing the situation to continue. Some work was being done at the time to alleviate the conditions but the city of Edinburgh was supposedly not itself rich enough to grant much municipal aid. Kohl talks of the many philanthropic societies set up to help Jews and negroes in other parts of the world and reproaches their Edinburgh members for giving aid to causes they themselves could scarcely fully understand, when far more immediate and equally needy causes were right at their doorsteps. It was no comforting thought to Kohl that the poverty in the Old Town was likely to continue for many a long year, as indeed it did. These opinions were to be vehemently echoed by Karl Marx in the following decade.¹

It is in Edinburgh that the Schopenhauers experience being thronged by beggars, who surround their carriage - this was evidently an unusual occurrence for tourists in Britain: "wir mussten unsern Weg von den Söhnen und Töchtern des Elends erkaufen" (Schopenhauer, 294). As Kohl was to discover, begging was no unusual sight in the streets of Glasgow in the 1840's. Here the cause was simple - unemployment. He describes the contrast in the street scene between Saturday evening and Sunday morning. On Saturday evening all the poor were out on the streets till midnight. The unemployment figure Kohl was given for Paisley and Glasgow in 1834, eight years before his visit, was 12,000. The wretched sight of these great crowds out in the streets, some whole families, begging on every street corner, leaves a deep impression on him:

Besonders betrübte Figuren bildeten mehre junge, kräftige, wohlgekleidete Personen, die wie Wachs-puppen steif und stumm in dem Rinnsteine neben den Trottoirs - dem gewöhnlichen Standpunkte der englischen Bettler - postirt waren und ihren Hut

stumm vor sich hin hielten. Wenn wir sie fragten, wie sie betteln könnten, antworteten sie: "Wir haben Kleider, Herr, die Niemand kaufen will, aber wir haben keine Arbeit und kein Brot".

(Kohl, I, 24f.)

This scene was in very great contrast to that of the next morning, when the poor had vanished and the wealthy churchgoers filled the streets.

Glasgow does not welcome the King of Saxony's party with any ceremony. They are forced to change to a hired carriage so that they will not be troubled by jeering crowds. Although Carus recognises the city's industrial importance he, like Fontane, is not keen to linger:

Wir trafen zuerst auf den schmutzigsten, ärmlichsten, Rauch-erfülltesten Theil der untern Stadt. Dieser Eintritt war in alle Wege widerlich. Der Rauch war nicht nur Kohlenrauch, sondern von den Exhalationen chemischer und anderer Fabriken mit oft fast erstickenden Gerüchen erfüllt, die Häuser klein und unreinlich und an Thüren und auf den Strassen eine oft in Lumpen gekleidete Population mit unendlichen Kindern, welche den vorbeifahrenden Wagen mit widerwärtigem Geschrei nachliefen. - So fuhren wir lange.

(Carus, II, 190)

The royal party are given a hasty tour of the inner city sights and one can sense the sigh of relief as they finally make their way out into the summer evening towards Balloch. Carus has none of Kohl's sense of social responsibility. Nor is Carus much impressed by Inverness as a town. In his view, it lacks English elegance, and judging by the remarks he passes on the profession of the Provost (the whisky distiller, mentioned above),² he considers the inhabitants equally lacking in style. From him we hear more of Macbeth and clan feuds than we do of contemporary life in the north.

The previous decade Hallberg-Broich had shown more than usual concern, and abhorrence, at the conditions of poverty as he found them in Scotland. In the villages round Edinburgh he was shocked at the miserable thatched cottages and throughout the country he found the terraced houses for factory workers depressingly monotonous:

Die Bewohner sehen schwarz, schmutzig und sehr elend aus, überall Hunger und Kummer; sogar in den grossen Städten, und selbst in dem schönen Edinburgh, laufen viele Erwachsene und Kinder barfuss. Hier sind die meisten ohne Schuhe und Strümpfe, die Armuth ist herzerreissend, wenn man dagegen den übertriebenen Luxus betrachtet. Alle Städte sind so voller Rauch, dass man nur auf wenige Schritte dunkel sehen kann, und der Kohlen-Gestank ist sehr unangenehm.

(Hallberg-Broich, 59)

In Glasgow, too, Hallberg describes many utterly wretched thatched hovels, so low that one can reach their roofs with one's hand; he reflects that, however abject the poverty, the rich cannot escape its revenge when it strikes in the form of epidemic diseases (ibid., 64f.). He has similar views of the conditions in Fort Augustus and Fort William, second only to the poverty of Ireland (ibid., 70f.), and although he admires the towns of Aberdeen and Perth, with their wide streets and gardens, he qualifies this praise by alluding to further monotonous terraced housing and by remarking: "Doch findet man überall in den Städten die erbärmlichsten mit Stroh bedeckten Hütten der Armen, welche aller Orten einen bedauerlichen Kontrast mit dem insolentesten Luxus bilden" (ibid., 84). In his own way Hallberg attacks the British for their hypocrisy; while there is constant talk of the Bible, copies of which, in every language, were even offered him for sale on the streets, he never once saw a member of the wealthier classes giving alms to "den scheusslichen Gestalten des Elends" (ibid., 84). Outward appearance was not everything, however; Nemnich considers Kirkcaldy an ugly, unpleasant town, but despite this he concedes that respectable and well-to-do folk live and carry on decent businesses there (Nemnich, 566f.).

The stark contrasts between living conditions in the Old and New Towns of Edinburgh were also to strike Rellstab in 1851. His guide leads him through the Canongate, which in itself is significantly different from the splendour of the New Town, and Rellstab then ventures into a close. He is horrified by the high smoke-blackened buildings, with their small windows and narrow doorways, and nauseated by the stench:

Wir versuchen eine enge, ausgetretene, unregelmässig gewundene Treppe hinaufzusteigen, um das Innere einer solchen Höhle zu sehen. Es ist das grauenhafte Spiegelbild des Aeusseren. Und hier, in diesen Mauerlöchern, wohin oft nicht ein Strahl der Mittagssonne zu schauen vermag, wohin im Sommer kein frisches Lüftchen dringt, wo sich in den Nebeln und Dünsten des Winters die Feuchtigkeit so ansammelt, dass sie in dicken Tropfen an den Wänden hängt - hier sind Familien mit sechs und mehr Kindern in eine erstickende Höhle gedrängt, und vergiften sich gegenseitig durch ihre Athemzüge! - Ich schauderte vor diesem Anblick!

(Rellstab, i, 234f.)

Involuntarily he is moved to compare what he sees with the terrible underground dungeons of Venice and launches into a lament of the deprivations which are the fate of the tenement dwellers. He finishes the emotional paragraph:

Wir leben hier im freien England, im freien Schottland, aber - wo ist die Freiheit Derer, die der Mangel in solche Gefängnisshöhlen drängt, aus denen sie nur der Hunger wieder hinaustreibt, um in den Zuchthausssälen der Fabriken die dürftige Abwehr desselben unter abstumpfenden Qualen zu erringen - wo ist die Freiheit dieser?

(ibid., 236)

Reillstab was later to meet with comparable poverty in Glasgow: "Wie im Hochlande die höchste Cultur dicht an die Wildnisse grenzt, so hier der Reichthum dicht an das Elend" (ibid., ii, 90). He describes a street scene:

In den kleinen Gassen sah ich vor jeder Thür ein halbes Dutzend Kinder unter sechs und sieben Jahren, alle die Bilder der tiefsten Ungesundheit und vernachlässigendsten Unreinlichkeit. Blass, gelblich an den Zügen, mager, mit erloschenen Augen, in Lumpen, noch über_lriechender als schmutzig und zerrissen, liegen die armen Würmchen auf der Strasse umher, und athmen die mit Schwefel- und Kohlendunst erfüllte Luft. Das ist der Fluch dieser Fabrikstädte, dass sie den Armen das letzte, Allen Gemeinsame nehmen, die frische Luft und die warme Sonne.

(ibid.)

Despite what he sees in Glasgow, however, the horrors of the Edinburgh slums remain uppermost in his memory.

Although Holzenthal experienced farming life in the Borders, Kohl seems to have been the only one to have seen something of the life of a farming, rather than crofting, family further north. On the road to Loch Katrine he meets up with a travelling tailor on his way to a farm, and Kohl and his guide join "Mr. Tyler". The farm was apparently a type of collective; six "Mr. Stuarts" worked it jointly. The eldest Mr. Stuart welcomes Kohl and shows him around his house, which was divided into two, the one half for the farmhands and maids and everyday life, the other half being kept specially for Sundays and special occasions.

Selbst in der ersteren war alles recht ordentlich und reinlich, aber in der letzteren war es so elegant und hübsch, wie ich es nur in den besten

Pachthäusern Englands gesehen hatte. Nicht nur in seinen Zimmern, sondern auch auf seinen Treppen und Hausfluren lagen Teppiche, und die Stuben waren so proper, dass ich mit meinem zerlumpten Reisekostüm, so wie ich war, nicht hineinzutreten wagte.

(Kohl, ii, 107f.)

After having been on the road all day and not having seen anything grander than a meagre hut, the farmhouse seems positively palatial. There is a happy family atmosphere, as all sit together round the fire in the "servants' hall". There is no segregation: master, servants, the tailor, Kohl and his guide all sit together.

Kohl's observations on the position and status of servants within the family are backed up by Fanny Lewald's approving comments on the respect in which the Edinburgh employers hold their servants. In her view the British servants are treated incomparably better than their German counterparts, though admittedly not yet as liberally as the American. By house guests they are addressed as "Sir" and "Miss", their wages are higher and they are respected as individuals with individual opinions. They do not leave the house as often as German servants, except for church on Sunday and to visit relations. Fanny is here talking of the servants of the upper middle classes and she goes on to describe their rooms:

Überall haben die Dienenden im Sousterrain neben der Küche und dem Wirtschaftslokal, ihr wohlgeordnetes Zimmer, dem eine Fussdecke von Wachstuch, ein grosser Esstisch, ein Paar bequeme Stühle am stets brennenden Kamine selten fehlen; meist ist auch die Küche selbst so zierlich und behaglich, dass sie an und für sich schon einen angenehmen Aufenthaltsort bildet.

(Lewald, ii, 255)

Förster's Kleine Wanderungen in England und Schottland contain four pictures of British middle-class family life in 1851, firstly the home of his colleague, Mr. Hall, outside London, secondly the home of his Quaker friend in Essex, thirdly the manse at Buchanan, and lastly the home of his friends, "die Familie W.", in St. Leonard's on Sea.³ This fact alone distinguishes his account from those of most of his countrymen and perhaps gave his readers more than usual insight into the British way of life. Facts and figures cannot replace personal impressions from experience, of which Fontane, too, was well aware.

Förster introduces his account of Mr. Mackintosh's manse at Buchanan with a description of his first impressions of the house, which he cannot mistake, since it is the only building in sight:

Ich bekam sogleich eine Vorstellung von dem Glück eines schottischen Landpfarrers: ein kleines, am Abhang eines Waldberges gelegenes Haus von fünf Fenstern Breite; vor ihm ein Haberfeld, links ein Krautgarten, rechts Stachel- und Johannisbeerstauden und an der Thüre ein immerblühender Rosenstrauch. Wie freute mich auf das Stilleben im Innern, auf die Gespräche mit dem Herrn Pfarrer über seine in den Bergen zerstreute Gemeinde, über die vornehmen Besuche im herzoglichen Schloss, über die HH. Collegien und ihr theologisches Leben - und ein Fläschen schottisch Ale, dacht' ich, wird's doch wohl auch im Pfarrkeller geben! Unter so frohen Empfindungen und Erwartungen rührte ich den Klopfer.

(Förster, 321f.)

But although it might seem that Förster's expectations would not be fulfilled, since neither the minister nor his family were at home, the elderly maid provided in her own way just as memorable an example of Scottish hospitality. Having invited him in, she insists that he stays the night and offers him what food she has. Despite the fact that his meal consists of tea and "die Wahl ... zwischen zweierlei Butter, alter und älterer, und ebenso zwischen zweierlei Brod, englischem und schottischem (Damper)" (*ibid.*, 323), Förster fully appreciates and enjoys her company. He reflects that of all the hospitality he has received the world over, including Edinburgh, "bei alledem behält die Aufnahme im Pfarrhaus zu Buchanan ihren vorleuchtenden Strahlenglanz" (*ibid.*). The old woman tells him of her loneliness, but also of the minister, his zeal for duty and his great knowledge of the Highlands; on being asked whether there are any books on the Highlands in the house, she replies that Mr. Mackintosh has no need of them, since he stores all the information in his head. Förster does, however, find a sizeable library of theological and historical works and journals and is altogether pleasantly surprised by the extent of the comfort in which the minister lives:

Ueberhaupt so klein das Haus und so beschränkt offenbar die Pfarrei, so fehlte doch nichts, was zur englischen Behäbigkeit gehört; Teppiche in Flur und Zimmern, wie auf der Treppe, grosse weite Himmelbetten mit Vorhängen, grosse Tische

mit gemusterten Tuchdecken, Fauteuils und andere schöne, selbst elegante Möbel; dazu auch ein wenig Landwirtschaft.

(ibid., 324)

That evening the minister's mother and her granddaughter arrive; Förster soon realises that communication is almost impossible, since the old lady speaks in a Sutherland dialect which he cannot understand. When he does finally, and by chance, meet the minister himself, who, ironically, had been visiting the Exhibition, where he had heard of Förster's presence in the country, and was disembarking from the steamer on Loch Lomond, Förster decides not to return with him to Buchanan but to continue his tour of the Trossachs. Although he was greatly taken with the gentleman, he was equally put off by the prospect of spending the notorious Scottish Sunday in so remote a place, and, trusting neither the weather nor his patience, paused only to exchange pleasantries with Mr. Mackintosh before boarding the steamer himself.

Although the innkeeper in Doune could only offer Kohl a typical Scottish box-bed, he also possessed both some fields and a surprisingly fine library, which numbered various annotated and illustrated editions of the Bible amongst its collection. The village blacksmith, too, had a library of some 200 works, mostly religious, but also books on natural history and other subjects. Highly commendable though this is, Kohl does not fail to note a less admirable side to the picture; the smith is at first suspicious that Kohl merely wants to find a bargain, and having discovered this is not the case, demands instead payment for the obligatory dram. Kohl remarks:

Ich darf diess zu bemerken nicht vergessen, weil das Handelmachen für diese literarischen Schotten etwas so Charakteristisches ist, wie für alle Schotten-en, und weil die Erziehung bei ihnen die fatale Lust zum Dram nicht vertilgt hat.

(Kohl, ii, 153)

In this love of barter and business deals, Kohl sees many similarities between the Scots and the Alpine Swiss and Tyroleans; both people have the urge to travel and trade on the one hand and yet strong ties to their native land on the other.

Several travellers pass more general remarks on conditions in Scotland. As Schinkel travels from Berwick to Edinburgh, he finds the houses in the villages meagre and their inhabitants ugly (Schinkel, iii, 91); Brandes, while in the Highlands, assumes that the very apparent

poverty has resulted from the poor quality of the ground on the one hand and the long history of pillage and robbery on the other. As regards the latter point, he compares the situation with the Bedouins of the desert plundering the caravans (Brandes, 29). Having already described the miserable poverty and unhealthy conditions in which the poor of the Western Highlands live, Hallberg-Broich later describes the wretched black houses of the far North, and concludes that he has only seen poverty on a similar scale in Greece and Turkey (Hallberg-Broich, 68 & 78). Mendelssohn, too, is horrified by the poverty he encounters in the Highlands; he is overcome above all by the inhospitable loneliness of the country. Even those places marked as towns or villages on the map are in effect merely a collection of miserable sheds, shared by beasts and humans alike, chickens and children sleeping together on the straw, and whisky the only known drink. Mendelssohn finds barren waste both in the countryside and in the villages and he describes roofless or otherwise decrepit dwellings as well as the burnt remains of others (Mendelssohn, Hensel, 258f.). It is worth remembering that the Highlands through which Mendelssohn and Klingemann were touring in 1829 were in many places being 'cleared' and that the misery was thus accentuated. This aspect of conditions in the Highlands had apparently eluded Schinkel three years earlier; although he notes that the black houses are badly built and their dwellers in rags, the illustration he gives is of a more idyllic scene, with two men in a rowing boat on a choppy sea and others in front of a thatched stone cottage perched on the rocks on the shore's edge (Schinkel, text and illustration, iii, 105). The picture provides suitable atmosphere for his description of the voyage to Staffa which follows. Twenty-five years later Ziegler was to see both sides to life on the Islands:

Vom Comfort des Lebens ist auf diesen Inseln im Allgemeinen keine Rede, und Haferbrei, Kuchen von Hafermehl, geräucherter Syllok, Fische aller Art sind die Hauptspeisen, Whisky und Toddy die beliebtesten Getränke. Aber bei alle dem sind diese armen Inselbewohner ein gastfreies, thätiges, sittliches und gottesfürchtiges, wenn auch abergläubisches Völkchen.

(Ziegler, Reise, 200f.)

On being shown the meagre house at Inversnaid in which Rob-Roy's wife had been born, Rellstab quotes Goethe, "Siehst Du ein Hüttchen

im Felde frei/Weisst nicht, ob sie Dir ein Liebchen hegt", only to remark that such a woman would need to be of ethereal beauty to enable the lover not to be put off by the appalling living conditions: "Denn von dem verräucherten, schmutzigen Ansehn dieser Erdhütten macht man sich schwerlich eine Vorstellung. Wir würden sie als Viehställe schon für Zeichen ganz verwehrloster schmutziger Landwirtschaft halten, vollends als Menschenwohnungen" (Rellstab, ii, 15f.). But while the visitors expressed shock at the conditions in which these people lived, they were at the same time possessed of a more than idle curiosity to enter such a Highland dwelling. Accounts of visits to Highland huts (German: "Hütte") come from Schopenhauer, Spiker, Otto, Löwenthal, Pulszky, Marx, Kohl, Carus, Förster, Wichmann, Ziegler and Moltke.

"Die Hochlandshütte"

As Schopenhauer travels from Edinburgh to Perth via Stirling in 1803, she is well aware of the conditions in which many of the local people live; indeed she expresses surprise that such poorly constructed buildings are human habitations at all, more especially in a land of apparent arable and educational growth. She writes: "Wie diese anscheinend grosse Armuth mit der grossen Fruchtbarkeit und Cultur dieses Landstrichs sowohl, als mit der Bildung der Einwohner zu vereinigen sey, ist uns unbegreiflich" (Schopenhauer, 302). Later, on the road from Dunkeld to Kenmore, she describes the huts in more detail:

Die Häuser in den schottischen Hochlanden sind wohl die schlechtesten menschlichen Wohnungen im cultivirten Europa; so enge, dass man nicht begreift, wie eine Familie darin Platz findet, aus rohen Steinen, oft ohne allen Mörtel, nur zusammen getragen.

(ibid., 314f.)

Moss and clay stop holes, the windows are tiny and seldom have glass, the thatched roofs often have a mere hole instead of a chimney, and the hut's interior is as miserable as the exterior. Schopenhauer's next remark is revealing; however concerned, she cannot identify with these people:

Menschen und Thiere hausen unter dem nehmlichen niedern Dache friedlich beisammen, nur durch einen schlechten breternen Verschlag von einander getrennt. In dem einzigen Zimmer des Hauses sieht man deutlich bei dem fast gänzlichen Mangel alles Hausgeräths, wie wenig der Mensch zum Leben eigentlich braucht.

(ibid., 315)

She is greatly surprised by the open fire on the mud floor and the lack of comforts:

Ein an einer Kette hangender Kessel über dem Feuer, einige hölzerne Schemel, ein grob zusammen gezimmelter Tisch, und in der Ecke ein Lager von Moos oder Stroh, das ist Alles, was diese, von aller Weichlichkeit entfernten Menschen zu ihrer Bequemlichkeit haben. (ibid., 316)

Her attitude seems all the more supercilious when it is learnt that she and her party do not enter only one hut, out of curiosity, but several. But Schopenhauer was essentially a product of the 18th Century, brought up on Ossianic idylls, and the following comment reveals her true stance: "der Anblick der armen Hütten ... würde uns schmerzhaft berührt haben, wenn die Bewohner mit ihrem kläglichen Loose weniger zufrieden schienen" (ibid., 314).

Spiker, having described both the church and the manse in Dalmally as neat and agreeable, enters one of the other houses in the village, a peasant's hut. He finds its interior far from agreeable, filled with peat smoke and cluttered with cooking utensils, a bed and stacks of wood and peat (Spiker, 249). Six years later, in 1822, Otto experienced a Highland dwelling on his walking tour. As a doctor, he was offended by the unhygienic conditions: "in den wenigen Hütten, die wir in dieser schauerlichen Einöde fanden, herrschte der höchste Grad von Schmutz" (Otto, 354). That same year Löwenthal had also been shocked by the conditions he witnessed in Argyll:

Die Wohnungen selbst, bald in grossen Entfernungen zerstreut, bald in geringer Anzahl zu den elendesten Dörfern vereinigt, scheinen dem Stande der Menschenwildheit anzugehören. Sie sind nämlich nichts, als rohe, zum Viereck aufeinander gelegte Steine, mit Stroh, Erde und Gras bedeckt. In Mitte der einzigen engen Stube, welche eine solche Wohnung in sich fasst, wird am Boden Feuer angemacht, und der dicke Torfqualm, welcher den Raum erfüllt, findet durch eine Oeffnung im Strohdach, oder wohl gar durch das Thür- oder Fensterloch kaum einen Ausweg. So sind äusserste Armuth und Unreinlichkeit die Unholde, welche in diesen Hütten gebieten.

(Löwenthal, 100f.)

Pulszky, while staying on the Caledonian Canal in an inn he calls "Die Treppe Neptun's" (Pulszky, 165), is surprised and gratified to see his fellow passengers actually conversing with each other; only after

they have spent several days together on board the steamer and are now crowded together in a small inn has this occurred, "ein wahres Wunder der Insel" (ibid.). Having reached this new-found intimacy, three expeditions are proposed for the following day, to Glenfinnan, into the market, and up Ben Nevis. Pulszky himself opts for the latter, though in the end, due to thick mist and snow on the summit, only three are left to make up the party, "ein französischer doctrinärer Pair, ein langweiliger Engländer und ich" (ibid., 167). Their guide, a Cameron with a little English, will only take them two thirds of the way up on account of the mist; having stumbled their way up and down through bogs and over rocks for six hours, their spirits are low: "selbst der Franzose, der noch immer Arien aus der weissen Frau geträllert hatte,⁴ hörte auf von Schottland zu singen, 'wo die Gastfreundschaft sich selbst anbietet, und nicht gekauft wird'" (ibid., 169). When they finally come on a Highland hut and seek hospitality, Pulszky's thoughts are for himself rather than the conditions in which his hosts must live. Having described the blackhouse, he writes:

Wir traten ein und erhielten, nachdem wir uns mit Hilfe unsers braven Cameronianers mit dem Hochländer verständigt hatten, einen dünnen Haferkuchen, den man vor unsern Augen in der heissen Asche briet. Obgleich dies die gewöhnlichste Nahrung der Hochländer ist, wollte er doch unserm verwöhnten Gaumen durchaus nicht schmecken. Endlich erreichten wir die Treppe Neptun's, wo uns die übrige Gesellschaft mit einem guten Mittagsessen empfing und wegen unserer verunglückten Expedition auslachte.

(ibid.)

Pulszky's normal social concern only emerges here when he points to the fact that his palate has been spoiled by good food.

Five years later, in 1841, Marx describes a lone hut which he passed on the shore of Loch Arklet as he walked the six miles from Loch Katrine to Loch Lomond. His reaction is similar to that of many others:

Vier nackte, durch Erde und Moos verbundene Steinmauern, ohne Fenster; zur Oeffnung, wo die Thür sein sollte, drang der Rauch heraus. Man glaubt eher eine Hütte zur Aufbewahrung von Geräthschaften oder einen Stall, als eine Wohnung für Menschen vor sich zu sehen. Soweit der Rauch das Hineinsehen zuließ, schien ausser einem Torffeuer blos ein Lager von Blättern und Stroh darin zu sein.

(Marx, 33)

The following year Kohl was accompanied to the waterfall of Achernden by an old Highlander who proves entertaining company. He points out that all the houses in the area are typical of the Highlands in that they are all thatched. Kohl does not know the meaning of the word and asks the old man for a definition:

"Ein Haus zu thatschen, Herr, das bedeutet z.B., wenn Jemand ein Haus thatscht, und Sie gehen dann vor ihm vorüber und fragen ihn, indem Sie ihn grüssen, so:

"Well, you are thatching, good man, today?" . . .

"that means to thatch a house, sir!"

(Kohl, ii, 35)

Luckily a dictionary definition was later to be found! The thatched house they did enter was made of wood. An old man was sitting, warming himself at the fire; over his head hung a large wooden box:

Er stellte das Salzfass des Hauses vor. Ich glaube, das sonst in keinem Lande dem Salzfasse des Hauses eine solche Grösse und eine so centrale und imposante Stellung gegeben wird, wie hier in Schottland. Auf den Seiten hing eine Art von Hühnerbauer, in dem aber jetzt statt der Hühner die Tassen und Teller des Hauses aufgeschichtet lagen. Vor der Thüre stand eine grosse Käse-
presse, die aber sehr einfach eingerichtet war, und bei welcher schwere Steine das Beste taten. Ueberall in Schottland sieht man eine solche Käse-
presse als eines der vornehmsten Hausmöbel vor den Häusern stehen. Denn diese Gegenden liefern, wenn auch nicht besonders ausgezeichnete, doch ziemlich viel Käse.

(ibid., 35f.)

The old man in the hut described the view from it as "a bonny peep on the loch" (ibid., ii, 39) - Loch Tay - and Kohl clambered out through the low door to sit on the bank and enjoy the view across to Ben Lawers and the hills of Glenlyon. He now describes the exterior of the house:

Die Heide und das Stroh, mit dem das Haus gedeckt war, hing lang und zottig am Rande des Daches herunter. Von roh bearbeiteten Baumstämmen, an denen noch einige Aeste als stützende Gabeln geblieben waren, wurde der kleine Vorsprung des Daches, der uns überdeckte, getragen. An den Aesten dieser halb natürlichen, halb künstlichen Säulen hingen einige getrocknete Fische. Daneben stand die Käse-
presse. (ibid.)

To complete the picture, the two old men joined him on the grass and smoked short pipes, a pair of collies were lying stretched out beside

them, a small white Highland pony was grazing on the one side of them and some blackface sheep on the other. As usual Kohl's description is not only human, but also manages to convey, through the singling out of one or two objects, (the cheese press and the dried fish), a more vivid and lively picture to the reader. Typically such a scene reminds him of a painting by Landseer, which he goes on to describe. Landseer's Scotland was, with Scott's, an already vivid picture in many German minds.

Two years later Carus accompanied the King into a similar dwelling by Dunkeld. Although he had earlier remarked on the Highland poverty, blatantly evident from the state of the huts (Carus, ii, 206f.), Carus' attitude is more akin to Johanna Schopenhauer's. He describes the exterior of these black houses with grass growing on their roofs and the smoke rising through a hole in them. Inside he found the usual partition, the family living on one side, and their wealth, in the form of one small cow, on the other. The room was blackened by smoke and very dark. The husband was sitting at a small table, on which stood a large pot of steaming potatoes, and his young wife who opened the door to them was holding their baby. For once the bed was not a heap of heather in the corner (Carus is one of the few to have seen or noted a typical Highland tent bed): "In einer Vertiefung der Mauer neben dem Fenster war das Bett der Frau; zwar sehr dürftig, aber doch als eine Art von Himmelbett eingerichtet und mit alten verräucherten Vorhängen umgeben" (*ibid.*, 255). Interestingly the husband had a separate compartment for his bed, by which are lying some sifted potatoes and various utensils and implements. Carus' final remarks reveal him for the man of wealth and standing which he is:

Das Ganze gab das Bild einer einfachsten Existenz! In so viel Dürftigkeit und in den so von Rauch geschwärzten Wänden, gab nur ein Tellerbret mit ordentlich aufgestürzten hübschen blau und weissen Tellern doch die Andeutung einer gewissen Eleganz. Die Leute schienen nicht lange erst verheiratet, es war ihr erstes Kind; der Mann arbeitete um Tagelohn; - und doch hatte das Ganze etwas Gemüthliches wie ich es oft in Pracht-Palästen nicht gefunden habe. Der Grundbegriff des Menschenthums - Mann, Weib und Kind - war repräsentirt, und die dürftige, dafür aber auch auf sich allein einfach ruhende Existenz war gesichert. - Es freute mich als ich sah dass ein Geschenk den Leuten zurückgelassen wurde, das

ihnen den Tag immer bezeichnen wird, da ein König ihre kleine Wohnung betrat.

(ibid., 256f.)

There is a certain Romantic ambivalence in such remarks. On the one hand such travellers see the simple existence as an ideal, but on the other, Carus' overall condescending attitude makes it clear that for his part he is content that such an 'ideal' will forever remain far outwith his own personal experience. One wonders what the Highland folk themselves thought of such intrusions, gift or no gift.

Moltke, on such a brief visit to Scotland in 1855, viewed the Highland dwellings through Scott's eyes, "wie Sir Walter sie beschreibt" (Moltke, 301). From his description it is as if the visit to a Highland hut is part of the afternoon entertainment put on by the Castle; after luncheon Moltke takes a walk with some of the ladies of the court. He gives a vivid picture of these ladies, dressed in stout nail boots, brown stockings, kilted country dresses and round hats, armed with sturdy walking sticks, climbing over dykes and hedges and up the hillside. The visit to a hut they pass reveals a certain perfunctory philanthropy:

Mit Lady Seymour kroch ich in eine Erdhütte, aus der Rauch durchs Dach drang. Sie wollte nicht glauben, dass Menschen drin waren. Da war kein Tisch, kein Stuhl, kein Fenster, kein Rauchfang, wohl aber drei Weiber, eine blind, eine krank. Ich gab einen Sh., und als wir ein Stück fort waren, sagte meine schöne Begleiterin: "I should like, to have a shilling from you," und ging zurück, um ihn zu geben. Dann wateten wir durch ein Bach, kletterten über eine Mauer und holten die andern ein. (ibid., 302)

Moltke adds none of the personal reflection one might expect after coming into such close contact with abject poverty. Perhaps the extremes of life in the hut and life in the nearby Castle were such poles apart that it was impossible for a casual observer to compare or contrast them with any sense of reality.

Finally there are three contrasting descriptions of life in a blackhouse from visits in 1851-2 by Förster, Wichmann and Ziegler. Förster describes a hut he enters in the Trossachs, while filled with the spirit of "The Lady of the Lake", Wichmann a dwelling in the wilds of Wester Ross, and Ziegler a home on the island of Bressay in Shetland. All three

men had received hospitality from wealthier Scottish families and were thus in a position to compare the different standards of living had they so desired. It is no chance that the hut Förster chooses to enter is situated "auf dem Theater der romantischen Abenteuer, die uns Walter Scotts Zaubergeister aufgeführt haben" (Förster, 328). His encounter with the young woman and child standing outside their dwelling occurs immediately after he has quoted (in translation) a complete stanza from "The Lady of the Lake"⁵. Having thus set the scene of romance, Förster continues:

Während ich mich noch damit beschäftigte, die Leere um mich her mit den einer entschwundenen Zeit angehörigen Gestalten des Dichters auszufüllen, rollte die Wirklichkeit ein Bild aus der Gegenwart von wenigstens theilweis anderer Färbung vor mir auf. Von einem etwa 9 bis 10 Fuss hohen Reissighaufen - denn dafür nahm ich's - stand ein junges Weib, schön und stark, wie ich selber in Edinburgh keines gesehen. Das blonde Haar war in einer Flechte wie ein Kranz um den Kopf gelegt, aber lose Locken spielten wild um Schläfe und Nacken; ein grosses Tuch bedeckte den Oberkörper und ein Kind, das sie im linken Arm trug, der rechte war frei und entblösst, wie die Füße; der wollene Rock reichte nicht ganz bis an die Knöchel. Sie grüsste nicht und dankte nicht für meinen Gruss, lud mich aber freundlich ein, in ihre Hütte zu treten - denn das war der Reissighaufen! "Ihr habt wohl noch kein hochländisches Cottage gesehen", sagte die Frau, als sie mein Erstaunen wahrnahm, "seht euch nur um!"

(ibid., 330)

The woman's desire to satisfy his curiosity does not strike Förster as unusual, but her obliging attitude can be seen as proof that dwellers on Loch Katrine were well used to well-to-do and curious, or interfering, tourists. Förster goes on to describe the hut, first commenting, "Die Bauart dieser Art menschlicher Wohnung ist so überraschend einfach, dass die elendeste Sennhütte auf dem Wendelstein, ja ein blosser Heustadel tief im bayerischen Gebirge wie ein Denkmal der Baukunst daneben erscheint" (ibid.). It is seldom that the visitors make such a concrete comparison in attempting to describe their reactions to the blackhouses. Having described the size and construction of the dwelling, with no windows, just an entrance and smoke hole,

Forster turns to the scene inside, where he finds "noch drei Kinder, fest und roth, wie Stettiner Aepfel, frisch wie die Bergluft und durchaus nicht blöde" (ibid., 331), cooking utensils hanging from the roof, the communal bed of straw, moss and heather, and a few primitive stools "als Repräsentanten und Zeugen des im ganzen Königreich abergläubisch verehrten und unerlässlichen häuslichen 'Comfort' " (ibid.). Förster's relating of the conversation he conducts with the woman appears somewhat suspect; she seems surprisingly conversant and content with her lot:

"Seht mich an und meine Kinder! Was fehlt uns? Sind die da nicht wie das Leben selbst? Sie wissen freilich nicht, was eine Hammelskeule, aber auch nicht, was der Hunger ist. Ist unsere Luft nicht viel reiner, als die in Edinburgh, und müssen uns nicht die Bewohner vom reichen London unser Wasser beneiden?"

(Förster, 331 f.)

The conversation continues, with the woman defending their solitary existence and praising the man who brings them religion and learning, none other than the minister Mr. Mackintosh, whom Förster had just met. Finally, as Förster wants to leave the children a gift on parting, their mother objects, saying, "Ihr seid nicht in Irland, Herr!" (ibid., 332). Credible or not, Förster places this encounter in direct contrast to the world of revenge and murder, as depicted by Scott. With Förster's hut dwellers in mind, it is relevant to refer to remarks made by Löwenthal, some thirty years earlier, on passing, on the Perth to Kinfauns road, a cottage covered in a climbing white rose:

Zum Ueberfluss ging noch gar ein schmuckes Mädchen das Saatfeld herauf und in's Blüthenhaus hinein. Wer auch nur Eine Liebesgeschichte gelesen, oder gar nur ein Zehntheil einer solchen erfahren hat, und dergleichen sehen kann, ohne dass die Erinnerung and Dichtung oder Wahrheit ihn beschleicht, dem wünsche ich Glück zu seiner Abstumpfung, oder beklage seine Vergesslichkeit.

(Löwenthal, 123)

Löwenthal saw it as a pleasurable and harmless indulgence to romanticise such a scene.

Wichmann provides a very different picture as he travels on foot through a much less frequented part of the country, where the only

accommodation available to an exhausted pedestrian traveller is a miserable hut, whose inhabitants might be able to offer kippers, oatcakes and porridge, but no more. The contrast between his and Förster's accounts is striking:

Eines Abends, als ich nicht mehr weiter konnte, fand ich ein Paar allein stehende, elende Baracken, die Einwohner sammt und sonders verstanden jedoch kein Wort Englisch, nur ein kleines Mädchen von ungefähr acht Jahren hatte irgendwo einige Worte aufgeschnappt, und verdolmetschte den übrigen, dass ich zu Nacht bleiben wollte.

Nach langem Berathen ward ich denn schliesslich aufgenommen und mir ein Lager vom trockenem Heidekraut in einem Winkel ihrer Wohnstube auf der Erde bereitet, erhielt etwas porridge und ein wenig Whisky und unterhielt mich von hier aus, so gut es ging, pantomimisch mit meinen Wirthen, bis mir vor Müdigkeit die Augen zufielen.

(Wichmann, 42f.)

There is also contrast between the hospitality he receives in the above blackhouse and that offered him by a wealthy farmer he meets on the road to Loch Carron next day. In the company of this farmer, his wife and daughter, Wichmann enjoys a hearty breakfast and company along a good stretch of the road: "ein Beispiel echt schottischer Gastfreundschaft" (*ibid.*, 44). This in turn was in contrast to conditions in the Argyll country mansion where he had been one of several summer guests.

As a collector of facts, Ziegler evidently felt no qualms about imposing himself on crofters in Shetland. His description speaks for itself:

Ich trat in das Innere eines solchen Steinhäuschens ein und fand, dass der eine Raum, welcher der zahlreichen Familie, sowie dem Feder- und Borstenvieh zum gemeinschaftlichen Aufenthalt diene und als Küche, Wohn- und Schlafzimmer benutzt wurde, so von dichtem Rauch angefüllt war, dass ich nur mit Mühe die nächsten Gegenstände erkennen konnte. Am Boden brannte ein Torfffeuer und die Rauchwolken wälzten sich theils durch eine Oeffnung im Dache oder durch die Hausthür hinaus. Von einem Kamin oder Fenster war keine Rede. Eine alte Frau, das lebende Bild der Traus oder nordischen Dvergar (Zwerge) schrie, als sie mich bemerkte, ihren Töchtern zu, dass ein Gentleman in das Haus des armen Mannes getreten sei und dass man mir eine Bank an das Feuer rücken sollte. Die Leute waren voll Aufmerksamkeit gegen mich und boten mir Milch zum Trinken an. Da ich aber wegen Ermüdung um

Brandy bat, sagten sie mir, dass sie zu arm seien, um solchen zu kaufen. In der Wohnstube waren nur die nothwendigsten Geräthschaften zu erblicken und ich besinne mich nicht, in dem einsamsten Blockhause am Missouri-flusse eine so dürftige Einrichtung gesehen zu haben. Die Ställe für das Vieh waren wenig von den Wohnungen der Menschen verschieden und beide sind Löcher, in denen der Aufenthalt nur ungesund sein kann.

(Ziegler, Reise, 328f.)

Most of the German visitors could see clearly that conditions in the Highlands and North of Scotland were wretched, some of the worst in Europe, if not the western world. As she travels in the stage-coach along Loch Etive, there is no romance in what Lewald sees:

Die schlechten Hütten am Wege, die Weiber, die mit blossen Füßen vor denselben arbeiteten, machten das Bild nordischen Elendes vollkommen, und sowohl die Zahl der Wohnungen, als der Menschen war gering in dieser Gegend. (Lewald, ii, 531)

Yet Lewald herself did not penetrate a Highland blackhouse, whether from lack of time or curiosity, or out of respect for the inhabitants. It would have been interesting to see how she related her social awareness to such a visit; would she have been unable to escape the condescending attitude of most of her contemporaries, or would she have displayed true compassion? It is significant that while some travellers did display genuine compassion when confronted by urban poverty, the rural equivalent had a different effect on them, perhaps because it lay too close to their images of Ossian and Scott. Even Fontane, though well aware of the after-effects of the Jacobite persecution and the Clearances⁶, does not pause to reflect on the conditions in which the young barefooted girl who guides them to the Falls of Foyers must live, concentrating instead on her big black eyes, sunburnt arms and the Romantic idea that she might be "der Waldgeist dieser Gegenden, oder wenigstens eine seiner Dienerinnen" (Fontane, 262).

b) Contemporary Affairs

The interest one might have expected many of the travellers to show in Scottish current affairs and events is markedly lacking. Generally speaking such comment was reserved for the Metropolis and, having 'dealt with' London and its social and political affairs, most travellers were content to tour the provinces with less serious concerns in mind. Of

course visits to churches and factories occasioned comment on contemporary religious and industrial affairs, and the advanced state of much of the Scottish way of life, above all in communications, welfare and education, prompted both praise and comparison with the relatively backward Germany. These matters are discussed elsewhere in the relevant chapters. Some of the travellers reported on the state of law and order, taxes and prices, and, as has been indicated above, the conditions of poverty to which both urban and rural workers were subjected did not go unnoticed. Some visitors showed interest in the causes for emigration from Scotland, whether as a result of anti-Jacobite feeling and the Highland Clearances, or of the later Disruption and potato famines. Such matters are not dealt with in depth, however. The Scottish reception of German visitors and immigrants and the state of German-Scottish relations was of more direct concern. As to political events, there was evidently little that the Germans considered remarkable, although Holzenthal was of course intimately involved with the effects of the Napoleonic Wars on Scotland. Less serious matters gained most attention. For those who visited the country during or after 1842, evidence of the recent Royal Visit of Victoria and Albert was frequently apparent. Finally, several showed a curious, often frivolous, preoccupation with the existence of Gretna Green, famed throughout Europe as an elopers' refuge.

The poverty in both Scotland and Ireland was already of sufficient topical concern in England in 1801 for Esther Bernard, who did not visit either country herself, to write from London, "Doch sieht man hier die Armuth nicht in ihrer grässlichsten Gestalt, wie in Schottland und Irland" (Bernard, 148).⁷ In the 1850's visitors such as Rellstab were horrified by the extent of industrialisation in Glasgow - "Glasgow, Glasgow! Du hast doch wohl gesündigt, dass Du Deine Fabrik-schornsteine das Haupt erheben liessst über Deine Kirchen!" (Rellstab, ii, 103). If the Government had neglected the horrors of life in the inner city, then it had also neglected life on the outer islands, as Ziegler discovered in Orkney, where he encountered great discontent on account of the high taxes (Ziegler, Reise, 269f.). Some ten years earlier Kohl had met with similar discontent from crofters in Perthshire, who were returning from a mart with their cattle unsold, disgusted at the low prices offered them; they were in no doubt that Peel's tariff was the root of their trouble (Kohl, ii, 89). In 1836 Hailbronner

offered his opinion of the neglect of the inhabitants of Iona:

Der Herzog von Argyle, dem die Insel gehört, thut alles, um diesen uralten Sitz der Wissenschaften und die Monumente und Ruinen zu erhalten. Allein eine Predigt, welche ein Geistlicher aus Mull viermal im Jahre hier halt, ist alles, was für den Unterricht seiner Einwohner geschieht, die fast ganz sich selbst überlassen sind.

(Hailbronner, 317)

Hailbronner's party had encountered several sick children on the island, but two English doctors who were in the group soon realised it was pointless to try to prescribe a remedy, such was the extent of the islanders' ignorance. Although he does not pursue the matter, there is no doubt on whom Hailbronner lays the blame. / During the Napoleonic Wars Holzenthal was to report first hand of farming conditions in the Borders and of day to day life there. His account includes comment on law and order, customs, taxes and prices. Having explained the function of the Scottish jury, justice- and sheriff-court, he goes on to describe the local constabularies and their duties, commenting "das Amt des Constable ist eine sehr alte und respektable Einrichtung" (Holzenthal, 225). Certain duties he finds very different from those he knows in Germany, for instance the establishing of the price of bread from farmers' corn prices on the first market day of each month and ensuring that meat prices are consistent. He is shocked by the high taxation and the powers of the exciseman:

Man spricht im Auslande sehr viel über die Zölle, die Accise und die Taxen in Grossbritannien, aber man kennt kaum die Hälfte dieser ungeheueren Masse von Abgaben. Bei der Accise findet eine ausserordentliche Strenge statt, die so weit getrieben wird, dass sie im schreiendsten Widerspruche mit den sonstigen Privilegien und Rechten der Bürger steht. Um nur ein Beispiel anzuführen; so hat der Lichter-Fabrikant nicht einmal den Schlüssel zu seiner Werkstatt, sondern dieser befindet sich in den Händen des Accise-Bedienten, will er nun Lichter fertigen, so muss er genau die Quantität angeben, in Gegenwart des Officianten das Material dazu abwägen und unter dessen Augen seine Arbeit vollenden.

(ibid., 227)

There were of course ways round the high taxation to which the Scots did not hesitate to resort. As Löwenthal was to report from the Highlands some years later,

Der Wisky, bei welchem das Volk Vergessenheit seines Elends sucht, wird in grosser Menge geschmuggelt; und zwar besteht das Schmuggeln dieses Branntweins nicht bloss im betrügerlichen Einbringen von England oder von einem Zolldistrict in den andern, sondern hauptsächlich im heimlichen Erzeugen desselben, ohne die Accise zu bezahlen.

(Löwenthal, 118)

To Holzenthal the excise duties were high beyond reason; he gives an example of a bottle of rum, whose real cost is 1/4d. but after excise costs 4/6d. Whisky and wine taxes were equally high, as were these on the commodities from the Colonies, in particular coffee and sugar. He remarks, too, on the high window taxes, 18/- per window on a house with over six windows, £11/2/6d. on a house with twenty windows, and he also gives account of taxes on documents, cards and dice, dogs, horses, hair powder, hunting weapons, carriages and more. He concludes wryly: "Die Rubrik von Taxen erhält noch jedes Jahr neuen Zuwachs, dass man in der That über die Fruchtbarkeit der Finanzminister in Auffindung taxirbarer Sachen erstaunen muss" (*ibid.*, 228). Holzenthal then goes on to give an account of the British army (*ibid.*, 228ff.), a subject of particular relevance to him as a German officer and prisoner-of-war. He describes the uniforms, weaponry, pay ("in Deutschland eine schöne Summe, aber in Grossbritannien äusserst wenig"), price of officers' commissions, officers' pay, and the local militia. Of the cavalry of the latter, made up mostly of respectable farmers and citizens, he is amused to hear that each command is prefaced by the polite "Gentlemen, if you please!"

In his work of 1828 Meidinger considered the military presence in Scotland of sufficient importance to provide in his index a list of "Kriegshäfen" and "Kasernen und Forts" (Meidinger, *Reisen*, 217f.). Later visitors were unimpressed by the Highland forts. To Hallberg, in 1839, Forts William and Augustus were "nur nette befestigte Häuser, ein wahres Bild der Schwäche;" he adds, "und doch brach sich hier die Macht des Prätendenten, welcher, wie die französischen Prinzen am Rhein, ein Königreich erobern wollte" (Hallberg, 70). Five years later Carus was to accompany his King on a tour of the barracks in Edinburgh Castle. He is favourably impressed by the neatness and order of the living quarters and notes in particular how sensibly and well equipped each soldier is:

Herrscht doch auch in all diesem Wesen noch der

Athem englischer Freiheit! - Keine Conscription, durchaus freiwillig angeworbne Leute! - Auch werden bei Truppentransport und Märschen innerhalb des Landes niemals die Soldaten dem Bürger oder Pächter ins Quartier gelegt, sondern alle werden nur in Gasthöfen untergebracht und gepflegt.

(Carus, ii, 294)

The royal party are particularly impressed by the wealth of the regiment, evidence of which they see in the silver service from which they are served an "elegant snack" in the officers' mess. The ill feeling which exists between the English regiments posted in the Castle and the Scottish inhabitants of the city, of which Fontane was to be well aware,⁸ passes Carus by. Nearly half a century earlier, during the Napoleonic Wars, conditions were of course less comfortable and the Castle held many French prisoners-of-war. As an officer, Holzenthal's lot as a prisoner-of-war was less restrictive; the officers were reunited with their men and five officers from Hessen in Leith on their final journey home in 1814. The soldiers, 130 in number, had been held with 3,000 other prisoners-of-war in Valleyfield⁹ and were well fed but lacking in exercise (Holzenthal, 237). It is to the credit of both the author and the Scots, that Holzenthal himself never complains of illtreatment, even during the initial long march from Leith to Hawick in 1812. His major complaint seems to be that of boredom and, once the news of the end of the war has come through, that no action is taken to release them. Instead his complaints are levelled at the English; the captain of the smack which transported them to Yarmouth, Captain Crichton, "war ein äusserst humaner, freundlicher Mann, der auch bewährte, wie sehr die Schotten sich zu ihrem Vortheil von den Engländern unterscheiden" (ibid.). In contrast the officers were rudely treated by the agent in Harwich, Captain Bown, who acted "mit exemplarischer Grobheit, wie wir dies leider bei den Engländern bisher nicht anders gefunden hatten" (ibid., 239).

After visiting Holyrood, several travellers, for instance Schopenhauer and Kohl, comment on another aspect of the wars in France which directly affected Scotland, namely the exile of the Bourbon Comte d'Artois, Charles X, many years of which he spent with his retinue in Holyrood House. Any evidence of George IV's visit to Scotland in the 1820's was apparently slight, but Victoria and Albert's first visit of 1842 was in direct contrast to this. Whether they knew it or not, most

tourists in Scotland after 1842 were treading in Victoria's footsteps, both literally and metaphorically. That Kohl was acutely aware of this becomes clear from a few pages in his Englische Skizzen, which he entitles "Scotomanie".¹⁰ He toured Scotland only a matter of weeks after the Royal Pair and found people along the route only too eager to tell of the Royal visit. He hires a gig in Dunkeld and follows the Royal route along the Tay, assuring his readers that, in doing so, he was passing some of the most beautiful parts of the Highlands, Aberfeldy, Kenmore, Taymouth Castle, Loch Tay, and from Killin to Loch Earn and back. He concludes with an accurate look into the future:

Es ist diess einer der fashionablen Touren in Schottland, oder geradezu "the fashionable rout" [sic]. Und jetzt, da die Königin sie bewandelt hat, wird sie diess noch um so mehr sein, und ohne Zweifel, so hoffen auch alle Leute am Wege, wird sich nun in diesem und den nächsten Jahren ein Strom von Besuchern dieses Weges ergiessen.
(Kohl, i, 218f.)

As he continues on the route he finds the triumphal arches, erected by the people in honour of the Royal Pair, and woven from heather, complete with the initials "V" and "A", still standing.

Nine years later, in 1851, Victoria, who had earlier declined to stay at Holyrood - which came as no surprise to Kohl after he had viewed the relative discomfort in which the Comte d'Artois had 'held court' (ibid., 85) - decided to grace the capital with her presence and Wichmann was there to witness this:

Auf diese Nachricht hin versammelte sich natürlich eine Menge Menschen, um bei diesem Einzuge der geliebten Herrscherin ihre Hochachtung zu bezeigen oder auch nur ihre Neugierde zu befriedigen.
(Wichmann, 14)

Wichmann joined the thousands of others surrounding Holyrood, and after a long wait, the Royal carriage, encircled by horseguards, appeared. Inevitably, perhaps, it was something of a disappointment:

Da sich wie gewöhnlich bei solcher Gelegenheit ein Jeder bemühte immer mehr und besser sehen zu wollen als sein Nachbar, entstand natürlich ein wogendes Gedränge, in dem es mir nur mit den äussersten Anstrengung gelang, eine ganz schmale Oeffnung zum Durchsehen frei zu behalten, durch welche ich auch so glücklich war, vielleicht auf eine halbe Secunde die äusserste Nasenspitze der geliebten Herrscherin sehen zu können. (ibid.)

Rellstab was also in Edinburgh at this time and visited Holyrood a few days after Victoria and Albert. He laughs at the incompleted state of the statue of Victoria, "der allgeliebten, allverehrten Königin", which, though not finished, had been unveiled to honour her visit. A green palm had been placed in her hand and this causes Rellstab to reflect both on the contrast between the normally gloomy palace and the celebrations which had taken place that day and between palatial living and Canongate tenements:

Mit Jubel und Jauchzen ist die Königin begrüsst worden. Und für sie hat man die milde Friedenspalme in die Marmorhand gegeben, dass sie sich selbst schau, als die Bringerin des Glücks und des Friedens! An jenem Tage mag auch Holyrood vielleicht ein freundliches Ansehn gehabt haben. Doch eines hätte ich Dir gewünscht, jugendliche, freudenerfüllte, freudenspendende Königin! Du hättest gleich mir, Deinen Weg zu dem Palast durch luftverschlossene Mauerspalle in Canongate machen mögen, um zu schauen, wo und wie die Armuth wohnt, welches Leben ihr bereitet ist!

Rellstab continues with wishful thinking:

Ach dann hätte Deine milde Hand sich wohl noch hundertmal milder aufgethan, und Du wärest als Segensengel durch diese Grüfte der Lebendigen geschritten, hättest sie ihnen geöffnet, sie befreit aus den schauerlichen Kerkern, und dann - - dann hättest Du das schönste Recht auf den grünen Zweig der Friedenspalme, Du könntest ihn tragen durch alle Strassen von Edinburgh, durch Dein ganzes Inselreich, Du könntest damit hintreten dereinst vor Gottes Thron! -

(Rellstab, i, 238)

This is typical of Rellstab: he has a serious and justified point to make, but overburdens it with rhetoric and the effect is lost.

On arriving in Inveraray, Schinkel and his companions were made well aware that elections had just taken place; all the patrons were drunk, "nur die Wirthin hielt das Ganze noch etwas zusammen, dass nicht Alles drunter und drüber ging" (Schinkel, iii, 102). By and large, however, the visitors seem scarcely aware of local events; naturally, as organised tourism grew, only those who travelled on foot or privately had the opportunity to come into close contact with local affairs. Certain statistical information, as provided by such as Nemnich - for instance, that ships paid 2d. per ton for the upkeep of the Isle of May lighthouse (Nemnich, 569) - was in all probability gained second

hand from sources such as Sinclair, while evidence of trading links between Scotland and Germany was of sufficient interest to the travellers to catch their attention. Thus Ziegler sees Hanoverian boats in Shetland and writes of the links between the islands and Emden (Ziegler, Bilder, 277), while he also shows particular interest in the projected submarine telegraph, conceived by the German-born "Herr Oberst Shaffner". The work was still in progress when Ziegler published his book several years later; the cable between Britain and Helgoland had been laid in July 1859 and the following month Shaffner had set out from Boston to prospect for the best route from North America. While in Shetland in the early 1850's, Ziegler had encountered excitement over the plans to lay the cable between the British mainland, Orkney, Shetland, the Faroes, Iceland, from Greenland to Labrador and America and from Omsk to the Urals, Moscow and Eastern Europe, (ibid., Reise, 346-9). The idea that the Northern Isles might soon be connected to the rest of the world excited Ziegler himself.

Throughout the period of the German visits in question emigration was rife in Scotland. It was not only a Scottish phenomenon, however, since many Europeans, Germans among them, were seeking a new life in North America, and this is perhaps the reason why it did not demand more of the Germans' attention while in Scotland. It did not go unnoticed, however. Of the visitors at the turn of the century Nemnich shows most concern for the problem; as he arrives in Berwickshire he comments on the pressgang on the ships and the White Slave Trade (Nemnich, 472 ff.) and in discussing the Highland Society's attempts to curb the emigration of the Highlanders, refers his readers to Lord Selkirk's newly published, Observations on the Highlands and on Emigration of 1805 (ibid., 477f.). Later, as he describes Greenock, he stresses that the port has earned a reputation as the centre of the White Slave Trade to America, since for fifty or sixty years it has been the meeting place for poor and emigrating Scots. Many of these are Highlanders and he comments on the amount of Gaelic, "Ossians Sprache", he hears spoken (ibid., 540ff.). Ten years later Spiker was to encounter local ill feeling on the subject in the Loch Lomond area. One of his guides and boatmen outspokenly attacks the absentee landlords amongst the nobility, who thus leave the factors in sole charge of the estates; the Duke of Argyle had not been at Inveraray

for four years. Above all this had been the cause for the high percentage of emigration to America amongst the tenants of the Marquess of Breadalbane. Spiker comments in a footnote that the same was happening in Ireland (Spiker, 271). The following year, in 1817, Meissner was to express his personal shock at the evidence of these events. Of the Morven peninsula he writes:

Nirgends giebt es hier ein Dörfchen, die Gebürge und die engen Thäler haben keine andre Vegetation als das Heidekraut, das vielen Tausenden von Schaafen zur Weide dient. Der Boden gehört fast ausschliesslich zwei reichen Besitzern, die wie dieses überhaupt in den Hochlanden der Fall ist, weit mehr ihre Rechnung dabei finden, wenn sie denselben einigen wenigen reichen Pächtern einräumen, die ihre ungeheuren Schaafheerden darauf treiben, als ihn stückweise an ärmere Familien zu überlassen. Dieses grausame System ist die Hauptursache der Entvölkerung der Hochlande, denn indem der reiche Grundherr sein Erbe nicht mehr stückweise dem Aermern gegen einen mässigen Zins überlässt, sondern blos im Allgemeinen an ein paar reiche Pächter, muss erstere den zahlreichen Schaafheerden des letztern weichen, und ist gezwungen in fremde Welttheile auszuwandern.

(Meissner, 251)

Continued emigration from Scotland and Ireland was noted by Wichmann thirty-five years later to have had a marked effect on the numbers of Gaelic speakers in those countries (Wichmann, 18). Kohl, too, concerns himself with the question and deduces that the spread of the English language in the Highlands had contributed greatly to the improvement of agriculture. The crofters of Scotland and Ireland, once of value to their lords as retainers, were worthless after the clans had been crushed and were driven into the towns and cities. Although Kohl acknowledges that the Clearances were carried out with violence, he is forced to conclude that it was for the good of the nation; the sheep brought in more money and the workforce was needed in the growing urban industries:

Die von den Schaafen aus ihren einsamen Bergsitzen vertriebenen Hochländer fanden daher in diesen Manufactur- und Handelssitzen und in diesen Dörfern ein Unterkommen, die Bevölkerung des Landes zog sich, mit einem Worte, aus dem zerstreuten Zustande, in dem sie sich bisher befunden, in besser bevölkerte Orte zusammen, und diese Veränderung eben, meine ich, hat wohl besonders viel zum siegreichen Fortschritte der englischen Sprache, wie überhaupt der Cultur in Schottland beigetragen.

(Kohl, i, 135)

Kohl goes on to describe the clan proscription and dissolution in more detail, but, as an unsentimental man of the present looking to the future, he still concludes that the Clearances brought Scotland "einen neuen Frühling ... mit tausendfältigen Blüten, die jetzt schon zu den schönsten Früchten gereift sind" (ibid., 136).¹¹

The most outspoken attack on the Clearances from a German at this time came of course from Karl Marx, in whose works of the 1840's and 1850's there are many references to events in the Highlands and to the hypocrisy of the landowners. Such articles as "Die Herzogin von Sutherland und die Sklaverei",¹² written in 1853, attack those landowners for their so-called philanthropy as regards the Black Slave Trade, when they themselves had treated their own people despicably by throwing them out of house and home.

Feinde der englischen Lohnsklaverei haben das Recht, die Negersklaverei zu verdammen; eine Herzogin von Sutherland jedoch, ein Herzog von Atholl, ein Kattunlord aus Manchester - niemals!
(Marx Engels Werke, viii, 505)¹³

Other articles by Karl Marx at this time, mostly translated by Engels and published first in English, attack further individuals, for instance Mrs. Macdonnell from Glen Garry, and, as proof that "solche Vertreibungen scheinen wieder überall auf dem Hochland an der Tagesordnung zu sein" (ibid., ix, 427)¹⁴, Marx quotes from an article in 'The Times' by a Highland laird, Charles Forbes, praising the lucrative sheep rearing. Three years after Kohl's visit, in 1847, Karl Marx had reached a very different conclusion from the traveller:

Es ist Tatsache, dass der Grundbesitz in Schottland durch die Entwicklung der Industrie neuen Wert erhielt, diese Industrie eröffnete der Wolle neue Märkte. Um die Wolle im grossen Massstabe zu produzieren, musste man das Ackerland in Weideland verwandeln. Um diese Umwandlung zu bewirken, musste man die Güter konzentrieren. Um die Güter zu konzentrieren, musste man die kleinen Pachtungen abschaffen, Tausende von Pächtern aus ihrer Heimat verjagen und an ihre Stelle einige Hirten setzen, die Millionen von Schafen bewachen. So hatte der Grundbesitz in Schottland infolge sukzessiver Umwandlungen das Resultat, dass Menschen durch Hammel verdrängt wurden. Man sage jetzt, dass es das providentielle Ziel der Institution des Grundbesitzes in Schottland war, Menschen durch Hammel verdrängen zu lassen, und man hat providentielle Geschichte getrieben.

(ibid., iv, 138)¹⁵

It is interesting to consider how widespread contemporary knowledge of events in the Highlands was in Germany itself. At the turn of the century Arnim was well aware of the situation, as is revealed in the opening paragraphs of Die Ehenschmiede,¹⁶ and so too, in his own way, was Fontane over fifty years later. He is careful to stress both the "Lichtseite" and the "Nachtseite" of the "Clangeist" in his essay on the Highlands and sees the efforts of groups such as the Highland Society for what they truly are:

Die Hochlande sind todt; der Clangeist ist gebrochen, die Glens ihrer alten Bewohner beraubt; fremdes Leben hält seinen Einzug, die alte Sitte stirbt hin und mit der nationalen Sitte natürlich auch die nationale Tracht. Man fängt bereits an Gesellschaften zu gründ-en, um als Curiosität das Wenige zu hegen und zu pflegen, was noch da ist; man will nicht völlig ersterb-en lassen, was so viel zum Ruhme und zur poetischen Verherrlichung des Vaterlandes beigetragen hat.

(Fontane, 408 f.)

To Fontane, writing in 1860, the 'death' of the Highlands was a fait accompli. To Löwenthal, nearly forty years before, it had been a matter for topical concern. On the one hand, like Kohl, he saw change as positive and inevitable, but on the other he feared negative repercussions, well illustrated by his culinary metaphor of a gelatine mass:

... es überrascht auf's Unangenehmste den Fremdling, der in diesen Bergen doch noch ein unverbleichtes Landes-Colorit, irgend eine ansprechende und hervorstechende Volkseigenthümlichkeit zu finden gedachte. Es begegnet ihm kaum etwas Anderes als der äusserste Stolz bei der äussersten Dürftigkeit. Das Meiste von dem, was er etwa von den Schotten herrliches und das poetische Gemüth Ansprechendes in Büchern gelesen hat, zeigt sich ihm als ein Gedichtetes, im besten Fall als ein Gewesenes; es wäre denn, er sähe als schätzbare Ueberbleibsel an, dass zwischen den im Whisky berauschem ci-devant Clansmännern zuweilen noch immer blutige Schlägereien vorkommen. In wie ferne der Reformation, dem Untergange des Lehensystems, der Vereinigung des Landes mit England, der gänzlichen Bezwingung der Stämme; in wie ferne dem Benehmen der zarteren Nachkommen jener rauhen und hochherzigen Chieftains, der heutigen schottischen Grossen, welchen, ihren wüsten Bergen enteilend, in des Reiches oder wohl auch in des Festlandes Hauptstädte fluchten; in wie ferne endlich einer sogenannten, allgemeinen europäischen Civilisation, welche alle spröderen Theile von Volks-Eigenthümlichkeit in eine grosse und glatte Universalgallerte verkocht -

in wie ferne, sag' ich, allem diesem die Schuld, oder, wie Viele und zum Theil mit Recht sich ausdrücken mögen, das Verdienst dieser grossen Umgestaltung beizumessen sey; diess wäre der Gegenstand einer ernstesten und weitläufigen Erörterung, welche einen tüchtigen Staats- und Völkerkenner beschäftigen könnte.

Löwenthal himself attempts no answers, but he does not hesitate to add his own personal observations. He continues:

Die Verstandesbildung und der Muth der Hochländer rechtfertigen wohl noch immer den ehrenvollen Ruf, in dem sie stehen. Auch ist Schottland überhaupt seiner Gesittung nach noch nicht in den Abgrund versunken, welcher England verschlungen hat. Noch liefert Schottland verhältnissmässig eine sehr geringe Anzahl von Missethättern auf die Gerichtsbänke. Möge ihm dieser grosser Vorzug nicht auch durch den heillosen, immer weiter einreissenden Gebrauch starker Getränke geraubt werden.

(Löwenthal, 117f.)

Löwenthal may have wished to encounter the romance of Scotland, but he did not shut his eyes to the very real problems of poverty and alcohol abuse which he found in its stead.

Five years earlier, in 1817, the enthusiastic Meissner had not been prepared to go so far, but even he had to admit that the annual emigration figures were proof of the poverty in Scotland, especially in the Highlands. Yet during his Highland tour he claimed he had never seen a beggar, and although he had sometimes been approached for some snuff, he had never been asked for alms. Those who had gone miles out of their way to show him the road, or who had carried him on their backs across swollen burns, would never accept money. Meissner's faith in the Scottish character was constant: unlike in England, with its poor laws, in Scotland even the poorest people were ashamed to live on State charity (Meissner, 223f.).

Hallberg-Broich was to add a different perspective. As he travels through Britain in 1839, he is struck by the emptiness of the countryside. To him the cause of the lack of people in the country is simple; most live in the towns, work in factories, or have already emigrated to America and Australia. He suggests that the Bavarian Government might invite wealthy factory owners from Britain to set up in Bavaria, where there is very little industry; this might prevent the Bavarians from emigrating. In Hull he sees ships laden with Bavarian emigrants, but in his typically contrary fashion he views the problem from an unusual

angle:

Die Deutschen reisen überhaupt nicht, ich habe auch hier, wie in Aegypten, Asien und Afrika, keine getroffen, ausgenommen in London ein paar Kaufleute, welche ohne Aufenthalt nach Birmingham reisten, um Garn zu kaufen. Wir Deutsche sind ein Ackerbau treibendes Volk, und haben grosse Felder, den schönen Flachs aber beziehen die Engländer aus Russland, um an uns ihre Industrie zu verkaufen, und dann mit ihrem von uns erhaltenen Gelde in Deutschland gross zu thun. Wir könnten das alles selbst haben, aber wir haben kein Geld zu solchen grossen Anlagen, weil wir es für Tand nach Frankreich und Italien schicken. (Hallberg-Broich, 36f.)

In Hallberg's view the Germans would not need to emigrate if they could build up their own industry and wealth. Travelling from Edinburgh to Glasgow, he is horrified by the poverty and squalor in which the people live and draws another unusual conclusion:

Welche grossartige Gedanken macht sich der Deutsche, wenn er den Engländer mit seinem Gelde prahlend in Deutschland sieht, und nicht weiss, dass zu Haus der grösste Theil der Nation das elendste Leben führt, wesswegen auch die Reichen in so grosser Menge ihr Land verlassen, um ein besseres Leben, als Gold-Aufhäufen ist, im Ausland zu suchen. (ibid., 59f.)

This view is confirmed as he travels further north up the Caledonian Canal:

Die Menschen, welche hier umher wohnen und ihre Häuser sind das Bild der schrecklichsten Armuth, doch soll das Alles nichts gegen Irland seyn, wo vor Kurzem viertausend Arme durch Dublin zogen, um ihr Elend dem Reichthum zu zeigen, und Mitleid zu erwecken. Der Anblick, sagte mir ein fetter Erzbischof von zwanzigtausend Pfund Einkünften, sey abscheulich gewesen, er habe sich weggewandt, um die Leute nicht zu sehen, während seine Einkünfte eines Jahres hinreichend gewesen wären, sie alle bei mässiger Arbeit Zeitlebens zu beglücken. Ich sah bei Glasgow einige Schiffe mit Armen nach Australien segeln, wo die Regierung Kolonien anlegt, um sich die Armen vom Halse zu schaffen, was immer besser ist, als sie hier verhungern zu lassen. Ich fürchte, dass die Reichen ein_mal einen schweren Kampf gegen die Armen werden zu bestehen haben.

(ibid., 71)

Above all Hallberg takes a dim view of his treatment in Britain as a foreigner; in his opinion all strangers are looked on with suspicion by the British, even if they attempt to take on the local customs. One can hardly view this as an indication of deteriorating British-German relations, since the roots were certainly mostly to be found in the eccentricities of Hallberg's own character. He concludes his work with an attack on all Europe: "Die Gastfreiheit hat in ganz Europa aufgehört ..." (ibid., 98), basing this statement on the fact that in twenty-four years in Bavaria the only one to have shown him hospitality had been the King, while those British to whom he himself had given hospitality in Germany, or helped elsewhere abroad, had chosen to ignore or refuse to recognise him on their home ground. Gone were the days of lavish hospitality as practised by Thomas à Becket or the Earl of Warwick; Hallberg's closing sentences are equally disparaging:

Auf eine ziemlich ähnliche Art wurde die Gastfreiheit in verschiedenen Theilen der schottischen Hochländer ausgeübt. Alles das hat jetzt aufgehört, Geld ist das Lösungswort aller Völker geworden.

(ibid., 99)

Whatever Hallberg-Breich's whimsical opinions, there was no doubt that many Germans had found their way to Britain and Scotland, some rich, some poor, some to settle in the country and some en route for emigration. Throughout these years there was of course a large German community in London, ranging from the nobility and intellectuals to beggars in the streets; at the turn of the century Nemnich reported more than 30,000 known Germans in London, several of whom had established businesses and many more of whom were skilled workers, in particular in the sugar refining and book binding trades. German artists and musicians had also found a living in Britain. Nemnich refers to Burckhardt's history of the German community in London of 1798 as his main source of information. Many German-born settlers had even anglicised their names and Nemnich sees nothing wrong in this. It is the travellers who return to Germany and affect British mannerisms and ways, thus doing their own nation down, of whom he disapproves (Nemnich, 453 & 463f.). In Perth, when reporting on the trade between that city and the Hanseatic ports, he notes that many Germans and Flemings had settled there (ibid., 560); there are many such references to German

settlers from the other travellers, both in the industrial English cities and in Scotland. Rellstab, who is struck by the total inexperience of a young Swabian family he meets on board an emigrant ship in London's St. Catherine's docks, gives a shilling to a German woman begging in the streets, and is saddened by the fact that so many of his countrymen have met with the same fate. He reflects that the British and French are only encountered abroad as "Unternehmer", while the Germans find their way to London to beg in the streets (Rellstab, i, 81ff.). Rellstab's guide in Edinburgh was originally from Gotha, a musician who had signed up with an English regiment in Hanover forty-six years before and whose family was now thoroughly integrated (*ibid.*, 215). Similarly Wichmann, in meeting his rival for the post of schoolteacher in Dollar, encounters another elderly German, happily settled with his family into Scottish life (Wichmann, 66).¹⁷ Indeed all classes of German society were represented in Scotland, from the Duke of Hamilton's daughter-in-law, Princess Marie of Baden, cousin to Carus' King (Carus, ii, 179), to the Prussian Jew whom Lord Cockburn tried for arson in Aberdeen in 1842.¹⁸ That there were two sides to the picture is recognised by Kalckstein in 1854; on the one hand he sees the causes of successful integration of Germans into British life as a result of mutual national characteristics, while on the other hand he is shocked when he is approached for money by a young German deserter from Prague. Wherever he travels in Britain he is struck by the openness and friendliness, - "dies entgegenkommende Wohlwollen gegen Ausländer" - and concludes that the German, with his "träumerische deutsche Natur", does not compare favourably in this light, since he is too fond of "Vertiefung in das eigene Ich" (Kalckstein, 73). Whether this is a reflection on current Romantic trends or not, Kalckstein, despite himself, recommends that his readers stay at Herr Seyd's German hotel in London, where all the staff are native Germans. (*ibid.*, 10). Ziegler has a far more positive and concrete suggestion in recommending that Germans should emigrate to Orkney; in this he appears to support local opinion:

Ich vernahm auch die Meinung, dass deutsche Auswanderer lieber Härher, als nach Amerika gehen sollten, weil sie sich hier mehr Geld als in der Neuen Welt verdienen würden, der

grossen Reise nach Amerika enthoben, dem Vaterlande näher kommen, und einen guten Grundherrn, der ihnen hinreichend Land zur Benutzung ablasse, erhalten würden.

(Ziegler, Reise, 253)

In view of the productive ground which he witnesses on the islands, Ziegler himself finds it hard to understand why the Scots themselves emigrate in such numbers to Canada when Orkney is so close. He reports that in 1857 especially many young people had left the Highlands to join the older members of their families established abroad, yet their own Scottish islands were short of inhabitants. His host, Mr. Balfour, says that he would give German immigrants land for free for the first years and only gradually demand rent; the locals had discovered that the Germans were hard-working farmers from those who had been forced on to the islands after being shipwrecked.

In 1849 Köstlin, writing of the Edinburgh Sabbath Schools, reported that there was even one for German children. He explains why:

Auch in Schottland, besonders in Edinburg trifft man häufig deutsche Musikanten, welche hier mit ihrem niedrigen Handwerk und schlechten Erwerb ein elendes Leben führen; besonders jammervoll aber ist der Anblick der deutschen Kinder, welche von habsüchtigen Unternehmern ihren in Deutschland wohnenden Eltern gewissermassen abgekauft worden sind, um von denselben, gegen den Ertrag ihres Drehorgel- und Cymbelspiels, den nothdürftigsten Lebensunterhalt zu bekommen. Ueber das Loos ihres inneren Menschen ist dabei von Anfang an nur zu wenig Zweifel - bei diesem Herumziehen von Jahrmarkt zu Jahrmarkt, und, in den einzelnen Städten, von einer Brantweinschenke zur andern. (Köstlin, Mittheilungen, ii, 13)

Kohl had avoided the less pleasant aspects of emigration. He encountered many more Italians than Germans while in Scotland. One of his fellow passengers on the Forth steamer was an Italian by name of Ortelli, from near Lake Como. He was, typically, a barometer maker - "und hatte sich von oben bis unten, hinten und vorn mit Barometern behangen" (Kohl, i, 97) - and travelled the country selling his wares. He assured Kohl that there were at least one hundred Italians in Edinburgh, whereas there were scarcely half as many Germans. On reflection Kohl finds this surprising, since the Germans as a nation have far more in common with the Scots than the Italians. An Italian presence of a very

different nature was reported by Förster in 1851: "Father Gavazzi ... dieser berühmter Agitator war eben in Edinburgh, und der Held des Tags" (Förster, 316). Despite the high entrance fee of one or two shillings, Edinburgh people had flocked to hear the Italian orator attack papal tyranny and preach the message of the Risorgimento. Förster gives a colourful description of Gavazzi's oratory and rhetoric, but he was unimpressed. It saddened him to see an unrealistic idealist fooling his audience in such a way; besides, Gavazzi spoke no English and his audience assuredly very little Italian.¹⁹

Kohl was more interested in discovering what the Scots thought of Germany as a nation. Out of curiosity he borrowed a copy of William Guthrie's Germany, of 1776, while staying in Killin. He had seen one of the villagers reading the book and was eager to know how his native country had been portrayed in it: "Es ist nöthig, zu wissen, wie die fremden Nationen sich in dieser oder jener Nation widerspiegeln, um eben diese oder jene Nation selber kennen zu lernen" (Kohl, ii, 77). It might well be that Edinburgh readers held accurate and up-to-date views as gained from the latest reviews, but the ordinary people of the Highlands only had access to limited material, often inherited, and the opinions expressed in them were frequently those which were generally held. British writers had concerned themselves recently with more distant lands than Germany and thus Kohl feels all the more justified in reviewing the contents of Guthrie's work (ibid., 78ff.).

As Kohl implies, accurate knowledge of Germany and Germans was unusual in Britain and, although there are some isolated comments to the contrary, most of the travellers encountered ignorance of German affairs, language and literature; Marx devotes several pages to a discussion on the matter (Marx, 148-55). Nemnich was amused by the questions he was asked as a foreigner which revealed this ignorance on the part of the British, who automatically assumed that all Germans were musicians (Nemnich, 448f.). Forty years later Kohl was to approach the subject in more detail in his Land und Leute der britischen Inseln, with discussion of, for example, the German idea of Britain, the importance of Germany and France to Britain (and in particular the links between Lower Saxony and Britain), the difficulty for foreigners

in learning the German language and English complaints against the Germans as a people.²⁰ In general, however, such differences concerned the travellers noticeably more in England than in Scotland and wherever possible they were pleased to find common ground between the Scots and the Germans. Johanna Schopenhauer, so influenced by a Scotsman in her youth, found the Scots more receptive to foreigners:

Zuvorkommende, gutmüthige Freundlichkeit und ein gewisses treu herzig-fröhliches Wesen, unterscheidet den Schotten merklich vom Engländer. Man achtet hier die Fremden mehr, als in England, ist bekannter mit ihren Sitten und Gebräuchen, denn Armuth zwingt den Schotten in der weiten Welt ein Fortkommen zu suchen, und er sucht es lieber recht fern, als in England, wo man sein geliebtes Vaterland mit ungerechter Verachtung betrachtet. Der grösste Theil der in Teutschland und andern Ländern angesiedelten Britten sind eigentlich Schottländer.

(Schopenhauer, 282)

Brandes also tended towards the Scots' point of view when he encountered this superiority from the English, which Fontane was to describe as "jenen Ton der Ueberhebung . . ., den Engländer so gern anstimmen, wenn sie den Tweed im Rücken haben" (Fontane, 154). Whilst he enjoyed the company of his fellow travellers in Scotland, Brandes saw no grounds for this attitude:

nur Eins hätte ich an dem cambridger Gelehrten wie an anderen englischen Gentlemen gern wegge wünscht, und das war, sie schienen mir mit Stolz auf die Schotten herabzublicken und auf deren Armuth mitunter verächtliche Seitenhiebe fallen zu lassen, und auch an der schönen Natur, wenn sie gleich viel weniger als ich in der Gebirgswelt gewandert haben, geringeres Interesse zu nehmen.

It is with relief that he goes on to write of one of his Scottish travelling companions:

Anders verhielt es sich mit dem alten Seekapitän; er war ein ehrlicher, ich möchte fast sagen, ein recht deutscher Schotte, dessen Augen von Freude strahlten, wenn ich auf seine Frage: wie mir Schottlands Berge gefielen? meine Lobpreisungen und ein very beautiful aussprach.

(Brandes, 45)

It is evident from his phrase "ein recht deutscher Schotte" that Brandes could feel real affinity with the old man, while he had only intellectual interests in common with the two Englishmen. An awareness of such an

affinity is also expressed by both Marx and Lewald. Marx is gratified by a view of the North Sea as he enters Scotland:

Der Blick hinüber nach dem deutschen Ocean weckt das Bewusstsein der Verwandtschaft Caledoniens mit dem Vaterlande, und ganz besonders der Universität Edinburgh mit unsern Hochschulen. Bei der grossartigen Schönheit der Umgebungen, bei der Tüchtigkeit des Nationalcharakters, bei der Gediegenheit der Lehrer ist es eine Freude zu wissen, dass hier der deutsche Geist mit dem englischen sich einigte, dass in Sprache und Bildung das germanische Element in schöner Metamorphose als schottisches sich darstellt.

(Marx, 14)

Fanny Lewald compares life in Edinburgh favourably to that of London, although she is aware that Edinburgh society was made all the more interesting during her stay on account of the many foreigners visiting the conference she attended:

Die Gastfreiheit ist unbegrenzt zu nennen, und dabei kommt mir der Zusammenhang der Schotten mit dem deutschen Ursprunge noch bemerklicher vor, als es bei den Engländern der Fall ist. Sie haben auch eine Menge Worte im Gebrauch, die uns eigen sind und die ich in England nicht gehört, wie: kirk für Kirche - bessom für Besen - cram für Laden - fletcher für Fleischer, und andere mehr. Auch die Bereitung der Speisen nähert sich in den Bürgerfamilien der unsern. Sie essen viel Suppen, die scotch broth kommt unserer Fleischbrühe ganz gleich, und Hammelfleisch und Geflügel werden hier wie bei uns häufig gedämpft. Endlich, um von dem ganzen Materiellen zu Geistigem überzugehen, sind die Schotten gewiss viel musikalischer, und uns auch darin verwandter als ihre südlichen Nachbarn.

(Lewald, ii, 273f.)

Regardless of whether such views could be supported by facts, their importance lies in the fact that several of the German visitors to Scotland shared them. It is not without genuine feeling of regret that Lewald prepares to leave Edinburgh,

denn Stadt und Menschen sind mir lieb geworden, und ich glaube zuversichtlich, dass Deutsche sich noch schneller in Edinburg, als in London heimisch fühlen, dass vielleicht manche unserer exilirten Freunde hier noch leichter festen Grund und Boden gewinnen würden, als in dem von Deutschen überfüllten London.

(ibid., 331)

Gretna Green

For those visitors who travelled the Carlisle road, mention of Gretna Green was almost inevitable; at the turn of the century the reform act of 1754, which had made runaway marriages illegal in England, was still recent enough for Gretna Green elopements to make the news, both in Britain and on the Continent. Even the law which was to insist that one of the parties reside in Scotland for at least twenty-one days before the marriage was not passed in Scotland until 1856. This was one aspect of Scots law which attracted attention. After his visit to Scotland in 1849, Julius Köstlin spent several weeks reading and studying in the British Museum, concerning himself with religious writings and church politics, and especially with the peculiarities of the Scots marriage laws. He points to their similarity to pre-Reformation custom, whereby, as during the Reformation itself, the only stipulation was that both parties be in mutual agreement. Köstlin was surprised to discover from recent parliamentary proceedings how adamantly the Scots supported these civil ceremonies, and, perhaps despite himself, he came to view the question from a new angle:

Als ich aber Einem mein Befremden darüber äusserte, entgegnete er: ob ich's etwa für sittlicher und christlicher halte, wenn man einem solchen Jawort nur in Verbindung mit einem kirchlichen Akt bindende Kraft beilege; eine Antwort, die ich später in Deutschland bei so manchem unklaren Gerede über die "Civilehe" auch Anderen gegenüber zu wiederholen für gut fand.

(Köstlin, 135)

Köstlin's more serious preoccupation with the subject as a churchman is seldom matched by other visitors, who tend to regard Gretna Green as a tourist curiosity with romantic overtones.

In 1803 Johanna Schopenhuaer found the village well worthy of attention, but also of some sharp moralising criticism:

Unbedeutend, wie es aussieht, ist es dennoch ein Ort von grosser Wichtigkeit. Hunderte bereuen es lebenslang, sich einmal unbesonnen hingewagt zu haben. Gretnagreen ist der Schrecken aller Aeltern, Vormünder, Onkels und Tanten in England, die reiche oder schöne Mädchen zu hüten haben, der Trost und die Hoffnung aller Misses, die in Pensionen sich Kopf und Herz mit Romanlectüre

anfüllten, der Hafen, nach welchem, alle Glücksritter zusteuern, die besonders aus Irland mit leerem Beutel und vakanten Herzen nach Bristol, Bath, auch wohl nach London kommen, um mit Hilfe des kleinen, blinden Gottes, und seines oft noch blindern Bruders, endlich ein solides Glück zu machen.

(Schopenhauer, 355f.)

Having explained the rôle of the blacksmith, Schopenhauer shows that she does after all feel sympathy for the elopers;

Wer also in England, wo andere Gesetze gelten, ein, von irgend einem widerwärtigen Argus bewachtes, Liebchen hat, der nimmt die erste Gelegenheit wahr, packt es in eine Chaise mit vier raschen Pferden bespannt und galopirt damit fort, nach Gretnagreen, dem nächsten schottischen Gränzorte, wo oben erwähnter Hufschmidt Tag und Nacht bereit ist, sein Amt um ein Billiges zu verwalten.

(ibid., 357)

But the Schopenhauers themselves were obviously no game for the smith, who refused to talk to them. Even the landlady at the inn refused to discuss the subject beyond pointing out the smithy in the distance and, in Schopenhauer's opinion, would gladly have denied that the marriages took place at all, had there not been plenty of evidence to the contrary in her own inn, where all walls and windows were inscribed with lovers' names. The locals assured the Schopenhauers that the village was very well visited, sometimes witnessing several marriages in a day, but to Schopenhauer the most visual proof of this was the fact that during the entire day's travel after leaving Gretna they were not stopped once at the turnpikes and only asked for the tolls by discreet and pleasant officials when they stopped at inns to change horses. She concludes her Scottish tour with the remark: "Alles scheint in dieser Gegend stillschweigend vereinigt, den Flüchtlingen hülfreiche Hand zu leisten" (ibid., 358).

Shortly after Schopenhauer's visit the blacksmith's rôle was taken on by a tobacco merchant. Nemnich was told that this man was paid 15 guineas for each marriage, of which there were 50 to 60 a year (Nemnich, 510f.). Some ten years later, in 1816, Spiker, too, was told that the tobacconist earned a considerable sum from the job. Like Köstlin, he was more interested in this particular aspect of

Scots law than in any personal comment on the marriages which took place in the village. The fact of the Gretna Green marriages was in his view common knowledge, and he evidently did not consider the matter worthy of further discussion. (Spiker, 322). Carus was less matter-of-fact in relating his impressions of Gretna, nearly thirty years later; as he leaves Carlisle he leads up to a climax:

Der Himmel war grau, die Gegend wurde öder und öder, nahe am Flusse Esk, über den eine lange Brücke mit Eisengeländer führt, kommt man an Schottlands Gränze und die erste Station auf schottischen Boden ist das bekannte Gretna_green - der ersehnte Hafen für so manche drängende Leidenschaft! -

(Carus, ii, 179)

Having described the house where the ceremonies are performed - with its grey slate roof, white paint, green lawn and surrounding trees "ganz einladend" - Carus goes on to describe the book in which the couples sign their names. He notes that one of the most recent and prominent names had been that of the Prince of Capua, "der sich, wie sonst noch ein paarmal, so auch hier wieder hatte trauen lassen, um den vielfältig angefochtenen Bund auf alle Weise zu kräftigen" (*ibid.*, 180). Carus remarks on the peculiarity of the Scots marriage laws, noting that there have been recent moves to change them: "Neue Gesetze schreiten indess sehr gegen diese abenteuerlichen Verbindungen ein, und bald wird die Romantik wie so vieler andern, so auch dieser Motive entbehren" (*ibid.*). The fact that the marriages were no longer held in the smithy but in the building where horses were changed also appears to have detracted from the romance in Carus' view. In 1851 Förster was to report that the blacksmith did still perform the ceremonies, but only for those of the lower classes, while "Gentlemen mit entführten Brauten" availed themselves of the services of the landlord at the inn. Instead of musing on the imagery of forging links, as Schopenhauer had done, Förster points out that the rôle fell to the blacksmith simply because the smithy was situated nearest to the English border. He holds few romantic illusions concerning "das für uns unerklärliche Privilegium eines Grob- und Hufschmieds, unauflöslche eheliche Bande um Herzen zu legen", and comments, "Alles Romantische bedarf zu ausreichender Wirkung der Ferne, wie auch die Berge in der Nähe nicht mehr blau sind. Der Schmied von Gretnagreen macht keine Ausnahme" (Förster, 348).

Wichmann, in Scotland at the same time, feels he cannot leave

Scotland without having visited "diesen berühmten Ort für bedrängte Heirathslustige". He even leaves the train one station too soon, "um mit aller Seelenruhe nach dem Dörfchen hinzupilgern, und mir die umlegende Gegend genauer anzusehen" (Wichmann, 87). By 1852 the locals were evidently taking full advantage of the fame of their village; both Wichmann and his hosts were in suitably high spirits:

Nach kurzer Zeit erreichte ich denn auch das kleine Grenzflüsschen, an dem Gretnagreen im saftigen Grün ganz einladend liegt, und zog ganz heiter in's Wirthshaus daselbst ein, wo ich mich vortrefflich erquickte und dabei von dem biedern Wirthe und seiner wackern Ehehälfte manche rührende Entführungsgeschichte zu hören bekam. (ibid., 88)

Having shown him the house of the famous blacksmith, the landlord and lady divulge "im Vertrauen" that others too had performed the desired duties when called upon, at which Wichmann is forced to conclude,

doch wenn man, wie ich, nicht an der Seite eines schönen Flüchtlings hier ankommt, um die aufopfernde Dienste dieser Braven in Anspruch zu nehmen, so verliert die Sache eigentlich ihren grössten Reiz. (ibid.)

Despite Wichmann's playful attitude, visitors of the 1850's had to recognise that the romance of Gretna Green marriages was a thing of the past. Of course it was more tempting to picture the romance when, like Carus, the traveller entered Scotland at Gretna, and it was certainly true that 'runaway' marriages were still occurring, yet it was old news by the mid-century and Gretna Green had become the historical site gaining the tourist attention one might otherwise have expected to be paid to the nearby site of the Battle of Solway Moss.

Ullrich's reaction well illustrates this change. He entered Scotland from Carlisle, but from the outset he makes it clear that he is dealing with history, describing crossing the border "an einer Stelle von hoher Berühmtheit in vergangenen Zeiten, bei Gretna Green". He finds himself having to come to terms with correlating the past and the present, dream and reality. The resulting passage is interesting as evidence of Ullrich's timely realisation that the past cannot be recreated and that its romantic associations, which he himself so enjoys, must remain a thing of the mind. He begins with the romantic

past and allows himself to be brought back to the prosaic present:

Wer kennt den Namen dieses Ortes nicht aus Dutzenden englischer Romane und Erzählungen. Wer weiss nicht, dass der Schmied von Gretna Green die seltsame Befugniss hatte, Trauungen zu vollziehen. Wenn sich ehemals in England Eltern oder Angehörige einer ehelichen Verbindung widersetzen, so war bald Rath geschafft. Der muthige Kavalier entführte die ihm verweigerte Braut, die Liebenden flohen heimlich mit der raschesten Gelegenheit nach der Grenze, nach Gretna Green; die wüthenden Verfolger stürzten ihnen nach, es entwickelte sich zwischen den feindlichen Parteien ein unvergleichliches Steeple-Chase! Aber in der Regel siegten die Verfolgten, und ehe es sich verhindern liess, hatte der Mann des Ambosses und des wuchtigen Hammers schon die zärtlichsten Bunde, vulgo "Rosenketten" genannt, geschmiedet. Kann man eine romantischere Improvisation des Ehestandes träumen? Und welcher Reiz musste besonders für die weibliche Welt in einem Erlebniss liegen, bei dem eine Entführung die Hauptrolle spielte. Entführung! - klingt das Wort vor den Ohren der Damen nicht wie ein Akkord der Sphärenmusik in unserer prosaischen Zeit? - Sofort ist auch die Phantasie des Reisenden beschäftigt, sich Gretna Green in der Vorstellung mit einer Romantik der Landschaft und Natur auszumalen, wie sie etwa der Romantik der Thatsachen von ehemals würdig wäre. Leider jedoch greift die Phantasie diesmal, wie so oft bei ähnlichen Gelegenheiten, in den unrichten Farbentopf. Die Lokomotive pfeift, der Zug beginnt anzuhalten, der Schaffner ruft den Stationsnamen in die Waggon, man schaut sich um, und sieht zu seiner Verwunderung, dass das wirkliche Gretna Green ganz und gar nichts mit Romantik zu schaffen hat.

(Ullrich, 325f.)

There are many such instances when Ullrich, like Fontane the following year, was well able to keep his vision in perspective. While he may well have wanted to experience only the romantic, he was not blind to the prosaic; both he and Fontane thoroughly enjoy indulging in romantic association, but they are also careful to ensure that they bring their readers back to earth.

It is not only the station at Gretna which disappoints Ullrich; he finds the village's surroundings unremarkable and flat, with only "eine gewisse Heiterkeit" to recommend them, which he qualifies pointedly as "eine vielleicht grössere Heiterkeit, als sie sich mitunter später in dem Bunde derer bewähren mochte, die hier in bedenklicher

Eile zusammengeschmiedet wurden." "There is no nucleus to the village and the handsome pink stone house owned by the Murray family, descendants of the blacksmiths, loses any potential romance when one sees the inn sign hanging outside it. Having set out with romantic enthusiasm, Ullrich has changed his tune: "An Amors Stelle hat Bacchus das leere Nest occupirt; ein Schelm, wie der andere" (ibid., 326).

Ullrich had come a long way from Arnim's depiction of Gretna at the turn of the century. Gretna Green, which to the earlier visitors had been a site of current and topical interest, had become an historical site by the 1850's. The fact that, despite this, the marriages took place throughout the period of study places Gretna Green as a tourist site in a class of its own. It could be seen variously as both modern and historical, prosaic and romantic. Löwenthal's comment of 1822 can thus be taken both literally and figuratively: "Man wird gestehen müssen, dass solch ein Gretna-Green keine geringe Bequemlichkeit ist" (Löwenthal, 82).

a) The Scottish Character and Physique

An dem Charakter der Engländer sind vorzüglich drei tadelnswürdige Seiten bemerkt worden: eine zurückstossende Kälte, ein übertriebener Nationalstolz und ein ungerechter Hass gegen Fremde.

(Goede, ii, 278)

Such perfunctory remarks drop fairly frequently from the pens of the 19th Century German visitors to Britain. The European travellers of the 18th Century had instilled in their successors the stereotype character portrayals of John Bull, but the question of the Scottish character had been left surprisingly open. To visit Scotland was still a relatively novel venture and thus the visitors were often prepared to find something new in the Scottish character. To these people "British" seems to mean "English", while "Scottish", "Welsh" and "Irish" have different definitions. Kohl, in his three volume work, Land und Leute der Britischen Inseln, of 1844, goes into the Irish, Scots and Welsh character in great detail, presupposing in his readers a knowledge of the English character, against which the former can then be juxtaposed. — (although the common German belief that the English had no national character should also be noted here).¹ In order to define the character of the Scots, Kohl traces the history of the different settlers in the country, the Picts and Scots, the Romans, Scandinavians, Angles and Saxons. The aboriginal Celtic people, banished to the Highlands, had little effect on the country's historical development; they could thus conveniently be dismissed, when it came to a survey of the country and its people! :

Die Hauptgeschichte des Landes drehte sich um den Germanischen Volksstamm in den Lowlands, und wenn wir daher von dem schottischen Volke und von dem schottischen Nationalcharakter reden, so meinen wir damit vornehmlich das Volk und den Charakter dieser prädominirenden Schotten der Niederlande.

(Kohl, G.B., i, 239)

Despite the Union with England, Kohl recognises that the Scots retained many traits of character peculiar to themselves, as well as some peculiarities of language and custom. If such a phenomenon as national character does exist, then Kohl sees the study of it as a serious and worthwhile exercise,

... jene National-Psyche aus dem Verborgenen herauszumeisseln und in einer schönen, wohlproportionirten und ähnliche Statue vor die Augen hinstellen, ist . . . sicherlich eine der höchsten und schönsten Aufgaben, die sich ein denkender Philosoph oder geschichtschreibender Menschenkenner stellen kann.

(ibid., 243)

As just such a "Menschenkenner", Kohl devotes fifty-three pages to the intricacies of the Scottish character, subdividing his characterisation under the headings, "List und Rührigkeit", "Clanischer Geist", "Lieblingsbeschäftigungen", "Schottische Gesellschaft", "Spott- und Liebesnamen", "Poesie und Prosa" and "Irland und Schottland". Admitting the dangers of adhering to preconceived notions of national character, Kohl nonetheless sees no harm in starting out with the widespread English suspicion of the Scots as "the calculating Scots", or "the crafty Scotch", adding: "Ich glaube, es giebt kein Volk, das so reich an energischen Sparsamskeits- und Vorsichtigkeits-Sprüchwörtern ist als die Schotten" (ibid., 251), of which he gives the example, "Of [give?] a little take a little". Indeed, Kohl found a suitable Scots saying for many other Scottish characteristics; they are content with little - "Better a little fire that warms, nor a meikle that burns" - and with the best that is available - "If it can be naw better, it is weel, if it is nae waur" (a saying that Kohl considers worthy of translation into all languages) - and, above all, he sees much to back up the English view that "The Scotch are rather a cautious people" and quotes several adages to support this, remarking, "Ich kann nicht sagen, wieviele Figuren vorsichtiger und kluger Schotten mir bei allen diesen Sprüchwörtern wieder in den Sinn kommen" (ibid., 252 f.). Finally he quotes the saying, "The Englishman weeps, the Irishman sleeps, but the Scotchman goes while he gets it", to back up remarks he has already made on the difference in character between the Scots, Irish and English. It is this aspect, "Die ausserordentliche Vorsicht des Schotten, seine grosse Sparsamkeit, seine schlaue und kluge Weise, mit der er einen Vortheil zu machen und zum Ziele seiner Wünsche zu gelangen versteht" (ibid., 253), which he sees as not only foremost but also admirable in the Scottish character. He cannot understand why the English attack the Scots for being astute and therefore successful businessmen.

He supposes that this trait stems from the grasping, desperate times of the Border raids, and he describes it, quoting numerous clan and family mottos, as "etwas ausserordentlich Habsüchtiges und Festhaltiges, das tief in der schottischen Natur begründet liegt und welches die Engländer nicht in dem Grade, die Irländer aber gar nicht besitzen" (ibid., 255).

He moves from "List und Rührigkeit" to "Clanischer Geist". The latter is also something for which the English frequently reproach the Scots. Kohl sees the former as stemming from the Germanic tribes who went to make up the Scottish people, the latter, however, as being a Celtic trait. He quotes an English writer as having said that the "clanish [sic] spirit" of the Scots is the cause of the lack of any proper society in Edinburgh; though one may move in very pleasant social circles there, one can never escape the clannish cliques. Kohl himself finds this "clanish spirit" everywhere he goes in Scotland. A Scotsman's clan is supremely important to him and he is acutely aware of his ancestors and relatives. This clan spirit once pervaded Scotland and divided the country "wie die zwölf Stämme Israels" (ibid., 257). These remarks can be directly compared with Fontane's explication of the death of the clan spirit ("der Clangeist ist hin ...") in "Das schottische Hochland und seine Bewohner" (Fontane, 401ff.).

Kohl goes on to report that all the Celtic people, the Irish, the Welsh and the Scottish Highlanders have certain characteristics in common and one of these is their love of children. The family is a far more important unit to the Celts than to the rest of the British and from this stems what the English call "the organ of veneration":

Daher ihre Neigung zu patriarchalischer Verfassung,
ihre Anhänglichkeit an das Oberhaupt des Stammes,
daher ihr clanischer Geist und aus derselben Quelle
auch die zum Sprüchwort gewordene Liebe der Celten,
der Iren sowohl als der schottischen Hochländer, für
alte Abkunft und lange Stammbäume.

(Kohl, GB, 1, 258)

In order to satisfy this Celtic mania, the historians of these peoples have invented scores of fabulous kings, whose genealogies vie with those of the Old Testament. Yet Kohl does concede that the Celtic people are a far older race than the Germanic and hence their traditions, both factual and fabulous, go far further back into history

and pre-history.

Others too, comment on this genealogical mania of the Scots. On her 1803 tour of Highland huts on Loch Tay, Johanna Schopenhauer notes:

In jedem Hause beinah hängt der Stammbaum der Familie, auf welchen sie oft mit Stolz blicken; gewöhnlich ist ein horizontal liegender geharnischter Ritter darauf abgebildet; der oft den Namen irgend eines alten schottischen, der Fabel halb verfallenen Königs führt. Aus seiner Brust spriesst der Baum, der sich in unzählige Aeste verbreitet. Bekanntlich giebt's nur wenige, aber unendlich zahlreiche Familien in Schottland, deren Glieder alle einen Namen führen, im ganzen Königreiche, ja in der ganzen Welt sich ausbreiten, aber doch durch ein heiliges Band sich vereinigt fühlen und dies gewissenhaft anerkennen, wo sie sich treffen, wenn sie sich auch vorher nie sahen. (Schopenhauer, 317f.)

The Celtic family ties were to be felt keenly by Kohl as he travelled through the Highlands some forty years later. Even though the population of the Highlands is so small, he feels at once that he is amongst a different people:

So wie man in die Hochlande tritt, trifft man sofort auf einen anderen Menschenschlag, hört noch hier und da die celtische Sprache und sieht Leute, die nur erst angefangen haben, sich zu germanisiren oder zu anglisiren. Sofort gewahrt man im Lande den Schatten der alten Clans, hört von Chieftains sprechen und kommt in unbebaute und wilde Striche.

(Kohl, i, 209)

The importance attached to kith and kin is brought home to him even more when he visits the Stuart farms in the Trossachs. The farmers' laird is Francis Stuart, Lord Doune, and it is impressed on Kohl by his hosts that he is known amongst the locals by his more important title, Earl of Moray. Moreover, the Earls of Moray must not be confused with the Murrays, who are of a different clan, nor must they be confused with the Irish Lords Down. Kohl is told that the Earls of Moray are the richest and most distinguished of all the Stuarts, of whom there are many, let alone those who spell their name Stewart. As he remarks, "Diese Bauern wissen sehr genau um die Titel ihrer Herren Bescheid. Ein Fremder begeht immer Fehler darin." (ibid., 107). It is greatly to his credit that he tries, however

haltingly, to comprehend the intricacies of Highland clanship.² And he enters into the spirit of it all, when, soon after the first dram has been handed round, he is asked the inevitable question: which country does he come from and which clan does he belong to? He answers diplomatically that his clan is neither as important nor as royal as theirs and that he is a "Garamaltjach" [i.e. Gaelic corruption of "German".] His hosts are not ignorant of Germany, nor is Kohl surprised at this.³ He quotes Dr. Johnson and other travellers as having been astonished at the education and knowledge of the Scots, for all that they live in a country bedevilled by poverty and past wars. These opinions hold good for travellers of his own time, too. Kohl's farming companions are good conversationalists and well-read; Mr. Stuart senior even has his own library. This will to learn and desire for betterment, where one would least expect it, is to Kohl a typical feature of the Scottish character.

More often than not this desire for improvement in living and learning conditions outweighs the insular nature of clan life. For the Scots also possess an inner drive which impels them to travel abroad, an unrivalled "Wandertrieb". Under his heading, "Lieblingsbeschäftigungen", Kohl lists this as foremost. It is a deep rooted characteristic and, again according to Johnson, it is a case of the grass being greener on the other side of the fence. The phenomenon is accompanied, however, by a paradox; emigrated Scots are to be found all over the world, and yet, however successful and settled, they suffer deeply from homesickness. In this they are matched only by the Swiss. The ties of clan and country can never be broken.

Kohl reports that at the time of writing, in the 1840's, more Scots were to be found in England than previously, where they were especially successful in business, commerce and medicine. Scots were also to be found throughout England working as gardeners and bakers, and Kohl states the general English opinion that the Scots strive only after the second place. He himself does not necessarily agree with this, however, and suspects it to have been formulated with regard to very great men of letters and statesmen only, (ibid., GB i, 264 ff.) He writes, too, that most of the British in the Colonies are Scots, a frequent source of complaint to the English - the Scots

monopolise all career prospects in the British Colonies, especially in India:

Ich habe viele Engländer klagen hören, dass in Madras und Bombay kein Engländer gegen die Schotten aufkommen kann. Der clanische Geist der Nation hilft ihnen dabei. Hat ein Schotte erst ein Mal irgendwo festen Fuss gefasst und Halt gewonnen, so holt er dann auch seine Freunde, seine Verwandten und seine "clan's men" herüber.

(ibid., 264)

At the turn of the century Nemnich had emphasised that it is above all the Scots' commercial talents which take them abroad. As a commercial traveller, he frequently met those who did trade with European and other foreign ports, and, while he states that the British are extremely intolerant of foreigners, especially those trying to set up a business enterprise in Britain, he does concede to the Scots a liberal outlook if they have travelled abroad (Nemnich, 530). While in Edinburgh he was looked after by a Mr. Robert Jamieson:

In seinem Hause, das ich fleissig besuchte, überzeugte ich mich von der Wahrheit, dass Schotländer, wenn sie fremde Länder bereist haben, die artigsten und liberalsten Menschen sind, und einen reichen Vorrath von feineren Kenntnissen besitzen. Mr. Jamieson hatte sich, mit seiner Gattin, eine Zeitlang in Frankreich und anderen Ländern aufgehalten. Wir haben, sagten sie, und so sagen die meisten Briten in demselben Falle, viele Höflichkeiten im Auslande erfahren; nun macht es uns die aufrichtigste Freude, wenn sich uns eine Gelegenheit darbietet, uns dafür einem Fremden einigermaßen erkenntlich beweisen zu können.

(ibid., 500)

The key to such a reception was apparently the letter of introduction. Nemnich, having described how almost all those to whom he had letters of introduction were out of town, goes on to say:

Man verzeihe mir mein Plaudern. Ich wollte hauptsächlich, durch Beispiele, die Nothwendigkeit zeigen, sich, zumal wenn man im Sommer England bereiset, mit vielen Empfehlungs-Briefen zu versehen. Die obigen Fälle betreffen lediglich die Abwesenheit, und den Geschäftszwang, den man nirgends in einem so hohen Grade, als im britischen Reiche, findet. Zuweilen hat man auch

Briefe an unwissende oder eigensinnige Fabrikbesitzer, an mürrische, eiskalte, kurzangebundene, geldstolze Handelsleute, abzugeben, in welchen Fällen nichts Tröstlicheres gedacht werden kann, als mehrere Briefe im Hinterhalt zu besitzen.

(ibid.)

Nemnich may be forgiven his "Plaudern"! It is one of the very few instances in his lengthy, factual, commercial report, where he displays personal emotion.

When it came to praise of the Scottish character, none showed greater emotion than Meissner on his 1817 visit. As a Scotophile, he could find very little wrong either in Scotland or in the Scottish character. He had travelled in Italy and found it a country of great natural beauty, yet marred by the character of its modern-day inhabitants:

Wie so anders ist es in Schottland, das gleich anziehend durch seine Bewohner wie durch seinen Boden ist. Dieses ist für den Fremden um so mehr der Fall, der aus England dahin kömmt, der oft durch englische Kälte zurückgestossen wurde, und der mit Erstaunen fand, dass das freieste Volk der Erde durch die Fesseln, die es sich durch das Wort fashion (Mode) selbst auflegte, das am wenigsten freie, und das vorurtheilvollste unter allen ist. Obgleich Schottland mit jedem Jahre mehr von England amalgamirt wird, schottische Sitten und Gebräuche immer mehr durch englischen Zwang und Luxus verwischt werden, so machen doch noch stets der poetische Sinn im allgemeinen und die Achtung ihrer selbst als Nation, ihre wahre Religiosität, wenn auch unter herber, kalvinistischer Form, ihr offener Charakter, aus dem alles Falsche verbannt ist, und ihre Gastfreiheit die Grundzüge dieser wackern Nation aus. Ist dieses der Fall mit den Lowlands ... auf welchem die Vereinigung mit England am meisten durch Einführung des Luxus und Vervollkommnung von Fabriken und Manufakturen gewirkt hat, um wie viel mehr findet es in den Highlands ... statt, dessen Bewohner stets durch das stolze Gefühl ihrer unvermischten Celtischen Abkunft, durch ihre Sprache, ihre Lebensart, ihre Clans und so viele andere Ursachen vor dem fremden Einfluss geschützt waren, und sich zum Theil noch jetzt nicht haben irre führen lassen.
(Meissner, 203f.)

Not all the German visitors were as enthusiastically pro-Scottish as Meissner, but most were impressed by the Scottish hospitality, of which Otto was to write in 1822:

Diese kennt keine Gränzen; nicht genug, dass der

Fremde einmal nach dem anderen von denjenigen eingeladen wird, denen er empfohlen ist; sobald man nur irgendjemandem vorgestellt worden ist, oder einige Worte mit ihm gesprochen, oder mit einer Dame getanzt hat, wird man darauf zu dem ersten Gastmahle eingeladen und sehr freundschaftlich aufgenommen.

(Otto, 302)

Johanna Schopenhauer, too had praised the Scottish geniality ⁴ and had also given a further assessment of the Scottish character: "Frömmigkeit, Ehrlichkeit, Arbeitsamkeit ist der Charakter des Volks im Allgemeinen, dazu eine ungemessene Liebe zu ihrem Lande, zu ihrer vaterländischen Literatur" (Schopenhauer, 283). Indeed these, and the characteristics discussed at length by Kohl, are those to which the other German visitors also most frequently refer, namely the Celtic origins and clannish spirit, calculating business enterprise, thrift, industry, hospitality and a restless urge to travel despite ardent patriotism.

Even as a prisoner-of-war Holzenthal received hospitality from the Scots, although the conditions under which he was billeted also revealed some of the more petty sides to the Scottish character; he resented having to account for every penny, having to report in at strictly set hours and not being allowed to stray off the main road or further afield than one mile, at the penalty of a one guinea fine. Each officer was awarded 1/6d. per day for his upkeep, which Holzenthal found insufficient in times of high prices for all daily needs, "und in dieser Hinsicht stimmt sie [i.e. the daily allowance] ganz und gar nicht mit dem englischen Character überein; wie man albern genug sich in Deutschland ihn vorstellt" (Holzenthal, 207). Nonetheless Holzenthal's depiction of the Scottish character is predominantly complimentary. As he is marched through the streets of Edinburgh on the road to Hawick, he is amused by the curiosity of the church-goers, in particular the women-folk (*ibid.*, 202). Yet curiosity was not the only trait of which he was to become aware during his two years in Scotland; perhaps unusually receptive in his vulnerable position as prisoner-of-war, he gives a full account of the Scottish character, as he experienced it:

Theilnahme und sorgloses Zutrauen sind die hervorstechendsten Characterzüge der Schottländer, vorzüglich der Landbewohner. - Wie viele Theilnahme und wie vieles Mitleiden erfuhren wir nicht, da wir abgerissen und ausgemergelt, in diese Stadt einzogen. - Noch völlig

unbekannt mit unserer Lage und unseren Verhältnissen im Vaterlande, ob wir von dort aus Unterstützung zu hoffen hatten oder nicht, fehlte es dennoch keinem von uns an edelmüthigen Anerbietungen von Unterstützungen.

Nicht weniger rühmlich ist die Gastfreundschaft, die man vorzüglich auf dem Lande anzutreffen pflegt, und deren so mancher von uns sich zu erfreuen gehabt hat. Es ist ein leichtes, sich mit einem Schottländer bekannt zu machen, und eben so gewiss ist es, dass dann eine herzliche Einladung zum Besuch erfolgt.

Ein eben so hervorstechender Zug in dem Character der Schotten ist eine ausserordentliche Neugierde. Kaum erscheint ein Fremder, so drängt sich jeder zu ihm, um zu erfahren, wer er sey, woher er komme, wohin er gehe, wie es um seine Geschäfte stehe u. dgl.; ich muss gestehen, dass mir anfänglich diese anscheinende Zudringlichkeit, die aber einzig hier dem offenen theilnehmenden Herzen zuzuschreiben ist, etwas sonderbar vorkam. Kaum waren wir zwei Tage hier, als wir schon von einem oder dem andern besucht, ohne Umstände zu einer Bottle Porter oder Ale, womit die Schotten, beiläufig gesagt, gleich anzukommen pflegen, eingeladen oder so zu sagen mitgezogen wurden, worauf denn mit der grössten Treuherzigkeit nach unsern Familienverhältnissen geforscht wurde, wogegen sie denn auch keinen Anstand nahmen, uns die ihrigen mitzutheilen.

(Holzenthal, 215f.)

Nemnich, too, came into contact with the Southern Scots. In Peeblesshire he found the locals open to change and was altogether impressed by the strength of character of the farmers in the south of the country (Nemnich, 508 & 487f.). Both he and Meidinger pass frequent judgement on the character of the people in the various towns and regions they describe. A typical example comes from Meidinger: "Das Städtchen Dunbarton; 2600 Einwohner, auf dem rechten Ufer der Clyde, hat eine angenehme Lage, und kräftige, muntere Bewohner. Die Gesichtsbildungen verrathen meistens einen südlichen Ursprung, bräunliche Farbe, dunkle Haare, und grosse Lebhaftigkeit in allen Bewegungen" (Meidinger, Briefe, 163). Similarly he pronounces the people of Aberdeen to be poor but healthy, those of Thurso to be small "und ruhiger, friedlicher Natur" and the lower classes in Orkney as "arm und abergläubig, aber kühn und unternehmend, und als gute Matrosen bekannt" (ibid., Reisen, 58, 72 & 75), while of north Perthshire he writes:

Zwischen Dunkeld und Blair findet man einen gesunden und muntern Schlag Menschen, und viel Wohlstand. Ueberhaupt bewegt sich alles rascher, munterer und zwangloser in Schottland als in England. Das Volk kennt den Luxus und die Bequemlichkeit noch nicht, hat im Ganzen wenig Bedürfnisse und befriedigt sich leicht. (ibid., 50)

In this last opinion Meidinger contradicts the views of the majority of his compatriots, who would have agreed that life in the Highlands was backward, but not necessarily "rascher, munterer und zwangloser". As regards Scottish hospitality, however, Meidinger's views echo those of most visitors; he writes:

Die Gastfreundschaft, Geselligkeit und Bildung der Schotten ist bekannt. Sie sind herzlicher und vielseitiger wie die Engländer, und wissen das Gute von andern Völkern stets nach Verdienste zu schätzen. Auch sind sie besonders in der Kenntniss der fremden Rechte weit erfahrener wie ihre Nachbarn. Schottland wie Deutschland hat seit einigen Jahrzehenden in der allgemeinen Bildung ungeheuere Fortschritte gemacht, und beide Länder müssen bei steigender Kultur nothwendig immer mehr zunehmen und gedeihen. Mit Vergnügen erwähne ich des herzlichen Empfangs in der Familie des würdigen alten Advokaten F., der mir nach Durchlesung meines Empfehlungsschreibens traulich die Hand schüttelte, mit den Worten: Welcome in Caledonia, Sir! (Willkommen in unserm Caledonien!) - In der lebenswürdigen Familie dieses Mannes habe ich mehrere angenehme Abende verlebt.

(ibid., Briefe, 151)

Otto, however, feels he cannot give the Scots unqualified praise at the expense of the English. From Edinburgh he writes:

Die Gastfreiheit der Schotten wird allgemein gerühmt; ich bin mit entgegenkommender Höflichkeit aufgenommen worden, und werde alle Tage in Gesellschaften eingeladen; in London habe ich aber die herzlichste Gastfreiheit in einem so hohen Grade gefunden, dass ich Edinburgh in dieser Hinsicht den Vorzug vor London durchaus nicht einräume.

(Otto, 294)

Nevertheless he finds that the people of Edinburgh, like all small town dwellers, are very polite and go out of their way to assist strangers. He tells how he had one day been writing down the inscription from the Nelson Monument on Calton Hill when a complete stranger, who had noticed him from a top floor window of a nearby house, came down and handed him a printed copy of the text as a gift. He tells a further story

concerning two Englishmen of his acquaintance who had been offered an umbrella by a lady who had happened to notice them sheltering from the rain (ibid.). Otto goes on to state that while the lower classes are undoubtedly better educated in Scotland than in England, he is certain that where "wahre wissenschaftliche Cultur" is concerned, the English surpass the Scots. As for Scottish nationalism, he feels sure it will soon come to an end as the two countries grow ever closer together; only in the Highlands, where dress and language truly distinguish the people from the English, do they differ to any extent. Yet, like Schopenhauer, Otto appreciates the Scots' nostalgic pride in their past:

Dass die Schotten der Zeiten ihrer Unabhängigkeit noch immer gerne gedenken, ist natürlich, aber die Vereinigung beider Reiche war in der Natur gegründet, und die Grundzüge des Charakters beider Nationen, Redlichkeit, Treue, geistreiches Streben nach wissenschaftlicher Bildung, sind dieselben; wie der Engländer, ist auch der Schotte ein unermüdeter Forscher der Wahrheit und ein treuer Freund. (ibid., 295)

Goede makes no distinction between the Scots and English in his discussion of the British character (Goede, i, chs. 4 & 5, & ii, chs. 12-15) and this was apparently the stance that Hallberg-Broich was to take in 1839 in his many comments concerning the cold, pedantic, unfriendly but polite British (Hallberg-Broich, e.g., 9, 12, 60). The British, he announces, are slow in everything they do, with three exceptions, riding, driving and counting money! (ibid., 61f.). Two years later, in 1841, Marx was careful to distinguish between the Scots and the English. Of the many people whom he meets in London, the Scots are without exception fine people; he realises that this may have been coincidence, but he also admires the way in which these 'exiled' Scots support each other. He writes:

Du glaubst nicht, welch ein Vergnügen es ist, mit Schotten und Schottinnen über ernsthafte oder gleichgültige Dinge zu verkehren. Sie sind einfach, treuherzig und gebildet. So viele ich auch bis jetzt kennen gelernt habe: der günstige Eindruck, den sie mir gleich anfangs erweckte, ist nicht verringert worden; im Gegentheil, er hat sich immer mehr gesteigert. (Marx, 280)

This high opinion is accentuated by the poor impression made on him by the Americans whom he meets in Britain, for whom he has little sympathy.

Whereas Holzenthal had encountered curiosity in the Borders, Hailbronner met with diffidence in the Highlands. He recognises the reasons for this, however. Having praised communications on the main travel routes, he writes:

Wie der Reisende aber diese Bahnen verlässt, erregt er schon Befremden; er stösst auf die Scheu, welche das Ungewöhnliche dem rohen Menschen einzuflössen pflegt, allein er findet gute und gastfreundschaftliche Leute, mit denen es einem sehr schwer fällt, sich verständlich zu machen, wesshalb auch die Engländer selbst nicht gern ins Innere des Landes dringen.

(Hailbronner, 312f.)

The language barrier distanced the people of the Highlands inevitably and it is hardly surprising that travellers such as Brandes should have found the children in the blackhouses of the Trossachs unusually shy (Brandes, 29). The Highlanders only became less remote for those with invitations; Köstlin, for instance, writes of the hospitality he receives from fellow ministers throughout his Highland tour (Köstlin, 129). As students, both Köstlin and Wichmann received many invitations while in Edinburgh. Both had known Scots students in Germany, and Wichmann writes of the value of these connections, through which he enjoyed introductions to a great variety of native Scots, "die es mir als Fremden ungewöhnlich leicht machten, in kurzer Zeit eine ausgebreitete Bekanntschaft zu gewinnen, die mir meine Beobachtungen bedeutend erleichtern half" (Wichmann, 7). Later, describing his reception in Argyll, he emphasises the extent of the hospitality he received: "Mein Empfang von dem Oberhaupte der Familie war nach echter schottischer Sitte einfach und herzlich. 'Sir, here is my wife and my family, you are welcome.'" (ibid., 23).

In 1852 Ziegler was impressed with the character of the Orcadians, "arme, schlichte, redliche und fromme Menschen" (Ziegler, Bilder, 170). To stress their keen sense of morality he reports that in the past three years there had not been one single illegitimate birth on the island of Shapinsay. He enlarges on the Orcadian character in his later work, writing of the people:

Sie sind gutmüthig, gefällig und sehen den Fremden treuherzig mit ihren grossen blauen Augen an, welche letzteren insbesondere die hübschen blonden Mädchenköpfe

zieren, die neugierigen Blickes aus den Fenstern lauschen, bei schärferer Beobachtung hurtig verschwinden, um wo möglich noch eiliger wieder zu erscheinen. Ländlich, sittlich, aber alles im Ehren. Im Uebrigen ist der Menschenschlag ein sehr kräftiger, und an Kälte, Wind, Regen, Hunger und Entbehrung gewöhnt. Sitten und Gebräuche sind einfach, die Kleidung schlecht und Nahrung ärmlich. (ibid., Reise, 198)

Later Ziegler writes of the Orcadians' longevity and goes into their Viking background (ibid., 271ff.). He considers the Shetlanders hardy, strong and phlegmatic, with a deep love of their home, to which they will always return (ibid., 297). They are also superstitious (ibid., 299) but, above all, "ihre Armuth ist eben so gross wie ihre Gastfreundschaft und ihr ehrenwerther Charakter" (ibid., 297).

Ullrich, though he finds their country beautiful, has little to say of the Scots beyond remarking on the drunkenness of the people of Edinburgh (Ullrich, 409) and the fact that the British, Scots included, provide the traveller with poor company (ibid., 343f.). When he does allude to the contrast between the people of the North and South, it is with reference to Northern and Southern Europe rather than Scotland and England (ibid., 338f.). Others were far more charitable in their remarks on the people of Edinburgh. As a city it pleased the travellers both architecturally and socially. It is natural to Kohl that, compared to Glasgow, Edinburgh, "als die Residenz alles ausgezeichneten und glänzenden des Landes" (Kohl, i, 27), should be visited far more frequently by foreigners. As to the people, Nemnich (though here he is dealing only with those with whom he was directly concerned, namely the trades- and businessmen) also sees Edinburgh in a slightly more favourable light. Of the typical Glasgow tradesman he says that he is "zwar unternehmend aber vorsichtig. Er vollzieht die Ordres mit Pünktlichkeit; dagegen soll er misstrauisch und lange nicht so liberal, als der Engländer seyn" (Nemnich, 526), while his East coast and Edinburgh counterpart is quite simply "geschickt, fleissig, unternehmend und wohlhabend" (ibid., 492).

As "der eigentliche Sitz des Handels von Edinburg" (Nemnich, 493), Leith is to Nemnich of equal, if not greater importance than Edinburgh itself. At the time of his visit (1805-6) Leith was in its heyday and

many of those living and working there of great standing. Two other Edinburgh settlements were of considerable importance throughout the 19th century, Portobello, as a bathing and recreation centre for all classes, and the fishing port of Newhaven.

An important feature of Edinburgh life was the presence and matriarchal status of the Newhaven fishwives. In 1842, when Kohl was writing, Newhaven had about 1,000 inhabitants. The Newhaven people were unique; they had customs of their own, built their houses and dressed differently from those about them, and seldom married outside Newhaven itself; Nemnich had made similar remarks about the Fife fishing village of Buckhaven (Nemnich, 568). The Newhaven menfolk are always away at sea, fishing,

und daher mag es kommen, dass die Weiber bei ihnen auf dem Lande und im Hause das Regiment völlig in Händen haben. Diese Weiber sind in Edinburgh, wohin sie die Fische zu Markte führen, ihrer Stärke wegen geachtet und gefürchtet, und sie sind so sehr die Hauptpersonen in den Haushaltungen von Newhaven, dass, wenn z.B. eine sich verheirathet, die nicht rührig, thätig und kräftig genug zu sein scheint, die anderen Weiber darüber schreien und sprechen: "Was will die heirathen? Ist sie denn im Stande, dem Manne und der Familie Brod zu erwerben?"

(Kohl, i, 90f.)

Of Musselburgh, too, Kohl hears similar tales. Lewald was also to remark on the singularity of Newhaven and its people:

Newhaven, eine in früher Zeit gegründete, am Meere gelegene dänische Kolonie, ist durch das Wachsthum von Edinburg fast mit der Stadt zusammengeschmolzen. Dennoch haben ihre Bewohner sich von den Schotten gesondert erhalten. Sie heirathen nur unter einander und haben ihre Gebräuche und Sitten, wie ihre heimische Tracht zu wahren gewusst. Die Frauen sind gross, kräftig und oft sehr schön durch den Adel der Kopfbildung und des Profils.

(Lewald, ii, 236)

Even though Kohl states that the phrase "schottischer Nationalcharakter" refers to the Lowland character, it is without doubt the Highland character which fascinates the 19th Century European most. Kohl himself, in discussing the clan spirit, had gone into it in some detail. The majority of people in the Lowlands were town dwellers and town character, being outwardly more international, is generally less remarkable to the

short-term foreign visitor.

Both Carus and Kohl refer to French 18th Century notions of the Scottish people. Carus had been given to expect the character of the "sombre Écossais" (Carus, ii, 293) and associates this darker, more mysterious aspect of the Scots with contemplation and second sight, a view prevalent in the 18th Century, not only in France. He is drawn to make such remarks on visiting Macbeth's witches' heath by Inverness:

Übrigens ist gewiss dass man diese Gegenden mit ihrem meist trüben Himmel, ihrem eintönigen Grün, ihrer dunkeln Kieferwaldung, und dem eigenen blaulichen Dunst der so gewöhnlich darüber verbreitet ist, nicht betrachten kann, ohne zu erkennen wie dort in der Seele des Menschen mehr als anderwärts, jenes in sich Brüten und innerlich in seltsamen Gedanken und Gefühlen sich Umtreiben entstehen muss, welches bald in Sagen von Elfen und Hexen sich Luft macht, bald die sonderbaren Erscheinungen des zweiten Gesichts (second sight) hervorruft.
(ibid., 248)

Carus reports that second sight is most common in the Hebrides and especially on Skye, life on the islands being even more cut off from the rest of the world. On looking for Rob-Roy's grave in the churchyard at Balquhiddy, Kohl is reminded vividly of the 18th Century French opinion of "les sauvages de l'Écosse". He reflects that if the French judge the Highlanders by such things as the rough and ready gravestones in Balquhiddy, then they are justified in calling them savages, for the whole aspect of the area is unbelievably wild and desolate (Kohl, ii, 97).⁵ Wildness of character had been an attractive feature to Meissner twenty-five years earlier, in 1817. The phenomenon of second sight was of topical interest at that time and Meissner himself firmly believed in it. In defending the patriarchal clan system, he writes:

Aus diesem freiwilligen sich Unterordnen Viele[r] unter den Willen des Einzelnen entschwang die wilde Grösse, die das charakteristische der schottischen Geschichte ausmacht, so wie in ihrem Naturleben und ihrer allgemeinen Hingebung in die Einwirkungen einer grossen an geisterartigen Erscheinungen so reichen Natur der Grund ihres Wunderglaubens, und des durch unwiderlegbare Thatsachen bestätigtem Sehervermögens des

Einzelnen zu suchen ist.

(Meissner, 204, footnote)

The longevity of the Highlanders is frequently referred to throughout the century. The Schopenhauers come across an ancient Highlander in Dalmally. He claims he is 103 years old, while the locals reproach him for pretending to be younger than the 111 he actually is! To the cultivated Europeans' eyes he looks, at most, sixty years old. Three weeks before their arrival he had married a woman of forty and on his wedding day had not only performed a wee dance, but also played three tunes on the bagpipes, for even at his age he was still considered one of the top pipers in the area. Schopenhauer is very impressed with this almost legendary longevity:

Man stirbt beinahe gar nicht in diesem Lande, diese einfachen Menschen erreichen ein hohes, glückliches Alter. Mit sechzig Jahren dünken sie sich noch gar nicht alt, sie gehen bis an das, von der Natur ihnen vorgeschriebene Ziel, und nur mit dem letzten Tropfen Oel erlöscht still und fast unbemerkt das Lebenslicht.

(Schopenhauer, 327)

On the way to visit Kilravock and Cawdor, the King of Saxony's party stop at Culloden. It is nearly one hundred years since the battle, but even so, some of the locals are reputed to remember it:

Longävität ist in den Hochlanden häufig, und so leben wohl Manche im Volke, die sich dieser Schlacht noch erinnern. Noch gestern am letzten Theile des caledonischen Kanals machte man aufmerksam auf den Park und das Grabmonument eines kürzlich in Inverness verstorbenen Mr. Baily, welcher nach den Erinnerungen seines sechsten Jahres gern von dieser Schlacht zu erzählen pflegte, einer Begebenheit, welche, wie die ganze abenteuerliche Geschichte des Prätendenten, hier schon mit in den Sagenkreis des Volks eingegangen ist.

(Carus, ii, 248f.)

If we are to believe these two tales, then Carus' Mr. Baily, born in 1740, must have been 104 years old when he died and Schopenhauer's old Highlander in Dalmally, if 111 years old, must have been born in 1692, before even the Act of Union!

The German opinions of the physical appearance of the Scots were naturally coloured by their impressions of the national attire, but over and above this some do recognise a certain difference in character between the Northern and Southern Scots. From his own experience in the Borders Holzenthal knew only the Southern Scots at close hand, but he left a

vivid picture of their contrasting characteristics.

Sehr auffallend unterscheiden sich die Bewohner des südlichen Theils (Lowerlands) von denen der Hochlande in Gestalt, Physiognomie, Sprache, Sitten und Tracht. Die erstern sind durchgängig von grobem Knochenbau, mittlerer Grösse, blondem Haar und frischer blühender Gesichtsfarbe, und haben als etwas charakteristisches sehr hervorstehende Backenknochen; die Hochländer sind dagegen von dunklerer Gesichtsfarbe, schwarzen Haaren und Bart, lebhafterem Auge und beträchtlicherer Grösse. (Holzenthal, 213)

Unlike the Highlanders, the Lowlanders have bred with their southern Anglo-Saxon neighbours and have consequently lost much of their former identity. Wichmann also comments on this cross-breeding of the Highlanders and Lowlanders, which has affected both the physical features and character of the two peoples. Where they have not merged, however, they are distinctly different, the true Celts being small, with dark hair and eyes, "bei einer eher stumpfen Nase und sehr hitzigem Blut", while the Lowlanders are tall, slim, fair and blue-eyed, "bei hervorragender Adlernase, die sich besonders durch ihre Kaltblütigkeit auszeichnen" (Wichmann, 40f.). Hallberg-Broich, on the other hand, more than once notes the Germanic origin of the Scots, basing this on their fair or red hair (Hallberg-Broich, e.g., 61 & 70). Conflicting opinions are common on such matters and consequently no overall mutual view of the Scottish character or physique emerges. Only certain casual personal observations - such as Mendelssohn's recognition of Highlanders from their distinctive odour (Mendelssohn, Hensel, 260), or Hallberg-Broich's firm opinions on the strength of the Shetland men and ugliness of the women (Hallberg-Broich, 74 & 81) - leave any lasting impression on the reader. Hallberg's observations on Celtic hair colouring are enlarged upon by Kohl. While commenting on the epithets given by the Highlanders to their heroes, Kohl cites three important examples of these warriors being named after the colour of their hair, which was thus obviously a matter of great importance to them. Rob-Roy was "Red Robert", Roderic Dhu "Black Roderick" and, to a German, most significant of all, Fingal was "the fairhaired one". There is no doubt at all in the mind of Kohl's guide that Fingal was fair - he states it with as much conviction as if he had seen it himself (Kohl, ii, 87). This leads Kohl on to comment that the Irish also set store by fair hair;

even if it is not etymologically correct that "Fin" [ie. Fionn] means fair, ^{to his mind} then/it still goes to prove that the Scots would not have their folk here any other way than fairhaired.

The Scottish women are almost inevitably compared to the English. Otto finds the Scots belles, even though mostly blonde, considerably less good-looking (and less accomplished) than the English ladies. He does not even find them pretty: "ihren Gesichtszügen fehlt der seelenvolle Ausdruck, der die jungen Schönen in London so vorzüglich auszeichnet" (Otto, ii, 295). Schopenhauer also compares the English and Scottish women, and like Otto, to the detriment of the latter. But there is a difference, in that they do not compare favourably only because of their inferior dress: "Die Schottländerinnen stehen im Ganzen in Hinsicht auf Schönheit nicht hinter den Engländerinnen zurück. Sie übertreffen sie vielleicht ..." (Schopenhauer, 301). Like so many others before and after her, Johanna cannot forgive the Scottish women their bare feet:

Schuhe und Strümpfe, ohne welche man in England keinen Bettler erblickt, sind hier schon hoher Luxus. Die arbeitende Klasse und der grösste Theil der Kinder, selbst wohlhabender Aeltern, laufen Sommer und Winter barfuss umher, vielleicht geschieht dies fast eben so oft aus Gewohnheit, als aus Armuth; aber es fällt sehr auf, wenn man aus England kommt, wo dergleichen unerhört ist. (ibid., 272)

Nonetheless, on entering Scotland, Schopenhauer had been favourably impressed by the character of the Scots as compared to the English: "freundliches, gutmüthiges Zuvorkommen, Treuherzigkeit, verbunden mit grosser, aber fröhlicher Armuth, erinnerte uns immer an die Bewohner teutscher Gebirge" (ibid.). Some fifty years later, in 1851, Förster would view the Scots less romantically, writing of the Edinburgh people: "Das Geschlecht ist schon von Wuchs, Gang und Haltung, besonders das Weibliche, selbst das nichtsnutzige, das hier mit erschreckender Ungebundenheit sein Wesen treibt" (Förster, 315). / As a doctor, Carus' eye was focussed differently. He came to Scotland full of the phrenological theories of the 19th Century. Edinburgh had some years before his visit formed its own phrenological society, and Carus, in the company of Dr. Goodsir,⁶ made a point of visiting the society's collection (Carus, ii, 314ff.). The society had obviously seen better days, for they

found its collection down a dark close and under the protection of an unlikely custodian, an old woman. Despite this, the collection contained some objects of interest to Carus and he ordered some plaster casts to be made and sent on to him. In keeping with these interests, he saw physical build as indicative of character. Having crossed the Border at Gretna he notes at once from their build that the people are different, and, like Holzenthal, he makes a point of stressing the prominent cheek bones:

Es sind meist grosse derbe Gestalten, grosser Mund, längliches Gesicht mit vorstehenden Backenknochen, und geistlose Augen zumal bei den Männern ... Etwas hübscher schien der Schlag der Frauen, man sah sie heute am Sonntage meist ganz zierlich geputzt, dabei aber häufig barfuss gehend.

(ibid., 181f.)

Kohl, on the other hand, considers that there is one national physical type in Britain; any differences there are due to social class and thus to clothing and customs. To him Queen Victoria epitomises this "Nationalphysiognomie":

Mich dünkt, ich habe die Züge dieser Physiognomie wohl hundert Mal unter dem Volke, selbst unter den allerniedrigsten Ständen wiedergesehen. Mir kam es oft so vor, als hätte ich die Königin in Lumpen gehüllt vor mir. Man findet unter den niedrigen Ständen ganz dieselbe Schönheit wieder, die man unter den Höheren sieht, nur ist sie durch die Art der Beschäftigung mehr oder weniger modificirt, verändert oder ganz verwischt. Die Nichtadeligen bei uns erkennt man an ihrem Typus, die in England an ihren Sitten und Gewohnheiten. Diejenigen Veränderungen, welche die verschiedenen Handwerke in dem körperlichen Habitus hervorbringen, sind dagegen in England eben so auffallend wie bei uns.

(Kohl, GB, ii, 119f.)

Whether this is flattery to the Queen (who, after all, had more German than 'British' blood in her veins) or to the British nation is not immediately apparent.

Kohl was to encounter his idea of beauty while staying at the Stuarts' farm in the Trossachs. The company was assembled round the fire in the "servants' hall":

Eine allerliebste Magd - Jeane Fischar hiess sie - machte die Honneurs mit schöner Highland-Milch, die viel süsser ist als die in den Lowlands, und mit 'Barley-scone' ... 'Dschin' (so sprechen sie den Namen Jeane aus) war viel schöner als ihr Name, und dabei hatte sie eine so feine Ausbildung ihrer Gesichtsauszüge, wie sie bei den Bäuerinnen in

manchem anderen Lande gewiss sehr selten ist.
(Kohl, ii, 108)

As the pretty Highland serving girl, Jean Fisher fulfilled certain romantic expectations. The same could be said for the belle of the 1850 Edinburgh season, a Miss Horton, whose "countenance of noble grief" was to fascinate Fanny Lewald. Wherever she meets her she is again and again astounded and delighted by her unrivalled loveliness:

Dass solch tadellose Schönheit, wie wir sie an der Psyche des Museo Borboniko, oder an den idealsten Schöpfungen der reinen griechischen Plastik als ein Göttliches anzubeten gewohnt sind, im Leben wirklich vorhanden sei, das habe ich hier zum ersten Male gesehen. Es ist eine hohe, schlanke Gestalt, ohne grosse Fülle, aber doch von den edelsten Formen; der Kopf länglich, wie der von Fanny Elsler, nur noch feiner; das Haar dunkelbraun, die Augen blau, das Profil, das Ansetzen des Halses an den Nacken, des Nackens an der Schulter, vollendet schön. Es ist mir ein Genuss gewesen, mich in ihren Anblick zu versenken, den ein Ausdruck edler Trauer nur noch anziehender machte. (Lewald, ii, 302)

Like the people of Edinburgh, Lewald was equally attracted to Miss Horton for her past history, which appealed to their predilection for romance. She had been engaged to a very talented young Irish poet, the leader of the "young opposition", who had tragically died. That Miss Horton herself was Irish did not matter to the Scots. They still considered her a true beauty after their own standards, both men and women were justly proud of her, and this reveals and proves an important British characteristic to Lewald. It is only when one has been in Britain and moved amongst the British that one begins to understand their idealism," der sich in der Neigung offenbart, alles Grosse, Gute, Schöne, das sie besitzen, anzuerkennen und als ein Nationaleigenthum zu lieben" (*ibid.*, 303). There was, however, another side to this picture and it is this, one feels, which would leave a lasting impression on Lewald. On the other side of town, in the High Street and Canongate, she saw poverty to equal the Irish sectors of London:

Frauen und Kinder waren baarfuss, schmutzig, ungekämmt, und ein Theil der Letzteren lagerte müssig an der Erde herum, obschon viele davon im schul- und arbeitsfähigen Alter waren. Auch hier behauptete man, dass dieser Theil der Bevölkerung Irländer, und die eingebornen Schotten viel besser daran, ja in den besten Verhältnissen wären. (*ibid.*, 211)

This assurance was evidently little comfort to Lewald; she displays

almost as much feeling for these Irish-born women and children as she does for the Irish-born Miss Horton. She could not, like Förster, pass comments on their physique, when they were suffering such extremes of poverty. The inference her readers must draw is that the Scots were proud of an adopted beauty and romantic daughter of misfortune, but chose to dismiss the adopted but all too prosaic daughters and children of misfortune whose lot lay at their doorsteps in poverty and the slums.

b) Individual Scotsmen and women

Auf dem Wege von London hierher, etwa 200 englische Meilen, eine Dimension, die kaum in Betracht kömmt, habe ich nicht nur sehr angenehme Bekanntschaften gemacht, sondern auch von diesen eine nicht unbedeutende Menge Empfehlungskarten erhalten. Welch eine schöne Sitte, denjenigen, dem man sich, wenn auch bei noch so kurzer Bekanntschaft in Vertrauen und Neigung zugewandt, den Freunden zuzuführen. Jeder Gentleman führt seine Karte bei sich, und der Abschied schliesst gewöhnlich damit, dass man sie gegen einander austauscht.

(Marx, 12)

The importance in Britain of letters of introduction and visiting cards only became apparent to the 19th Century European visitors once they were in the country. Only through personal introductions could the foreigner penetrate society. In many ways there is more to be learnt of the 19th Century Scots from the travellers' descriptions of encounters with individual Scotsmen and -women than from any of the general remarks, however definite, passed on the Scots as a people. Moreover, these accounts reveal that there was a more varied selection of characters than the travellers' generalisations would lead one to believe existed in the country. Here the Scots, as the Germans saw them, are no longer types but alive and real. Broadly speaking the people described fall into two categories, on the one hand those to whom the visitors had prior introductions, often professional contacts, and on the other those whom they encountered by chance on their travels. In both cases, as Marx makes plain, the acquisition of a business or visiting card was a vital passport to acquaintance and friendship.

Even if the visitor had armed himself with a wide selection of recommendations, these were little use to him if he arrived in the

Scottish towns out of season. Nemnich bemoans the fact that Edinburgh society appears to vacate town entirely for the summer season. His account of his fruitless search for the addressees of his many letters of introduction is entertaining to the modern reader:

Sir John Sinclair's Briefe würden mir gewiss die nützlichste Aufnahme verschafft haben; allein, die grossen Männer waren alle weit verreiset. Von Doctor Jenner hatte ich einen Brief an den zierlichen Lateiner, Doctor Gregory, zu überreichen (7); er war aber so sehr mit Kranken-Visiten beschäftigt, dass ich, nach vielen vergeblichen Gängen, endlich nur einige Augenblicke von ihm unterhalten wurde. Ein gleiches erfuhr ich bey Doctor Wright, dem der biedere Doctor Gortshore mich angelengentlichst empfohlen hatte (8). Von Brougham, dem berühmten Verfasser der Inquiry in to Colonial Policy, besass ich Briefe an J. Jeffrey, und J. Murray (9); der eine war aber nach London, und der andere nach Glasgow verreiset. Der Linguist Doctor Montucci, von Hager angefehdet, war auch nicht anzutreffen. Die Bankers, woran ich rekommandirt war, hatten nie eine Minute Zeit. Das Aeusserste, was ich bey ihnen gewinnen konnte, waren ein Paar Zeilen an den Aufseher der Carren Works. So hätte ich dann, einsam und verlassen, weiter nichts von meinem Aufenthalt in Edinburg gehabt, als das Pflaster getreten, und die Häuser begaft zu haben. Noch ein Brief blieb mir übrig, von Colquhoun an seinen Freund David Stewart. Mit diesem, ahndete ich, würde es mir nicht besser gehen. Ich wurde nach einem sehr hohen Hause hingewiesen. Als ich in der Thür war, erschrak ich, zu vernehmen, ich musste drei oder vier Treppen hinuntersteigen. Hier fand ich Mr. Stewart in Begrif, auszugehen. Er hatte doch die Gefälligkeit, mir ein Stündchen zu schenken, in welcher Zeit ich gewahr wurde, dass der Mann, den ich für einen blosen Weinhändler hielt, zugleich ein leidenschaftlicher Liebhaber von ersten Drucken, Handschriften und Prachtwerken war. Seine grosse Sammlung von seltenen Büchern aus allen Theilen von Europa, erregte meine Bewunderung.
(Nemnich, 499f.)

Although he invites him to the midday meal, Mr. Stewart, too, is leaving Edinburgh that afternoon, but he does at least see to it that his friend Robert Jamieson is ready to act as companion and guide while Nemnich remains in Edinburgh. Later Nemnich remarks, perhaps ruefully, that the only way to meet the Scots properly is to stay at a commercial inn (ibid., 535).

In Leith Nemnich met with hospitality to equal Stewart's from the foreign shipping merchant, James Pillans (ibid., 503), and it

was also the home of a wealthy Leith merchant that Löwenthal was to enjoy a kind reception in 1822. Writing of Leith as the home of wealthy traders, he describes his impression of his hosts:

Eine der angesehensten Familien dieser Classe, mit Ausnahme eines einzigen ihrer Mitglieder, höchst liebenswürdig, empfing mich, in ihrem schönen Landhause (Lixmount) versammelt. Dieser Gesellschaft freundlichster Menschen, welche mitten in ihren Reichthümern eine nicht genug nachzuahmende Schlichtheit und Anspruchselosigkeit entfalteten; dem Kreise so fein und mannigfaltig gebildeter als gemüth- und herzvoller Mädchen; der Einwirkung von Erscheinungen, deren Erfreuliches und Begeisterndes nur durch die Wehmuth niedergehalten werden konnte, welche die Betrachtung ihrer Flüchtigkeit und Unwiederbringlichkeit für den rastlosen Wanderer erzeugen musste: allem diesem entriss mich eine mit einem vaterländischen Gefühle zusammenhängende Neugierde.
(Löwenthal, 126)

After this accolade it is surprising that anything could have so excited his curiosity to tear him away from the highly desirable company, but not even such perfect society could persuade Löwenthal to miss at least part of a performance of Schiller's Maria Stuart.¹⁰

Otto, who was in Scotland the same year as Löwenthal, evidently met many medical colleagues while visiting the country. He is one of the few to write of his introduction to society in Glasgow rather than Edinburgh, and his report is enthusiastic:

Die Gesellschaft soll in Glasgow nicht so angenehm oder so gewählt wie in Edinburgh seyn; darüber kann ich aber nicht urtheilen, denn meine hiesige Bekanntschaften schränkten sich ausschliesslich auf die Aerzte ein. Die Gastfreiheit kennt hier keine Gränzen. Während der sechs Tage meines hiesigen Aufenthalts war ich täglich von vier oder fünf Familien zum Thee, zum Frühstück, zum Mittags- und Abendessen eingeladen. Mit der grössten Gefälligkeit wird der Fremde allenthalben herumgeführt. Die interessanteste Bekanntschaft, die ich in Glasgow und überhaupt in Schottland gemacht habe, war die des Dr. Hooker und seiner Familie (11), ihrem Kreise verdanke ich viele der angenehmsten Stunden in Glasgow. Er ist ein sehr berühmter Botaniker und ein sehr liebenswürdiger Mann; seine Gattin, eine Tochter des Botanikers Turner, ist eine sehr gebildete und vortreffliche Frau; auch in der Botanik besitzt sie viele Kenntnisse.

(Otto, 335)

Spiker, who had visited Glasgow six years earlier, was very well received by the statistician, James Cleland,¹² who, as "superintendent of the public works" in Glasgow, showed the German round all that he considered important in the city, including the New Jail, where he had his office. Spiker writes:

Man wird es mir verzeihen, wenn ich die Gelegenheit benutze, diesem würdigen Manne, der mit unermüdlicher Aufmerksamkeit uns mit allen Merkwürdigkeiten seines Aufenthaltsorts bekannt zu machen bemüht war, hier öffentlich meinen Dank abzustatten, und dadurch einen kleinen Theil meiner Schuld abzutragen.

(Spiker, 281)

Spiker draws his readers' attention to Cleland's Annals of Glasgow, which had been published that year in 1816; it would have been interesting to see what comment he would have made on Cleland's far greater achievement of three years later, when, in 1819, he was employed by the municipal authorities of Glasgow to draw up a census of Glasgow, the first such work ever undertaken in Britain. Twenty years later Raumer also had reason to thank Cleland, who, as well as offering him personal hospitality, arranged for him to be shown round Glasgow's factories and industrial sites by another well informed gentleman, a certain "Mr. T." (Raumer, 1835, 378f.). In addition Cleland, "der ungemein gefällige Mann" (ibid., 379), accompanied Raumer on a projected tour of the Trossachs, although they had to abandon their plans at Rossneath on account of rain and mist. Raumer was also conducted through the buildings of the Cathedral, University and various public institutions by a "Mr. K." and a "Mr. St - g" [Stirling?] and enjoyed a "splendid dinner" afterwards at the home of the latter (ibid., 380). In Edinburgh Moscheles had met a statistician of a different nature in the person of Sir John Sinclair,¹³ although his opinion of him is barely complimentary:

Der Mann liebt zwar Musik, lässt mich auch bei sich spielen und essen, essen und spielen, ist aber im Grunde ganz Kartoffelmehl, denn Brod und Kuchen, Alles wird bei ihm aus Kartoffelmehl gebacken; für die Verbreitung dieses Mehles macht er hitzige Propaganda, und da es viele Gegner seiner Lieblingsidee giebt, so wird mehr darüber hin und her geredet, als zu hören interessant ist.

(Moscheles, 193)

Of those who met and visited professional colleagues while in Scotland, the medical profession has most representatives. The doctors Frank and Meissner in the early years of the Century, Otto in the 1820's, and Isensee, Marx and Carus in the 1830's and 1840's, all sought out colleagues in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Meissner encountered several of Edinburgh's medical men on his visit in 1817, both in the hospitals and clinics and privately. Of these the anatomist Dr. Barclay¹⁴ stands out. Meissner writes of attending one of Barclay's lectures, which he finds both excellent and popular, and he is also very pleased to receive a breakfast invitation from Barclay, since he hopes to be able to procure a Scottish skull for the collection of Blumenbach in Göttingen. He is out of luck, however, for Barclay tells him that it is almost impossible to obtain a Scottish skull except from a battlefield. The Scots are very much against anatomical experiments being performed on their own countrymen; their respect both for the dead and for their kinsmen means that all bodies in hospitals, even military hospitals, are claimed, unlike in Germany. Barclay goes on to tell Meissner that cadavers for research can only be obtained at high cost from London and are therefore not Scottish. He relates two incidents concerning two of his other breakfast guests, both of whom had been accused of keeping corpses illegally, the punishment for which was expulsion from their home towns. One case had remained unproved, but the other gentleman had been charged with harbouring human bones (in fact those of a London 'resurrection man' and not a Scotsman at all), and after reappearing in his home town after banishment, had been publically whipped for the offence. The bones had been buried at the state's expense. It can be appreciated what a real problem the Scottish veneration for the dead posed for the anatomists; Meissner was writing only twelve years before William Burke was hanged for the murders which provided Dr. Robert Knox with dissection subjects. Meissner himself is torn between his professional interests and his respect for the Scottish clan spirit.

Frank, whose work served as Meissner's guide¹⁵, met many colleagues in both Edinburgh and Glasgow on his visit in 1803. He was very impressed by Dr. Gregory and writes of his popularity as a lecturer, adding: "mit grosser Theilnahme sah ich bei Dr. G. das Bildniss seines,

in jeder Hinsicht schätzbaren und unvergesslichen Vaters" (Frank, 223)¹⁶. Frank met Gregory's sister, Mrs. Allison, too, and he makes special mention of a young Dr. Cheyne from Leith¹⁷. He also had the opportunity of meeting Dr. Benjamin Bell¹⁸ of the Royal College of Surgeons; of him he writes:

Herr Benjamin Bell ist ein Mann von einem angenehmen Äussern, und von zuvorkommender Höflichkeit. Er hat eine ungeheure Praxis in und um Edinburgh, so, dass es schwer fällt, dessen Umgang geniessen zu können. Die wenigen freien Stunden, welche diesem würdigen Manne übrig bleiben, verwendet er auf die Landwirtschaft. (ibid., 244)

It was in the country that Frank visited Bell:

Er besitzt in der Nähe von Edinburgh ein Landgut, welches eine ausnehmend schöne und romantische Lage hat. Der allda vorhandene Obstgarten ist gewiss sehenswerth. Ich habe einen sehr angenehmen Tag bei dem Hrn. B.B. zugebracht. (ibid., 245)

Bell had written a book on agriculture which had been well received, but it was of a common medical interest, venereal disease, that Frank himself conversed with him. He also takes the opportunity of thanking Bell's son, George, also a surgeon, for much hospitality and writes, too, of the surgeon and anatomist John Bell, ("er ist ein Mann voller Talente und Feuer", ibid., 245) and of his anatomist and surgeon brother Charles¹⁹. Benjamin and Charles Bell are also named by Isensee, who was in Edinburgh over thirty years later and reported on the anatomical museum of the Royal College of Surgeons²⁰ and the part played in the College's research by the Bells and Thomson. Dr. Thomson senior, known to Isensee as the author of fine works on venereal disease, was ill during his visit, but his son, Dr. Allen Thomson, himself an excellent physiologist and embryologist, became Isensee's personal Edinburgh guide, and while carrying on his father's practice, took Isensee with him on his rounds.²¹ Although Isensee mentions the names and work of others, namely Knox, Rayer, Willan, Alibert and Carswell, he finds his companion Allen Thomson especially interesting, not only because he has access to his father's collection, "an 3000 Blätter starken, vielleicht in ihrer Art auf der ganzen Erde werthvollsten Sammlung" (Isensee, 125), but also because Isensee himself has a personal link with the Thomsons, since his early deceased Berlin friend,

Dr. F. W. Becker, had worked for some years in Edinburgh with John Thomson and become a friend of his son.

While in Edinburgh Isensee also called on Dr. John Abercrombie²² at his home at 19 York Place. Abercrombie, known to Isensee as "der berühmte Leibarzt des Königs in Schottland" (ibid., 121), is unable to receive the German when he calls one Sunday; Isensee would have left the matter there had his travelling companion, a wealthy Russian merchant whom Isensee believes to be better versed than he is in Northern customs, not insisted that he leave a card, which he proceeds to word for him: "Dr. Isensee from Berlin is very anxious, to pay you his respects and takes the liberty, to ask you, if it be convenient for him to come to day, to see you". Typically exact and prompt, Abercrombie's reply is waiting for Isensee on his return to his hotel: "That on this holy day he had to read holy books; but that he would engage me to morrow at 4 o'clock in the afternoon" (ibid., 122). Isensee is evidently amused and concludes, "quod bene notandum für deutsche Juristen, Aerzte etc." (ibid.).

Marx also records the names of the Thomsons and Abercrombie after his visit in 1841. The work of both John Thomson and Abercrombie was evidently widely known in Germany. Marx praises the first hand experience and sound judgement of Abercrombie's work, and as a man he deems him "persönlich ... einfach und anspruchlos", even if he is generally considered, both in Britain and Germany, to go overboard in religious matters (Marx, 26). Of Thomson Marx writes that he held his work in such esteem that he was especially anxious to pay his personal respects. Undeterred by the fact that Thomson had withdrawn from society on account of illness and was living in the country, Marx seeks out his son in the hospital, who agrees to take him to visit his sick father; another of the hospital doctors offers Marx his carriage for the visit, which Marx recalls in some detail:

Der Alte lag zu Bette; aber kaum hatte ich im Gartensaale einige Augenblicke gewartet, so kam derselbe, auf einem Stab gestützt, mit rührender Herzlichkeit auf mich zu. Er ergriff mich, führte mich in den Garten, dankte mir für den Besuch, sagte mir viel Freundliches und sprach mit einer solchen Lebendigkeit und so anhaltend, wobei ein ungewöhnliches Feuer in die Augen und eine Spannung in die eingefallenen

Gesichtszüge kam, dass ich besorgt für ihn wurde und ihn zur Rückkehr nöthigte: Er empfindet es schmerz-lich, dass mehrere ausgezeichnete Männer, mit denen er sonst im besten Vernehmen stand, gegen seine wissen-schaftlichen Ueberzeugungen, namentlich gegen die über die Behandlung der Syphilis ohne Mercur hart und rück-sichtlos sich geäußert; er fühlt sich verkannt, und in dieser Verstimmung, die vielleicht eine Folge körper-licher Schwäche ist, gesättigt vom Bücherschreiben. Er hinterlässt seinen Söhnen, von welchen auch der jüngere, der Professor der Physiologie, zugegen war, seine gesam-melten Schätze und hofft, dass er demnachst durch diese gerechtfertigt dastehen werde. Da ich seine Hauptan-sicht aus voller Seele theile, so that es mir weh, seine Bitte um die Verlängerung meines Dortbleibens nicht gewähren zu können.

(Marx, 25f.)²³

This rather pathetic account of the disillusioned Thomson is balanced by Marx's portrayal of the robust and cheerful Christison.²⁴ Christison greatly impressed Marx, who describes him as being "im kräftigsten Lebensalter, heiter, unternehmend, unermüdlich forschend, von den Studirenden hochgehalten und in gerichtlich-medizinischen Fällen eine anerkannte Auctorität" (*ibid.*, 24). Together they visited the hospital and the Botanic Garden. Indeed, of all his Edinburgh acquaintances, Marx spends most time with Christison "und in seiner lebens-würdigen Familie", where he was also to meet the Professor of Clinical Surgery, James Syme;²⁵ Marx himself had been unaware that Syme, "der ausgezeichnete Chemiker", was also a doctor and is all the more pleased to meet him, (a remark which he also makes about the botanist and doctor, Graham).

Marx received so many invitations while he was in Edinburgh, however, that he was unable to accept them all. Indeed, the famed Scottish hospitality could even become too much and of the end of his Edinburgh stay he writes:

Ich hatte noch genug an dem Empfangenen. Neues und Freudiges folgte in Edinburgh so rasch nach einander, dass ich für die Feder keinen Augenblick zu erübrigen vermochte. Konnte ich ja nicht einmal ein Wort des Dankes und der Entschuldigung für die freundlichsten Einladungen an Sir George Ballingall und den Decan der medicinischen Facultät Sir Charles Bell schreiben. Aeusserst ungern bediente ich mich der unsichern mündlichen Bestellung.

(*ibid.*)

Despite this excess of invitations, Marx found one of those whom he wished to visit, the physicist, Professor Forbes,²⁶ away from town on a visit to Paris. On visiting Marx some years earlier in Göttingen, Forbes had expressed the desire to obtain a sample of Blumenbach's handwriting and Marx had taken him to see the old man, "der aber zum Geben nicht gerade aufgelegt war" (*ibid.*, 28). Now that he was in Edinburgh, Marx had brought with him for Forbes one of the last letters which Blumenbach had sent him before his death the previous year, but the only person at Forbes' home was a caretaker who seemed to know little of his employer's movements and Marx, frustrated, had had to take the letter away with him undelivered.

Three years after Marx's visit, Carus was also to seek out some colleagues in Edinburgh at the end of his Scottish tour. At the university he was received by Professor Thomson (presumably the younger) and "der unermüdlich gefällige Dr. Goodsir",²⁷ and he especially appreciated the fact that "einer der ältesten und ohne Zweifel gegenwärtig der berühmteste Arzt Schottlands" was also there to meet him. This was Abercrombie, "eine würdige, Achtung einflössende und genießende Individualität", who was to die only a few months later. Together with these gentlemen Carus spent "eine sehr angenehme und lehrreiche Stunde" and they presented him with a selection of papers, treatises and physiological and anatomical samples (Carus, ii, 311f.). Since he was travelling in the retinue of the King of Saxony, however, the people Carus met were not necessarily medical or scientific men, but members of the aristocracy and their households. Carus was all the more gratified to find the nobility taking an active interest in current affairs and science; this applied in particular to the Marquis of Breadalbane, a prominent figure both in the political and social affairs of the day. Carus was especially pleased to meet at Taymouth the physicist, Professor Brewster,²⁸ firstly for his own sake, and secondly,

um des Hausherrn willen, der sich in diesem Freundesverhältnis zu solchem Gelehrten selbst ehrte und so die höhere humanere Richtung der Aristokratie, wie sie auch in England und Schottland nur einzeln vorkommt, sattsam bethätigte.

(*ibid.*, 263)

Carus was very impressed with both the Marquis and his wife and the company present at Taymouth during their visit. Having set the scene midst the splendour and riches of the castle's interior, in particular the Rubens, Salvator Rosa, Van der Neer, and the Van Dyck family portraits on the walls, the company present only helped to complete the picture of all round excellence:

Der Marquis von Breadalbane ist ein Mann nahe den sechsziger Jahren, aber vollkräftig und intelligent, wenig und nur ungern Französisch sprechend; seine Gemahlin zart und kränklich, aber voller Anmuth, leider kinderlos. Auch die, ausser dem alten gelehrten Brewster, eingeladene Gesellschaft, zählte noch interessante Personen. Es waren da Lord Ruthven' nebst Gemahlin, die sich früher längere Zeit in Griechenland und Albanien aufgehalten hatten und bei Ali Pascha von Janina gewesen waren, so dass namentlich Lady Ruthven manches Merkwürdige von den orientalischen Harems erzählen konnte zu denen sie Zutritt erhalten, und wo sie sich an der Naivetät der Damen des Serail ergötzt hatte; dann Sir Fox Maule, ein Mann der Opposition, früher eine Zeit lang Unter-Staats-Sekretair der Schatzkammer des Reichs, eine humoristisch-sarkastische Individualität; endlich ein junger Mann, Neveu des Marquis, ein Campbell, und das volle Bild eines kräftigen, grossgebauten, durch und durch gesunden Hochländers - immer in Nationaltracht mit Kilt und Plaid und dem Highlands bonnet; man kann sich denken, dass eine Gesellschaft aus solchen Elementen zusammengesetzt, eine interessante Unterhaltung darbot!

(*ibid.*, 269)

Such a description falls short of being a mere social list by the few small details Carus inserts, the fact that the Marquis did not like speaking French, Fox Maule's sarcastic humour rather than his political importance²⁹ and, in contrast to the sickly Marchioness, the Marquis' robust nephew, the picture of Highland health.

Brewster had earned himself a considerable reputation in Europe and his name was familiar to Carus; on a walk to the Falls of Moness they discussed and exchanged scientific ideas and some of the latest inventions and discoveries (*ibid.*, 262 ff.). Brewster was already well known for his work on light, colour and optics when Spiker had visited Edinburgh in 1816 and he, too, met him,³⁰ although to the librarian it was as the editor of the 'Edinburgh Encyclopaedia' that Brewster was of most interest (Spiker, 219). On his tour of the Edinburgh libraries, Spiker was introduced to Macvey Napier.³¹ In 1816 Napier was librarian of the Advocates Library, himself being a WS, and Spiker

was impressed with the catalogue which he had drawn up, and writes of Napier as "ein Überaus liebenswürdiger, gefälliger, junger Mann, der auch als Schriftsteller, und zwar als Fortsetzer der Encyclopaedia Britannica, welche er in Verbindung mit mehreren englischen und schottischen Gelehrten fortführt, bekannt ist" (Spiker, 218).

If Carus spoke highly of the Marquis of Breadalbane, Spiker had words of praise for the Duke of Atholl, whom he did not meet personally, but of whom he heard such compliments from the Atholl tenants that he evidently felt obliged to report on the Duke's reputation as a beloved landlord, who, unlike the majority of his fellow noblemen, actually spent almost the entire year on his home estates (ibid., 235).

As an art historian cataloguing the works of art in British possession, Waagen met both artists and many members of wealthy Scottish society. In Edinburgh he was to meet various representatives of the art world, firstly Miss Rigby, to whom he had an introduction from her sister, Lady Eastlake. Miss Rigby accompanied him to visit the sculptor, Steele, the landscape artist, Hill, Mr. Christie, Director of the School of Design, and Mr. Dallas, a teacher at that school (Waagen, 267 & 276).³² Previously Waagen had met Christie in Berlin, as he had also met James Dennistoun,³³ "a gentleman known for his love of art ... who had paid me a visit at Berlin in 1851, in company of his accomplished lady, who shares his feeling for art" (ibid., 281). Although Dennistoun was away, he had left instructions for Waagen to be shown his collection. In Glasgow, too, Waagen found two of those to whom he had letters of introduction, Mr. Graham and Mr. Alexander Dennistoun, out of town, nor was Wilson, the Director of the Glasgow School of Design, at home; a few hours later, however, Wilson called on Wagen, welcoming him into his home and giving him all his free time: "Thus within a comparatively short time all the objects of my journey were accomplished. I enjoyed the conversation of a highly cultivated artist, and I exchanged the cold life of an hotel for the delightful influences of a domestic circle; a most amiable and interesting lady and sweet young children rendered this particularly attractive" (ibid., 283). Waagen finds that the wealthy merchants and businessmen of Glasgow have not yet developed the collector's habit and only one, a Mr. Alexander McLellan, a carriage builder, has a collection of note.

Waagen describes him as "a most ardent lover of arts", whose house is so filled with paintings that many are displayed in unsuitable places; McLellan allows him to study them at will (Waagen, 286). It was with Wilson and his wife that Waagen made a short tour of the Trossachs and it was also in Wilson's company that Waagen was invited to see the collections of Sir Archibald Campbell of Succoth at Garscube (*ibid.*, 291f.) and of the Duke of Hamilton at Hamilton Palace. The elderly Duke had recently broken his arm in a riding accident, but despite this, Waagen found him surprisingly spry; as an avid, wealthy and well travelled collector, the Duke had amassed a large and very varied collection during his long life. The Duchess was remarkable to Waagen not only for her cultivated conversation, refined elegance and "great remains of her former beauty", but also as the daughter of "the late well-known Mr. Beckford" (*ibid.*, 295).³⁴ Waagen feels obliged to refuse a complete tour of their collection, since the Duke is obviously feeling the strain. He goes on to visit Wishaw, home of Lord Belhaven. He finds Lady Belhaven, who shows him their collection, "a most intellectual and amiable lady" and her husband, who appears later at dinner, pleasantly knowledgeable and frank (*ibid.*, 309). Finally, Waagen visited Hopetoun House from Edinburgh with Christie; here he was welcomed by none other than Catherine Sinclair, "a distinguished and most amiable lady" whom he had previously met in London and who introduced him to Lady Hopetoun, "in whose features the purest goodness of heart is expressed, though mixed with the signs of great bodily suffering" (*ibid.*, 309ff.). Carus, too, had met with cultured noblewomen on his visit to Kilravock, a more than pleasant surprise amidst the wildness and Puritanical Sabbath fervour of Free Kirk Invernessshire. Yet these two ladies were neither Scottish nor typical. One of the King's party, Baron von Gersdorf, was acquainted with them; they had travelled extensively in Switzerland and Italy and had now taken Kilravock for a few years and had "mit etwas englischer Sonderlingslust, sich in dieser absoluten Einsamkeit eingewohnt" (Carus, ii, 250).³⁵

It was not only professional colleagues or members of the nobility who offered hospitality and many of those that were less established socially and professionally were able to give lively portraits of the Scots whom they met. Lewald was fortunate, and perhaps also persistent, in her recommendations and letters of introduction. Towards

the end of her stay in Edinburgh the families of the upper and professional classes were preparing to leave town for the summer months and the season of meetings, assemblies and parties was coming to an end. But by this time, too, she was ready to move on to the Highlands. Of her Edinburgh hostesses, she discloses only that they were "Lady D." and her daughter "Mrs. L."; these ladies were obviously well integrated in the Edinburgh social scene and it was through them that Lewald was invited to parties at which such well known figures as Sir James Young Simpson were present. It was also at Lady D.'s that she received the invitation from Robert Chambers to stay with his family in Dean Terrace.

It is hardly surprising that Lewald was much impressed by Robert Chambers. The Chambers brothers' pioneering work in the literary publishing field corresponded entirely to her own liberal principles, all the more attractive since both brothers were self-made men. By the time of her visit in 1850, Robert's Traditions of Edinburgh had been published for 26 years and both the 'Chambers Journal' and the firm of W. & R. Chambers had also been long established. Robert was known to be "genial, hospitable and kindly" (DNB) and Lewald could scarcely have found a better host. She says of him:

Mr. Robert Chambers ist in jedem Betrachte ein bedeutender Mensch, an dessen Bildung die Einfachheit, an dessen Verstand die schlichte Klarheit unschätzbar ist. Bei einem tiefen, poetischen Empfinden ist sein Urtheil immer gerade und bestimmt, so dass man fühlt, er sei verlässlich durch und durch. ... Es ist ein durchaus bedeutender und mir höchst merkwürdiger Mann. (Lewald, ii, 245ff.)

Lewald was touched by the story of the Chambers' maid, Mary, a London girl, who had so ardently wished to see the land of Burns and Scott that Mrs. Chambers had given in to her begging, engaged her as maid and brought her up to Edinburgh. After some years of good service, Mary had asked for a few days' leave and paid her own way to visit Burns' surviving sister, with a recommendation from her employer,³⁶ returning from her pilgrimage completely satisfied. "Sie bedient am Tische, hilft in den Fremdenzimmern, und nur ihr intelligentes, sanftes Gesicht verräth ihre geistige Begabung" (ibid., 253).

Lewald's fellow guests at the Chambers were equally agreeable to

her. There were three other besides herself, the Italian, Signor Parlatore, who could not master the modern intricacies of the gas lighting, professor of botany in Florence, and two Englishmen, Mr. Robert Hunt, a superintendant of the geological museum in Jermyn Street, London, and Mr. Peach, a customs official from Cornwall who was also "ein gelehrter Kenner der Zoophyten" (*ibid.*, 238f.). The great attraction of the two Englishmen to Lewald was, as with the Chambers brothers, that they were both self-made men, Hunt [like Fontane] having started life as a poor pharmacy apprentice, and Peach, however celebrated in intellectual circles, occupying still only an insignificant post in an unimportant coastal town. They were all in Edinburgh for the conference of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, which met in the Music Hall in George Street. Lewald herself had had every hope of attending it even before she left home and she was given an invitation ticket by Professor Smyth. She was most impressed with the generosity with which the richer members of the Association treated the lesser endowed, in particular Mr. Peach, who deserved the esteem in which he was held by fellow members. He fitted the somewhat romantic ideal of a true intellectual which Lewald harboured:

Er ist freilich auch eine sehr lebenswürdige Natur, die mich vielfach an Professor von Bohlen gemahnt, durch die liebevolle Heiterkeit seines Wesens, durch die Freudigkeit, mit der er es als ein Glück erkennt, dass er sich trotz seiner Armuth die Schätze des Wissens zu eigen machen konnte; und endlich durch jene naive Gemüthlichkeit, die man oft bei den Gelehrten findet, welche aus den primitiven Volksschichten geboren, Ursprünglichkeit des Gefühls mit der Erkenntnis der Wissenschaften vereinen.

(*ibid.*, 245)

When she was taken round the Advocates Library in Edinburgh, Lewald met another young man for whom she had reason to feel a similar respect. He was the librarian, Mr. Halkett;³⁷ she says of him:

Er mag wenig über dreissig Jahre alt sein, und soll ausser den alten Sprachen sechzehn lebende Sprachen mit gleicher Vollkommenheit besitzen. Das Deutsche ist er, wie ich in der Unterhaltung zu sehen Gelegenheit hatte, in hohem Grade mächtig; und diese bedeutende Bildung, all diese Gelehrsamkeit, dankt er zum grössten Theile dem Selbstunterricht, da er ursprünglich Schneider war, und erst spät zu der Freiheit gelangt ist, den Wissenschaften leben zu können.

(*ibid.*, 234)

Lewald had an introduction from the recipient of her own letters [her future husband, Adolf Stahr] to the Vice-Chancellor of Edinburgh University, but he was in the country preparing for a continental tour. However, she was pleasantly surprised by a visit from the Astronomer Royal, Professor Piazzzi Smyth,³⁸ whose family she had met in London. He was also a young man in his thirties, though he had already spent eleven years at the Observatory on the Cape of Good Hope. Anxious to make Lewald feel at home, he apologises for not being able to spend much time with her due to the science conference, but it is he who introduces her to Lady D. and her daughter. Half an hour after his visit, the two ladies appear themselves, only to be turned away by Lewald's landlady on the grounds that her lodger is eating her lunch! They return an hour later and in turn apologise for not having her to stay, since their house (in Royal Circus) is filled with assembly guests; however, they cordially invite her to spend the days with them.

[Lady D.] ist eine Matrone und Wittwe; die Tochter, an einen sehr geistreichen Advokaten, Mr. L. verheirathet, lebt mit der Mutter in demselben Hause, ebenso zwei junge Söhne der Lady, und die ganze Familie, mit Ausnahme der Mutter, sprechen das Deutsche mehr oder weniger gut, kennen und lieben deutsche Litteratur und sind freisinnig gebildete Menschen.

(ibid., 203)

Thus Lewald was luckier than most with her introductions. As she herself says:

Ich erzähle solche Details Dir gern ausführlich, weil sie in entschiedenem Widerspruche stehen mit allen Gerüchten über die Schroffheit und Kälte der Engländer, und weil bei meiner Vorliebe für sie es mir immer eine Genugthuung ist, ihre zuvorkommende, schöne Gastlichkeit loben zu können.

(ibid., 202)

Another well known figure of the day with whom Lewald spent some time in Edinburgh was the Bohemian writer and political exile, Moritz Hartmann.³⁹ Lewald doubtless felt wary of writing about her encounter with Hartmann, so soon after the March Revolution, and she only mentions that he called on her in Edinburgh on his way back to the Continent after touring Ireland and Scotland, and that they spent a morning together, wandering through the New Town.

The young theologians, Köstlin and his friend Burk, were to find

kind reception from many churchmen on their travels, and since they arrived in Edinburgh in May expressly to attend the General Assemblies of both the Church of Scotland and the Free Kirk, they had the opportunity of meeting some of Scotland's most prominent churchmen. Köstlin names in particular William Cunningham,⁴⁰ "ein gründlicher und kampfthüchtiger calvinistischer Gelehrter und Kirchenmann" (Köstlin, 120), and Professor J. Duncan, Professor at the Free Church College and known to Köstlin as an authority on Hebrew and oriental languages. Köstlin writes of Duncan's deep religious fervour, his strict Calvinist views and his absent-mindedness. On one occasion as they were taking tea with him and his wife, he burst into fluent Latin to prove a point of Calvinist teaching in defence of a recent accusation from a Lutheran that Calvinism lacked logic, exclaiming "Credo vos Lutheranos non esse reprobatos sed malos esse logicos". Köstlin continues:

Ein ander Mal, als wir mit ihm und seinen beiden Töchterchen auf einem seiner Wohnung benachbarten schönen Platz vor dem abendlichen Thee auf und ab wandelten, vergass er in einem ähnlichen Disput mit uns, die er rechts und links neben sich am Arm führte, die Stunde der Heimkehr so sehr, dass endlich die Töchterchen uns beide an den Rockschößen wegzogen, und wandelte hierauf weiter disputirend auf der Strasse an seinem Hause vorbei, bis jene wieder das gleiche Mittel anwandten. Das abendliche Zusammensein in seinem Haus schloss er dann mit einer warmen, praktischen Ansprache über die apostolischen Worte von der heil.

Schrift 2. Timoth. 3, 16. 17.

(Köstlin, 121 f.)

Köstlin and Burk were not able to meet the man whom they considered the greatest figure in the Free Church, Thomas Chalmers, since he had died two years previously, but they were glad to be received into the home of his son-in-law, Dr. Hanna.⁴¹ Köstlin expresses especial gratitude to a young Free Church theologian, James Williamson, who introduced himself as a former Halle student, and who supplied the young Germans with all manner of help and information throughout the Assembly. Köstlin pays him a fine tribute:

Nie hatte ich in Deutschland einen innerlich schon so gereiften, ernsten und zugleich so schlichten, besonnenen christlichen Studenten kennen gelernt, - eine edle Frucht echten schottischen Christenthums und Kirchenthums und eines darin feststehenden Familienlebens; sein Vater war juristischer Beamter. Er ist

seiner Kirche durch einen frühen Tod entrissen
worden. (ibid., 123)

Although Köstlin and Burk at first displayed little interest in the established Church of Scotland, they made amends for this through contact with Norman Macleod, then minister of Dalkeith,⁴² "der späterhin durch seinen reichen, vielseitigen Geist, seinen weiten, freien Blick, seine umfassende praktische Thätigkeit, sein Ansehen bei Hohen und Niedrigen eine Zeit lang die erste Stelle in seiner Kirche einnahm" (ibid.). In addition Köstlin mentions two young ministers who had studied in Tübingen shortly before himself and Burk and with whom they came into close contact while in Edinburgh.

As a student Wichmann evidently found little difficulty in making friends and mentions many invitations which he received throughout his stay in Edinburgh, Musselburgh and further afield, from the family who invited him to stay in Appin to the family of his friend from Lanarkshire, whose father was a minister near Leadhills (Wichmann, 23ff & 76). The same year Ziegler also met representatives of the educated classes in the country. Of a visit to Kingcausie by Aberdeen he writes of the generous hospitality of the estate's owner, Mr. Boswell, "einer der tüchtigsten und angesehensten Landwirthe Nord-Schottlands" (Ziegler, Bilder, 168), and of convivial evenings on Shapinsay, in the home of Orkney's second biggest landowner, Captain William Balfour, whom he was later to describe as a widely travelled and educated man, whose library contained many fine books, including old and new German works (ibid., 169 & Reise, 207f.). The effect of such hospitality is enlarged on by Förster when describing his reception into the Nasmyth family:⁴³

Gastfreundschaft bezaubert immer, weil der Empfänger sich so gänzlich unberechtigt erscheint, und ich habe sie fast in allen Gestalten kennen gelernt; aber bezaubernder - mein' ich - war keine, als die ich im Haus des Dr. Nasmyth in Edinburg erfuhr. Schon beim ersten Eintritt in sein Haus erfreute mich das wohlwollende Entgegenkommen; der Mann mit den feinen Zügen, tiefem Blick, der verständigen, inhaltlichen Rede; die Frau mit ihrer behaglichen und doch geistigen Freundlichkeit; und dann die Kinder, die sich an mich gehängt, wie an einen alten Bekannten und darüber ihre Bettzeit vergassen. Unvergesslich aber ist mir der Abschied-Abend mit seinen vielen Zeichen überströmender Güte. Zuletzt tanzten mir die Kinder den schottischen Nationaltanz, selbst die grosse sechszehnjährige Tochter tanzte mit, und die Mutter spielte die Weisen dazu auf dem Flügel; denn sie griffen nach

Allem, womit sie mir eine Freude machen zu können glaubten. In der That war es mir, als wär' ich aus dem weiten, unbegrenzten und unbekanntem Ocean in eine bekannte und vertraute Bucht eingelaufen.
(Förster, 346f.)

Oftentimes, however, the character sketches which most enliven the travel accounts are not those of people to whom the visitors already had introductions, but those whom they met by chance, whether on the road or in their accommodation. Thus Meissner would never have been introduced to Brodie of Brodie Castle had he not met his grandson on the road to Inverness (Meissner, 257 & 264), nor would Löwenthal have learnt something of the character of the West coast people had he not chosen to travel across the Sound of Mull to Arost, where he was to meet three colourful and very different Highlanders: the first, the innkeeper, was talkative and homely and had a family of eleven children:

Doch gingen noch am Abende meiner Ankunft zwei recht sehr bemerkenswerthe und nicht unpoetische Erscheinungen an mir vorüber. Die eine war ein guter, noch rüstiger Kriegermann, der, nachdem er viele Jahre hindurch in Ostindien und Europa sich Wunden gesammelt, nunmehr auf halben Sold gesetzt, in den Bergen des Eilandes, wo er geboren ward, die Hasen und Rehe befehdt; - die andere: die Post der Insel Mull, nämlich ein betagter Mann in vollständiger Bergschottentracht. Er hatte nebst kilt und hose auch den über die Schulter gebundenen Mantel vom National-Kleidungsstoffe (Plaid, aber auch Tartan, wie der Stoff selbst, genannt) um den Leib, und die blaue Mütze mit dem weiss und roth gewürfelten Rande (Bonnet) auf dem Kopfe; überdiess den Wanderstab in der nervigen Hand. Auf diesem fernen Eilande, nahe der äussersten Spitze Europa's, wandert der Alte und trägt von den Bergen die versiegelten Worte herunter, die denn, wenn es seyn soll, in Moskau wie in Calcutta, in Wien wie in Rio de Janeiro gehört werden können, - wahrlich ein grosser, fast wunderbarer Gedanke, dessen Verwirklichung unter den Triumphen der Menschheit strahlt.
(Löwenthal, 102f.)

The island postman evidently left a strong impression on the future post office official who was to become instrumental in setting up European communications.

By far the most colourful character sketch which Lewald gives her readers is of her landlady, Mrs. Pearson, with whom she lodged on first arriving in Edinburgh. This lady is "eine alte, sehr ehrwürdig und

gut aussehende Bürgersfrau, die sich fortwährend mit mir zu schaffen machte und mich fast ganz allein bediente" (Lewald, ii, 194f.):

. . . sie ist eine so herzensgute Person, dass es mit zu meinen Belustigungen gehört, mir von ihr die längsten Geschichten erzählen zu lassen. Sie hat mit fünfzehn Jahren geheirathet, ist kinderlos geblieben und hat seit langer Zeit immer ein Paar Zimmer vermietet. Die Wohnung, welche ich inne habe, ist bis jetzt, vierzehn Jahre lang, von einem Theologen bewohnt worden, der endlich eine gute Landpfarre erhalten und sich gestern mit einer Edinburgerinn verheirathet hat. Er und seine Familie waren dazu nach der Stadt gekommen, hatten bei meiner Wirthinn die Hochzeitstoilette gemacht, und ich habe den Morgen nach meiner Ankunft die Gesellschaft aus unserem Hause wohlgeputzt zur Trauung fahren sehen. Mrs. Pearson . . . hat dann Abends bis ich zu Bette ging, von der Hochzeit, von dem Bräutigam, und von seinem Leben erzählt, ehe sie mir eine gute Nacht wünschte, die ich nach der ersten, schlechten Nacht auch dringend nöthig hatte. Kaum aber hatte ich die Augen geschlossen, als ich an meine Thüre klopfen hörte. Ich fragte, was es gäbe? - Es war die Wirthin, sie bat mich aufzustehen, sie müsse mir noch Etwas sagen. Sehr ärgerlich über die Störung, willfahrte ich ihr dennoch. Da sagt sie: Nehmen Sie's nicht übel, aber ich hatte es ganz vergessen! Hier ist ein Stück von Brautkuchen, legen Sie das unter Ihren Kopf und Sie werden einen guten Traum von Ihrem Liebsten haben! ("a good dream from Your sweetheart!") [sic] Dies naive Intermezzo hielt mich natürlich schadlos für den unterbrochenen Schlaf, der darnach glücklicher Weise nicht lange auf sich warten liess."

(ibid., 195f.)

It is such characters as Mrs. Pearson who really enliven the German journals and there is no journal more filled with colourful characters than Kohl's. Kohl appears to have been able to communicate with greater ease than the majority of his countrymen and the fact that he travelled a good deal on foot invited lively and interesting conversations with his guides and fellow travellers. The guide whom he engages to accompany him from Taymouth to Lochearnhead, for instance, an old and garrulous Highlander, relates en route stories and explains Scottish words and customs. He is proud to have the Marquis of Breadalbane as his laird, and in his detailed account of the recent royal visit to Taymouth always speaks of "His Lordship" before mentioning the Queen: Kohl is impressed by such loyalty. To his disappointment Kohl had to find a new guide

for the next part of his journey, without doubt one of the stupidest guides he had ever had. However, this proves to be entertaining for his readers, for he relates some of the exchanges he had with his new 'friend':

Wenn ich ihn nach einem Manne fragte, von dem ich gern etwas wissen wollte, so sagte er immer bloss stotternd und einsilbig: "that was a very clever man, sir!" ... So sagte er von Robert Bruce: "That was a very clever man, sir, and king of Scotland" ... Von Rob Roy wusste er auch weiter nichts, als: "He was a very clever man, sir, and a great robber" ... Und eben so nannte er Herrn Stewart, Esq., einen sehr klugen Mann und Besitzer des Schlosses Ardvoirlich am Loch Earn. Gewisse Leute halten aus Klugheit, gewisse aber aus Dummheit alle andere Menschen für ausserordentlich klug.

(Kohl, ii, 94f.)

In all probability the poor man was struggling with the English language more than Kohl himself. However, it soon became obvious, that he was very little use as a guide also: they became lost on the hillside on the way to Loch Katrine. After a few hours of aimless wandering Kohl sits down, hot and tired, by a spring and takes his guide to task for his inefficiency, caring not at all that the latter's name, Macpherson, might conceivably point to royal ancestry:

Ich nahm aber wenige Rücksicht auf diese Prätionen königlicher Abstammung und keifte so arg mit meinem Macpherson, wie der Aerger des Augenblicks es mir eingab. "Herr, wenn Ihr so wüthend gegen mich seid, so gebt mir lieber mein Geld und lasst mich nach Hause gehen! Warum scheltet Ihr? Was wollt Ihr denn von mir?" - "Ich will vor allen Dingen bessere Wege von Dir haben!" "Ja, Herr, kann ich denn die Wege ändern? Ich wollte selbst, sie wären besser; denn ich werde morgen meine Schuhe flicken lassen müssen!" - "Warum hast Du mich denn einen solchen Jammerweg in der Irre herumgeführt und warum hast Du nicht den rechten gewählt?" - "Ich schwöre Euch noch ein Mal, dass ich den rechten Weg nicht wusste und nicht weiss; ich hätte ihn Euch sonst gewiss nicht verhehlt!" - "Warum hast Du, Unseligster, Dich mir denn als Führer hier angeboten?!" - "Mein Gott, Herr, der Tageslohn ist jetzt schlecht, man verdient doch gern etwas, und ich mache es ja so gut, als ich kann!" - "Wenn Du mir nur noch ein wenig durch Erzählungen diese melancholische Reise versüsstest, aber Du bist ja so stumm wie ein Stück Holz! In diesen Wildnissen hat Rob Roy gehaust; könntest Du mir nicht irgend etwas

Interessantes von ihm mittheilen?!" - "Ich habe Euch ja schon gesagt, dass die Leute sprechen, er sei ein sehr kluger Mann und ein Räuber gewesen, und weiter weiss ich nichts von ihm." - "Wozu nimmt der Fremde denn Euch Führer, die Ihr Euer 'native country' selbst am besten kennt, als das Ihr ihn das Land und seine Natur etwas kennen lehrt!" - "Nun, Herr, wie die Natur des Landes beschaffen ist, das seht Ihr ja wohl selbst am besten. Guckt doch nur da und dort hin. Es ist ja ein jämmerlich armseliges Land." - "Könntest Du mir nicht etwas von dem Leben der Leute in den Bergen verrathen?!" - "Von dem Leben der Leute? Nun ja, das kann ich; hättet Ihr mich das nur gleich gefragt, so hätte ich es Euch schon längst gesagt. Die Leute leben hier meistens von Kartoffeln und Milch. Die Kartoffeln machen sie zu Muss, und die Milch giessen sie um den Breihaufen herum. An Feiertagen kochen sie sich auch ein Stück Lammfleisch zu Brose." - "Schon gut! schweig nur, packe wieder auf und lass uns weiter gehen."

(Kohl, ii, 102f.)

This passage is not only amusingly related, with excellent use of dialogue, but revealing both as to the character of Macpherson and Kohl, the foreign tourist. Not all the locals were willing to comply unerringly with the whims of the Romantic visitor, and in this light Macpherson was not half so stupid as Kohl would make him out to be. He has no romantic illusions about his country - times are hard and he welcomes any chance to earn a few extra pennies - in his Scotland Rob Roy and Robert the Bruce are dead and gone.

Meissner came across a similarly realistic guide whom he employed to show him the vitrified forts at Inverness. Eager to learn more of a subject of much topical interest and strongly linked with the Highlands, he asks the man if he had ever known anyone with second sight. The guide's reaction is clear cut: he looks at him proudly and says, "Sir! we look upon such things at Inverness as nonsense", at which the rebuffed Meissner comments, "Welch eine erfreuliche Aeusserung für die Aufgeklärten, und dieses zwar unter dem 58 Grad Nordens in einer Gegend, wo sonst Jedermann an die Sache glaubte" (Meissner, 261). In a footnote he goes into the subject, in which he himself still adamantly believes, at greater length.

On Iona Lewald encountered the well known official guide, Mr. Lamont. He was already an old man and was very soon to be ousted

from the prestigious rôle of island guide by his rival, the young school-master. But he was evidently still a great character. The party arrive on the island and are immediately surrounded by a swarm of red-haired women and children, dressed in ragged home-woven green and blue tartan;

Einen Rock und ein Beinkleid von solchem Stoffe trug auch ein grosser dicker Mann mit grauem Haare, der, auf einen starken Knotenstock gestützt, dem Steuermanne entgegenkam und uns Willkommen bot, wie Einer, der in seinem Hause die gastlichen Ehrenbezeugungen zu machen wünscht. Der Steuermann nannte ihn Mr. Lamont, und sagte mir, dass es der reichste Mann der Insel sei. Es kann nicht viel dazu gehören, diesen Titel zu verdienen.

(Lewald, ii, 516)

During the tour Lewald asks Mr. Lamont if he has always lived on the island, at which he tells something of his life; he came from a French emigré family and had only come to Iona by chance, but had fallen in love with an Iona girl, married her and promised that he would never leave the island. He had come more into contact with others since the arrival of the steam boat, but before that, and especially in winter, he had trouble "not to forget that there was a world except this island" (*ibid.*, 519). He tells a little of his own way of life and of the history of the island:

Es war eine eigentümliche Erscheinung, dieser Mr. Lamont ... Alles, was er sagte, war ganz verständig, er konnte mit seinen achtundsiebenzig Jahren für das Muster eines kräftigen Greises gelten, sein Auge war klar, sein Blick fest, sein Wort bestimmt, der Druck seiner Hand eisern, als er uns Lebewohl sagte; dennoch hat er mir einen spukhaften Eindruck gemacht, und sein Bild steht mir schon jetzt in so naher Erinnerung, nicht mehr wie das Bild eines Menschen, den ich gesehen, sondern wie die Vorstellung einer erdichteten Gestalt vor Augen, von der ich irgendwo gelesen habe. Das hat wohl darin seinen Grund, dass er ausser allem eigentlichen Zusammenhang mit seiner Umgebung erschien. Das Gespenst eines Mönches, oder ein Pirat in schottischer Kleidung, wurden mich weniger befremdlich gedünkt haben, als dieser eine Mann, mit dem Anstrich unserer Civilisation mitten unter den Ruinen fernster Zeit, von halb wilden bettelnden Kindern umringt. Alles, was ganz aus dem bestimmten Rahmen eines Bildes heraustritt, was ohne

Verbindung mit der Umgebung, grösser oder kleiner als dieselbe ist, wirkt unheimlich auf uns, wie ein greller Ton, eine schreiende Farbe, wie Alles, was die Harmonie zerstört.

(ibid., 519f.)

There are several such occasions in the German narratives when the Romantic notion of Scotland appears shattered by characters who seem out of place on account of their education or experience, yet at the same time Lewald is making a valid 'classical' point.

Although Lamont himself was not a schoolmaster, he was to be succeeded by one, and it was with schoolmasters that many of the foreign visitors found it easiest to make contact. Spiker met the schoolmaster of Dalmally, Mr. Robinson, who had been recommended to him as a Gaelic expert; Robinson disappointed the German on that score, but he told him that most of the country schoolmasters in the area had studied primarily theology (Spiker, 250). Twenty-five years later Kohl was to make a point of calling on the village schoolmasters and ministers wherever he went; in Killin, for instance, he finds both the schoolmaster and the minister very genial and well educated (Kohl, ii, 73) and in Kenmore he feels in need of some good company, so entertains himself in the inn where he is staying by inviting a farmer whom he had met on the road ("a real Häland-man", since, "speaking more particularly, who has the language, is a Highlander" [sic] (ibid., 6) - in other words, a Gaelic speaker), the local schoolmaster and the landlord and his family. They have a pleasant evening and the conversation is, according to Kohl, typical of Scotland, ranging from the topics of the Gaelic language, the wearing of the kilt, and Highlanders, Lowlanders and Sassenachs, to that of the topical agricultural subject of drainage (ibid., 6 - 15). Having travelled from Stirling in the company of the very friendly minister of Muthill, Kohl decides to stop off himself in that village for the night. In the small inn where he stays he has everything he could wish for, a friendly and talkative old landlady, a clean room (with a bed, "wie gewöhnlich in England, einen halben Acker gross" - ibid., i, 129), milk, whisky, porridge, brose; however, he finds his needs of the moment to be not only physical, but also intellectual, and so he seeks out the village schoolmaster, whom he finds sitting alone by his fire:

Die Dorfschulmeister sind eine Classe von Menschen, die der wissbegierige Reisende in keinem Lande vernachlässigen darf. Denn sie stehen an der äussersten Gränze der gebildeten Stände und sind von denen, die da denken, vergleichen und raisonniren, diejenigen, welche der Grundbevölkerung des Landes sich am nächsten befinden. Sie haben die Kenntniss des Volkes und seiner Sitten ebenso aus erster Hand, wie die Förster, die Jäger, die Fischer, die Pächter u. die Kenntnisse der Natur des Landes, der Thiere, der Pflanzen, des Klimas aus erster Hand haben. Gewöhnlich hat sich daher bei den Dorfschullehrern ein so hübscher Schatz von Volkskenntniss, besonders eine grosse Detailkenntniss ihres Landeslocales und der Sitten ihrer Dorfbewohner und Nachbarn angesammelt, wie man ihn selbst bei den Predigern, die schon in viel höheren und entlegeneren Regionen walten, nicht findet. Der Ethnograph und der Statistiker können, wenn sie kritisch verfahren, unendlich Vieles aus dem Schatzkästlein der Dorfschullehrer schöpfen, und könnte man diese kleinen Schätze in jedem Lande nur alle zusammentragen, so würde ein grosser Hauptschatz daraus entstehen.

(ibid, 129f.)

Kohl is very pleasantly surprised by the friendly, clean and even elegant appearance of the schoolmaster's house and compares it favourably to the dwelling of the latter's typical counterpart in Saxony. They go on to compare the living and working conditions of schoolmasters in Scotland and in Germany: "Mein lehrender Freund war mir vor allen Dingen selbst eine lehrreiche Erscheinung. Denn ich fand in ihm, wie später in mehren seiner Collegen, einen sehr klugen und wohlunterrichteten Mann " (ibid., 130). Next morning Kohl is invited to breakfast by the minister, after which they go for a walk to Drummond Castle, accompanied by the minister's lively collie, a gift, it transpires, shortly before his death, from no other than James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd (ibid., 143).

Kohl's visit to Perth was also enhanced by the people he met. Perhaps most interesting is the fact that the guide he employed to show him the town was black. Perth was no less cosmopolitan than other towns; after all, he points out, the victor of Seringapatnam, Sir David Baird, lived nearby, poor Indians were to be seen begging in the streets, dark children from the Sahara Desert showed one the way through the town, and the mother of the Empress of Morocco lived on a Perthshire moor! Kohl's guide, Bob, is mocked by a crowd of boys who follow them, both for his colour and his English, a mixture

of African, English and Scots dialects. How Eob came to be in Perth Kohl does not impart.⁴⁵ In the evening Kohl meets several friendly "sportsmen", who proceed to tell him all he needs to know about their national games, curling and golf. He is invited to the house of an avid golfer, who gives him an enthusiastic illustrated description of the game;⁴⁶ it is most important that the ball is made correctly, the leather just right, and the white lead paint of an exact consistency:

Aber Mr. W. & S. Gourlay(47) werden Ihnen das Warum davon noch weiter auseinandersetzen. Wir haben hier zu viel zu tun! - Ach, mein Gott! Mary, mache doch die Stubenthür zu! Dieser Herr will gern das Golfspiel kennen lernen, und die Kinder machen einen Lärm, man hört kaum sein eigenes Wort." (Ich war nämlich mit meinem Freunde in seinem Hause, - Mary war seine Frau, - und ich bemerke nur hiebei, dass ich keine Novelle schreibe, sondern einfach und genau die Dinge und Personen nach dem Leben zeichne).

(ibid., ii, 184)

It is precisely because he does just that, that the characters in Kohl's journal come to life.

Kohl gives a lively and amusing account of a lecture he attended in Doune by a certain, and evidently well known, Dr. John MacNab. His account lasts for thirteen pages and his reasons for this are made clear:

Da wir so etwas, wie einen Doctor, der seine medicinische Praxis dadurch zu vermehren sucht, dass er in Dörfern herumreist und den Leuten Vorlesungen über die Erhaltung der Gesundheit hält, bei uns nicht kennen, so wird es meine deutschen Leser ohne Zweifel interessiren, zu hören, was ich hier fand.

(ibid., 140f.)

It would have done the doctor no good to have appeared in the guise of an Italian charlatan, colourful and ostentatious, such as Kohl himself had often witnessed in the Roman and Neapolitan villages,

Denn er wusste sehr wohl, dass diese offene Charlatanerie seinen ernstesten Schotten nicht behagen würde. Sie hätten ihn ja gleich für einen Charlatan erkannt. Er war daher ganz schwarz gekleidet und hatte in seinem Wesen etwas Gentlemanlikes. Jeder, der in England selbst nur die Gunst der Gemeinsten unter den Commoners fangen will, muss ein Stück von einem Gentleman sein, und ich hätte ihn

für einen ganz ehrlichen Mann nehmen können, wenn er nicht zu reden angefangen hätte.

(ibid., 141)

When Kohl enters the nearly empty room, MacNab is seated amidst a mass of papers, in which he appears engrossed. Gradually the audience - a few workmen, farmhands, weavers, some girls and boys and some old women - begin to appear, and when they number about twenty, MacNab sees fit to begin, which he does by insisting that in order to keep things correct, a chairman be nominated from the audience. A long silence ensues, till eventually a name is called, and, after some reluctance, its owner is pushed forward and takes up his seat of office, which he fills admirably throughout the meeting. Kohl remarks that he has often noted that under such circumstances the members of the lower classes in Britain all react in a similar way - they first show great reluctance, but once they have made the decision to take part, they do so with great dignity and correctness.

Bei uns würden diese Leute von der Bescheidenheit zuviel und von der furchtlosen Würde zu wenig haben. Auch das ist merkwürdig, dass selbst in solchen geringfügigen Versammlungen sich immer wieder das Streben zu einer Regierung mit verantwortlichen Ministern, oder besser, zu einer Selbstregierung des Volkes zeigt. Selbst ein solcher Charlatan wagt es nicht, das Ruder des Regiments über seine Dorfbewohnerversammlung zu ergreifen, und er lässt sie für den Abend ihr Oberhaupt selbst wählen, dessen Aufforderungen und Anordnungen sie sich unterwerfen.

(ibid., 143)

At eight o'clock the chairman opens the meeting and then MacNab gives his speech,

die ein Meisterstück von derjenigen eigenthümlichen Art von Charlatanismus (Humbug) war, die in England zu Hause ist. Vermöchte ich sie in ihrer ganzen Länge hier zu wiederholen, so würde der Leser darin so viel Charakteristisches für die Engländer und für die englischen Sitten finden, als ihm kaum eine umständliche Untersuchung dieses Gegenstandes geben könnte. Leider kann ich nur Einiges daraus mittheilen.

(ibid.)

Dr. MacNab, it transpires, is one of Glasgow's leading practitioners - he not only has the patronage of the nobility but resides in George

Street, where the élite of Glasgow live, has a wonderful wife and nine handsome, healthy children, his house being the only one in George Street not to have suffered family losses through illness. Moreover, his record as a doctor is unique and depends on two things - his unerring ability to diagnose correctly and the system of healthy living which he advocates, namely temperance, good food, ventilation and one other vital ingredient to a healthy life which Kohl has unfortunately forgotten. For the benefit of his audience he expands on this - "good food! cheap bread! and high wages!" (ibid., 147). Only Kohl is left to wonder how the doctor reconciles these views with the extensive name-dropping of nobility and riches, in which he had just indulged. The doctor extends a warm welcome to all those present to visit him in Glasgow, assures them that of all the places in Scotland, Doune is that which he most prefers, and before he closes the meeting, distributes both his visiting-cards and the names of some of his medicines. Only Kohl appears unimpressed by the man, who had begun the meeting with a facile explanation of the working of the human body, which he likened to a piece of machinery, the heart being the steam-engine and the stomach the fire which perpetually needs refuelling, and ended the evening with this over-effusive show of goodwill.

Kohl does not approve of the manner in which MacNab plays on his audience's ignorance; it is all very well to advocate temperance and good food only to those who can afford the commodities in the first place. But while Kohl was against such charlatanism, it did at least bring a small measure of general knowledge and education to those to whom it would not normally have been available. The travelling lecturers were very much a part of life:

Es ist nicht selten in den grossbritannischen Dörfern, solchen Lecturern und Charlatans zu begegnen, und ich gab meinen deutschen Lesern die Rede und das Benehmen meines Mac Nab als ein Beispiel für alle.

(ibid., 152)

The people whom Kohl describes were thus not all Scots, but quite simply those he encountered on his way, whether Scottish, English, African, or, as in the following excerpt, Irish:

"Weel [Schottisch statt 'well'] , have you seen fair Perth-town? ... ha! ha! Ha!" fing ..., den

schottischen Dialekt nachahmend, der Irländer an, welcher neben mich auf demjenigen Wagen zu sitzen kam, der seine 'Out- and inside pasengers' nach dem Norden entführen sollte. "Have you seen the bonnie lasses of Perth?" ... "Carls [statt 'girls'] call them the cockneys ... Ha! ha! ha!" - "Bless my heart! and weel they are! Und fromm und religiös dazu; denn diese Schottinnen, wenn sie mit den jungen Schotten zusammenkommen, so sprechen sie von nichts als von der 'unity of peace' ..., von der 'glory of heaven' ..., von der Bibel, von der Kirk, und bei alledem überschleicht sie die Liebe, und die Heirat ist bald fertig. Ha! ha! ha!" - "Scht! scht! Sprechen Sie nicht so laut! Es sitzen ein Paar Schotten neben uns, und die könnten es übel nehmen." - "Oho, das macht nichts! Die Schotten wissen einmal, dass wir Irländer von Haus aus halbe Heiden sind und verloren für diese und jene Welt. Auferwachsen sind wir in der Finsternis des Katholicismus und inmitten der 'errors of popery' ... Sie nehmen von uns nichts übel. Ha! ha! ha! Es ist kalt, Herr! "Will you not take a dram of toddy?" ... "A splendid stuff is toddy? Is it not, sir?" ... Vielleicht drückte mein Gesicht, als ich sein Anerbieten annahm, keine Bestimmung aus. "Bless my eyes'. In the name of wonder! ... Was für ein Gesicht machen Sie, ha! ha! ha! O, Herr, wir dürfen heute Toddy nehmen und kutschen und in die Welt hineinreisen; denn wie Sie wissen, es ist ja heute ein 'lawful morning' [... heisst in Schottland ein solcher, an dem man den Gesetzen nach arbeiten und reisen darf, d.h. also ein Wochentag. Die Sonn- und Feiertage sind nicht 'lawful'. 'Every lawful morning goes the coach from Perth to Dunkeld' ..., so kündigen die schottischen Postmeister die Stunde ihrer Reisegelegenheit an.], ha! ha! ha!"

Ich hatte meine wahre Noth mit diesem beständig sich, seine Augen, sein Herz, im Namen der Wunder, und im Namen noch anderer Dinge segnenden Irländer, der meinen ernstesten Schotten sehr anstößig sein musste, denn je weniger diese lachten, desto mehr schien dies meines Irländers Lachlust noch zu kirren. Man erkennt die Irländer in Schottland sogleich, wie die weissen Schafe unter den schwarzen.

(ibid., i, 196 ff.)

Such a lively character sketch reveals far more about a person than any generalisations regarding national character traits.

The other travel accounts do also contain a varied selection of descriptions of fellow travellers, Scots and otherwise; one can mention the brother and sister who befriended Marx in Edinburgh (Marx, 16)

the Russian merchant, French banker and Dutch hypochondriac whom Isensee encounters (Isensee, 116ff., 120 & 152), the name-dropping, self-opinionated English eye doctor, Mr. Williams, honorary optician to Ludwig XVIII, whom Löwenthal meets (and dislikes) (Löwenthal, 109), Rellstab's German-born Edinburgh guide, Hoffmann, and his naturalised son, a joiner and plane maker "in dessen Gesicht sich deutsche Redlichkeit und englische, ich möchte noch lieber sagen, schottische Unbefangtheit und Unschuld, angenehm mischten" (Rellstab, i, 231), the benevolent circuit judge who gives Wichmann a ride in the Borders, and Wichmann's fellow student, the young long-haired American, whom he and the judge find and join over a glass of toddy in the inn at Jedburgh and with whom Wichmann decides to continue his tour (Wichmann, 82f.), the two French tourists who go to make up part of Rellstab's 'dramatis personae' on his Highland tour (Rellstab, i, 291ff.), the kindred spirit Fontane finds in Mr. Marshall, his guide on Loch Leven (Fontane, 384ff.), and the boatman who rows Ullrich on Loch Lomond, "ein junger Bursche von gedrungenem, finster trotzigem Ansehen, als ob er von dem wilden Stamm der MacGregors abstamme" (Ullrich, 385). Next to Kohl's, the characters who fill Brandes' account perhaps present the most varied selection, from the little girl who guides him to the ruins of Cadzow Castle (Brandes, 19), to the friendly merchant, Mr. MacCubbin, whom Brandes meets in the inn at Hamilton and who gives him a conducted tour of the Royal Exchange, after receiving him at his home at 85 Queen Street in Glasgow (Brandes, 20ff.); from the Norwich family Brandes meets in Cban, father and two sons, the younger a bored 14-year-old and the older a 25-year-old budding academic and Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (ibid., 32ff.), to the Hanoverian merchant he meets in the inn at Banavie, who had come to Dundee on a business trip and was now touring the Highlands with two patriotic Scotsmen, "Mr. Thoms, Handelsmann, äusserst jovial und redselig, und Mr. Gardiner, Dr. med., ernst, bedächtig und schweigsam" (ibid., 46); and lastly the six young ladies in the party of Viscount Gough's⁴⁸ nephew on board the steamer on Loch Ness (ibid., 50f.).

Finally, the Scots were also encountered outside Scotland. Such 'exiled' Scots seem to possess one characteristic without fail - a nostalgic longing for home. Pückler-Muskau's Briefe eines Verstorbenen

contain three lively and detailed accounts of his meetings with the colourful Highland chieftain in Brighton, a Scot with a desperate yearning for home,⁴⁹ and something of the same mood is conveyed to Carus on being entertained in Plymouth by the Governor of the town, the Scottish-born Admiral Sir David Milne, his wife and two daughters and son, Captain Milne, who the next day was to set off for Gibraltar in command of the aptly named warship, the "Caledonia". A young cousin from Scotland was also with the family, waiting for his ship to leave for the East Indies in a few days time: he was a boy of only thirteen years, and already a midshipman. All the family had been born in Scotland and still hankered after their homeland. Carus was seated beside the eldest daughter:

Bei dem Luncheon erzählte mir meine artige Nachbarin lebhaft von Schottland, wie es ihr dort mehr als irgendwo gefalle, wie glücklich sie dort mit den Eltern gelebt habe, und wie zwar auch hier in diesem grössern bewegtern Leben es an interessanter Unterhaltung nicht fehle, wie sie aber doch immer in ihr Schottland sich zurücksehne. Diese gewisse Ingenuität, verbunden mit der ganzen Einfachheit und Tüchtigkeit dieser Familie, machte mir einen durchaus angenehmen Eindruck. Selbst die Art dieses Mahles stimmte dazu in aller seiner Kernhaftigkeit und Nationalität, mit seinem trefflichen Beef, kalten Speisen, den nie fehlenden grünen Erbsen, den trocknen Kartoffeln, bei vorzüglichem Claret und Champagner. — Es herrschte hier die klare, weder zurückhaltende noch pretentiöse, nicht bloss europäische, sondern jene freie Weltbildung, welche macht dass man sich sogleich auch als Weltbürger, und also heimisch fühlt.

(Carus, ii, 35f.)

Three years previously Marx had been seated beside a Scots lady one evening at dinner in London. She had suddenly become transformed and enlivened when he began to tell her of his recent Scottish tour and she expressed her regret that he had not penetrated further into the Highlands and to Staffa. They went on to discuss the finer points of Scottish marmalade, properly made with quince rather than figs, as Marx had believed; this leads him to quote from Scott's Waverley on the subject (Marx, 279f.). Of all the encounters with 'exiled' Scottish ladies in the South of England, the most memorable is perhaps an occasion described by Raumer, a lunch party in the house of the publisher, John Murray, in London in 1835. Of the other guests Raumer

at first mentions only the authoress and translator Mrs. Austin,⁵⁰ the wife, son and daughter of Charles Kemble⁵¹ and the reviewer of Raumer's own history of the Hohenstaufen, the poet and church historian, Mr. Milman⁵². Seated between Mrs. Murray and another lady, "von einnehmenden Wesen", Raumer converses with the latter, discovering that like himself she had a French mother; furthermore she sharply refutes any claim to English birth by announcing "ich bin eine Schottin". Hearing this, Raumer finds himself conversing, as if inevitably, first about Mary Queen of Scots, then Walter Scott and his accurate portrayal of the Queen in The Abbot. The conversation continues along the same lines until Murray, evidently having overheard parts of it, leaves his seat and comes over to whisper in Raumer's ear, "Wissen Sie wer Ihre Nachbarin ist? . . . Es ist die Tochter von Walter Scott!" The surprised German continues:

Ich kann Dir kaum beschreiben, welch grossen Eindruck diese unerwartete Nachricht auf mich machte! Nicht Besorgniss, etwas Unangenehmes, nicht Wohlgefallen, etwas Angenehmes gesagt zu haben, nichts von dem Allen kam mir in den Sinn; sondern ich weiss kaum, auf welchem Wege ich allein an dem Gedanken fest hielt: Walter Scott ist todt! Ich fühlte nur den Schmerz der Tochter, einen solchen Vater verloren zu haben, die Wehmuth, ihn nur in seinen Werken sprechen zu hören, nur von Fremden aus der Ferne ein schwaches Echo eigener Gefühle zu vernehmen. Ich schäme mich nicht zu gestehen, dass ich nur mit Mühe einer Wehmuth Herr werden konnte, welche durchaus nicht in eine heitere Tischgesellschaft gehörte, und vielleicht die am meisten gestört hätte, welche ich auf keine Weise verletzen wollte.

(Raumer, 1835, 95)

While Raumer here allows little of Mrs. Lockhart's own character to emerge, imbuing her instead with his own emotional reaction to her father's death, Carus' emphasis on the cosmopolitan nature of the 'exiled' Milne family reveals a more modern and liberal outlook; although the "Romantic Scot" may remain a hazy ideal, the "Weltbürger", who has risen above nationalism but retains close ties with his homeland, presents the real, and to Carus more positive, alternative.

c) Dress and Social Customsi. Dress

Das Ansehn der Männer ist wild und ihre fremde Kleidung, die so sehr von jeder andern europäischen abweicht, ist zum Theil Schuld daran.
(Schopenhauer, 316)

It was this exotic aspect of Scottish national dress which so attracted the German visitors. Yet Schopenhauer had to admit that after the initial impact the effect was dulled, revealing the men behind the kilts and plaids, and it is their character rather than their costume which she goes on to describe:

Im Umgange verliert sich der Eindruck gänzlich, den ihr erster Anblick erregt. Ihr von Luft und harter Arbeit gebräuntes Gesicht ist ausdrucksvoll, seine Züge sind angenehm und regelmässig. Stillter Ernst, welcher an Trauer gränzt, scheint der Grundton ihres Wesens; dennoch können sie sehr fröhlich seyn.
(ibid.)

And as if to dissipate the exotic myth further, Schopenhauer then writes of the Highlanders' knowledge of their history and culture, the surprising extent of their education and their deep sense of religion.

By the time of Schopenhauer's visit in 1803 Highland dress was already dying out. Some were loath to recognise this, but Meidinger and Löwenthal, in Scotland some twenty years later, were both anxious to state the truth of the matter:

Die Kleidung ist in Schottland dieselbe wie in England und auf dem europäischen Festlande. Die einzige Auszeichnung bei Herren und Damen sind noch die sogenannten schottischen Mäntel, von mehrfarbigem gestreiftem Zeug, und bei den Frauen zuweilen Turbane und Shawls von demselben Zeuge. Sonst ist von der alten Nationaltracht der Schotten (einige Regimente Bergschotten und die Dudelsackpfeifer abgerechnet) nichts mehr zu sehen. (Meidinger, Reisen, 26f.)

These were the plain facts and many of the Germans, intent on visions of romantic Highland dress, were to be disappointed. The typical 'Scottish gentleman' was dressed not exotically, but soberly, "in schwarzem Frack und schwarzen Beinkleidern" (Brandes, 19), and thus caused little stir amongst visiting Europeans; only the bonnets of

the unkilted young men and boys were worthy of note (Meidinger, Reisen, 4). The dress of the women, on the other hand, receives more attention, but it is only to be expected that accounts of any Highland dress that was seen are the most enthusiastic.

To many of the travellers the fact that men were not wearing the kilt was the only point of interest regarding their 'English' attire. Thus Brandes was disappointed to find nobody dressed in Highland garb on the road to Banavie (Brandes, 46), while Hallberg observes that the inevitable result of lifting the proscription was that trousers, now no longer obligatory, would be worn in preference to the formerly banned kilt (Hallberg-Broich, 75). The conditions of squalor in which many Scots lived also caused some comment; Meidinger remarks that the clothes of the people of Burntisland were shabby and dirty, but he attributes this to the international problem of poverty rather than to a national trait (Meidinger, Reisen, 39f.) Similarly Wichmann found the children in the Highland villages poorly clad, yet they appeared healthy enough: "schmucke, gesunde, kräftige Kinder mit langen, herabhängenden Haaren, Mädchen und Knaben, nur mit der nothdürftigsten Kleidung umherlaufend" (Wichmann, 24). It is a sense of fashion as if in defiance of poverty which was to strike Schinkel on Mull:

Auffallend war es mir, wie modisch die armen Einwohner dieser Hütten in mancher Beziehung sich kleiden. Namentlich betrifft diese Bemerkung den Kopfputz. In Lumpen gehüllt und baarfuss, stülpen die Weiber dennoch ein feines Häubchen oder einen Hut mit Krausen und Band über das ungekämmte Haar.

(Schinkel, iii, 105)

The women and children were apparently more interesting to the German visitors. Rellstab describes the old women and small children he met on the road to Galashiels, remembering the former as

gute schwatzende Gevatterinnen, die sich in dem Strahl der Nachmittagssonne wärmten; wohlhändig gekleidete Bürgerweiber mit seltsamen Hauben, Bändern und Kopfschmückungen; nicht eben die geschmackvollsten, denn Geschmack hat der Engländer und der Schotte nur nach einzelnen Richtungen und nicht eben im Uebermass.

(Rellstab, i, 267)

The Scots women were renowned for walking barefoot and the Germans did not hesitate to comment on this custom, so contrary to their own

taste. Having visited the scene of the Battle of Bothwell Brig, Brandes writes:

Als ich von der Brücke ... fortging, sah ich eine scheinbar vornehme schottische Lady mit Strohhut, grossem Umschlagtuch und glänzendem Kleide angethan, mir entgegen kommen, und als ich ihr nahe war, siehe da, sie ging baarfuss und hatte wahrlich keine chinesische Füsse. So seltsame Harmonien sind mir in Schottland öfters begegnet. (Brandes, 19)

Some thirty years before Brandes, Otto had sought to compare the young ladies of Edinburgh with their London counterparts, inevitably to the detriment of the former; he found them culturally less accomplished and physically less attractive: "Hübsch sind sie nicht, meistens Blondinen; ihren Gesichtszügen fehlt der seelenvolle Ausdruck, der die jungen Schönen in London so vorzüglich auszeichnet" (Otto, 295). Unlike Schinkel, Otto found that the Scottish women took far less care over their head dress, allowing their hair to blow uncombed in the wind; he, too, was struck by their bare feet, although he is careful to contradict the statement of a recent French travel writer who had claimed that all the women in Scotland go without shoes.⁵⁴ Otto carefully points out that it is only the women and children of the lower classes who go barefoot. As a lady of fashion, Schopenhauer had also been unimpressed by the clothes of the Scottish women, albeit those of the poorer classes:

Die Tracht der Weiber hat nichts Ausgezeichnetes. Auch sie bedienen sich häufig jenes schottischen Zeuches, übrigens gehen sie sehr ärmlich, schmutzig sogar, mit nackten Füssen, oft in blossen, kurz geschnittenen Haaren, ohne Haube oder Hut ... Keine langen Kleider, keine hübschen Strohhüte mehr, die man in England überall sieht. Blosser Füsse, schlechte baumwollne Röcke, unförmliche, bis an die Knie reichende, weite Jacken, bisweilen unter der Brust mit einem Gürtel gehalten, öfters noch loshängend, weisse Hauben, die tief in's Gesicht gehen und bis auf die Schultern herabhängen ... (Schopenhauer, 301)

To Holzenthal, after weeks at sea and months of imprisonment, the country girls he first encountered on the road to Hawick seemed richly clad:

In allen Dorfschaften durch die wir kamen, sahen wir viele junge Mädchen in langen schönen Kattunenen oder musselinenen Kleidern, mit seidenen Hüten oder anderen Kopfputz. Nach Erkundigung erfuhren wir, dass dies Bauermädchen, der Landessitte gemäss gekleidet waren. - Für uns musste dieser Luxus der Kleidung sehr befremdend sein. (Holzenthal, 203f.)

Later he gives a more balanced account of the women as he had known them in the Borders:

Das schottische Frauenzimmer ist von gewöhnlicher Grösse und derbem Bau, sein Haar blond, obgleich man auch häufig Brünetten findet, sanften blauen Augen und sehr blühender Farbe, welches die Folge der einfachen Lebensart ist. Einen kleinen zierlichen Fuss, vorzüglich bei der Bürger-Classe, findet man höchst selten, da das den Sommer über gebräuchliche Saarfussgehen die Fusssohle sehr ausdehnt; noch weniger muss man den Gang einer Spanierin bei ihnen suchen, der ihrige ist ganz von Grazie entblösst. Auf der andern Seite hingegen muss man aber gestehen, dass selbst das ärmste Mädchen sich reinlich und geschmackvoll kleidet. Alle Unverheiratheten gehen ohne Kopfbedeckung und von dem reichsten bis zum ärmsten Mädchen, ist das Scheitelhaar in zierliche herabhängende Locken gelegt und das Hinterhaar mit einem Kamm aufgesteckt.

(ibid., 214)

Some forty years later Wichmann was to react very differently to the poorer people of Edinburgh. His thoughts were drawn to the social implications of the gulf between rags and riches. Reflecting on the contrast between the Old and the New Towns, he writes:

Wenn dort der feine schwarze Frack des Gentleman und das rauschende seidene Kleid der Lady vorherrschen, Überwiegen hier bei feierlichen Gelegenheiten der zerrissene Rock des Proletariers, die zerlumpte Erscheinungen von Weibern und Kindern, fast immer ohne irgend eine Fussbekleidung, welche die Hauptstrassen massenweise anfüllen und einen Anblick von Jammer und Elend gewähren, an den ein deutsches Auge sich erst allmählig gewöhnen kann.

(Wichmann, 4)

In 1822 Löwenthal had been more concerned that his German readers should have a description of the appearance and attire of both town and country folk, Lowlanders and Highlanders. From Glasgow he writes:

Hier ist die Gentlemanswuth unter den Männern ungleich geringer als in London, dafür aber auch die Zerlumptheit und Unsauberkeit ungleich grösser. Die Weiber auf dem Lande - sie sind vom hübschesten Schlage - tragen durchaus Kattungewänder, Kopf und Füsse sind meist entblösst, die goldenen Haare an der Stirne in zwei Locken gedreht. Hier in der Stadt hüllen sie sich häufigst in Ueberwurfe mit Kapuzen, welche sie über die Köpfe ziehen, ganz wie das

Volk in den Pyranäen. Diese Umhängemäntel sind entweder von grünlicher Farbe oder scharlachroth, oder von jenem bekannten, blau und grün, roth, blau und grün u.s.w. gewürfelten schottischen Stoffe (Tartan), welcher in den letzten Jahren auch bei unseren Damen so viel Eingang gefunden. Auch einige bergschottische Soldaten sah ich; eine Erscheinung, welche dem deutschen Wanderer allerdings erwähnenswerth seyn muss. (Löwenthal, 91f.)

He finishes the passage with a description of the soldiers' dress.

If the Scotswomen were remarkable for their bare heads and feet, the Scotsmen were famed for their Highland dress, even though it was generally recognised by the turn of the century that it was fast vanishing from everyday life. By the 1830's, the German reading public had had firm visions of romantic Highland costume instilled in their imagination by Scott and Pückler-Muskau. Even before this time the uniform of the Scottish soldiers had become known throughout Europe and, since few others wore the kilt regularly, it is very often soldiers whom the travellers describe when writing of the impact of Highland dress. Pückler-Muskau's Briefe eines Verstorbenen was so widely read, that his portrayal of the colourful Highland chieftain can be used here as a yardstick, since it was just such a romantic picture which fulfilled the demands of the German reading public. Pückler first met "the Romantic Scot", as he calls him, at a Brighton Almack: ^{54a}

I was told that the chief of a Highland clan, with a name as long as a Spaniard's, - a descendant of some Island king, and proud as Holofernes of a thousand years of noble ancestry, - wished to make my acquaintance. I had reason to congratulate myself on making his; for I found him a living model of one of Walter Scott's pictures. A genuine Highland Scot, hanging with body and soul on ancestry and ancient customs, having great contempt for the English, full of fire, good-natured, loyal-hearted and brave; but childishly vain, and, on that side, as easy to wound as to win. I very gladly took refuge from the tedium of the crowd in conversation with a man of so original a character. I sat down by him on a bench in the tea-room, and got him to tell me of all the glories of his ancient heritage, all the battles of his forefathers, and his own travels and adventures. The worthy man described to me at great length his Highland dress, to which he

evidently attached immense importance; and told me a long history of the effect his appearance in it had produced on the Court of Berlin. There was doubtless enough to excite a smile in his account of the astonishment of the King and Queen, and of the signal attentions his striking dress commanded; yet there was a fire and a simplicity in his manner of relating the triumphs of his national costume, that touched me extremely.

(Pückler-Muskau, iii, 331f.)

In the letter of four days later Pückler-Muskau confirms the Scottish patriotic pride once more:

My original friend the Scot, - who, I am told, has killed two or three men in duels - visited me this morning, and brought me his genealogy, printed, with the whole history of his race or 'clan'. He complained bitterly that another man of his name contested the rank of chieftain with him; and took great pains to prove to me, from the work he had brought, that he was the true one: he added, that "the judgement of Heaven between them would be the best way of deciding their respective claims". He then called my attention to his arms ...

(ibid., iii, 339f.)

A week later, as a taste of the chief's striking appearance, Pückler-Muskau describes the Highlander's dress at an Almack's fancy ball:

It is really very handsome; in the highest degree rich, picturesque, and manly: the only thing that does not please me is the shoes with the large buckles. The sword is just in the form of one of our students' rapiers; and besides that, there is a dagger, pistols, and cartouche-box. The arms are set with precious stones; and an eagle's feather, the badge of a chieftain, adorns the cap.

(ibid., iii, 353f.)

Early the following year Pückler-Muskau recalls the exiled,

somewhat fantastic, but powerful and original Highlander. In the full pride of manly strength he has ceased to live. He was on board a steam-boat with his two daughters, and shortly before landing received such a blow on the head from one of the yards, that he fell into a fit of delirium on the spot, sprang into the sea, and swam to the shore, where he soon after expired. This end has a certain kindred tragic character with the history of an ancestor he told me of with such pride, to which he traced the origin of his arms - a bloody hand on a field of azure ...

(ibid., iv, 290)

The story he proceeds to relate is one almost identical with the legend of the winning of Ireland. As for the fate of the chieftain himself, it can be directly compared with the tale told by Fontane concerning Glengarry (Fontane, 250ff.).⁵⁵

Small wonder that the Germans nurtured vivid Romantic pictures of the Scots. It was such character portrayals as these which they read and remembered. Many of them came to Scotland expecting to see Walter Scott characters, as colourful and romantic as Pückler-Muskau's chief, and in turn many were to be disappointed. Highland dress as they imagined it was dress costume and as they actually saw it, in everyday life, it was seldom so colourful and far from glamorous. Moreover, while Spiker reported from Killin in 1816 that all the men and boys were dressed in the kilt (Spiker, 248), the situation had altered so markedly by the time of Förster's visit thirty-five years later that the latter was forced to admit with regret that he never saw "die malerische schottische Volkstracht" at all (Förster, 315). When a kilted Highlander was seen, however, the fact seldom went unmentioned - the kilt and plaid were to remain something outlandish and remarkable. Even Hallberg-Broich, who was at pains to report that trousers were becoming more and more common at the time of his visit in 1839, writes from Inverness that, "in den Hochländern sollen sie aber noch ihre nackten Beine bis über die Kniee zeigen, mit kurzen bunten Strümpfen und einen Shawl von allerhand bunten Farben über die Schulter". He adds: "Wir nennen diese Tracht theatralisch, weil sie dem Mann ein starkes befehlshaberisches Ansehen gibt, aber in diesen Gegenden hat die gewöhnliche englische Kleidung sie ganz verdrängt" (Hallberg-Broich, 75).

Manly and commanding or unnecessarily theatrical, the spectacle of a kilted Highlander continued to excite the Germans, none more so than Fontane. Yet even Fontane is quick to qualify his enthusiasm: "sie [die Hochlandetracht] kennt nur die Extreme und ist entweder abscheulich oder vom höchsten malerischen Reiz" (Fontane, 407). The contrast between kilted beggars in London and the wealthy kilted farmer he sees in Inverness, "ein Bild männlicher Kraft" (*ibid.*, 407), is great enough, but if Fontane has a feel for the elasticity of a real Highlander's gait, "an dem das Auge des Fremden, er mag wollen oder

nicht, mit einer Art kindlicher Bewunderung hängt" (ibid., 407), all the Highland dress he has ever seen pales before the electrifying impact of that worn by the handsome imposing figure of the chieftain he encounters on the Crinan Canal. In both the descriptions he gives of the chief,⁵⁶ Fontane conveys a sense that this man is indeed exotic and out of the ordinary - "Nie habe ich eine schönere Erscheinung gesehen" (ibid., 307 & 408) - especially in contrast to the travelling garb of those about him. In the later description, however, he adds a cautionary conclusion: "so kann also ein Hochländer aussehen, wenn er nebenher ein Häuptling und ein Capitän in der Coldstream-Garde ist, aber man würde Unrecht thun, aus solchem Einzelfall auf die allgemeine Kleidsamkeit des Kilt und Plaid, der nackten Kniee und der carrirten Strümpfe zu schliessen" (ibid., 408).

Most of the Highlanders described, like Fontane's chieftain (whom he first surmises to be a Macleod and then a Maclean) were members of Highland regiments, stationed either in Stirling or Edinburgh. Carus was also taken with the sight of the soldiers at Fort Augustus, the "Festung in Taschenformat":

Sie sahen hübsch aus in ihrer rothen Uniform, den Plaid darüber, den gewürfelten Kilt darunter, die hohe Mütze mit schwarzen Straussenfedern auf dem Kopfe, die Strümpfe am blossen Bein mit rothen Bändern geschmückt.

(Carus, ii, 236)

The 'toy' fort and the colourful soldiers with their distinctive Highland weapons add romance to the already picturesque scenery. Hailbronner expresses this sentiment explicitly when he sees the soldiers at Stirling Castle:

Es erzeugt einen tiefen Eindruck, vor diesem uralten Schottenpalaste die Hochländer-Soldaten mit ihren nackten Beinen und althergestamten Kilt und malerisch drapirtem Plaid Wache halten zu sehen, in der Tracht, in der ihre Vorfahren für das Recht ihrer Fürsten kämpften und starben. Allein wenn man alles erschöpft zu haben glaubt, was der schöne Romantismus der Feudalzeit hervorgerufen hat, dann mache man sich erst auf nach Edinburgh und besehe auf dem Wege das alte schön zwischen Bäumen gruppirte Schloss Linlithgow, wo Maria Stuart ihr Leben empfangen, um es nicht ferne davon durch der Schwester Beil wieder zu verlieren ...

(Hailbronner, 332)

It matters little that Hailbronner has misrepresented historical fact here - the significance of the Highland soldiers is that they are both picturesque and a vital link with the Romance of the past, leading the author naturally on to write of the most romantic of all Scottish historical figures, Mary Queen of Scots. Schopenhauer and Kohl also describe the soldiers they see in Stirling, but neither accounts have the Romantic connotations of Hailbronner's description. Schopenhauer is intent on detail and visual effect:

Die Männer tragen enge, blaue Mützen, oben mit einer rothen Quaste, bisweilen auch mit einer Feder geziert, mit einem Aufschlag von roth und weiss gewürfeltem Zeuche; eine ziemlich lange Jacke und drunter ein faltenreiches, kurzes Röckchen oder Schurz, von dem blau und roth gewürfelten schottischen wollenen Zeuche, welches vor mehreren Jahren den Damen den Anlass zur Mode à la Duncan gab, und in Seide, Band und Halbseide nachgeahmt, noch immer von ihnen getragen wird.

(Schopenhauer, 299)

Having described the length of the kilt, the belt, dirk and sporran, she turns to the red and white leather-soled stockings and once more adds an observation of her own:

Sie reichen auch nur bis etwas über die Hälfte der Wade, von da an bis zum Schurz sind die Beine ganz bloss. Diese Fussbekleidung giebt den Schotten etwas sehr fremd-artiges, sie sehen damit aus wie die römischen Soldaten in den Opern und die rothen Streifen in den Strümpfen haben das Ansehn von übergeschnürten, rothen Bändern.

(ibid., 299f.)

On seeing a Highland regiment in Edinburgh, Lewald's thoughts are also drawn to the Romans:

Welchen Kontrast übrigens die Bärenmütze der Soldaten mit ihrem kurzen Rock und ihren nackten Beinen bildet, das ist belustigend zu sehen. Meine Gefährten (57) sagten mir als wir überhaupt von der Tracht der Bergschotten sprachen, sie wären überzeugt, dass sie die Erbschaft der Römer sei, und dass sich hier im fernen Norden, im Philibeg (dem kurzen Rock) und in dem Plaid der Schotten die Tunika und Toga der Römer erhalten hatten. Ursprünglich haben die Schotten sich mit einem einzigen Stücke, dem Kilt, bekleidet, dessen eines Ende sie, er war noch grösser als der jetzige Plaid, schmal zusammen gelegt als Schurz um die Lenden gewickelt trugen, während sie das andere Ende ausgebreitet als Mantel über die Schulter legten. Später erst hat der Einfluss der Römer die bequemere Theilung des Kilt in den Philibeg und Plaid veranlasst.

(Lewald, ii, 265f.)

Kohl, seeing a Highland regiment, is also led to reflect on the similarities of Roman and Highland dress. He justifies a three-page discussion of the subject by pointing out that Highland dress, a frequent sight on the Continent during the Napoleonic Wars, is no longer familiar to Europeans, and a further description is thus called for. He also writes of the supposed Roman origins of the costume, but he is sceptical: firstly, the similarities are only slight, and secondly, the Romans did not penetrate the areas of Scotland where the dress was traditionally worn. Kohl feels it unlikely that a people should have been influenced only by the dress and not by the language or customs of the Romans, even if the Roman "chlamys" is similar to the Highland kilt.⁵⁸ He concludes that until proof can be given the similarity can only be regarded as coincidence. If there were more proof, he knows how he himself would tackle the subject:

Könnte man diesen Beweis liefern, so wäre die Erscheinung in der That für den Ethnographen sehr interessant, und er würde dann dieser schottischen Tracht der lateinischen Sprache gedenken, welche am anderen Ende des römischen Reichs, unter den östlichen Barbaren, den Walachen, auch so vereinzelt stecken geblieben ist.

(Kohl, i, 121)

He goes on to give a description of the kilt, plaid, sporran, busby and stockings; he, too, likens the latter to Roman sandals. He then reports that the dress is fast dying out, and is now only to be found in a few glens, where it is mostly the elderly who wear it. Across the social spectrum, however, children are often dressed in the kilt, both because it is cheap and because it is said to engender hardiness. Later, while staying at the inn at Kenmore, he talks to some of the locals about the kilt, all of whom, as was the custom in the area, had worn trousers only from the age of fourteen. Kohl objects that it must surely be very impractical and cold in the Scottish climate, but this is vehemently denied by his companions. It is purely a matter of habit - bare legs are as hardy as one's bare face or hands, indeed it is common to see young boys who have only recently graduated to wearing trousers shivering with cold. The kilt and plaid keep the body warm and that is the main thing. Moreover, they are all adamant that their own sons will wear the kilt till they, too, reach their fourteenth year, denn es sei ausgemacht, dass die Kinder mit Hosen

viel schläfriger und träger, die ohne Hosen viel activer und frischer wären. Schade, dass unseren Schullehrern die Sitte es versagt, diess einfache Mittel, die Schüler munter zu machen, anzuwenden.

(ibid., ii, 11)

Kohl sees two parallels with other peoples: firstly, the Tyroleans not only favour checked patterns like the Scots, but the actual form of their dress - the "Lederhosen" leaving the knees bare - is also similar, and Kohl wonders whether this might not point to the common Celtic ancestry of the Tyroleans and the Scots; secondly, as regards the Highlanders' reaction to proscription, Kohl is reminded of the nomadic gypsies and Tartars of Russia, who, having been ordered to settle in houses, settled, but would not move into the houses themselves, which remained empty while they pitched their tents nearby. In Scotland during the ban, "Die Leute hätten hie und da, um das Gebot, Hosen zu tragen, wenigstens dem Buchstaben nach zu erfüllen und nicht in die gesetzliche Strafe zu verfallen, ihre Hosen an dem Gebirgsstocke auf dem Rücken geschleppt" (ibid., 10). Old habits die hard, especially amongst the proud Scots.

There was a certain amount of pride involved in showing off one's legs as well, a fact which amuses Kohl. His old Highland guide describes seeing the Marchioness of Breadalbane's Spanish secretary in a kilt during the Queen's visit:

"He was as nice a person as I ever saw under the kilt... I never had imagined, that he had so nice legs... The only mistake was his bonnet, it was rather a little too large" ... Aber seine Beine waren ausgezeichnet. Sie waren äusserst wohl proportionirt, nicht zu mager und nicht zu dick. "Thick legs are not always the bonny legs, sir!" ... und nicht diejenigen, welche sich unter dem Kilt am Besten ausnehmen. Die Kniee müssen recht rund und markig sein. Die Waden müssen recht nahe unter dem Knie sitzen und voll und dick anfangen. Denn es giebt auch Leute, Herr, die ihre Waden mehr nach unten sitzen haben; dies ist nicht hübsch! Darnach müssen sich aber die Waden und Beine nach unten fein und elegant verdünnen, und der kleine Fuss muss recht zierlich daran sitzen. Dies sind die besten Beine für den Kilt, Herr!"

(ibid., 61f.)

Kohl is amazed that such a man as his old guide should be so aware and so critical of a kilted gentleman's legs. In Callander he learns of a 72-year-old man, who, having worn the kilt all his life, was awarded a medal for this feat by the Highland Society of Edinburgh, a decoration

which he now wears proudly to church every Sunday (ibid., 136).

Twenty years before Kohl, Löwenthal had made similar observations. To him the similarity between the Highland kilt and stockings and Roman tunic and sandals was striking and obvious, but in describing the attire of the Highland regiments, he adds:

Auf allem dem spielt freilich die rothe oder gelbe Uniformjacke, welche Britannia endlich dem lange nicht zu beugenden Stammesmann (Clansman) des Hochlandes aufzwang, eine etwas seltsame Rolle; dennoch macht sich das Ganze recht stattlich und schön, und lässt an Gefälligkeit alle übrigen englischen Soldatenanzüge weit zurück. (Löwenthal, 92)

Later, on his tour of the Highlands, Löwenthal was also to reflect on the causes of the kilt's gradual disappearance. He reports with no little reluctance:

Vergebens sucht man im schottischen Hochlande die Hochlandstracht. Einige Soldaten, jenen Briefträger auf Mull(59) und etwa noch ein Paar Männer ausgenommen, sah ich den Kilt nur an Kindern. Die Landbewohner tragen gewöhnliche Tuchjacken und Pantalons, meist von blauer Farbe, wie in England, und selbst die noch mehr beibehaltene, blaue Mütze ist häufigst vom Hute verdrängt. Zu läugnen, dass diess, und der Umstand, dass man die verbannte Tracht nur noch den Kindern anhängt, höchst charakteristisch und allein schon für andere Umstellungen entscheidend sey, scheint mir Widersinn. Entweder die Generation ist schon zu verzärtelt, die leichte Tracht zu ertragen, oder sie schämt sich gar der in Europa einzigen Sonderbarkeit. In jedem Falle hat die schottische Nationaltracht aufgehört, eine solche zu seyn, und ist zur militärischen Ausstattung einiger Regimenten geworden. (ibid., 116)

For all his insight, the Austrian could not appreciate that, on the one hand; the kilt was both practical and warm, and on the other, that the effect of proscription was lasting.

The uniform of the Holyrood and Edinburgh Castle guardsmen was to attract the attention of travellers in the 1850's, with differing reactions. Lewald writes with approval of the soldiers at the Castle, "die in ihrer malerischen Tracht sehr wohl zu der malerischen Scenerie passen" (Lewald, ii, 218), while Brandes and Kalckstein are less positive. Both give descriptions of the Holyrood guards' uniforms, from busby to spats, Brandes likening the sporran tassels to barbers' brushes, while the white leather weapon and kit belts remind Kalckstein of those worn

by German troops. Both men are struck by the apparent incongruity of different components of the uniform. Brandes writes: "Wir sehen hier die ersten hochländischen Soldaten 'the plaided warriors of the North' in ihrer Nationaltracht, wie sie aber seltsam genug mit der englischen vereint ist" (Brandes, 71f.); having described the costume, he adds, "Gewiss eine merkwürdig zusammengesetzte Uniform!" (ibid., 72).

Kalckstein writes of the soldiers:

Die Bekleidung und Bewaffnung derselben ist eine seltsame Zusammenstellung ächt volksthümlicher und antinationaler Elemente welche an die Armatur des französischen und deutschen Militärs erinnert, die man der schottischen Tracht hinzugefügt hat.

(Kalckstein, 200f.)

It is only when Brandes sees a battalion of a Highland regiment marching past him down the Canongate that he admits that their uniform, "hier in Masse gesehn, sich doch besser als einzeln ausnahm" (Brandes, 74); moreover, the officers are dressed in trousers rather than kilts and therefore look less extraordinary.

Few of Fontane's predecessors go into the niceties of clan tartans as fully as he does (e.g., Fontane 306f. and footnote), but some do mention other aspects of Highland dress. To Kohl, the Glengarry cap and feather worn by the tailor he meets in the Highlands makes the man look like a huntsman (Kohl, ii, 104), while Wichmann, who stresses that only remnants of full Highland dress, namely the kilt, sporran and blue bonnet, are still to be commonly seen in the Highlands, draws his reader's attention to the thistle emblem on the badges of the bonnets. He also describes the traditional Highland weapons, the broadsword, targe and dirk, the jewels inlaid in the latter and the fact that the oath sworn upon the dirk was to the Highlander most sacred (Wichmann, 45f.). Kohl sees some fine dirks in Perth and remarks that they are often for sale in a set of cutlery, "eine eigenthümliche, für die Clanchieftains, die sich ihr Brod und Fleisch sehr oft mit dem Dolche und Schwerte eroberten, sehr charakteristische Verbindung (Kohl, i, 194). In describing the uniform of the Highland regiments, Meidinger is the only one to mention the ceremonial Lochaber axe. (Meidinger, Reisen, 86).

Hailbronner's description of Highland dress is typical of his style; he adds his own colour to a few basic facts, relying on a string of emphatic adjectives, such as "schön", "malerisch", "herrlich", "hübsch", "erstarkt", "uralt" and "berühmt":

Die schöne Nationaltracht haben die Schotten schon nach den grossen Revolten im vorigen Jahrhundert ablegen müssen, und nur das Plaid, dieser malerisch drapirte Tartanshawl, ist durchgehends geblieben. Es ist ein grosses Stück Tuch, Tartan genannt, das man als Bandalier und als Mantel tragen kann und dessen sich der Schäfer wie der Edelmann bedient. Nur die Kinder und die Soldaten haben das herrliche Nationalcostume erhalten. Man kann nichts Niedlicheres sehen, als die hübschen Knaben mit ihren durch Gewohnheit der Entblössung erstarkten herrlichen nackten Beinchen, kurzen Schürzchen, Gürteln, engen Jacken, einer Art polnischer Mütze und zuweilen zischmenartigen Stiefelettchen, meistens aber barfuss. Die Farben der Trachten sind immer noch nach den uralten Clanschaften beibehalten, und man kennt die M'Donalds, Argyle und die vielen andern berühmten Stämme von weitem an den Plaids, die gleich den Hosen und andern Zeichen stets die Clanfarben tragen.

(Hailbronner, 311f.)

In this short passage he has contrived to stress the three aspects of Highland dress most striking to the German visitor, namely the picturesque, the romantic and the exotic.

As Hailbronner implies, the plaid alone was a much more common sight than the kilt. Kohl, stressing the popularity of the garment, writes:

Dieser Plaid ist bloss ein grosser Shawl, der über die Schultern geschlungen und über Brust und Rücken befestigt wird. Es ist das einzige Stück der schottischen Kleidung, das fast allgemein bei allen Ständen in Schottland statt des Mantels im Gebrauch ist und auch noch durchweg in Nordengland vom Volke getragen wird.

(Kohl, i, 122)

Schopenhauer had also stressed the dominance of the plaid at the beginning of the century:

Das Hauptstück ihrer Kleidung, wir möchten sagen, ihres Mobiliars, ist der Plaid, ein langes breites Stück von jenem gewürfelten schottischen Zeuche, wie ein sehr grosser Shawl. Den Plaid tragen sie bei gutem Wetter wie ein Ordensband nachlässig von einer Schulter zur Hüfte vorn und hinten wieder herüber geworfen. Zuweilen wird er auf der Schulter quer mit einer grossen silbernen Nadel befestigt. Diese Art Draperie sieht recht gut aus. Bei Regenwetter oder Kälte nehmen sie den Plaid über den Kopf und hüllen sich ganz hinein; Nachts dient er ihnen auf Reisen statt Hütte und Bette und auch in ihren Wohnungen schlafen sie gewöhnlich in den Plaid gewickelt, ohne Weiteres auf der Erde, oder wo sie Platz finden.

(Schopenhauer, 300)

Schopenhauer was writing early enough in the century for her account to be read with interest and curiosity. By the middle of the century such descriptions were superfluous and when Lewald for the first time sees the plaid being worn, all she sees fit to mention is that it is the black and white checked shepherd's plaid (Lewald, ii, 504)

Typically, however, Kohl is anxious to give the subject his full attention. He arrives in Crieff on market day and sees all the farmers and crofters arrayed in their plaids; these too are shepherd's plaids. He describes in detail the way they are worn; nearly all the men have them over their left shoulder but some, to gain full benefit of the warmth, have their plaids caught over both - Kohl even inserts a drawing to illustrate this. It is therefore odd that the sculptor of the Scott Monument in Glasgow has represented the writer with his plaid over his right shoulder.⁶⁰ Yet although he concedes that a "geschickter Dandy" of the type he has seen in Edinburgh can indeed cut a very fine figure in a plaid, his overall impression is that it is a remarkably impractical garment. The Scots wear what he terms "French" clothes like everybody else in Europe and yet they still insist on wearing the plaid instead of a coat, a great coat, furs or a mackintosh;⁶¹

Es ist wunderbar, dass die Schotten in einem so kalten Klima nicht ein wärmeres Überkleid erfunden haben. Die Russen, Polen und andere Nationen tragen selbst unter einem weit südlicheren Breitengrade dicke Bärenpelze, die Schotten dagegen statt dieses Pelzes ein viereckiges lockeres wollenes Tuch, und sogar statt Unterhosen und Ueberhosen - gar keine Hosen. Begreift man solche Widersprüche? Und doch sagt man, dass jedes Volk sein Land und Klima am genauesten kenne und am besten wisse, was ihm fromme. Die Schotten loben dagegen ihren Plaid und sagen, er sei "very handy" ... und man könne damit in jedem Augenblick gleich dasjenige Glied, welches friere, einhüllen und stets darausmachen, was man wünsche. Wenn es von der linken Seite weht, so zieht man ihn auf die linke herüber, wenn es von der rechten herstürmt, so packt man alle Wolle auf die rechte Schulter; friert man am ganzen Körper, so lässt man den Plaid sich ganz entfalten und wickelt sich wie ein Windelkind über und über darin ein, und findet man es wiederum zu warm, so rollt man ihn zusammen, legt ihn über den Nacken und lässt die Enden unter den Armen herabflattern ...

All very well, says Kohl, but for the weather; such a garment would be perfect for Spain or Italy, "Aber hier, wo es sich um "Highland-Gales"

handelt, finde ich, bringt man der Schönheit zu viel Nutzen zum Opfer "(Kohl, i, 157f.).

It is important to remember that, following Queen Victoria's Scottish tour in the 1840's, the fashion for things Scottish was widespread throughout Britain. Both Carus and Kohl were writing at a time when this fashion was at its height. Talking of the recent success of the Perth goldsmiths, Kohl writes:

Die Anwesenheit der Königin und die Feste, die ihr gegeben wurden, hatten in dieser Zeit ihre Thätigkeit viel in Anspruch genommen, und in Folge der Manie für schottische Kleidung und national-schottischen Schmuck, welche nach der Rückkehr der Königin aus Schottland in ganz Grossbritannien erwachte, so wie in Folge der verschiedenen Bestellungen von hübschen Sachen, die noch als Geschenke an Diesen oder Jenen gegeben werden sollten, hatten sie um diese Zeit ihre Läden mit allerlei interessanten Arbeiten gefüllt.

(ibid., 190)

Carus, in discussing the ban on the kilt and the different ways the Highlanders got around this, also refers to the present popularity of Highland dress amongst the wealthy (Carus, ii, 206).

Whether regarded as romantic and picturesque or outlandish and somewhat absurd, Highland dress never failed to catch the attention of the foreign visitor. As one who considered the subject more fully than most, Kohl, for once in lighter vein, concludes:

Das Wesentliche bei der hochschottischen Kleidung ist erstlich diess, dass eine Dame nie dabei in Verlegenheit kommt, das Wort Hosen aussprechen zu müssen, aus dem guten Grunde, weil die Hochschotten gar keine Hosen haben. Es giebt dieser Umstand der Kleidung ihren Hauptreiz, denn es ist kein Zweifel, dass die Beine durch die Hosen gewöhnlich mehr als andere Körperteile ihre natürliche Gestalt verlieren und in zwei sehr unschöne Pfähle verwandelt werden.

(Kohl, i, 121f.)

ii. Social Customs

Im Umgange ist der Schotte ganz ohne Complimente und ungezwungen; das Hutabnehmen und die andern gewaltigen Krazfüsse und Bücklinge im französischen Geschmack sind hier unbekannt, - der Körperbau schon ist diesem leichtfüssigen biegsamen Wesen nicht günstig - im Vorbeigehen greift man grüssend nur an den Hut. - Nur mit einer leichten Verbeugung tritt man in die Gesellschaft ein, und verlässt sie auch wieder ohne weitere Umstände. (Holzenthal, 216)

Holzenthal's observations on the lack of social ceremony were as near as any of the travellers came to taking note of local customs in Scotland. The European visitors seldom had access to enough that was truly Scottish to be able to tell their readers much of the Scottish way of life, which to most travellers evidently appeared little different from life in England. Thus Otto states: "Die Lebensart ist in Edinburgh fast ganz dieselbe wie in London" (Otto, 296). With the exception of those who did stay a considerable length of time in the country, notably Holzenthal and Wichmann, few could reveal evidence of any greater intimacy with Scottish customs and manners beyond the usual remarks on food, dress, housing, and the gloom of the Scottish Sabbath. Holzenthal was able to observe at close hand the life of the Hawick families on whom he and his fellow prisoners were billeted. Just as Otto was to comment on the inferior social graces of the Edinburgh ladies, Holzenthal was struck by the general lack of conversational skills:

Was man bei uns selbst in den gewöhnlichen Gesellschaften für den längst abgedroschenen Anfang einer Unterhaltung hält, ist hier durchgängig das Beginnen der Conversation, ich meine die Gewohnheit vom Wetter zu reden. Dies ist überall das erste Wort wenn man in eine Gesellschaft tritt.

Dem schottischen Frauenzimmer fehlt im Allgemeinen der lebhafte Ton und der leichte gewandte Uebergang von einer interessanten Materie zu der andern, wodurch die Unterhaltung so reizend wird.

(Holzenthal, 216f.)

But if Holzenthal was alone in being able to observe the manners of ordinary people in a rural community, a few of his compatriots do pass comment on some customs which they came across by chance. Rellstab, for instance, is told by his Edinburgh guide that the gleaming coat of

arms he sees above the door of one of the grand New Town houses signifies a recent death; amongst the families of the Scottish nobility such a coat of arms^(hatchment) affixed to the house was a display of mourning over a recent bereavement (Rellstab, i, 263). On seeing finely worked horn snuff-mills in the shops of Perth, Kohl writes:

Bei den Versammlungen der Hochschotten liegen diese "Snuff-mulls" gewöhnlich auf dem Tische und kreisen in der Gesellschaft herum, wie die Trinkhörner. Ich kann noch hinzusetzen, dass auch die schottischen Regimenter solche vaterländische Snuffmulls gewöhnlich in ihren Messrooms haben. Dieselben Leute, die so zärtlich mit der Schnupftabacksdose thun, sprechen doch oft von der Tabackspfeife, wie von dem verabscheuungswürdigsten Dinge von der Welt.

(Kohl, i, 194f.)

This contradiction evidently had both social and geographical limits; Lewald notices that a lot of the women she sees at work in Edinburgh smoke tobacco in short clay pipes (Lewald, ii, 235). Nemnich tells of the "sour cakes" for which Rutherglen was famed and of the customs attached:

Rutherglen ... hat blos eine lokale Merkwürdigkeit, nämlich dass, gegen St. Lukas-Messe, Sour Cakes, oder Haferkuchen daselbst mit vieler Geschicklichkeit, und mit Beibehaltung von manchen alten abergläubischen Ceremonien, von Weibern, die sich mit den Titlen von Queen, oder Bride, und Maidens, und Hodlers und Todlers, beehren, geröstet werden.

(Nemnich, 522)

On passing through Bridge of Allan, Kohl sees the triumphal arch which had been made by the local people for Victoria and Albert to pass under on their recent Scottish tour; interestingly he compares this with similar customs of the Tyrol. A year before the royal visit in Scotland, the Austrian Kaiser had toured the Alpine region of his country and triumphal arches had also been erected along the route. There was one difference, however; while mottos and inscriptions always accompanied such festive arches and the like in Austria, in Scotland this was not the case, except, for some reason, in Bridge of Allan. Kohl feels sure that the Royal Pair would have been amused, had they had time to read the inscription as they sped underneath it, for it seems utterly

irrelevant and hardly suitable for a royal visit - "How is the little busy bee improving every shining hour!" (Kohl, ii, 157). Nor can he understand why purple, which should be a colour reserved for royalty, is worn throughout the country, in the cloaks of old ladies and the Glasgow and Aberdeen students (ibid., 134).

As an experienced ethnographer, Kohl characteristically took great interest in the Edinburgh art shops, noting amongst other things a painting depicting a curling match, some Reformation prints, and a copper engraving, portraying "die schottische 'Snapapplenight' oder 'All-Hallow Eve'" (ibid., 217). He describes the ducking for apples, and reports that the custom is also popular in Ireland and the North of England.

If Kohl is alone in mentioning Hallowe'en, Meidinger is one of only two to acknowledge the importance to the Scots of New Year celebrations:

Merkwürdig ist die Feier der Neujahrsnacht, die hier wie in Deutschland von den gebildeten Classen in traulichen Vereinen, von den untern Volksklassen aber laut und lebendig zugebracht wird. Um Mitternacht versammeln sich Tausende von Menschen, die jubelnd und singend die Strassen durchziehen, sich einander die Hände schütteln und ein gutes neues Jahr (a gude new year) wünschen.

Dann werden Besuche abgestattet, wobei ein warmes Getränk (het pint), das aus einem Gemisch von Whisky (Branntwein), Eier, Zucker und Bier besteht, im Kreise herum geht, und die Gesundheit des neuen Jahrs und der nahen und entfernten Freunde getrunken wird. Diese Sitte soll in ganz Schottland herrschen, und aus alter Zeit stammen.

(Meidinger, Briefe, 154f.)

It seems unlikely that Meidinger actually experienced New Year in Scotland, for his description is all too peaceful; it was the consumption of alcohol which was to strike Wichmann as the predominant feature of the celebrations which he was to witness in Edinburgh on the last night of 1851. Of the following day he writes, "[ich] habe nie in meinem Leben zu gleicher Zeit so viele schwer Betrunkene gesehen ... Mann, Weib, Kinder, fast möchte ich sagen, Säuglinge, waren mehr oder weniger angesäufelt, und ganze Schaaren solcher Familien füllten die Strassen" (Wichmann, 56).

The short duration and the time of year of most of the German visits

were obvious causes for the comparative lack of comment on Scottish customs and manners. Had others been in the country for such occasions as Hallowe'en and Hogmanay, they would surely have found more to report.

d) Recreation and Entertainment

i. Sporting Recreation and Entertainment

"Der Mann muss hinaus ins feindliche
Leben, Muss wetten und wagen, das
Glück zu erstreben",
Es ist, als beklagte unser deutscher Dichter
dies saure Muss. In England heisst es:
"Der Mann will hinaus, will wetten
und wagen."

(Kohl, GB, iii, 257)

As a concept which he considered to be unknown to the Germans, Kohl devoted a whole section of his Land und Leute der Britischen Inseln to the subject of Sport. He saw the sporting passion as a peculiarly British trait:

Dieser Wett- und Wagegeist liegt tief in dem
Character der englischen Nation und spricht
sich besonders in dem leidenschaftlichen Inter-
esse aus, welches die Engländer an denjenigen
Vergnügungen oder Beschäftigungen nehmen, die
sie "Sports" nennen.

(ibid.)

Of the many sports Kohl mentions in the lengthy discourse, those he connects with Scotland are hunting, shooting, fishing, curling, golf and horse-racing.

Johanna Schopenhauer gives a lively account of her visit to the Leith Races,⁶² "auf dem nassen, pfützenreichen Sande, wo es unbegreiflich ist, wie die Pferde festen Tritt haben können, und der noch oben-
drein wie ein Fisch-Markt riecht" (Schopenhauer, 286). Edinburgh is full of visiting race-goers and the Schopenhauers join the crowds to attend the most popular part of the event, the final two races. It is the atmosphere - the feeling of excitement and the tense waiting

for the heats amidst the bustle of the side-shows and hawkers - which Schopenhauer obviously enjoys the most. Once the race is over, however:

Es ist nicht erfreulich, die Pferde am Ziel anlangen zu sehn; ermattet, mit Schweiß bedeckt, athmen sie kaum noch, und das Blut strömt aus ihren von den Sporen zerrissenen Seiten. Auch die Jokey's sinken fast hin vor Ermattung; das pfeilschnelle Reiten benimmt ihnen den Athem, sie müssen unaufhörlich mit der einen Hand vor dem Munde die Luft zu zertheilen suchen, um nur nicht zu ersticken.

(Schopenhauer, 289f.)

The race itself may seem incomprehensible but it is all that goes with it that interests Schopenhauer: the veteran, invalided soldiers keeping order, the weighing-in of the jockeys, the judges ("gravitatisch wie Rhadamant mit seinen Kollegen"), the betting, the side-shows, and, above all, the spectators. They are everywhere - at the windows and on the roofs of the neighbouring houses, on the walls, on the stands, lining the course itself, on the quay - anywhere they can find a space:

Die glücklichen, welche über ein Fuhrwerk oder Pferd disponiren können, tummeln sich, in Erwartung des grossen Schauspiels, lustig auf der Rennbahn herum und geben selbst dem Beobachter einen sehr belustigenden Anblick. Prächtige, mit Wappen und Grafenkronen verzierte Equipagen, mit vier stolzen Pferden bespannt und Karren mit einem alten lebensmüden Gaul davor, Reiter und Reitpferde aller Art, Whiskys, Carricles, alle mögliche Fuhrwerke, die Luxus und Lust zu fahren, es sey auf welche Weise es wolle, nur erfinden konnten, fahren und reiten unter einander herum im buntesten Gewühl. Alles patscht ohne Zweck und Ziel die Kreuz und Quer im Schlamm und nassen Sande lustig darauf los.

The jockeys are weighed in, the bets laid:

Ein Trommelschlag wirbelt durch die Luft und Alles eilt, sich an den Seiten zu rangiren; Jedes strebt einen guten Platz zum Sehen zu bekommen, viele Männer steigen aus den Kutschen hinaus oben auf die Imperiale, einige Frauenzimmer setzen sich auf den hohen Kutschersitz neben ihren Kutscher; Alles ist in der gespanntesten Erwartung. Mit dem zweiten Trommelschlage laufen die Renner aus, man hält den Athem an vor Begierde, sie zu sehen, man sieht sie fast nur einen Moment mit Blitzeschnelle vorrüber rauschen, und hernach auf der entgegengesetzten Seite, ganz in der Ferne. Sie nahen wieder,

sie rauschen zum zweiten Mal vorbei, sie nähern sich zum zweiten Mal dem Ziele, und nun reiten alle alte und junge John Bulls auf die halsbrechendste Weise, ohne auf irgend etwas zu achten, wie wüthend, hinterdrein, um bei der Entscheidung gegenwärtig zu seyn.

(ibid., 287ff.)

Afternoons and evenings during the Races Week were also well occupied; the side-shows at the course included puppets, tight-rope walkers, 'disappearing girls' and a panorama of Constantinople. In the evenings balls, concerts and assemblies were held alternately and there was even a Vauxhall, which, though far inferior to that in London, Schopenhauer still considered very attractive.

Meidinger was also made aware of the popularity of racing during his visits to Scotland in the 1820's. He mentions that the sandy soil of the track at Leith had caused the Races to be moved to the grass of Musselburgh (Meidinger, Briefe 154) and reports later that almost every large town, including Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Glasgow and Paisley, has its race track (ibid., Reise, 30), while the Ayr Races take place in the summer in conjunction with the Caledonian Hunt, at which time a small theatre, too, is open (ibid., Briefe, 104). Meidinger's description of golf is for the uninitiated, although he does state that the game is known in Germany; having reported that the Company of Golfers meet on the Leith and Bruntsfield Links, he goes on to mention the Company of Archers, which practises on the Meadows and has a membership of over 900, "worunter viele aus den angesehensten Familien" (ibid., Briefe, 154, Reisen, 30).

Kohl's initiation into the game of golf was to be more immediate. His host in Perth was a keen golf enthusiast and explained in great detail to him the intricacies of Scotland's second national game, (the first being curling). Kohl devotes seventeen pages to a description of the two games, even including illustrations of the golf club and curling stone. The fact that curling can only be played on ice, and therefore only in Scotland and those Northern countries to which Scots have emigrated, namely Canada and Nova Scotia (and not the East and West Indies!), makes it the more interesting of the two to Kohl. Encouraged by the infectious enthusiasm of his Perth friends, he describes an imaginary match in detail, setting an idyllic winter scene

of crystal clear ice covering a wild Highland loch, surrounded by the snow-covered Grampians, whose craggy outcrops remain dark and barren; the players arrive from the mountains and surrounding villages and are almost without exception strong handsome fellows in Highland dress. Returning to reality, Kohl describes the stones and the action of the game, which requires what he considers to be an admirable combination of skill and strength: "und das sind eben die schönsten Volksspiele, bei denen Auge und Arm, Körper und Geist in gleich hohem Grade in Anspruch genommen werden" (Kohl, i, 176). Even without having watched a match, he feels well able to imagine the extent of the finest throws which might occasion such cheers from the spectators as "Beauty! beauty! magnificent! stupendous!" (ibid., 177) . Apart from the spectacle itself, there is another aspect which is very appealing to Kohl:

Vornehme und Geringe, Lords, Burghers, und Farmers sind gleich eifrig bei dieser trefflichen Uebung, und da auf dem Ring alle sich unter einander gleich sind, - es ist eine Eigenthümlichkeit der Engländer, dass dieselben Leute, die in gewissen Beziehungen himmelweit auseinander stehen, doch unter gewissen Umständen sich als einander vollkommen gleich betrachten, - so findet man denn auch in den Curlingclubs Leute von allen Ständen unter sich verbrüdet.

(ibid., 178f.)

The importance of the game of golf is also made very apparent to Kohl and he is struck at once by the fact that the Company of Edinburgh Golfers is called, like the East India Company, "The Honourable Company", a distinction which, to his knowledge, no other sporting club possesses. He gives a short history of the game, remarking that in 1744 the city of Edinburgh had voted to donate annually a silver cup to the leading golfer of the year; now, one hundred years later, clubs were donating as prizes medals of up to 200 Guineas worth. However impressed by all of this, the German is not convinced by the game itself:

Hat man dies Alles nun gelesen (63) und gehört, so wird man sich gewiss ein wenig verwundern, wenn man vernimmt, dass es sich bei diesem ganzen Golfspiel um weiter nichts handelt, als darum, einen harten kleinen Ball mit einem Stock in der möglichst geringen Anzahl von Schlägen in ein gewisses in grosser Entfernung gemachtes Loch zu treiben.

(ibid., 182)

But Kohl's host in Perth tries his best to win over his guest: it is

the excitement of competition, the tension and the ever-different problems to be surmounted by each new ball's position, which make the game so special. He explains in great detail how the balls and clubs must be made, and, on Kohl's questioning, generously concedes that the word "golf" may well be a corruption of the German word "Kolbe". He gives Kohl the names and addresses of the best ball and club manufacturers in Edinburgh [respectively Messrs. W. & S. Gourlay, who make the balls for the Bruntsfield-Links-Golf-Club, and Mr. D. McEwan, who provides the club with their clubs] and will not let his guest leave before giving him letters of introduction to some well known Scottish golfers. Kohl devotes nearly seven pages to this gentleman's lively conversation, which he banteringly repeats in full:

Aber nun kommen Sie! (ich war schon längst da)
jetzt will ich Ihnen das Spiel selbst zeigen,
so gut es hier bei Licht in diesem Zimmer angeht.
Ach mein Gott, wie schade! Können Sie denn nicht
noch ein Paar Tage hier bleiben? ... Aber es
zieht Sie nach unseren Hochlanden? ...

This is a great shame, since he would love to arrange for a demonstration game to be played next day on the North Inch - Perth not only boasts of some of the country's leading golfers, but the Inches themselves are superior to all other golfing greens - but Kohl must at least promise to ensure that he visits the Leith Links or the Glasgow Green on his return to the cities. Kohl is presented with a club and they start their drawingroom demonstration:

"Nun stellen Sie sich vor, dass dies Zimmer die Links von Leith oder die Inches von Perth seien. Dort sei das Loch (er bezeichnete eins mit einem Stück Kreide). Aber o! die Stühle und Tische hindern uns. He, Mary! lass einmal die Buben herein. - Jungens! schafft die Stühle, Tische und das Sopha bei Seite!"

"O ich bitte, machen Sie sich doch nicht so viele Umstände!"

"Ne, ne, ne, bitte, bitte, bitte!" . . .

The room is cleared of furniture ("und bis auf das Gras hatte es eine ziemlich grosse Aenlichkeit mit der Nord-Inch"), the doors left open, and the "course" well lit. Kohl is soon convinced, however, that golf is neither as simple and straightforward nor as dull as it would at first seem to the uninitiated:

Die ganze Explication sollte nun erst recht angehen.
Aber ich muss gestehen, sie endigte beinahe mit

diesem Anfange. Mein erster Ball flog gleich in die Torfasche des Kamins und befand sich dort in einer sehr kritischen Lage. Mein Freund forderte mich auf, mir zu denken, dass die Asche irgend eine Sandanlagerung des Spielfeldes, und die darum liegende Torfstücke Boulderstones seien. Und über diesen Fall hatte er so Vieles zu bemerken, - in welche Gunst oder Ungunst er mich setzte, - mit welchem Club ich den Ball am besten herausholen könnte, - ob ich das Recht hatte, die Asche etwas zu beseitigen oder nicht, und unter welchen Nachtheilen, - was nun besser für mich sei, die Nachteile zu nehmen oder den Schlag auf gut Glück zu wagen, und dabei waren seine Bemerkungen mit so vielen eigenthümlichen schottischen und Golfspiel-Ausdrücken untermischt, als mit "tee", mit "holing", mit "caddy", mit "putters" und anderen solchen Worten, deren Bedeutung ich nicht entziffern konnte, - dass ihm in seinen Eifer zuletzt ganz heiss wurde und der Schweiss auf die Stirne trat. Mir wurde immer dunkler vor den Augen meines Verstandes. Ich liess endlich mit meinen Nachforschungen nach und gab meinem Freunde vollkommen Recht, dass das Spiel doch nicht so einfach sei, wie ich anfangs geglaubt hatte, und wir beide sanken müde und matt auf das Sopha, welches die Buben unterdessen wieder hereingetragen hatten.

(ibid., 187ff.)

Later on his tour, writing of the Roman fort at Callander, Kohl informs his readers that the mound is used by the locals for games of football. Having been initiated at such length into the intricacies of curling and golf, however, he is obviously not over-eager to tackle football, merely remarking in passing that its description sounds similar to golf (ibid., ii, 137).

Wichmann was also to learn from experience of the importance of golf, "das Nationalspiel der Schotten" (Wichmann, 54), which he often saw being played during his stay in Musselburgh. He shows little sympathy for the game, describing the golfers and their caddies, the selection of the clubs and the play itself with dry amusement. It can be hazardous, too, especially for non-players:

Zuweilen spielen auf demselben Platze viele verschiedene Gesellschaften, und für einen Zuschauer oder für Jemand, der den Platz zu passiren hat, ist es nicht ohne Gefahr, denn überall hört man golf schreien, d.h. man soll sich in Acht nehmen, es kommt ein Ball, und dieselben werden gewöhnlich mit solcher Heftigkeit geschlagen, dass sie gewiss dieselbe Wirkung haben wie eine matte Kugel.

(ibid., 55)

As for the national game of England, cricket, Wichmann witnessed its emergence in Scotland as a popular sport. In Edinburgh, "in einem geschlossenen Raume", he watched an English and a Scottish team, "die 'Elf von Alt-England' gegen die '22 von Schottland'" (ibid.), battling for several days for a victory which finally fell to the English. He was also made aware of the growing popularity of football, but here, too, his description shows how far removed it was from anything within his own experience in Germany: "Ein grosser blasenartiger Ball wird von einer zahlreichen Partei durch Treten mit dem Fusse nach einem gewissen Ziele, das eine ebenso zahlreiche Partei auf dieselbe Art vertheidigt, zu treiben versucht. Gute gesunde Lungen und Ausdauer sind ein Hauptförderniss bei diesem Spiele" (ibid., 55f.). He goes on to mention the frequency with which one sees men "throwing the stone" in Scotland but it is evident that he, like Meidinger, can take little active interest in the sports themselves. Two years before Wichmann's visit, Köstlin had been anxious to learn how the ordinary people amused themselves and he found to his surprise that quoits and throwing the stone were more common than he anticipated:

Feste, wie der Geburtstag der Königin, Jahrmarkte und dergleichen gaben hier [Edinburgh] und an anderen Orten auch Gelegenheit, des niedern Volkes Belustigung und Spiele kennen zu lernen. Mehr noch als der bekannte Dudelsack fielen uns da reckenhafte Wettspiele auf mit Werfen gewaltiger Steine und Schleudern schwerer eiserner Ringe nach in der Erde stehenden Posten. (64) (Köstlin, 126f.)

Lewald was to watch Glasgow workers playing bowls on a wooden platform in one of the city's squares and liken it to the Italian game of "Boggi" (Lewald, ii, 486), while Fontane was to be fascinated watching the soldiers at Stirling playing quoits, which he, too, compares to an Italian sport, the discus throwing of ancient Rome and the "Boccia" of modern Rome (Fontane, 160f.). On the whole, however, such mentions are few and undoubtedly Kohl stands alone in his analysis of British sporting enthusiasm.

Hunting was the one sport familiar to the upper-class European travellers. Kohl subdivides the British "Jagd" into hawking, shooting and hunting. England is the one country where hawking is still a popular sport, while it once was the favourite sport of all the European nobility. Although not directly concerned with Scotland, Kohl's

analysis of the revival of hawking is interesting, since he sees so clearly the extent of Romanticism even in 1844:

Vielleicht geschah dies nur in Folge der romantischen Begeisterung für das Mittelalter, die durch die neueren Romane, Novellen und durch die ganze jetzige romantische Literatur angefacht wurde, die alle gebildete Classen der europäischen Gesellschaft in Bewegung setzte und die sich auch in England in der Wiederherstellung mittelalterlicher Ruinen, in der zärtlichen Bewunderung romantisch gelegener Abteien, in der Vorliebe für antikes Meublement und altmodige Pergamenteinbände und in der neumodigen Thätigkeit der Künstler in Darstellung von Jagdstücken, häuslichen Scenen, ritterlichen Uebungen des Mittelalters und in vielen anderen Richtungen kund thut.

(Kohl, GB, iii, 267)

The British were even trying to revive tournaments and jousting as well as hawking and this fashion had spread to Scotland.⁶⁵

When Wichmann is surprised by the sight of several hawks on board a steamer on the Caledonian Canal, he, too, thinks back to the Middle Ages: the half-a-dozen or more birds are a comical sight in their colourful hoods, but later the passengers were to have a chance to see them at work as "ein würdiger Falkenier" performed his skills "nach allen Regeln der edlen Kunst" for a party of mounted ladies and gentlemen on the shore (Wichmann, 38f.).

Hunting with a pack of hounds was not so easy for a German to appreciate - even Pückler-Muskau had found the English variety with all its excitement and danger inferior to the German⁶⁶ - and Kohl saw it more as a competitive race than a hunt after the German fashion. Shooting, however, was a different matter. It was much more to the German taste and Scotland, then as now, contained the most popular shooting grounds in Britain. But here again Kohl saw a marked difference between German and British sport; the Germans hunted for a purpose, whether it be that the bag would be eaten or that the game itself was destructive and therefore harmful to man, the British, on the other hand, purely for sport, enjoying the shooting of each species, from snipe to heron, as a separate sport. In particular the popularity and extent of grouse-shooting amazed Kohl:

Schottland ist durch seine Grouse besonders bekannt, und in seinen wilden Bergschluchten, wüsten Haiden und einsamen Tannenwäldern sind unzählige Arten von Grouse zu Hause. ...

... Die Dampfschiffe, welche nach dem Norden gehen,

sind um jene Zeit [from the middle of August] alle voll von "grouzers". Die Mehrzahl derselben bilden natürlich keine Landeigenthümer, sondern besonders jetzt, wo es so leicht ist, aus der Mitte des Menschengetümmels von London in die Wald- und Bergeinsamkeiten des Nordens zu gelangen, sind es meistens Londoner Sportsmen, die einen kleinen Jagdausflug von einigen Wochen unternehmen, um in den schottischen "Moors" (Morästen) "the sublime" (das Erhabene) der Felsen zu geniessen und "nature in her wildest shape" (die Natur in ihrer wildesten Gestalt) zu sehen. Sie fixiren sich in dem Wirtshause irgend eines schottischen Bergdorfes und miethen von den Lairds der Nachbarschaft einen oder mehre ihrer Hügel "for grouse-shooting".

Die Passion für diese Art der Jagd scheint eben jetzt besonders zu blühen, und das Grouse-Shooting kann man gewiss unter die fashionablen "rages" (Manieen) des Tages rechnen. (67) Was die englischen Journale und unter ihnen selbst die Times im vorigen Jahre über die Anzahl der nach Schottland ausgewanderten Grouzers, über die getroffenen Anstalten und über die Menge des geschossenen Wildes berichteten, setzt einen wirklich in Erstaunen. Wahrscheinlich wird sich diese Grousepassion bei den durch die Eisenbahnen und die neu eingerichteten Dampfschifffahrtslinien immer leichter werdenden Verbindungen in den nächsten Jahren noch steigern. Doch ist zu fürchten, dass eben dieses Steigen der Passion und eben diese Erleichterung der Verbindungen dem ganzen Sport ein Ende machen werden. Die schottischen Lairds, vom Gelde der Londoner gereizt, werden ihre "hills" und "moors" so lange vermieten, bis keine Spur von "grouse-ground" mehr aufzufinden ist. Die Londoner Märkte und Kuchen, die jetzt im Frühherbste von Grouse überschwemmt sind, werden immer höhere Preise bezahlen müssen, und endlich wird kein Hill mehr zu vermieten und kein Stück Grouse mehr zu schießen, zu verkaufen und zu verzehren sein.

(Kohl, GB, iii, 270ff.)

This is a remarkable piece of insight into foreign ways. Much of what Kohl prophesied has indeed come true, although he did not foresee that it would be the Europeans, the French, Italians, Belgians, Dutch, but above all the Germans, who, in one hundred years' time, having exhausted their own hunting grounds, would be willing to pay thousands of pounds to enjoy the privilege of shooting the Scottish moors bare of all game. The rôles have changed - in the twentieth century it is the European visitors who are willing to pay any price for the sport for its own sake.

Twenty-five years before Kohl had learnt of the "grouse-shooting

rage", Meissner had experienced life amongst the grouse-shooting gentry in the North of Scotland. Invited by one of his chance travelling companions to stay with this young man's grandfather, Mr. Brodie of Brodie Castle, Meissner was overwhelmed by the hospitality he received, and in particular the attention paid to his palate:

Da man meine Vorliebe für Schottland bemerkte, so ward ich vorzüglich mit Gerichten bewirthe't, die dieser Gegend eigenthümlich sind. Das beste hierunter waren die moor-fowls, eine Art von Rebhühnern, die aber weit delikater als die unsrigen sind, und sich einzig und allein in den Hochlanden finden. Sie nähren sich blos von dem Heidekraut, und es ist bei scharfer Strafe verboten, eines vor den 12. August zu schießen. Von dieser Zeit an wird ein ungeheures Blutbad unter ihnen angerichtet, und die Gebürge erschallten während der shooting season allenthalben von Schüssen.

(Meissner, 267f.)

Since he left Brodie on 16th August, Meissner evidently witnessed the grouse-shooting at first hand.

Meidinger is the only other traveller to mention the 12th August; he does so when referring to Langholm Lodge, the Duke of Buccleugh's property which he visits only during the shooting season, "wobei sich viele Liebhaber einfinden, die ihr gekuppelten Hunde meilenweit mit sich führen" (Meidinger, Reisen, 113). Nor did the "sporting John Bulls" of whom Mendelssohn and Klingemann had cause to complain (Hensel, 258 & 260) go unnoticed by Carus. Writing from Blair Atholl after a visit to the Falls of Bruar, he describes the contrast of the well cultivated land of Atholl with the barren Grampian region through which he had recently driven:

Jene öden Gebirgsstrecken sind übrigens keineswegs immer so einsam, wie sie dem Durchziehenden vorkommen. Im Spätherbst sind viele ihrer Thäler oft mehrere Wochen lang der Aufenthalt jagdlustiger reicher Lords, welche entweder Grouses schießen oder auf dem Anstande den edlen Hirsch erlegen. Man lebt da mitten im Gebirge in kleinen einsamen Häusern - Shooting-Houses - treibt allerhand Tollheiten - trägt sich in schottischer Kleidung mit Kilt und Dirk, trinkt, jagt in leichten Wagen mit Highland Ponies bespannt, über die Berghalden dahin, und vollführt was irgend sonst Jugend und Reichthum an Übermuth einzugeben vermag.

(Carus, ii, 258)

As a parting gift from Dalmahoy Carus' King was presented with a cage of half-tamed grouse, reared on the premises, evidence in itself of the family's sporting activities.

Kohl, too, applies the epithet "edel" to the red deer and one is reminded of the contemporary popularity of such paintings as Landseer's "Monarch of the Glen".⁶⁸ Deer-stalking was as popular as grouse-shooting and Kohl was told of a hunt staged for Prince Albert on the recent Royal Visit to Drummond Castle. He compares the sport with chamois-hunting in the Tyrol and refers his readers to an account of a deer hunt in Cooper's The Smugglers (Kohl, i, 144f.) The extent and popularity of hunting and shooting and, no doubt, the size of the bag, leads him later to repeat an account of the bag taken at Taymouth during Victoria's and Albert's three-day visit there: 80 deer, 950 hares and so many grouse and other birds that they had to be brought home in special carts. As for the activities afterwards, the lavish feasting required the slaughter not only of the deer and capercaillie, but also of 163 sheep and 11 bullocks. There were bright lights and reels were danced and Kohl feels sure that tales of the occasion will be handed down for generations to come in the neighbouring glens. It was in fact the Queen's host, the Marquis of Breadalbane, who was one of the leading figures in reintroducing the capercaillie to Scotland, and, as Kohl foresees, it was to be a successful project. The head keeper at Taymouth proudly showed him a stuffed capercaillie, which Albert himself had shot. Like other wealthy landowners, the Marquis also kept wild animals in his parks, roe and red deer and buffalo, and he had even tried to acclimatise lama and bison. This Kohl sees as typically British (ibid., ii, 26ff.)⁶⁹

Never content to leave a subject unexamined, Kohl attempts, in his Land und Leute der Britischen Inseln, to analyse why those sportsmen who enjoy hunting and shooting should also enjoy the much more peaceful and very different sport of angling. This is yet another aspect of the British character which puzzles him - the British are as fanatic about angling as they are about hunting and fishing. Why? or, perhaps more to the point, how? He can only conclude that the two reactions complement each other; in the same way:

Die Engländer sind die Erfinder der Routs, der unruhigsten und uncomfortabelsten Gesellschaftsform von der Welt, und doch wiederum sind sie

Liebhaber der kleinen engen Gesellschaftskreise von wenigen Freunden und Hausgenossen. Sie haben das beweglichste öffentliche Leben, und doch wiederum führen sie das klösterlichste Haus- und Familienleben. (ibid., GB, iii, 286)

Kohl uses angling as both a metaphoric and a literal explanation and proof of his theory: far more than other people, the British, when outwardly apparently calm, in fact greatly relish inner excitement:

Stumm und lautlos vertiefen sich die Engländer in die Lectüre ihrer Journale und angeln ruhig aus dem Meere von Buchstaben, welche sie ihnen bieten, diejenigen Nachrichten hervor, die sie interessiren. Still wie Fischer sieht man sie dasitzen und ahnt nicht, wie ihre Aufmerksamkeit gespannt ist, und wie sich ihre Geisteskräfte im Inneren regen. Geduldig, bewegungslos und beharrlich wie Statuen sitzen sie als Zuschauer in ihren Parlamenten, und wer es nicht wüsste, wie sie mit den Netzen ihrer Gehörorgane jedes Wort auffischen, würde sie für theilnahmslos halten. Ihre Ballspiele und mehre ihrer anderen Sports betreiben sie mit einer merkwürdigen Ruhe, und der mit der Sache nicht vertraute Zuschauer würde keine Ahnung davon haben, dass es sich hier um Freude und Vergnügen, um Aufregung und Lustigkeit handle. (ibid., 286f.)

To further satisfy his analytic mind, Kohl sees the subject of angling as an excellent excuse for a general character analysis of the British, and attempts his own "philosophy of angling". An explanation is necessary for uncomprehending Germans: "Wir Deutschen begreifen weder das englische Hunting, denn es ist uns zu stürmisch, noch das englische Angling, denn es scheint uns eine zu stille und zu langweilige Beschäftigung" (ibid., 287f.).

In trying to fathom the British "angling-mania", Kohl equates the sportsman's addiction with the enchanted mood of Goethe's ballad, "Der Fischer"; he himself will never forget how his English travelling companion on the Channel crossing, while everybody else was suffering from sea-sickness, was reading a book avidly - not a Shakespeare tragedy, nor a Scott novel, nor Dickens' latest work, but The Perfect Angler! As with the other sports, the contrast between Germany and Britain lies in the sportsmen themselves; in Germany, as in France, fishing is practised by poorer folk and children, and as pure

recreation one comes across it only occasionally in the north of Germany and not elsewhere. In Britain, on the other hand, it is mostly members of the upper classes who enjoy the sport, partly because they can spare the time. As proof of its respectability, Kohl cites some keen and successful anglers; Lord Nelson was so fond of the sport he even continued left handed after he had lost his right arm. George IV was equally keen, and even ladies such as the Duchess of York enjoyed it; but as final proof of its excellence Kohl assures his readers that many of the best known British poets and writers were enthusiastic anglers, too, and amongst these were Coleridge and Sir Walter Scott. He then goes on to describe the sport itself, complete with baits, flies and tackle. After all this, his reader will understand why the romantic fishing grounds of the country, the rivers and lakes, and "vor allen Dingen die schönen Thäler des Landes der Fluth und der Berge [i.e., Scotland], immer von einer Menge reizend eingerichteter Fischer-Villen umgeben und von einsamen Gentlemen, in welchen die Angling-Mania sich entwickelt hat, bewohnt werden" (*ibid.*, 303).

It is with wry amusement that Fontane considers the twenty-five dozen salmon caught by the two sunburnt English "fishing gentlemen" on a good day's angling in Loch Ness and Loch Oich. Indeed his discussion of the contemporary "Angelpassion" is typical of his style, containing a subtle mixture of fact, description, humour and irony; as an observer he is both detached and involved. The English are a sporting and fashionable nation, and for those without the resources to own a Scottish grouse moor or deer forest, but able to take advantage of the expanding railway network, the only alternative which allows them to follow the fashion, maintain a gentlemanly status, and satisfy their innate passion is to launch an angling "campaign" on the remotest possible Highland loch (Fontane, 205ff.)

That angling was primarily a gentleman's sport, and more particularly an English gentleman's sport, did not escape the notice of other travellers. Rellstab quips: "Denn angeln muss der Angelsachse von Engländer; und ich glaube wahrlich, das Land hat seinen Namen von seiner Beschäftigung, oder umgekehrt die Beschäftigung vom Lande!" (Rellstab, ii, 133). Some thirty years earlier Meidinger had written of the many avid trout fishermen in the Blair Atholl district, "worunter Leute aus den ersten

Familien" (Meidinger, Reisen, 50), but this social status was not to impress Ullrich. On the road from the Trossachs to Glencoe, there was little evidence of human life and what there was disturbed him:

Höchstens begegnet der Wagen einmal einem einsamen Hochlandsjäger oder einem müssigen Angler-Touristen, der mit seinem langen Fangwerkzeuge auf der Schulter irgend ein verborgenes Wasser aufsucht, um seiner Eremiten-Passion mit vollster Lust zu fröhnen. (Ullrich, 334)

As the words "müßig" and "fröhnen" imply, the "Angler-Tourist" had far less claim to be there in Ullrich's mind than the lone "Hochlandsjäger", and he seemed almost indignant to find anglers spoiling the Ossianic wildness of Glencoe on Loch Triochatan:

Seltsam genug überraschte das Ufer des Sees durch einige menschliche Gestalten. Es waren Angler in eleganter Touristentracht; jedoch sass jeder einsam für sich und weit von dem Nachbar getrennt; ein wunderliches Geschlecht, diese englischen Gentlemen. (ibid., 336f.)

More simple outdoor recreation could be enjoyed by all visitors, 'sporting gentlemen' or not. The German travellers themselves report on several occasions of walking, boating and sketching outings; it is no chance that Ullrich, writing of the popularity of Dalmealy amongst tourists, should mention "passionirte Angler und Landschaftsmaler" in the same breath (Ullrich, 373), for the sketch book was an important part of the 19th Century tourist's equipment. In describing how the fine days were spent as a summer house guest in Argyll, Wichmann writes of fishing, hunting, pony-riding, walking and boating (Wichmann, 24ff.). Rowing expeditions were seldom described in such detail as the long-winded account of the "Entdeckungs-Seereise nach Rob-Roys Höhle" narrated by Rellstab (Rellstab, ii, 36ff.), but, if not stormy passages to Staffa, they were generally remembered as pleasant interludes.

Walking was also a recreation which could be shared and appreciated by the visitors and there are frequent occasions when they took to their feet for varying distances. The longer pedestrian tours, such as those undertaken by Meissner, Otto, Kohl and Wichmann, were still playing a vital part in the 'discovery' of Scotland and it is natural that such tours often taught the travellers more of Scottish life and

character than their fellow tourists could learn from the restricted encounters which travel by coach alone could afford them. Thus Meissner, while climbing Ben Lomond, was invited by four young locals he met on the slopes to share in their breakfast picnic (Meissner, 244). Wichmann also describes picnics he enjoyed as a house guest in Argyll; everybody, young and old, would go on such an outing, setting out in three or four rowing boats, while the feast filled a boat on its own. Without exception the destination would be an uninhabited island and, as long as the weather stayed fine, this guaranteed in Wichmann's mind that these expeditions were "herrlich" and "unvergleichlich":

"Schon eine solche Insel, auf der Niemand wohnt, wie die in Schottland frei grasenden Schafe, hat einen eigenthümlichen Reiz" (Wichmann, 25).

The party would break up to explore, some hunting for wild flowers, others for shells, later to return "zum frohen Mahle" and relate all their adventures. Wichmann allowed himself to enter fully into the spirit of the occasion:

Erst wenn die Sonne unterging, bestiegen wir die Böte wieder zur Rückkehr, und in der Dämmerung heimwärts begleitete uns der Gesang irgend eines schottischen Liedes, die durch ihre Einfachheit und durch ihre Melodie so überaus tief ergreifend sind.

Unsere Böte aber glichen fast feurigen Drachen, die beim Durchschneiden des glatten Meeresspiegels die schönsten elektrischen Feuerstriche zogen; eine Erscheinung, die beim Dunkelwerden fast etwas Geisterhaftes in sich trägt.

(Wichmann, 25)

Folksongs were also in the mind of Brandes as he watched a group of cheerful boys playing 'ducks and drakes' on the shore of Loch Lomond. The sight took him back to his own childhood when he had spent many an hour playing the same "Jungfern-Werfen": "Solche natürliche Vergnügen gehen, wie manche Volkslieder, durch die ganze Welt" (Brandes, 25). In describing his reaction, he shows that, foreigner or not, he was well able to share and appreciate such simple forms of entertainment:

Mit freudestrahlendem Antlitz riefen mir die stemmigen schottischen Jungen, wenn der Stein so lustig über die Wasserfläche hintanzte: watch mine, watch mine, zu. Und ich freute mich nicht weniger als diese Boys, denen das Leben noch Spiel und Scherz, der Erdboden ein Tanzboden war, und der Himmel voller Violinen, oder vielmehr voller Dudelsäcke hing, denn diese mochten ihnen besser als jene bekannt seyn.

(ibid., 25f.)

A simple and popular form of recreational entertainment which was the subject of frequent comment from the German visitors was bathing. Here, too, the attitude which the Scots took to this sport was far removed from most German experience. Bathing facilities were being established throughout Scotland at the time but it was the outdoor bathing which was remarkable to the German observers. Mendelssohn was one of the few to sample in person the waters of Edinburgh's coastline and he jokes about the strong taste of salt ("Dobberan ist Limonade dagegen" (Mendelssohn, Hensel, 196)), but twenty years later, by the 1850's, his compatriots seem to have become more inhibited. Lewald, Wichmann and Kalckstein all remark on the immodesty of bathers on the beaches of Musselburgh, Leith and Portobello, and find the activities surprisingly free.⁷⁰ Wichmann writes:

Um den Körper zu kräftigen, konnte man in Musselburgh die schönsten Seebäder in der freien Natur nehmen. Man ging einfach an den weiten Strand, zog sich aus und drang so weit im Meere vor, wie man wollte. Nach vollendetem Bade lief man im Stande der Unschuld so lange umher, bis die Strahlen der Sonne den Körper getrocknet hatten. Auch Damen badeten häufig in der freien Natur, ohne sich eben um die Mitwelt zu kümmern, oder vielmehr, ohne dass irgend Jemand auch nur die geringste Notiz davon nahm. Freilich die letzteren in einem Badegewand.

(Wichmann, 56)

Lewald is equally matter-of-fact. She finds the drive to Portobello charmingly picturesque and "italian" and feels the suburb lives up to its name. She tells how day trips and excursions bring Edinburgh people from all walks of life to the bathing place (Lewald, ii, 191). She herself was taken there by Mrs. Chambers, whose younger children had already been sent with their nurse to stay in Portobello while their parents had a house full of visitors in town. Children travelled third class for a few pence and the journey took a mere ten minutes - Lewald remarks on the freedom allowed children in Scotland and the fact that there is no fear for them, either on the train or in the water. The freedom with which the Scots bathe also surprises her:

Ungenirter ist aber Nichts, als dies schottische Seebad. Man badet in Karren, wie die in Helgoland; die Männer nackt, die Frauen in Badehemden, und das ist nöthig, denn Männer und Frauen benutzen denselben Theil des Strandes. In der Mitte sind die Karren für die Männer, zu beiden Seiten die der Frauen, beide Geschlechter gehen aber ruhig mit und untereinander, das ganze Ufer

entlang spazieren. Vernünftiger Weise lässt man die Karren nicht von Menschen, sondern von Pferden ins Wasser ziehen, wodurch die Badewärter geschont werden, und die Badenden ein tieferes und besseres Bad haben. Dadurch geht es nun am Strande noch bunter und lustiger zu. Karrenpferde, Esel, Ponies, auf denen die Leute zum Bade geritten kommen, kleine Jockey's und Eselführer, Kinderfrauen, Bonnen, Hauslehrer, junge und schöne Welt, Kinder, Weiber die sweeties (Naschwerk) verkaufen, das läuft Alles durcheinander. Es ist eine gar vergnügliche und zwanglose Gesellschaft, und das Bad muss vortrefflich sein, wenn das Meer nicht so wie heute, einem dunkelblauen spiegelglatten Teiche ähnlich ist. (ibid., 276f.)

Four years later, in 1854, Kalckstein finds that his German sensibilities are at first affronted by the sight of bathers at Leith:

Der ganze Strand unmittelbar vor Leith war von Badenden beider Geschlechter, wohl hauptsächlich aus den ärmern Volksclassen, angefüllt. Eine solche Unverhülltheit der Natur, im Angesicht einer öffentlichen von Besuchern aller Stände belebten Promenade ist eine Erscheinung welche unserer deutschen Auffassung auf das Entschiedenste widerstrebt; dennoch versicherten mir ernste Männer von gediegener, geläuterter Bildung, dass das öffentliche Baden in England durch die Gewohnheit sanktionirt hier keineswegs Anstoss gebe. In der That nahm ich wahr, wie jeder der Vorübergehenden, ohne die entfernteste Theilnahme an dem was um ihn her vorging, seinen Weg verfolgte, auch sah und hörte ich weder Kundgebungen eines der Sitte verletzenden Muthwillens noch die lauten Ausbrüche roher, ausgelassener Freude, wie solche Naturungebundenheit sich so häufig in der widerwärtigsten Weise auf unsern öffentlichen deutschen Badeplätzen bemerkbar macht. (Kalckstein, 219)

Contrary to Lewald's understanding, Kalckstein regards Portobello as a bathing place for the upper classes, and accordingly he finds that beach, despite the mixed bathing, less offensive; those who can afford the Portobello horse-drawn bathing machines partake of the sport in more private circumstances. Indeed, after a long walk on a hot summer's day, even he himself is enticed into the water - although not until after he has left Leith well behind him! Finding the force of the tide too strong, he does not linger long, so continues on his way, providing a beach-scene description directly comparable with Lewald's:

Als ich zwischen sieben und acht Uhr Abends Portobello erreichte, trat mir auch hier noch das Bild des angeregtesten BADELEBENS, zu dem Bonnen und Erzieher mit der ihrer Obhuth anvertrauten Jugend, elegante von Ponnis

gezogene Ghigs, Esswaarenverkäufer die ihre Gegenstände auf flachen mit Eseln bespannten Wagen feilboten, und der hin- und zurückfahrende Train der Badekarren, die wechselvollste Staffage darboten, in der heitersten, fessellosesten Gestalt entgegen.
(ibid., 221)

Once he has shaken off his own inhibitions, Kalckstein gives a lively description.

The existence of spas and watering places in Scotland did not go unnoticed either. Their presence seems to have been more apparent in the early part of the Century, perhaps because many bath houses were being built at this time. In 1805, for instance, Nemnich was impressed by Peterhead as a popular summer resort and watering place, notable not only for its bath house but also for its "wine well", in which the water bubbled like champagne (Nemnich, 584), and some twenty years later Meidinger was to report that both Helensburgh and Ayr had bath houses and a small theatre in the summer season (Meidinger, Reisen, 92 & 104), while Moffat was famed for its mineral springs, Hartfel Spa and Moffat Well, and was also well frequented in summer (ibid., 112). Others, too, wrote of Moffat as a busy spa, Schopenhauer visiting the town in 1803 and Spiker in 1816 (Schopenhauer, 355 and Spiker, 320)⁷¹.

Few of the visitors chanced upon such outdoor entertainments as fairs or shows, but there is mention by both Schinkel and Löwenthal of Glasgow street fairs, and Kohl, on arriving in Perth, came across a public entertainment. Curious to see if the Inches live up to their reputation as fine sporting venues, he joins a large excited crowd making its way towards the North Inch. It transpires that a clown is due to perform on the river; the troupe of tightrope walkers performing that night in the city evidently hoped that this preview act would draw the crowds to their show:

Jeder Unternehmung in England muss ein solcher Trompetenstoss vorangehen, und selbst bei den bessten und grössten müssen sie immer erst unter dem Publicum "get up an excitement". Das Mittel war diessmal gewiss gut gewählt, besonders einem englischen Publicum gegenüber, das immer das Komische mehr liebt als irgend ein anderes Publicum, und der Clown hatte hier gewiss nicht so viel Excitement erregt, wenn er angekündigt hätte, er wolle mit Pfauen wie Juno, oder mit Tauben wie Venus, durch die Luft fliegen, als wie er nun, als Narr gekleidet, in einem Waschtrog sitzend und von vier schnatternden Gänsen gezogen, zu Wege brachte.

Er erschien wirklich nach einiger Zeit, und unter dem Beifallsrufen der Menge schwamm er den Fluss hinunter, indem er sehr geschickt sein wackelndes Schiff balancirte. Die Gänse zogen ihn natürlich nicht, vielmehr wurden sie selber vom Flusse fortgeschwemmt. (Kohl, i, 165)

The fact that the North Inch was so crowded and so evidently a popular recreation ground leads Kohl to further discussion on "die Leidenschaft der Briten für 'sports'; in a nation for whom sporting grounds and clubs are so important he can well appreciate the reputation of Perth's Inches. He even seeks a comparison with Germany: just as every British town has highly frequented sporting grounds and clubs, so the Germans insist on providing each of their towns with "Kaffee- und Musikgärten" (*ibid.*, 166). Few of the travellers were as prepared as Kohl to recognise comparisons and equivalents in Germany which might help to explain British phenomena otherwise foreign to the German visitor.

Schinkel's arrival in Glasgow on Friday 14th July, 1826 coincided with a noisy parish fair taking place in one of the town squares, (Schinkel, iii, 111). Also in Scotland in the 1820's, Löwenthal did not hesitate to penetrate a similar Glasgow fair and he, too, was struck above all by the noise:

Glasgow ist nicht blos die grösste und am stärksten bevölkerte Stadt Schottlands, sondern auch eine der lebendigsten, werkthätigsten und sofort rauchigsten Fabrikstädte der vereinigten Königreiche. Zu meiner grossen Verwunderung sah ich des Abends hier vor dem Stadthause ein Jahrmarktstreiben, das mir beinahe das Pariser Boulevard in's Gedächtniss rief. Haufen von Arbeitern strömen aus den Spinn- und übrigen Manufacturen zusammen; Jungen bieten, aus vollen Hälsen schreiend, ihre Waaren an; betagte Krämer gehen unter dem unaufhörlichen Rufe: cheap! cheap! (wohlfeil! wohlfeil!) umher; Kuchenbäckerinnen, singende alte Weiber und Männer, Violinspieler, Flötisten und Sackpfeifer drängen sich zahlreich durch das Volk. (Löwenthal, 91)

It is eye witness accounts such as these which bring life, colour and authenticity to the travel works. It is not enough merely to report from hearsay; the 'real' Scotland emerges only when the traveller recounts his own personal impressions. Thus Kohl resists the temptation to describe the beauties of the Carse of Gowrie and Firth of Tay, beautiful though they must be; although he is assured of its

unrivalled beauty, he himself does not have time to explore the area fully and proceeds instead to tell of the clown on the North Inch. As a travel writer, he prefers to share with his readers "die Dinge, welche ich wirklich sah" (Kohl, i, 164).

ii. Social Entertainment, Music and Theatre

Oeffentliche Vergnügungen giebt es in Edinburgh äusserst wenige; in den sogenannten Assembly-Rooms werden zuweilen öffentliche Bälle gegeben, es ist aber nicht fashionable, sich unter die Tanzenden zu mischen; man putzt sich, geht Abends um 11 Uhr dorthin, besieht die übrigen geputzten Herren und Damen und ist wieder um 1 Uhr zu Hause. - Es ist hier nur ein Theater; so klein es auch ist, scheint es doch gross genug zu seyn, und selten sind alle Plätze besetzt.

(Otto, 303)

Otto's somewhat disparaging comments on Edinburgh social life are fairly typical of the German impressions of the standard of entertainment in Scotland. For the average summer foreign visitor there was ready access to only a very few musical and dramatic performances or other social occasions and these invariably fell short of their counterparts in the larger European cultural centres. Only those who visited during the spring, autumn or winter months were in the country during the 'social season' and, even then, knowledge of private social entertainment was naturally confined to those with connections and invitations. Meidinger, like Otto, in Scotland during the 1820's, gives different emphasis to his account, reporting from Edinburgh that music, song and dance were very popular, Italian music and Mozart enjoying most acclaim in recitals and concerts, while scarcely a soirée occurred during the winter without a French "quadrille", English "country dance" or Scottish "reel" being danced. He comments that the German waltz was not at all popular, and never danced in smaller gatherings (Meidinger, Reisen, 28).

Apart from the descriptions given by Meissner and Meidinger of the annual Bagpipe Competition in Edinburgh, there are few accounts of concerts attended in Scotland, but many descriptions of 'recitals'

given by fiddlers and pipers on street corners or ship decks for the benefit of tourists.⁷² This by no means signifies that non-traditional music was unpopular; the very fact that the pianists Moscheles and Chopin visited Edinburgh on concert tours in the first half of the century shows that there was indeed a Scottish audience. The hurdle which Moscheles came up against on his visit in January 1826 was not that there was no interest in his music, but rather that an Italian opera company had booked to perform the same night and taken up both orchestra and audience. Instead he had to be content with second-rate musicians, "unter denen die Bläser (grösstentheils Regiments-musiker) im Highland Kilt mit unbekleideten Knien erschienen und leider ihre Sache recht schlecht machten" (Moscheles, 185f.). But despite the small audience the concert was a success and Moscheles' composition, "The Anticipations of Scotland", so well received that he was able to give two further concerts with full house attendance and high praise from the critics. His fee of two guineas an hour was not sufficient to finance his family's stay in Edinburgh, however, and he was compelled to give lessons in addition to the three recitals (ibid., 193).

Carus was very pleasantly surprised to find the Scottish concert pianist, Miller, playing for the King's party both at Taymouth and at Dalmahoy. After dinner at Taymouth, which Carus felt had been marred only by the playing of a piper,

fanden wir in der schönen gothischen Halle einen Pianisten am Flügel, und siehe da! ich erkannte in ihm den schottischen Musiker Miller, welcher vor einer Reihe von Jahren uns in Dresden öfters durch seinen ausgezeichneten Vortrag Beethovenscher Sonaten und Concerte erfreut hatte. Wie gern hörte ich ihn, der schon damals fast alle Werke frei aus dem Kopfe spielte, die herrlich C-moll Sonate wieder so vortragen - eine wahrhaft seeliges Ausruhen nach jener schottischen Nationalmusik.

(Carus, ii, 265f.)

Chamber music within the family circle was very popular throughout the middle and upper classes, but naturally this was not necessarily apparent to outsiders. While staying in Oban, Lewald and her companion went for an evening walk along the cliffs past the ruins of Dunolly Castle. They walked through the park of the new house, and although the drawing-room doors were closed against the cool evening air, they could hear soft singing accompanied by merry laughter and occasional

notes from the piano. Looking in, they saw several ladies, young and old, seated round a roaring fire: "In dieser Oede, in der dämmernden Abendstunde, machte dies Bild der Civilisation und des heitern Lebensgenusses einen freundlichen Eindruck" (Lewald, ii, 511). The King of Saxony and his party were treated to a more formal musical soirée at Dalmahoy on their last evening in Scotland. After dinner the house party was joined for tea in the drawing room by a group of invited guests:

Musik sollte auch hier die Unterhaltung erleichtern und fördern. Wir hörten abermals den Pianist Miller ... und einige jener schwermüthig anziehenden schottischen Lieder, von einer geübten Dilettantin, Lady Scott, (73) vorgetragen, gaben eigentlich ein recht hübsches "Fare well" für den letzten Abend in Schottland. (Carus, ii, 316)

It is interesting to note Carus' objection to the truly traditional pipe music, set against his marked approval of the sentimental Scottish popular songs of the day. It was also this type of music which had impressed Schopenhauer on her visit to an Edinburgh concert in 1803, long before the songs of Lady Nairne or Lady Scott were to be heard throughout the country. The concert the Schopenhauers attended was part of the Races Week entertainments:

In dem sehr hübschen Concert-Saale ward ein ächt schottisches Concert vor einem sehr brillanten Auditorium gegeben. Es war als ein Vocal-Concert angekündigt, und bestand nur aus drei Singstimmen, begleitet von einem Pianoforte. Die Sänger gaben den ganzen Abend nur leichte Romanzen, Lieder und dreistimmige Kanons, hier Glees genannt. Diese Art Musik ist in England, noch mehr in Schottland, sehr beliebt. Musik und Text waren ganz Schottisch, letzterer oft aus Ossian entlehnt, erstere durchaus sanft und klagend, durch Molltöne sich hinwindend. Manche uralte Melodie ertönte hier und wurde mit heisser Vaterlandsliebe aufgenommen. Das Ganze wäre für eine Stunde etwa recht angenehm gewesen; aber es hatte den Fehler aller Ergötzlichkeiten in Grossbritannien, es währte zu lange. Das Auditorium war indessen sehr aufmerksam bis ans Ende; nur einige ältliche Herren, die sich wahrscheinlich bei Tische das Wohl der Nation zu sehr zu Herzen genommen hatten, verfielen in süssen Schlummer und schnarchten Überlaut den Grundbass zu dem etwas mageren Accompagnement des Pianoforte. Die Singstimmen waren gut und sangen diese einfachen Melodien, wie dergleichen gesungen werden müssen, schmucklos, richtig und ausdrucksvoll.

(Schopenhauer, 292f.)

As long as the music fitted in with the Romantic notion of the country, "richtig und ausdrucksvoll", it found approval. The Germans could obviously find nobody in Scotland to match their Beethoven, yet a certain wistful or mystical air about Scottish folk and art song - and not the offensive tones of bagpipe music - was definitely appealing and acceptable.

There is little doubt that the early 19th Century Edinburgh theatre was far inferior to that of London, even though it was also dominated by the two great acting families of the day, the Kembles and the Siddons⁷⁴. Current German Shakespeare adulation had resulted in frequent criticism of English theatre, however, and it was hardly to be expected that the provincial nature of Scottish theatre could match the firmly established German values according to which even London theatre had been judged and found lacking.⁷⁵ Nonetheless the few German accounts of theatre in Scotland are of historical interest. It is mostly in Edinburgh that the theatre was attended. Of her visit in 1803, when the Theatre Royal was under Henry Siddons' incompetent management, Schopenhauer writes:

Das Theater wird stark besucht und das Publikum darinn ist laut, ungestüm und souverain herrschend, wie in London; das Haus nicht gross, aber sehr hübsch decorirt, gut erleuchtet und zweckmässig eingerichtet. Nur die Schauspieler zeichnen sich auf keine Weise aus; keiner unter ihnen erhebt sich über die Mittelmässigkeit, und die Schauspielerinnen bleiben sogar noch weit unter ihr zurück.

(Schopenhauer, 290)

By the time of Spiker's visit the following decade, the theatre's affairs had taken a turn for the better under the new management of Henry Siddons' successor and brother-in-law, William Murray, yet poor attendance was evidently still very apparent. Spiker found the building's exterior more like a barn than a "temple of the muses" but he describes the interior with approval,⁷⁶ considering its small size no disadvantage in Edinburgh, since, except when Miss Stephens or other actors and actresses from the London theatres made their appearance, he generally found it nearly empty (Spiker, 207). Although Meidinger was to consider the theatrical standard high - "Decorationen, Costume und Beleuchtung sind gut, and auch unter den Schauspielern findet man welche die dem ersten Theater in London Ehre machen würden" (Meidinger, Reisen, 29) - he, too, found the building unprepossessing and the shows poorly attended, even though the top London actors made occasional appearances. The interior of the Caledonian Theatre in Leith Walk, however, which he designates a "Volkstheater", having formerly been the home of a performing riding troupe and known as the "Circus", he finds more tasteful, with a large stage and plenty audience space. Its

exterior is unique, in that the façade is that of the Caledonian Tavern and belies the existence of a theatre inside, but it is open daily only in winter and Meidinger evidently finds this a considerable shortcoming (*ibid.*, 29f.). He is alone in mentioning the Caledonian Theatre; all others reported that Edinburgh had one theatre only.⁷⁷ Spiker is one of the few to mention theatres outside Edinburgh when he describes the Glasgow Theatre, where two London actors from Drury Lane, Wallack and Mrs. Davison, were to perform the evening of his visit. He did not, however, attend the performance, and merely remarks that the theatre was a very simple building (Spiker, 305).

Otto is firm in his opinion that the Scots take little interest in the theatre:

Für das Dramatische scheint man überhaupt kein grosses Interesse zu haben, die Directoren suchen daher immer irgend einen berühmten Schauspieler von London zu einer Reise nach Edinburgh zu bewegen, um das hiesige Publikum durch die Gastrollen anzulocken.

Nor was it only in this matter that the Theatre Royal management had Otto's support:

Die Directoren des edinburgher Theaters scheinen mehr Geschmack als die der Theater in London zu haben, denn mehrere der vorzüglichsten Originalschauspiele wurden während meines hiesigen Aufenthalts gegeben, und die Schauspielergesellschaft war im Ganzen sehr gut. Mrs. Siddons, obgleich über 40 Jahre alt, ist so schön wie ein 20 jähriges Mädchen und spielt tragische Rollen ganz vortrefflich. Mrs. Rock ist in komischen Rollen vorzüglich; Mr. Cahlkraft, Mr. Mackay, Mr. Terry u.m. zeichnen sich unter den Schauspielern aus.

(Otto, 303f.)

Otto himself benefited from the Theatre's policy of engaging London actors; he saw an impressive performance by Charles Kemble as "Jaffiar in dem befreiten Venedig". But if he found the dramatic policy superior to that of London theatre, he considered the scenery far inferior, and although the theatre's interior was pleasing, the chandelier was far too big for the size of the ceiling and the building's exterior was very distasteful to him. He attempts to explain the lack of active interest in the theatre by stressing the Church's objections to it.

The fullest account of a theatre visit comes from Löwenthal, who was in Scotland the same year as Otto, in 1822. He, too, describes

the Theatre Royal as small and insignificant, but patriotic curiosity urged him to visit it, even though this meant taking leave of the friendly Leith merchant family who had offered him hospitality.⁷⁸ The theatre advertisement had caught his eye: "The celebrated Tragedy translated from Schiller called Maria Stuart or The Rival Queens" (Löwenthal, 126). By the time he entered the theatre it was already Act IV, scene v. To a German it is definitely not Schiller's play; when Elisabeth is signing the death warrant in front of Davison, it is quite out of character, "von der höchst charakteristischen Schlangenart, mit der sie dasselbe bei Schiller dem Neuling Davison überantwortet, ist keine Spur", and when Maria says farewell to her servants, there is "kein Abschied von den Kammerfrauen; keine Beichte. Die Localität will es, dass Maria ihr Herz nach Schottland senden lasse, wo es immer gewesen sey, und nicht nach Frankreich" (*ibid.*, 126f.). The play ends with Leicester's monologue, thus omitting the last five scenes centred round Elisabeth. Finally, the costumes are not Schiller's, but historical, with Maria dressed in a velvet dress adorned with much gold brocade, rather than in the white robe in which Schiller clothes her for her final scene:

Elisabeth war ebenfalls auf's treueste costümir't; sie hatte eine furchtbare Mannestimme und gefiel sich in den ungebührlichsten Bewegungen. Der Urtheile-Monolog schien eine unglückliche Parodie. Sie verfiel dabei in Gebrüll, Aechzen, Zuckungen, in wahre Raserei, und geberdete sich, als würde sie durch eine fremde, ihr abscheuliche Macht zu dem Schritte hingerissen, als sey sie vielmehr selbst das Opfer, als dass sie eines schlachte. Es war reiner Widersinn; aber man klatschte stark.

(*ibid.*, 127)

Although it may not have been fashionable at the time to read Elisabeth's reaction as a conscience struggle, Schiller's play is certainly open to that interpretation and it evidently found approval with the Scots.

After the 1820's there were only passing remarks made regarding theatre, the unpopularity of which was generally considered to be a British failing.⁷⁹ Rollstab, commenting on the gratifying fact that the British attitude to charity and welfare resulted in the nation's poor and sick being housed in buildings of great grandeur, counteracts this with the paucity of theatres, and more particularly opera. The fact that London had only one opera house and Edinburgh only one theatre was hard for a German to understand and would surely have been utterly incomprehensible to an Italian (Rollstab, ii, 154f.).

Besides music and theatre there was of course ample private social entertainment. In the 1820's Meidinger reported that much of the winter season's social entertainment in Edinburgh concerned only the upper classes. He writes of the many routs, "sogenannte reiche Dräng-Assembleen" (Meidinger, Reisen, 29), attended by those members of the nobility and gentry who used to winter in London but now found Edinburgh equally acceptable socially; other Scots, who had served abroad, often in the East Indies, were now also choosing to retire to Edinburgh. Meidinger reports, too, on the popularity of balls and concerts, singling out the "Batchelors Ball", a masked fancy dress ball held every year in the new Assembly Rooms in George Street and organised by thirty eligible gentlemen at a cost of 900 guineas, a price the German evidently considered excessive. Of Meidinger's fellow travellers, Otto, Carus, Lewald and Wichmann were fortunate to benefit from much private entertainment.

Otto's observations indicate that he had become well acquainted with the social entertainment of Edinburgh's upper classes:

In den Abendgesellschaften ist es Sitte, dass die Jüngeren nach dem Claviere tanzen, und während der Mahlzeit wird gewöhnlich gesungen. Da ich schon in London des Tanzens müde geworden, setze ich mich oft an den Whisttisch und werde häufig aufgefordert ein dänisches Lied zu singen. Man ist hier ungezwungener und natürlicher als in London, und mein Aufenthalt in Edinburgh hat meine Ueberzeugung von den vortrefflichen Eigenschaften des englischen Volkes noch mehr befestigt, meine Verehrung des englischen Nationalcharakters noch mehr erhöht.
(Otto, 302f.)

It is not clear whether one should read "british" for "english" here, but bearing in mind Otto's comments on the assemblies,⁸⁰ it may be assumed that he compared the social life of Edinburgh unfavourably with that of London. Lewald, on the other hand, met such a varied selection of people during her stay in Edinburgh that no such comparison appeared necessary to her. Like Otto before her, she was frequently invited out to breakfast and she also describes a dinner party with Mrs. M. at Maggetland (Lewald, ii, 311) and a social evening in the home of the astronomer-royal, Charles Piazzi Smyth,⁸¹ of which she writes:

Der Abend verging sehr angenehm, dennoch gab unser Wirth, der alle solch kleine Scherze zu lieben

scheint, beim Abschiede Jedem ein gedrucktes Blättchen Papier, welche man im Vorübergehen auf der Strasse in die Hand gesteckt bekommt. Darauf standen die Worte:

"Lost somewhere between sunrise and sunset two golden hours, each set with sixty diamond minutes. No reward is offered, for they are lost forever!"

(ibid., 271f.)

Lewald was also present at a soirée in the Chambers' house, at which there were over one hundred guests. Despite the fact that many distinguished scientists were present, Lewald gained little from the occasion, which she felt to be inevitable in such a large gathering; she was introduced to many new people, met many more and exchanged only a few insignificant words with any of them. Her account goes to show both that small-talk has changed little in the past hundred years and also that an observant sense of humour was a vital companion on a foreign tour:

...nur hier und da habe ich im Vorübergehen und Plaudern eine Sentenz, eine naturhistorische Unterredung, eine derartige Anekdote oder Thatsache gehört und behalten, z.B. (gehörte Sentenz) "der Magnet wirkt nicht allein auf Eisen, sondern auf alle Körper anziehend." - Danach könnte man also (eigene Reflexion), wenn man im Fenster läge und es ginge ein Bekannter vorüber, ihn mit einem recht grossen Magnet zu sich hinaufheben, was in der ersten Zeit den Leuten allerdings eine etwas wunderliche Überraschung bereiten würde. - Ferner: es kommt für Nervenkranken wesentlich darauf an, dass sie in der elektrischen Strömung, d.h. in einer Lage von Norden nach Süden schlafen! - Worauf ich, ich weisse nicht in welcher Luftströmung, vortrefflich, bis in den hellen Tag geschlafen habe.

(ibid., 260f.)

Lewald was to give a more favourable account than Otto of an end of season assembly, one of the last Promenade Meetings before the summer, held in the Assembly Rooms in George Street:

Es fiel denn auch bunt und glänzend genug aus, da man ausser der Musikhalle auch den grossen Tanzsaal und sämtliche Verbindungszimmer geöffnet und trefflich erleuchtet hatte. Die grosse Anzahl der Gelehrten, unter denen viele ansehnliche und bedeutende Gestalten; die Frauen und Mädchen, diesmal fast Alle in Balltoiletten; die schottischen Offiziere mit seidenen, von einer silbernen Nadel über der rothen Uniform zusammengehaltenen Plaids, den Dolch in silberverzierter

Scheide an der Hüfte, die kleine Mütze mit einem Riemen am Arm hängend; daneben die Bergschotten im kurzen Rock mit entblößten Knien und farbigen Strümpfen; das gab ein heiteres, vielfarbiges Ganze. Zum Schlusse fing man zu tanzen an, und es war eine Lust zu sehen, wie viele der gelehrten Naturforscher, darunter mehrere bejahrte Männer, sich die hübschen Mädchen heraussuchten, um sich in die Quadrillen zu stellen.

(ibid., 301f.)

The most unusual account of a ball comes from Wichmann. He enjoyed much hospitality while in Edinburgh and on one occasion two young lawyers of his acquaintance invited him to join them at an exclusive ball, preparing him for something out of the ordinary, but not, as it turned out, for the true nature of the event itself. Knowledge of the Scots' fame as fine dancers made the German nervous yet eager. His friends arrived in full formal dress and together they walked briskly through the streets to a large walled building on the edge of town. One of his companions cautiously rang the bell and, after a few discreet words, the gate was opened. The second floor of the building in front of them was brightly lit, and after further quiet words at the door they were admitted, but first to a downstairs room where they had to sign their names in a book. Wichmann found this all rather strange, but had little time to reflect upon the events since they could hear the band tuning up and his friends said that the first dance, a reel, must not be missed. Wichmann soon found himself facing a partner, in a room full of couples preparing to dance. He continues:

Fand ich mich je in einer peinlichen Lage, so war es da der Fall. Zeit zu Entschuldigungen war nicht gegeben. Hierhin wogte der Tanz, dorthin. Meine ganze Aufmerksamkeit musste ich zusammennehmen, um nur einigermaßen wenigstens dem Gange des Tanzes zu folgen, trotzdem rannte ich bald hierhin, bald dorthin und machte die ungeheuer schnellen Bewegungen, welche die Schotten mit ihren Füßen machen können, wie ein Rasender nach. Meine Dame, die schon etwas hoch in den Semestern zu stehen schien und sich durch eine auffallende Kleidung auszeichnete, blickte mich nicht destoweniger lieblächelnd an und drückte mir wiederholt und ziemlich stark die Hände.

Da ich die Sitten des Landes noch nicht zur Genüge kannte, unterliess ich natürlich nicht ein Gleiches zu thun und ras'te immer lustig weiter.

Endlich war der Tanz zu Ende und ich athmete wieder auf, als ich meine Dame zu ihrem Sitz geleitete, und jetzt erst hatte ich Muses mir die Gesellschaft näher

zu betrachten.

Die nichts weniger als ballgemässe Kleidung der Damen und Herren und das Benehmen derselben kam mir nun ziemlich unheimlich vor, und als ich meine Begleiter aufsuchte und mir Auskunft von ihnen erbat, wo wir uns eigentlich befanden, erklärten sie mir ganz ruhig:

"you are in a madhouse (Sie sind in einer Irrenanstalt)".

Die Sache war jedenfalls für mich neu und ich verfolgte den Verlauf dieses Abends mit hohem Interesse.

(Wichmann, 8f.)

Instead of being understandably annoyed with his friends for keeping him in the dark for so long, Wichmann's reaction was open-minded; he was told that such entertainments were becoming widespread throughout the country and he considered it excellent therapy for the milder cases in the mental hospitals. Indeed he noticed nothing of the patients' afflictions during the evening, neither while dancing nor when some of them gave a recital, some performing "recht gefühlvoll" on the fiddle and others excelling themselves with the "Vortrag recht schwermüthiger Lieder" (*ibid.*, 10). With his fellow guests he left the ball with feelings of genuine concern and sympathy; at the same time, emphasised by the use of the verb "rasen", his description, through humour, directed at himself rather than the inmates, takes on its own entertainment value.

Wichmann goes on to write of the entertainment in which he was able to partake during his stay in Edinburgh: "so folgten nun eine Zeit lang Einladungen zu Gesellschaften, Land- und Wasserpartien etc., etc., so dass ich mich in kurzer Zeit in Edinburgh ganz heimisch und behaglich fühlte" (*ibid.*). The social evenings to which he was invited gave him ample opportunity to meet "manche bonny Scotch lassie" and he jokes that he had to make a concerted effort to avoid losing his heart to one of them. Any such jesting could be for real in Scotland, however, where any witnessed proposal, meant seriously or not, could force a heedless joker into a marriage against his will. But Wichmann himself maintained a healthy balance and enjoyed Edinburgh society, and the girls in particular, to the full:

Diese eigenthümlichen, reizenden, grau-blauen Augen der Schottinnen, welche so kindlich und ungemein liebevoll bis in unser Inneres zu blicken scheinen, dabei der tiefergreifende Gesang ihrer schönen, einfachen, melodischen Nationallieder und ihr natürlicher, graciöser Tanz, ganz abgesehen von ihren vortrefflichen Eigenschaften als tüchtige Hausfrauen, haben gewiss schon manchen Fremdling um sein Herz gebracht.

(*ibid.*)

Wichmann had shown that he was not only a good natured, imperturbable foreign traveller, but also sensitive to the traditions and values of his host country. As a result he was able to add real enjoyment to his Scottish visit, a gift with which not all foreign visitors were endowed.

The most glowing account of private social entertainment comes, however, from Ziegler, who was in Scotland at the same time as Wichmann. His account concerns his visit to Orkney:

Die Witterung war während meines Aufenthaltes nicht günstig. Tag für Tag regnete es und dicker Nebel umflorte sehr oft die nackten, baumlosen Eilande. Dagegen genoss ich in Balfour House auf Shapinshey Island eine Gastfreundschaft, wie sie nur auf diesen nordischen Inseln zu Hause sein kann. Das neue palastartig gebaute Haus enthält 40 Zimmer, einen Wintergarten, eine ausgewählte Bibliothek und eine schöne Sculptur- und Gemäldesammlung, welche letztere auch mehre sehr gut ausgeführte Oelgemälde eines sächsischen Künstlers, Namens Nicolaus Fischer, enthält. Die Abende, welche ich in Balfour House zubrachte, waren sehr gemüthlich und die vielen anwesenden Gäste trugen, nebst der lebenswürdigen Hausfrau, nicht wenig dazu bei. Es wurde vorgelesen, schottische Reels wurden getanzt und von mehren orkadischen Jungfrauen die Compositionen von Beethoven, Mozart, Meyerbeer, Reissiger, Charles Meyer, Mendelssohn u.s.w. vortrefflich vorgelesen. Auf solche Weise werden freilich die Orkaden zu einem wahren Arkadien.

(Ziegler, Bilder, 169)

Entertainment at Balfour House may have been exceptional, but Ziegler was an honest and critical observer and his high opinion of Scottish hospitality was, after all, shared by many.

CHAPTER VIPUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

Mit den angenehmsten Rückerinnerungen statte ich hier Rechenschaft meines drei Wochen langen Aufenthaltes in dieser merkwürdigen Stadt ab. Die Lage von Edinburgh, die Bauart des neuen Theils der Stadt, und die Aussichten, die sie gewährt, sind im strengen Sinne des Wortes unvergleichbar. Der gesellschaftliche Ton, welcher allda herrscht, ist ungezwungen und freimüthig, die Gastfreiheit unbegrenzt. Die Universität wird bekanntlich nicht allein für die vorzüglichste in Britannien, sondern auch für eine der ersten in Europa angesehen. An Wohlthätigkeits-Anstalten fehlt es dieser Hauptstadt Schottlands auch nicht. Ich fand daher an einem Orte alles vereinigt, was mich sowohl als Mensch so wie als Arzt auf den höchsten Grad interessiren musste.

(Frank, 213)

Thus Frank begins the description of his visit to Edinburgh in June and July of 1803. Not all the accounts which followed his were as unqualifyingly laudatory in every aspect, but it is fair to say that Scotland's public institutions, from the medical and charitable to the educational and learned, occasioned almost unanimous admiration from the German visitors. Scotland, and Edinburgh in particular, was famed for the advancement of general learning, and of special interest to many of the German visitors were the centres for medical and welfare care; for the most part it was keenly felt how far the German-speaking lands were behind Scotland in this respect. Out of professional interest, all seven of the medical men amongst the travellers made a point of visiting at least one of the better known medical institutions, whether it be the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary or the Lunatic Asylum in Glasgow, but others, too, were impressed by the extent of public welfare and education in the country, and certain institutions, from universities to the charity hospitals, receive frequent attention in the travel works.

a). Medical and Penal

For the visitors who were physicians, a visit to the Medical Faculty of the University of Edinburgh went hand in hand with a visit

to the teaching hospital, the Royal Infirmary. For Frank the University had been rendered "ewig unvergesslich" (Frank, 216) by the first medical professors in the 17th Century, Sibbald and Pitcairn, and by the most famous of their successors, Munro, Gregory, Cullen and Black. He finds it a shame that the Faculty's building, for all its magnificent façade, is in a state of decay; on the other hand the library, for the use of which each student pays 1/6d. a year, is large and well stocked. Frank attends some lectures and gives an account of the medical course. He sits in on a session on Anatomy and Surgery and is surprised by two things, firstly the professor's lectern, similar to a German "Pult", and secondly the fact that there is a separate room where the students can examine the samples used during the lecture for a few days afterwards. He was also to witness the conferring of doctorate degrees in the library. The twenty-four candidates stood in a circle around a table at which the professors were seated; after answering questions in Latin, they each received handshakes and their degree. Frank is impressed by the Latin:

Die Professoren sprechen ohne Ausnahme sehr schön, besonders elegant aber Dr. Gregory. Die Schottische Aussprache des Lateins ist sehr von der Englischen, die ein damit nicht bekannter Ausländer gar nicht verstehen kann, verschieden; jene nähert sich mehr der Italienischen, diese der Deutschen.

(ibid., 240)

Frank discusses the work of the contemporary lecturers, the popular Gregory first and foremost, and the lecturers in Clinical Medicine, Botany and Natural History, respectively Doctors Duncan, Rutherford and Walter. Of a certain Murray Frank reports that he is so popular that even women attend his lectures. Frank also visited Duncan's Dispensary and the Infirmary. A Danzig boat had recently docked in Leith with a dangerous fever on board, and he gives a description of Dr. James Hamilton's treatment of the illness, concluding his account of the Infirmary with a discussion of the disease yaws (ibid., 246ff.). Altogether he cannot speak highly enough of Edinburgh as a place of study:

Ich kann hier nicht umhin, meine Verwunderung an den Tag zu legen, dass so wenige meiner Landsleute die Universität Edinburgh besuchen. Mit hundert

Guineen kann ein jeder unter ihnen durch einen Winterkurs gut auskommen. Wie viele unserer jungen Deutschen Ärzte geben nicht mehr bei ihrem Aufenthalte in Paris aus, wo sie in Hinsicht der Arzneiwissenschaft gewisse doch nicht soviel gewinnen können!

(ibid., 241)

The two doctors who followed Frank, Meissner in 1817 and Otto in 1822, were less complimentary. Meissner in particular finds the Royal Infirmary most inadequate as a teaching hospital:

Ich hatte Edinburg oft in den Werken von Genfer Aerzten la première école de médecine de l'Europe genannt gefunden, und erwartete von der einzigen wissenschaftlichen Unterrichtsanstalt in Grossbritannien soviel, dass ich mit Erstaunen meine Erwartungen viel zu hoch gespannt fand.

(Meissner, 212f.)

The hospital, the only one in Edinburgh, can take only 200 patients, with certain beds reserved for teaching by the three medical professors, who share the cases. Meissner considers this arrangement far inferior to that in Germany, where each bed is dealt with by only one professor. He imagines the students must find this very confusing, having to learn how three different men treat the same subject, but concludes that it arises from the fact that there are fewer differences of opinion in Britain than in Germany; this in itself he sees as a disadvantage. Moreover, he finds the Infirmary a badly laid-out hospital, whose planning has made no allowance for teaching; there are no large halls and the students cannot get close enough to the beds to see the patients at first hand. Each professor has two clerks who accompany him on his rounds and write everything down; the students are left to copy the case histories diligently, even though they themselves have seen little, if anything, of the cases. It seems to Meissner that the only ones to gain anything from the exercise are the well paid clerks. He himself questioned some of the students and found them very ignorant of the cases they were meant to be studying. He is left puzzled as to how any British doctor becomes trained practically; they all visit Edinburgh, which has such a high reputation, and then move on to London, but in neither place are full diagnoses given or explained. On the whole, however, Meissner considers the London hospitals equipped for practical training.

Meissner is even more disappointed by the training possibilities in the two town dispensaries, where the sick are treated free of charge. In two hours there are often 200 patients treated, but even this "experimentum facere in anima vili" is carried out by surgeons and apothecaries and Meissner is once more left to wonder how the young doctor can learn any practical skills. He visited the dispensary in Richmond Street, where it was the day for child vaccination; each child received a certificate with an engraving of a cow and the inscription "ex hoc salus". A further point in favour of Edinburgh medical treatment was the cleanliness of the hospital, and the elegance of the nearby bath house. As for the individual medical men, Dr. Hamilton, the author of On Purgative Medicines, reminds Meissner of Molière's caricature, Dr. Diaforus,¹ while the case discussions given by Professor Home in his clinic he finds very insufficient. He is told that the lectures of Monro, the professor of Anatomy, would be very unpopular if they were not a compulsory part of the doctoral course, and a friend remarks to him that the Monros were becoming less accomplished with each generation.² On hearing this opinion, Meissner comments that it is always to the detriment of any profession when a son takes over from his father. Despite these disparaging remarks, Meissner was extremely pleased to meet Dr. Barclay³ and also two men with a good knowledge of German, the professor of Natural History, Jameson, and the "Privatdocent der medicinischen Polizei" (ibid., 218), Dr. Duncan.⁴ Of Jameson, who had spent several years in Germany, studying for much of that time under Werner in Freiburg, Meissner writes: "Werner hat nie einen wärmeren Schüler, Faujas St. Fond und die schottischen Vulkanisten nie einen grösseren Gegner gehabt" (ibid.) Meissner finds Jameson very well acquainted with German literature, but since the professor was only concerned with that which does not rely on speculation, he could not understand the work of such writers as the nature philosopher Oken, which he deemed "fancyfull" [sic]. Duncan discusses a topical professional subject with Meissner, namely the difficulty of proving cases of arsenic poisoning; since onions and arsenic react similarly to copper and silver tests, it is impossible to prove a case if the victim has been given arsenic in a dish made of onions. Meissner greatly enjoys his meeting with Duncan: "Zu den

angenehmsten Bekanntschaften für einen Deutschen gehört in Edinburg die des jüngern Dr. Duncan; dieser höchst lebenswürdige Mann liest nicht allein deutsch, sondern spricht es auch mit seltener Fertigkeit" (ibid.). Duncan accompanies Meissner to the University Library, which the German finds "nicht unbeträchtlich" (ibid., 219). The collection, which even contains a few German books, is extended through the annual subscriptions of 10/- paid by each student; since at the time of writing there were 2,000 students, Meissner considers the library's prospects excellent.

Otto lists the medical institutions of Edinburgh in some detail. Like Meissner five years earlier, he was to meet with no little disappointment; in his view Edinburgh no longer deserved the reputation it had once enjoyed:

Ueber die Curmethoden der hiesigen Aerzte kann ich dir nur wenig Neues mittheilen; sie stimmen im Ganzen mit dem Gesichtspunkte und Grundsätzen der englischen Aerzte völlig überein, und haben alle ihre Vorzüge, wie alle ihre Fehler. Die Schätze, die hier ehemals waren, sind jetzt erschöpft; die ehemalige Celebrität der edinburgher medicinischen Schule ist ins Abnehmen gerathen. Edinburgh ist jetzt nicht mehr der Ort, wo die Aerzte Grossbritanniens ihre Weisheit holen.

(Otto, 309)

By the time of Otto's visit the Royal Infirmary was already nearly 85 years old, and this age was reflected in its building, which, despite its fine façade and forecourt, is markedly outmoded:

Die Krankensäle sind längliche aber unregelmässige Gallerien; die Betten, von Eisen und ohne Vorhänge, stehen an beiden Seiten innerhalb hölzerner Säulen; in allen Sälen ist der Fussboden von Stein, daher ist die in den englischen Hospitälern gewöhnliche Reinlichkeit hier nicht so in die Augen fallend. ... Derjenige, der die kleinen, mit allen Bequemlichkeiten versehenen und im höchsten Grade reinlichen Hospitäler in London gesehen hat, wird mit diesem Hospitale nicht ganz zufrieden seyn können; auch sind die Stuben ziemlich dunkel.

(ibid., 312)

Yet Otto did find more positive aspects to the running of the hospital, for instance the fact that the medical and surgical patients were kept separate, with special rooms for those with fever and those who had

recently undergone surgery. Even if there was no resident apothecary as in the London hospitals, the status of the Infirmary as a teaching hospital has its advantages; the students accompany the doctor on his rounds and a careful record of his teaching is kept, with twenty-eight beds being reserved as case subjects for the clinical lectures:

In dieser Hinsicht herrscht also hier eine zweckmässigere Einrichtung als in den Krankenhäusern Londons; man darf aber auch nicht vergessen, dass Edinburgh eine Universitätsstadt ist; manches, was dort zuweilen geschehen kann und muss, würde hier ein unverzeihlicher Fehler seyn. (ibid.)

Otto enlarges on Meissner's opinion of James

Hamilton, even at 80 years of age still acting as doctor in charge of the hospital:

Dr. Hamilton ist, wie ich schon bemerkt habe, ein abgelebter Greis. Ihn in den Krankensälen zu begleiten, gewährt keinen sonderlichen Nutzen, denn seine Fragen an die Kranken und seine Dictate an den Candidaten werden so leise gesprochen, dass sie fast unverständlich sind. Auch ist er harthörig und muss daher den Assistenten immer fragen, was der Kranke gesagt habe. Sein Anzug ist wie sein ganzes Betragen im höchsten Grade auffallend.

(ibid., 313)

Nor is Otto much impressed with Dr. Hamilton's medical expertise, and his second-in-command, Dr. Spence, is equally unremarkable - Dr. Hamilton's cure for every ailment appears to be a laxative, and the most interesting method of treatment which Dr. Spence prescribes is inflicted on a tetanus patient who dies two days later. Otto finds he has even less to learn from the two surgeons, Mr. Wishart and Mr. Newbigging, although they are fully competent - there are seldom unusual surgical cases in the hospital and only very few operations are carried out. He was struck by the extraordinary length of time taken over those operations which he did witness: a thigh amputation, for instance, took three-quarters of an hour.

Of the other Edinburgh hospitals, Otto mentions first that for infectious diseases, Queensberry-House. He finds its situation very unsuitable - not only does it lie in a noisy part of the Old Town, but it lacks fresh air. However, he is impressed by the thorough fumigation of the patients' clothes, the general cleanliness and the

diet of the patients (which includes panada made with white wine and sugar, beeftea and beer!). He also describes in detail the methods of treatment employed by one of the doctors, Dr. Hume, and approves highly of them, especially the prescription of warm baths, gargling with cayenne pepper, and the use of leeches. He is agreeably impressed, too, by the military hospital in the Castle, which even though all the beds and the floors are of wood, he finds scrupulously clean. He also finds something to learn from the method of treatment for syphilis practised there by Dr. Thomson; for nearly twenty years since 1803, he had not used mercury in treating the disease and Otto finds the success rate of this treatment most significant (ibid., 319). He also approves of the fact that both married and unmarried mothers are admitted to the Lying-In Hospital, which he finds a small and attractive institution, although he is obviously surprised that while the students do accompany the doctor, Dr. Alexander Hamilton, on his rounds, they gain no personal practical experience themselves, only what they learn from the lectures of the other three doctors, (ibid., 321). Otto also gives a report on the two Edinburgh dispensaries, the Old Town Dispensary, which had been founded by Dr. Duncan sen. in 1773, and the New Town Dispensary, founded by Dr. Thomson. The latter is more frequented and is run along similar lines to the Hufelandsches Poliklinisches Institut in Berlin: not only are the poor treated on the premises, but they also receive prescriptions there and can be visited by the doctors and the students, the latter paying two guineas annually for this privilege. There are seven doctors and surgeons, who each have two students working for them, who do the town visiting. There is a resident apothecary, who dispenses every evening between seven and eight; the doctors consult from one to two and every Thursday and Friday at midday children are vaccinated. Altogether Otto finds the system most commendable. Of the ailments treated the most common appear to be eye infections and Otto is also interested by a very frequent prescription for dyspepsia, which had been introduced by Gregory - magnesia mixed with rhubarb and ginger to be taken every evening, (ibid., 320f.)⁵.

Even if Otto's findings proved that the high standards of Edinburgh medicine were diminishing, he was still able to find evidence of active medical study. The Medical Surgical Society met every fortnight in the

College of Physicians and the Royal Society every Monday evening. And there were still famous names in Edinburgh in the medical field - The Royal Society had as its president Walter Scott and as its secretary "der berühmte und liebenswürdige Dr. Brewster" (ibid., 309), and the grand old man of the Medical Society was still the ageing Dr. Duncan. At each meeting of this society on a Friday evening a paper was read and discussed and Otto was present at the last meeting of the winter:

Ich ... hörte eine Abhandlung über die Gicht mit weitläufigen Anmerkungen vorlesen; der jetzige "Vater" der Gesellschaft, Dr. Duncan sen., wurde, da er in den Saal trat, mit lautem Jubel empfangen. Es herrschte hier die grösste Ordnung; freilich wird nichts vorgelesen, was nicht schon in gedruckten Büchern steht; freilich sind die Abhandlungen wie die Bemerkungen blosse Compilationen; indessen erweckt diese Einrichtung doch gewisse einen edlen Wettstreit und spornt manchen jungen Mann an, sich nützliche Erkenntnisse zu erwerben; wenigstens lernt man hier seine Gedanken ordentlich vortragen. - Hingegen ist die Leichtigkeit, Mitglied dieser Gesellschaft zu werden, - denn jeder, der seinen ersten Curs auf der hiesigen Universität gemacht hat, wird sogleich aufgenommen, - gewisse ein Fehler der Organisation.

(ibid., 310)

However, these students supplied the necessary funds: for the first year of membership each paid six guineas, for the second two, and for the third one; thereafter, apart from a fine of two shillings for unwarranted absence, there was no fee. Moreover, members could only read a paper after three year's membership. The society had a house in Surgeons Square with a reading library, where all English and some French medical journals were received, and whose walls were hung with portraits of famous doctors, including one of Odier from Geneva, who had been president of the society. "Ich finde die ganze Einrichtung so zweckmässig, dass ich wünsche, sie möchte von unseren Studirenden in Dänemark nachgeahmt werden. In Paris sind bekanntlich mehre Gesellschaften der Art" (ibid., 311). A new society had been founded in Edinburgh to study the then popular subject of phrenology and this also met with Otto's approval. He was most impressed with its growing distinguished membership and foresaw it having great influence in the future.

Otto included in his Reise a certain amount of material outwith

the medical field, while Horn's Reise, which was published the following decade, describes a tour specifically undertaken, as implied in the title, "in Rücksicht auf medicinische und naturwissenschaftliche Institute, Armenpflege u.s.w." In the section on Edinburgh headed "Literarische Anstalten und Gesellschaften" (Horn, 295ff.), Horn is at pains to list the important names of the University, past and present, and names all the contemporary medical professors and lecturers, in addition devoting five pages to reproducing the "Statute of Medical Promotion" (ibid, 297-301). He reports that the academic year preceding his visit, that of 1828-9, there had been 2,110 students. He is particularly struck by the fact that the students are not obliged to wear uniform or abide by rules as elsewhere. He, too, gives an account of the Edinburgh hospitals (ibid., 330ff.), the Royal Infirmary, the Military Hospital in the Castle, the Lying-in-Hospital and the Lunatic Asylum, and reproduces statistical tables of patients and illnesses pertaining to the Infirmary and the Lying-in-Hospital, providing information regarding admissions, cures, treatments and deaths. In addition he reports on the dispensaries (ibid., 343ff.), the Public, the New Town, the Brown Square, the Eye, and the Eye and Ear. Of the individual names he singles out, one can mention those of Dr. W. Gregory, Dr. Lizars⁶ and Dr. Aitken.

A few years later Isensee supplements Horn's account (to which he himself refers his readers), with information for doctors which he provides in footnotes to his own text; one refers in detail to the exhibits of the University's Anatomical Museum (Isensee, footnote, 123ff.), a second to the Military Hospital, the Lying-in-Hospital and the Lunatic Asylum (ibid., footnotes, 134), and a third to the Edinburgh dispensaries (ibid., footnote, 138f.). In the latter he mentions the Eye and Ear Dispensaries of Wishart, Robertson and Borthwick, the Royal Infirmary Dispensary, the New Town Dispensary, where some 6,000 patients are treated annually by well known doctors, who also vaccinate as many, if not more, children there, and, finally, the Brown Square Dispensary, which treats around 4,000 patients and is run by Dr. Mackintosh, who teaches at the private institution of Dr. Syme. Dr. Smith, who is in charge of the Lunatic Asylum, tells Isensee that the most common causes of mental illness in Edinburgh are unhappy love,

poverty and drink. In a further "Note für Aerzte" Insensee reports on the use in treatment of the leather "Muffe", of baths, and of "Derivantia" (ibid., footnote, 136f.). He goes on to write of the Infirmary as the most important scientific institution in Edinburgh and names the important doctors and surgeons as Russel, Ballingall, Christison, Alison, Gregory, Graham, Duncan and Home: he adds that Liston⁷ had just left to take up his post in London. He concludes the note with a discussion of morphine preparation and diabetes. Indeed, Isensee's work is full of footnotes and digressions, whether on the moral and physical advantages of travel (ibid., 17ff. & 23ff.) or the benefits of clean fresh air (ibid., 152ff.). As a doctor he claims himself to be as interested in the old and tried methods as he is in the new (ibid., 137).

Although Marx was shown round the Infirmary and Anatomical Museum by Christison on his visit to Edinburgh in 1841, he carefully avoids much medical discussion, concentrating instead on the personalities of the representatives of the medical profession whom he encountered.⁸ He names Sir George Ballingall, Sir Charles Bell, the doctors and surgeons Forbes, Syme, Graham, Thomson, Abercrombie⁹. It is also a personal rather than professional touch which he adds concerning the Scottish pharmacist shops. He writes from Glasgow:

Schon in Edinburgh ist es mir aufgefallen, wie seltsam kenntlich sich die Apotheken machen, und da dies hier ebenso der Fall ist, so wird es wohl allgemeiner Gebrauch des Landes sein. Nämlich am Tage sieht man am Fensterladen eine hübsche Auswahl kleiner Gläser liegen, wie solche wohl sonst zu parfumes gebraucht werden, und in einiger Entfernung grosse mit verschiedenen gefärbten Flüssigkeiten gefüllte Gläser oder Glaskugeln. Diese nun werfen bei Nacht, indem Lampenlicht hinter ihnen leuchtet, weit in die Ferne einen rothen oder grünen Schein.

(Marx, 36)

The only professional opinion which Marx gives is that he finds the Surgeon's Hall "ein aufgeschlagenes Buch des Organismus ... eine erstaunliche Sammlung für menschliche und vergleichende Anatomie" (Marx, 22).

Carus' account is similarly lacking in medical information; it was only while the Saxon royal party was staying at Dalmahoy at the end of their tour that Carus managed to escape into Edinburgh to visit the

medical faculty of the University and the Anatomical Museum. After an hour at the University with Abercrombie, Thomson and Goodair,¹⁰ Goodair accompanies him first to the Anatomical Museum, of which his brother is curator, and then to the Infirmary. In a footnote Carus describes some of the anatomical exhibits he had seen with Thomson and Abercrombie (Carus, footnote, ii, 311), and in recalling the museum's collection he mentions in particular the skeleton of an elephant, on the neck of which a human skeleton had been perched: "für eintretende Laien ein ganz frappanter Anblick, sonst nur als Curiosum zu betrachten!" (*ibid.*, 312). Although he is interested by the collection, he finds it outdated. Not surprisingly, Carus is impressed neither by the size nor the accommodation of the hospital; although the building serves its purpose, the wards are too small and the capacity of some 400 beds far below the needs of a city of more than 150,000 inhabitants, especially since it is the only large public hospital and, moreover, in a city which is "viel von Krankheiten heimgesucht" (*ibid.*). Carus is told that epidemics of nervous fever are so common in the crowded Old Town that the demand for medical care is endless. Nonetheless Carus is pleased to see that nursing sisters are employed, as in London. He is disappointed not to be able to meet the gynaecologist, Dr. Simpson, whom he recognises as "in diesem Fache vielleicht jetzt der vorzüglichste Arzt der gesammten britischen Inseln" (*ibid.*, 313).¹¹ Carus' lasting impression of the Infirmary is (perhaps tactfully) favourable:

Ich traf in der einen Abtheilung des Spitals den klinischen Unterricht eben im Gange, und freute mich der Gründlichkeit und Sorgfalt in Prüfung der vorgelegten Krankheitsfälle. Hat sich doch die Edinburgerh medicinische Schule immer vortheilhaft ausgezeichnet!

(*ibid.*)

The only account of the Infirmary in the 1850's comes from a non-medical man, Wichmann. Several of his student friends were assistant doctors in the hospital and he frequently visited it to see them and to audit some of their lectures; "[ich] fand, so weit ein Laie überhaupt diese Sachen beurtheilen kann, alle Einrichtungen vortrefflich" (Wichmann, 53). From the German accounts one might conclude, therefore, that the Edinburgh medical institutions, which had won such renown in the 18th Century, went through a period of decline during the first decades of

the 19th Century, but by the 1840's were recovering deserved prestige and reputation.

The less prestigious medical institutions of Glasgow received accordingly less attention, with the exception of the Lunatic Asylum, whose high reputation was widespread, and, to a lesser extent, the Infirmary. Frank visited the Infirmary in 1803 with high expectations, since he understood it to have the best reputation in Britain. He was to be disappointed, however, and after a six-page report (Frank, 275ff.) concludes that it in no way lives up to this reputation. Meissner, on the other hand, who had been so disappointed by the Infirmary in Edinburgh, was pleasantly surprised by the Glasgow hospital:

Das grosse Hospital ist ein schönes, vortrefflich gelegenes Gebäude, und verdient nicht allein in dieser Hinsicht, sondern auch in der der grössern Krankensäle und noch weiter getriebenen Reinlichkeit den Vorzug vor dem Hospitale zu Edinburg.

(Meissner, 282)

Although he is unable to form an opinion on the teaching method in the hospital, since the courses are nearly all given during the winter, Meissner is surprised to learn that the clinical lectures are not given by professors attached to the hospital, but by ordinary town doctors. He is also surprised, and somewhat amused, to see posters all over the city advertising medicines and cures for certain 'unmentionable' diseases:

So wie in allen Städten Englands sind auch hier die Strassenecken mit Lobpreissungen von Arkanen zur Heilung der Krätze und der venerischen Krankheit bedeckt, doch fand ich, was das letztere anbelangt, das man die Delikatesse hatte, das Kind nicht bei seinem rechten Nahmen zu nennen. In diesem Styl war z.B. folgende Ankündigung, der nirgends fehlte, wo man sie anbringen konnte: Dr. Boerhave's infallible red pills, famous throughout Europe for the cure of every stage and symptom of a certain complaint etc.

(ibid., 282 f.)

Horn's is the only account to report in any detail on the Glasgow medical institutions (Horn, 355ff.), but even he devotes only three pages to the Infirmary (ibid., 360ff.). He describes the building, "mit einem wahrhaft brillantem Aeusseren (ibid., 361), and to many others the most striking fact about the hospital was the grandeur of its exterior; both Meidinger and Otto comment to that effect (Meidinger, Reisen, 100 & Otto, 338). Grandeur or no, Otto did not find conditions in the hospital sufficiently

hygienic. The wards were not as clean as others he had visited in Britain, the system of ventilation, by means of pipes running from holes in the floors, inadequate, and the air impure; moreover the beds were too close, the wards too long, and the patients had no bedside tables off which to eat and as a result had to suffer food-stained bed clothes. Otto was to find less fault with Glasgow's maternity hospital, which had an impressive record. The students, under their professor, Mr. Towers, gain practical experience themselves, and Otto is further impressed by the fact that forceps are seldom used; indeed, Towers' father, who had also been director of the establishment, was reputed to have used forceps only twice in 32 years, which Otto evidently finds admirable. Nonetheless, the Dane does find fault with some of Towers' diagnoses, and though he approves of the existence of the fairly new Lock Hospital in the city, he is disappointed by the stale air, cramped conditions and dirt which he witnesses there. By 1830, eight years later, Horn was able to report more favourably of the Lock Hospital, in which 50 girls, mostly suffering from syphilis, were being treated. He is impressed by the doctor in charge, Dr. Cumin, a young man who really seems interested in the good of the institution (Horn 381ff.). By 1830 the Glasgow Eye Infirmary had also been founded and Horn was able to give a statistical account of this too (ibid., 384ff.).

Of all Scotland's medical establishments, Glasgow's Lunatic Asylum received the highest praise from the German visitors, who considered its management very advanced. It was also commonly visited by non-medical travellers, and amongst these were Meidinger, who calls it "das schöne Irrenhaus" (Meidinger, Briefe, 157), and Spiker, who visited it only a couple of years after it was founded in 1814. After being received in the matron's apartment, Spiker and his companion were taken down to the basement to see the heating apparatus (four huge stoves, whose heat is conducted through the building by concealed pipes) and the kitchens, where they found a peculiar machine for brewing broth and boiling potatoes and a vast store of good and well-flavoured cheese. The hospital employees lived in the central building and the patients in the four wings, though, depending on their condition, they could spend the day in rooms in the main building. Spiker was obviously impressed, though of the patients' rooms he writes:

Diese fanden wir ungemein reinlich und luftig, im Ganzen aber doch von zu beschränkten Umfange indem sie nur $11\frac{1}{2}$ Fuss lang und $6\frac{1}{2}$ Fuss breit sind. Die Anzahl der jetzt in dem Hause befindlichen Patienten

beträgt 82; für 100 derselben ist Raum vorhanden. Leider musste ich auch hier bemerken, dass man bessere Zimmer für begütertere Patienten hat! Der Eintritt ist denselben überhaupt nur gegen Bezahlung offen, die von 5 Schill. bis zu 1½ Guineen wöchentlich steigt.

(Spiker, 292f.)

Otto's enthusiasm for the above institution is marked; he visited it six years after Spiker and deemed it "eine der sehenswürdigsten Anstalten, nicht allein in Grossbritannien, sondern in Europa" (Otto, 340). To show that it is "ein fast vollendetes Muster aller Hospitäler der Art" (ibid.) he illustrates his account with a detailed architectural drawing. There is one fault apparent on entry, however:

Zwischen den beiden Armen des Kreuzes ist der sehr schöne Eingang; dieser führt durch einen kleinen anmuthigen Garten, und hat vielleicht nur den einzigen Fehler, den der Arzt Dr. Balmano auch bemerkte, dass sowohl die Kranken als die Aufwärter jeden Eintretenden sogleich gewahr werden, und die letztern daher oft, ohne eine Ueberraschung zu befürchten und ohne bemerkt zu werden, die erstern auf eine unwürdige Art behandeln können. Man hat sogar die Entdeckung gemacht, dass sie, den ihnen ertheilten Befehlen ganz zuwider, jenen Unglücklichen Fesseln angelegt und ihnen diese erst abgenommen haben, wenn sie den Arzt oder einen der Directoren kommen sahen.

(ibid., 340f.)

Otto describes the Asylum's interior in detail. He finds the holes bored in the doors to each wing's gallery, where the patients may move freely, very practical, since the patients can be observed without personal interference. Unlike Spiker, he does not appear to disapprove of the fact that the patients are segregated according to means, since in any case the men and women are kept apart and they are all also divided according to the degree of their madness. The wealthier patients live in the upper storey and pay from 13 shillings to three guineas weekly - each one has a small but attractive carpeted room; the less wealthy sleep on the ground floor, each in a spacious stone-floored room for which they pay from 8/- to 10/6d. a week. There is a very attractive visiting room and also a common-room. The windows can only be opened wide from the top, thus preventing anyone jumping out, and their iron bars are inserted in the glass to detract from the idea of a prison. A new room with thirty-two beds had recently been built for

the most peaceable of the patients. Like Spiker, Otto is very impressed by the heating system and also by the fact that the windows of the sleeping quarters are kept open during the day to keep the air indoors fresh (ibid., 341f.). He is very taken with the doctor in charge of the hospital, Dr. Balmanno,

ein sehr höflicher, humaner Mann, der sich andern gern mittheilt, er ist zum Arzte eines Irrenhauses geboren. Er hat einen stolzen, Achtung einflössenden Blick; sein Betragen ist würdig und gebietet den Wahnsinnigen Ehrfurcht, zugleich aber mild und freundlich. Für das Hospital hat er das grösste Interesse, und sucht auf alle mögliche Weise diese vorzügliche Anstalt zu vervollkommen, in welcher man auch eine in Hospitälern der Art ungewöhnliche Ruhe findet.
(ibid., 343)

He is both a fine man and a fine doctor and Otto relates some facts about the methods of treatment used. Of the 130 patients in the hospital most find a cure and there are only very few incurable cases; in 1819 of the 34 male patients and 30 female, 15 and 20 respectively had been cured, in 1820 of 43 patients 13 men and 13 women had been cured, and in the following year, the one preceding Otto's visit, 20 men out of 39 and 12 women out of 20 had been pronounced cured. On average one year's treatment is allowed per patient to effect a cure, though this is very flexible. Otto is much impressed with these figures, and they would appear to be very favourable in comparison with the German statistics. Of the actual methods used by Dr. Balmanno, Otto writes:

Im Hospitale ist, ausser einem warmen und kalten Bade, ein Sturzbad; vom erstern hat Dr. Balmanno heilsame Wirkungen bei solchen Kranken beobachtet, deren Wahnsinn schon durch schwächende und entzündungswidrige Mittel bezwungen war, und daher von neuem einiger Reizmittel bedurfte. Unmittelbar nach einem solchen vollständigen warmen Bade wird dann von ihm öfters ein Sturzbad über den Kopf angewendet. - Die einzigen Zwangsmittel sind zwei eiserne Schlösser vor den Händen, die den Gebrauch der Finger gar nicht erschweren, sondern nur verhüten, dass der Wahnsinnige sich selbst oder andern Schaden zufüge.
Der Drehstuhl, in welchem die Wahnsinnigen mit einer fast unglaublichen Schnelligkeit herumgedreht werden, ist bei Ungehorsamen und Hartnäckigen, ohne irgend ein gefährliches Sympton zu veranlassen, mit dem günstigsten Erfolge angewendet worden. - Besonders aber sucht Dr. Balmanno die Kranken in einer immerwährenden Leibesübung zu erhalten, und für diejenigen, die sich nicht

bewegen können oder wollen, ist zu diesem Zwecke ein besonderer Stuhl eingerichtet.

(ibid.)

Furthermore, Dr. Balmano seldom bleeds his patients, since he is convinced that this does more harm than good and sometimes transforms the patients irrevocably into complete idiots, but he does make great use of opium on patients who are over-restless or going through periods of madness. Such patients that want to work, in the gardens or manually, are free to do so if they wish; the recreation of others consists of playing billiards, board- and ball-games. Otto is particularly impressed with the doctor's reaction to the mental confusion of his patients:

Seine psychische Behandlungsart derjenigen Kranken, die fixe oder verworrene Ideen haben, besteht vorzüglich darin, dass er sie im Sprechen unterbricht, sie fragt, wo sie aufhörten, und was sie eigentlich sagen wollten. Auf diese Weise nöthigt er sie ihre Ideen zu verbinden, und ist öfters so glücklich, sie zu heilen.

(ibid., 344)

To Otto the Edinburgh Lunatic Asylum does not compare favourably to that of Glasgow, although this is hardly surprising, since on his visit it is still only half built and houses but twenty-six of the planned sixty-five patients. Each patient has his own room with an iron bed, although the new beds will be of wood. The wealthier patients have not only their own room, but also their own servant, and although there is great weight laid on the psychiatric treatment of the patients, the only means of coercion employed being the strait-jacket, Otto finds one major fault which the Edinburgh Asylum has in common with most other mental hospitals in Britain excepting Glasgow - the Edinburgh patients are not given any form of employment to distract them and are thus left to brood over their own confused thoughts with no relief (ibid., 322f.). Meissner is the only traveller to tour a hospital outside Edinburgh or Glasgow. He visits the small Inverness hospital and is surprised to find that although it only has a few beds, these are more than is needed; the people are so wary of such an establishment that there is little demand for it. Two wings of the building are reserved for the insane and Meissner is disappointed to find that nothing is done for them

beyond the necessary physical care. He is told that the high number of insane patients is a direct result of emigration and comments: "Bei der Anhänglichkeit der Hochländer an ihr Vaterland und an ihre Verwandten ist dieses sehr wahrscheinlich" (Meissner, 263). This is one of the few instances where a German visitor comes face to face with the effect of the Clearances.

By 1830 the Glasgow Lunatic Asylum's reputation was very firmly established, so that, in introducing his report of it, Horn could write:

Diese Anstalt ist hochberühmt, und gehört zu den schönsten, die man sehen kann. 1814 eröffnet, liegt sie an der nordwestlichen Extremität der Stadt, hoch, frei und einer herrlichen Aussicht und Luft geniessend. Sie ist sehr reich, und hat das Glück, in der Person des Dr. Balmanns [sic] einen Mann zu besitzen, der in der That zum Irrenarzt geschaffen ist.

(Horn, 363)

Horn is impressed by several aspects of the methods of treatment, for instance the use of the portable "Lehnstuhl" and "Drehstuhl" (rather than the fixed ones used in Germany), and the fact that the patients have their own rooms and cannot be seen on a tour of the establishment. He concludes: "Hier herrscht die höchste Ordnung, Reinlichkeit und Ruhe, so dass man einen sehr angenehmen Eindruck erhält" (ibid., 364). Since the Asylum was famed throughout Europe, yet its statistics had not yet been published in Germany, Horn goes on to reproduce its statistical tables, covering the dates from the opening of the institution on 12th December 1814 to 1829 (ibid., 366-380). He then mentions Glasgow's private lunatic asylum, but finds little to report there (ibid., 381). It is perhaps surprising that later visitors left no accounts of such establishments as the Glasgow Lunatic Asylum - Marx, for instance, mentions it during his visit of 1841, but, even though a medical man himself, does not appear to have toured the hospital (Marx, 35). One might therefore conclude that after the 1830's such visits were either discouraged or disallowed.

The same appears to have been true of the penal institutions, of which there are no accounts after Horn's of 1830.¹² Horn gives an account of the County and City Bridewell in Glasgow and of the two Edinburgh gaols, the New Prison and the Bridewell (Horn, 356ff & 292ff.).

His reaction to the latter is typical: he was struck on the one hand by the grand architecture, and on the other by the silence - "eine unbegreiflich feierliche Stille herrschte hier, wie in allen ähnlichen Anstalten, welche ich in England sah" (ibid., 294). This same silence was to be described by Pulszky after a visit to the Penitentiary in London six years later as "das ewige Stillschweigen, welches dieser Ort jedem Gefangenen zur Hölle macht" (Pulszky, 17). Meidinger had also visited the Edinburgh Bridewell and New Prison some years earlier, but he was struck instead by the signs of industry in the cells of the Bridewell, the women knitting, spinning and sewing, and the men occupied with such work as weaving, joinery and shoe making. Having described the lay out of the building, which was planned so that the prisoners should be separated, he points out the two major (and only) faults of the institution: firstly, that the average number of prisoners, 280, exceeds the space provided by the 144 cells and that this results in cell sharing and corruption of the lesser criminals by the more serious offenders, and secondly, the fact that because the prisoners cannot earn anything themselves, they are thrust helpless back into society on their release and merely commit further crimes. As proof of this Meidinger quotes statistics for the year 1818: 1,350 of the prisoners released that year were returned to serve a further sentence. He was to find conditions in the New Prison better, clean, bright and fresh, with strong, well secured cells leading from corridors which radiate from a central point at which the warden's house is located, while on the second floor there is a chapel in which Sunday services are held (Meidinger, Briefe, 135f.) . Three years before Meidinger, in 1817, Meissner had also been impressed by Adam's design for the New Gaol, with its four storeys of cells, the work cells on the left and sleeping quarters on the right, opening on to central corridors. He makes special mention of the water pipes which run to all four storeys; taps in the corridors provide the inmates with washing water. He reports that most of the prisoners are women, and of the men most are petty thieves; all receive payment for any overtime work which exceeds the requirement. All prisoners must relinquish their own clothes until their release, but Meissner is assured that both their moral and physical needs are catered for: they are given two sermons a week and receive meat twice a week and the sick-bay, which has a fine medical

examination room, was empty at the time of his visit. Meissner feels as if he is entering a different world: as he tours the establishment, he is reminded of a novel by Le Sage,¹³ in which the Devil and his accomplice remove the roofs of the houses in Madrid and expose all the people underneath. As a spectator he realises he is a complete outsider, an awareness which few other visitors express (Meissner, 225ff.).

By the time Otto toured the Bridewell in 1822 it had evidently been extended, for he reports that while the prison could accommodate 500 prisoners, there were only 200 inside at the time. The Bridewell prisoners were petty criminals, most of them beggars, while the Gaol (the New Prison) was intended mostly for debtors. Otto, ever concerned about fresh air, is disturbed to find that the only fresh air the Bridewell inmates receive is in a small courtyard covered with a glass roof, while their sleeping quarters strangely lead off the work rooms. Nonetheless the cells, though small, have good beds and big windows, and the prisoners, who are occupied with all sorts of labour, are fed meat three times a week and are also given some money on leaving, if they have been well behaved. The disadvantages of this system do not escape Otto's notice:

Ueberhaupt ist alles hier so gut und reinlich, als die Umstände es erlauben. Vielleicht giebt eben diese vorzügliche Beschaffenheit des Gefängnisses Veranlassung zum Müsiggange und zu kleinen Diebereien, denn die Gefangenen können es ja nirgends so gut als hier haben. Kürzlich wurde der Director von einer alten Frau ersucht, sie wieder ins Gefängnis zu setzen, wo sie sich so wohl befunden hatte!!
(Otto, 331)

In the Gaol, however, the prisoners are not compelled to work, and yet they receive threepence a day allowance. Finally, Otto leaves a word of warning for any potential visitors: it is not so easy to gain admittance to the Gaol as to the other institutions, and once a visitor has permission from the director, he is strictly forbidden to reward the attendant who shows him around. Stark's New Gaol in Glasgow found the approval of Spiker, who visited it in 1816. Firstly he was very taken with the building's exterior, and secondly he found it full to

capacity; there had been a number of imprisonments after a riot in the city a few days before and all the cells were occupied. Spiker informs his readers that the previous year, 1815, there had been 1,172 prisoners, of whom 376 were debtors, 41 deserters, and 525 male and 253 female common criminals. He finds the cells very clean, with plenty of fresh air, but the iron bedsteads, which the prisoners had frequently broken up to serve them as weapons, had been removed, and the prisoners now slept on the floor. As for the cells in which condemned inmates spent their last night, these were doubly flagged and completely lined with iron. Spiker is impressed by the method of cooling the building: as he enters he finds the central courtyard being watered by means of a "Hand-spritze" for this purpose (Spiker, 281ff.).

b) Charitable

Ohne ungerecht gegen andere Nationen zu seyn, kann man zuversichtlich behaupten, dass kein Europäisches Volk weder in der Anzahl noch in der Vollkommenheit seiner milden Stiftungen mit den Englischen die Vergleichung aushalte. ... Ich habe Gelegenheit gehabt, die merkwürdigsten Anstalten dieser Art in England oftmale zu sehen, und immer haben sie in mir einen freudigen, erhebenden Eindruck zurückgelassen. Mit welcher zarten Aufmerksamkeit wird hier der Unglückliche gepflegt! Bei der Achtung, mit der man ihn behandelt, vergisst er seine abhängige Lage; es sind nicht fremde Menschen, die ihm mit kalter Hand eine Wohlthat reichen, es sind Freunde, die ihn aufrichten, die ihm theilnehmend, Trost, Muth und Liebe zum Leben einsprechen; er ist nun nicht mehr allein und verlassen in der Welt.

(Goede, ii, 215f.)

Goede's high praise of the British charitable institutions as he found them in 1802-3 prefaces a glowing account of conditions in the hospitals, where genuine public concern produces the admirable "Geist der Ordnung und der Liberalität" (*ibid.*, 221) which Goede sees as their hallmark. The range of the charitable institutions extended far beyond the medical, however, and charitable funds and establishments of all sorts attracted the attention of foreign visitors in Scotland. Unlike the above

medical establishments, many of which were founded during the period under study, most of the charitable institutions and 'hospitals' with which Scotland, and Edinburgh in particular, was generously endowed, had been founded in the 17th and 18th Centuries and as such were part of a long and proud tradition. And while the hospitals and prisons were apparently seldom visited by German travellers after 1830, the charitable institutions seemed happy to open their doors to foreign visitors after this date.

Meissner, Meidinger, Otto, Horn and Isensee all report on a large number of the Edinburgh charitable institutions; in many cases the sources of information were obviously statistics found in city guides, but some of the establishments in question were also visited in person.¹⁴ Thus Meidinger gives facts and figures concerning the seven Hospitals, Heriot's, Watson's, Gillespie's, Orphan, Merchant Maiden, Trade's Maiden and Trinity, the three asylums, for the blind, deaf and dumb and the Magdalen Asylum, and mentions also that money has been donated for the founding of a foundling hospital (Meidinger, Reisen, 25f.). Otto adds the Charity Workhouse to this list and Horn names many more, including charitable funds and societies, such as the Society for the Relief of the Destitute Sick, the Institution for the Relief of Incurables, Horn's Charity (founded by Horn's namesake, William Horn, an 18th Century ship's captain), the Infant School Society, the Society for the Suppression of Begging, the Society for the Sons of the Clergy, the Minister's Widow's Fund and Dr. Robert Johnston's Bequest (Horn, 355f.). In most cases a few personal comments reveal whether a visit did actually take place. Thus Horn remarks that while the Society for the Suppression of Begging was set up especially for poor children, the Asylum for the Blind was intended not for the education of children, as in Germany, but for adults (ibid., 355 & 346); in the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, on the other hand, there are forty-five children and five classes and Horn is much impressed with the director:

Der Director, Herr Kinniburgh, scheint ein Mann zu sein, dem das Interesse der Anstalt sehr am Herzen liegt, und der mit drei Unterlehrern, von denen der eine selbst taubstumm ist, sich dem ehrenvollen Berufe, dem er vorsteht, mit ganzer Seele hingegeben hat. (ibid., 345)

Horn is one of the few to name some of the Glasgow institutions, such as

the St. Nicholas Hospital, Hutcheson's Hospital, the Trades' House, the Merchant's House and the Glasgow Asylum for the Blind and Society for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb (ibid., 358ff. & 383). Meissner learns that the Edinburgh Orphan Hospital is one of the finest in Europe and he also mentions some of the articles made by the blind from which they earn their living, namely mattresses, mats, baskets and woven goods (Meissner, 227f.). Isensee is also impressed by the successes of the Edinburgh Asylum for the Blind, where the education and training of the young is weighed against their later need to earn their keep; he feels the example is one to be followed in Germany, and more particularly Berlin. Of the successes of the Edinburgh Institution for the Deaf and Dumb he reports that in 1823 eighty young and useful people had been 'returned' to society (Isensee, 139). Having written of several of the best known institutions, however, he adds that he has purposely omitted to mention the Charity Workhouse, which he had evidently found by contrast unfriendly, despite the opportunity for work that it provided 400 hundred people (ibid., 136). The Germans appeared to be gratified by the existence of the Magdalen Hospital and particular emphasis is laid on its purpose, as "die Anstalt zur Aufnahme unglücklicher Mädchen", "eine Zuflucht für Verführte" and the asylum "für verführte und reuige Mädchen" (Meidinger, Reisen, 26 & Briefe, 139 & Meissner, 228). Even the commercial visitor, Nennich, deems the Edinburgh Asylum for the Blind "nicht mit Stillschweigen zu übergehen" (Nennich, 495).

Otto's account of his visits to some of the above establishments contains much personal description and comment. Although he would prefer that the Edinburgh Blind Asylum were not a workhouse but an educational establishment, there is much about it which he finds praiseworthy; the building itself is small but comfortable and attractive, friends and relatives can visit over the weekend, and fine linen and cloth is woven by the workers, the best of whom receive a weekly wage; "mit zarter Sorgfalt sucht man ihren unglücklichen Zustand so viel als möglich zu erleichtern" (Otto, 328). The Institution for Deaf and Dumb is, however, an educational establishment and admits 70 pupils, who must be nine years or over and can stay for only six or seven years. Otto does not find the teaching itself of the standard he has grown to expect in the similar establishments in

Vienna and Berlin; very few of the pupils seem to be able to articulate well, there is only one cramped room for the teaching, where the boys and girls are mixed, even sitting on the same benches, which Otto feels is very detrimental to their learning. He makes one remark which underlines the difference in attitude between the German and British to such institutions:

Als ich diese Anstalt besuchte, wurde ich nicht gewahr, dass man im ganzen weit vorgerückt wäre; dieses fiel aber vielleicht nicht in die Augen, weil man in allen englischen Anstalten dieser Art es nie darauf anlegt Aufsehen zu erregen. (ibid.)

Of the charitable institutions in Glasgow, the Deaf and Dumb Institution is the only one Otto mentions. It is considerably larger than its Edinburgh counterpart, taking in 148 children, who are taught writing, arithmetic, history and geography; to his mind the pupils were not very advanced in either of the latter two subjects, but were very good in the first two. While he was in Glasgow the annual public meeting of the directors and benefactors of the establishment at which the children are examined, was held and he, too, attended it:

Auch hier wurde ich in der Ueberzeugung bestärkt, dass solche Anstalten weit zweckmässiger von Privatpersonen als von der Regierung errichtet und erhalten werden, denn nur auf diese Weise können sie das grosse und allgemeine Interesse erregen, welches ich in dieser Versammlung bemerkte. (ibid., 346)

Otto reports on three other such establishments in Edinburgh, the Magdalen Asylum, for young girls in trouble who are determined to mend their ways, the Charity Workhouse, and the adjoining Bedlam. On his visit the Workhouse had 400 resident and 22 non-resident poor connected with it; although the building itself (next to Heriot's) appeared to be falling down, the sick rooms were clean and there was also a poor-school attached. But Bedlam makes an entirely unfavourable impression on him: even though each inmate has his own room, everything is far too cramped, the cells are very damp and badly lit and those in which the "dirty fellows" [sic] sleep are in an atrocious state-(Otto had approved of the tilted beds in the rooms of the incontinent in the Glasgow Lunatic Asylum). Moreover, the common-room is shared by the curable and incurable, and the doctor in charge, Dr. Wood, only makes occasional visits, his

assistant doing the daily rounds. The most frequent method of treatment is once more the plunge bath, and although many medicines are administered, "die moralische Behandlung solcher Unglücklichen scheint hier ganz unbekannt zu seyn; wer nicht schon verrückt ist, muss es wahrlich hier werden" (ibid., 327).

An unusual aspect of Edinburgh's care for the mentally ill was observed at first hand by Wichmann. Besides his account of the asylum ball,¹⁵ he reports on several evening invitations he received while staying in Musselburgh and which revealed one of that town's peculiarities:

Sehr viele Häuser sind hier nämlich, ich will nicht sagen Privatheilanstalten, sondern Privatverwahrungs-anstalten für Geisteskranke. Diese werden verpflegt und gehütet und gehen im ganzen Hause, wenn sie nicht eben toben, frei umher. So habe ich verschiedene Male in einigen Häusern beim Theetrinken zwischen zwei Verrückten gesessen und mich ganz vortrefflich unterhalten, ehe ich selbst wusste, dass die betreffenden Personen geisteskrank seien. Später fand ich mich jedoch nie recht heimisch in solcher Gesellschaft.
(Wichmann, 56f.)

In contrast to Bedlam, the charity hospitals on the whole made a favourable impression on Otto; both he and Spiker report on Watson's, Gillespie's and the Orphan Hospitals. Gillespie's was the newest of these, having been founded less than thirty years before Otto's visit. It housed sixty poor, old men and women, some two to a room but some with their own room (and an iron bed, which Otto always found so important); they lived in comfort and did not have to work. The far older Trinity Hospital, for poor Edinburgh citizens of fifty years and over, most of them old and infirm, impressed the Dane even more; again, this was not a work-house and it was clean, well-ordered and comfortable, providing fifty rooms for fifty people, and even a small library (Otto, 326). He was not to find conditions so uniformly satisfactory in the two girls' Hospitals, however. These were both old establishments, the Merchant Maiden Hospital having been founded in the 17th Century, and the Trades Maiden Hospital in 1704. Most of the forty-two girls from the latter became governesses or went into house service. Once more Otto finds two sleeping to a bed, and although the building is clean, it is old and ugly, and bears no comparison with other such

institutions in Edinburgh. On leaving, the girls receive a sum of money, a suit of clothing and a bed. The Merchant Maiden Hospital is superior in every way; the seventy-nine girls are given a broad education, and on leaving the Hospital at sixteen, most become governesses in decent families. They are provided with everything they need:

Man kann sich nichts Schöneres denken, als das Innere dieser Anstalt; das Haus ist ganz neu und vortrefflich eingerichtet; die Zimmer sind bequem, zierlich, luftig und reinlich. Nichts wird gespart, um alles hier recht comfortable zu machen. Kein Wunder, dass Gesundheit und Zufriedenheit aus allen Gesichtern strahlten!

(Otto, 325)

Otto finds the situation of Watson's Hospital, away from the town centre, very pleasant. In all respects he finds it similar to Heriot's: the pupils are supported for four years at the University, and although their clothes could be better and they have to sleep two to a bed (which is not always made of iron), the dormitories are clean and airy and the pupils receive bread and milk every morning and evening and a meat soup and a meat dish four times a week (Otto, 324). There is also a school attached to Gillespie's Hospital, in which 100 boys learn the rudiments of writing and arithmetic. Finally, Otto finds it edifying that in the Gillespie's courtyard there should be a tree planted by Mary Queen of Scots! (*ibid.*, 325f.).

Meissner sums up the German impressions of Edinburgh's hospitals and asylums:

Wenn man allen diesen noch jene Menge von Unterrichts-
-anstalten für die ärmere Klasse rechnet, so muss man bekennen, dass die Schotten mit mehr Recht Ursache haben, aus diesem Grunde auf ihre Hauptstadt stolz zu seyn, als darauf, dass der englische Luxus immer mehr seinen Weg hierher gefunden hat.

(Meissner, 228)

Of all the charitable educational establishments referred to here by Meissner, none received more attention or praise than Heriot's Hospital.

The grandeur of Heriot's Hospital was bound to attract the attention of Edinburgh's foreign visitors. The exterior was surprising to most strangers. In 1816 Spiker felt that, with its turrets and tower, it was more like a feudal castle than a charitable institution (Spiker, 211); six years later Otto likened it to a Gothic fortress (Otto, 323); in 1826 Schinkel considered it a "castellartiges Gebäude mit reicher

Architektur" (Schinkel, iii, 96); also in the 1820's, Meidinger described it "mit Eckthürmchen versehen, stark und gothisch, wie eine alte Burg" (Meidinger, Briefe, 138), while twenty years later Carus was also to remark on its Gothic, castle-like appearance (Carus, ii, 290). It was not only the imposing exterior, however, which excited the visitors, as Isensee shows in one sentence, describing Heriot's as "ein, im rein gothischen Geschmack, wunderschön gebautes, unendlich reiches, für Erziehung und wissenschaftliche Ausbildung von 109 Knaben bestimmtes Institut, wo anständige Männer und Frauen den Dienst versehen, Gaslicht, Wasserleitungen etc. sich finden" (Isensee, 134). The architecture, the education, the wealth, the reputation and the facilities all contributed to the unequal interest which Heriot's Hospital inspired. Horn was full of praise after his visit in 1830 and echoes much of what his countrymen felt:

Es ist eins der schönsten Gebäude in Edinburgh, in vollkommen rein gothischem Geschmacke, in der Altstadt gelegen, und rings herum mit freien Höfen und Plätzen besetzt. Es ist unendlich reich, und viele Grundstücke in der Stadt gehören ihm, weshalb es dann auch berühmt ist, und der Stifter desselben gewissermassen als Schutzheiliger angesehen wird. An Höfen zum Spielen, an einem Turnplatz u.s.w., fehlt es nicht.
(Horn, 351)

Heriot himself was a figure of interest to the Germans; Brandes refers to his part in Scott's The Fortunes of Nigel (Brandes, 76), and he and many others comment on the riches with which Heriot endowed the Hospital, Otto giving the figure as £70,875, besides which the building, carried out between 1628 and 1650, had cost £30,000. By 1850 Lewald found the building too rich and grand:

Es ist ein Pallast, grösser, schöner als Holyrood, mit stattlichen Terrassen und Gärten. Die mächtigste Hofhaltung könnte darin untergebracht werden, und nach unsern jetzigen Begriffen scheint das Gebäude zu prachtvoll für seinen Zweck. (Lewald, ii, 277)

She describes Heriot's portrait, in which he is depicted with rich jewels in his hands, but she also emphasises that, for all his riches, Heriot was a true philanthropist; she, too, refers to the endearing pen portrait of him by Scott. Above all, the boys were well supported and provided for. In 1820 Meidinger reports that they each received a suit of clothes of their choice, £10 and a bible on leaving school (Meidinger, Briefe, 139),

and two years later Otto reports that if they went to follow a mechanical or engineering trade, they were given £30, and if they went to university, they received £10 annually for their first four years, an allowance which had risen to £30 by the time of Lewald's visit in 1850, when those with no particular academic aptitude were sent to an apprenticeship at the age of 14, receiving £10 annually for five years and £5 when their training was complete. By this time, too, the school leavers were provided not only with some useful books, but also with two suits of clothing of their own choice. Meidinger learns that the boys are either orphans or from families with little money, and Horn interprets this to mean that rich and poor are educated together and wear the same simple uniform. Spiker sees the boys all dressed in the same brown clothes and Meidinger learns that they are given a new set of clothing every eight months. Conditions were good and this was fully appreciated; only the two doctors, Otto and Isensee, had one grave criticism to make - even in such an enlightened establishment the boys had to sleep two to a bed, as in so many of the Edinburgh (and British) institutions (Otto, 324 & Isensee, 134f.). But Otto finds the dormitories, in which ten to forty boys sleep, clean and airy, and his interest in their physical well-being is gratified on hearing that they receive meat four times a week and have several hours free in the afternoon for exercise; on Carus' visit the boys were playing ball in one of the playgrounds. Both Carus and Otto are greatly taken with the fine views from Heriot's towards the Castle; Otto is able to enjoy it from the roof of the Chapel. Spiker had described the Chapel in detail after his visit in 1816, giving special mention to the pulpit with its double staircase. He attended the Sunday evening service; the boys sang a psalm, one of the masters preached a long sermon, praying especially for Heriot (which Spiker surmises is regulation practice), and after it was over, the boys went off in pairs to their supper of bread and milk, after which they were allowed to play in the big courtyard (Spiker, 211f.).

As to the daily running of the Hospital and the boys' education, Meidinger reports that besides the teachers, the establishment is managed by a treasurer, elected by the town council, a house governor and a house keeper. He also writes of the ten bursaries which were awarded to needy young men who had not been at Heriot's; by the middle

of the century, when Carus, Lewald and Brandes were in Edinburgh, the value of these bursaries was set at £20, and by this date, too, the Hospital's funds had so increased that besides the 180 resident boys, there were 2,000 [Lewald states 3,000] further children in Edinburgh being educated gratis at Heriot's expense. Of the subjects taught at Heriot's, Meidinger lists Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Book-keeping, Geography and Languages, and he states that the more gifted boys received private tuition beyond this (Meidinger, Reisen, 24f.). Otto pays particular attention to the Greek and Latin, praising the extent of the curriculum, while Lewald mentions Art, French, Book-keeping and Fencing. Horn was interested by the use to which water was put in the Hospital, both practically and as part of the daily discipline; firstly, pipes had been laid throughout the building as a fire precaution, and secondly, cold showers were used as a form of punishment. Finally, both Otto and Carus state that many fine men had been educated at Heriot's, Otto mentioning in particular the book-binder, Howel, who had recently invented a new diving-bell device.

The principles followed in the running of Heriot's Hospital were very much to Lewald's taste:

So ist es schön und menschlich, dass man den Zöglingen bei dem Austritt aus dem Institute nicht eine uniforme Kleidung, und damit noch für weit hinaus den Stempel der erhaltenen Wohlthaten aufbürdet, sondern sie frei nach eigener Neigung ihren Anzug wählen und als Freie in die Welt gehen lässt, während sie noch lange im Stillen die Wohlthat einer Geldunterstützung genießen. Ebenso lebenswürdig ist es, dass jedem Knaben bei dem Eintritt in die Anstalt, und jedem Besucher derselben, ein Pokal mit Wein kredenzt wird. Der Pokal besteht aus einer sehr seltenen Muschel, welche Heriot selbst für diesen Zweck eben so geschmackvoll als reich gefasst hat. (Lewald, ii, 279)

Lewald, however, sees the other side of the coin - that charity can be as degrading as it is uplifting. Otto's views of 1822, namely that the personal involvement of benefactors brought to the institutions a keen interest which would not be present in a government-run establishment, were to Lewald in 1850 no longer realistic; having praised Heriot's, she adds:

Trotz alle dem aber sprachen wir Abends bei einem Spaziergange ... darüber, dass eine Reform der

Wohlthätigkeitsanstalten durchaus nothwendig ist. Sie müssen sammt und sonders mediatisirt, und den Gemeinden überwiesen werden, damit ihre Fonds, zu Hilfsmitteln für die Verarmenden verwendet, die Wohlthätigkeitsanstalten unnöthig machen. Ihre Zahl in England ist Legion, und es könnte sicher das Zehnfache damit geleistet werden, wenn es in einem socialistisch weitgreifenden und umfassenden Sinne benutzt, dem Betriebe der Arbeitenden übergeben würde.

(ibid., 279f.)

But it was on the whole with unreserved admiration that the Germans viewed these charitable institutions in Scotland and it is perhaps fitting to conclude with the more typical view expressed by Meissner in the earlier part of the century:

Die Wohlthätigkeitsanstalten aller Art in Schottland müssten dem, der nicht damit bekannt wäre, nicht allein Stoff zu einer sehr interessanten Abhandlung geben, sondern sie würden auch den Geist dieser Nation erst recht ins Licht setzen, und sie andern Regierungen und Völkern als Muster des höchsten patriotischen Sinnes aufstellen.

(Meissner, 224)

c) Educational, Academic and Professional

i. General Education

Der Unterschied zwischen England und Schottland in Hinsicht der Bildung der unteren Klassen ist ungeheuer; ich glaube nicht, dass man einen Schotten findet, der nicht zum wenigsten die Bibel und Burns Gedichte gelesen haben wird. Wie oft fand ich in den Gebürgen Kinder, die 6, 7 und noch mehr englische Meilen in ihre Schule zu gehen hatten, und die jeden Tag mit einem Stücke Haferkuchen in der Tasche diesen Weg zwei Mal zurücklegten.

(Meissner, 224)

Education for the people as well as the select few was a burning question during the first decades of the 19th Century, perhaps especially for those Germans in Britain who saw a discrepancy between their own and the British

systems. And, as Meissner implies above, Scotland was considered ahead of England in this respect; his enthusiasm merely confirmed the reports of others.

A few years before Meissner, Holzenthal's stay in the Borders had shown him that literacy was more common in Scotland than in Germany, and that this even extended beyond basic reading, writing and arithmetic:

Ueberhaupt genommen ist Lektüre unter den niedern Classen hier weit mehr im Gange als bei uns, und man kann in jedem Bürgerhause eine kleine Bibliothek finden, von religiösen, vorzüglich von homiletischen und von Geschichtsbüchern; der gemeine Mann ist in der Geschichte seines Vaterlandes mehr bewandert, als wie bei uns öfters Gelehrte in der des ihrigen. (Holzenthal, 220)

Meidinger, in Scotland the following decade, the 1820's, also reports favourably of the success of the Lowland schools and states that 180,000 children are educated in Scotland, though he stresses that three-quarters of the people in the Highlands are still illiterate (Meidinger, Briefe, 141 and Reisen, 24).¹⁶ Some twenty years later, Kohl was to appreciate that the root of this problem was insufficient knowledge of English in the Gaelic speaking areas. Where English was spoken, the Scots' willingness to learn was outstanding, and he relates a conversation he had with the schoolmaster of Muthill which confirmed this:

Es ist bekannt, dass die Volkserziehung in Schottland ausserordentliche Fortschritte macht, und mein Freund sagte mir, dass in seiner Gegend unter den Leuten der grösste Eifer herrsche, selbst etwas zu lernen und auch ihre Kinder gut belehren und erziehen zu lassen. Man zwingt die Leute nicht, ihre Kinder in die Schule zu schicken, und es erregte meines Freundes grösste Verwunderung, als ich bemerkte, dass dies bei uns geschähe. Er sagte, sie kämen alle von freien Stücken, und es würde für eine Schande gehalten, wenn Jemand seine Kinder nicht in die Schule schicke. Ja es käme eigentlich gar Niemandem in den Sinn, es nicht zu thun.

"Die Leute", sagte er, "würden sich einen solchen Zwang hier auch gar nicht gefallen lassen, und es würde dies gewiss das beste Mittel sein, ihnen die Schule und Erziehung ganz zu verleiden."

(Kohl, i, 132)

Lewald, too, was to be struck by the widespread literacy in Scotland:

Für den am besten unterrichteten Theil des englischen Volkes gelten die Schotten, für den am leichtesten

auffassenden, die Irländer, denen es aber an Ausdauer zum Lernen fehlen soll. Fast jeder Schotte kann lesen und schreiben, und was die Hauptsache ist, sie lesen gern. Die Barracks (Kasernen) der schottischen Regimenter in Edinburgh sollen zu den stärksten Abonnenten der Leihbibliotheken gehören, während die Mannschaft der englischen Regimenter oft nicht lesen kann. Ich berichte, was ich gehört habe.

(Lewald, ii, 259)

Kohl was also impressed by the popularity of the libraries, and his report confirms what Holzenthal had written some thirty years before him. Having observed that the farmer, Mr. Stuart, from whom he receives hospitality, not only takes a newspaper, 'The Gazetteer', regularly, but also has his own library, in which there are statistical, religious, geographical and philosophical works, he goes on to say:

Und doch waren ihre Gehöfte auf drei Seiten von der Wildnis umgeben, ... und auf der vierten von einem Walde, den ich nachher durchschritt. Ich muss überhaupt noch die Bemerkung nachholen, dass ich bei den verschiedenen kleinen Dorfwirthen, bei welchen ich auf meiner Reise logirte, überall eine ausgewählte, ordentliche und wohlerhaltene kleine Bibliothek fand. Meine Farmer und ihre Knechte, so wie überhaupt alle Anwesende versicherten mir, dass sie alle lesen und schreiben könnten, und dass diese Künste überhaupt hier Jeder betreibe. Von allen Wildnissen der Hochlande mag diess indess wohl nicht zu verstehen sein.

(Kohl, ii, 116)

But the Stuarts in Glenfinlas were not an isolated example. While staying in the inn at Doune, Kohl discovers that his host, though not wealthy, possesses a fine little library, amongst whose books are numbered several bibles and religious books, a geographical work entitled The Earth and The British Cyclopaedia.

Er hatte auch einen grossen Barometer und Thermometer in seinem Zimmer, und da er mir den Schmied des Dorfes als einen "educated man" (Mann von guter Erziehung) lobte - ein Lob, das jetzt in Schottland Jeder zu verdienen strebt, und das man mithin sehr oft aussprechen hört - so besuchte ich mit ihm auch die Bibliothek dieses Schmieds, sowie die Büchersammlungen noch mehrerer anderen Dorfbewohner, die sie mir mit Vergnügen zeigten. Der Hufschmied hatte nicht weniger als 200 religiöse, naturhistorische und andere Werke, darunter auch wieder (17) den Josephus, der mir in Schottland sehr verbreitet zu sein scheint. (ibid., 153)

But literacy had not rid these people of one trait, namely the love of bargaining. Once he has established to his surprise that Kohl has not come to find a book bargain, the smith demands at least enough for a dram:

Ich darf diese zu bemerken nicht vergessen, weil das Handelmachen für diese literarischen Schotten etwas so Charakteristisches ist, wie für alle Schotten, und weil die Erziehung bei ihnen die fatale Lust zum Dram nicht vertilgt hat.

(ibid.)

Kohl also reports on a recent book on the education of the poor, published in 1841 by the Poorlaw Commissioners. He finds reports by large factory owners especially interesting, in particular that of a Manchester factory owner, a Mr. Fairbairn, who employs 500 workers in London and 680 in Manchester. Fairbairn states that the workers who come from the North, from Scotland, Cumberland and Northumberland, are on the whole possessed of a good elementary education. The Scots can all read and write, can count well and have a basic knowledge of mathematics; the same can be said to a lesser extent of those from the northern counties of England, but on no account of those from Yorkshire and further south. Of the other reports, the conclusions drawn by a Zürich factory owner, Herr Escher, are that the Scottish workers on the Continent make better progress than the English, on account of the superior education they have received in the parish schools, which has developed in them a greater ability to mix with others:

Da sie ihre eigene Sprache gewöhnlich grammatikalisch gelernt haben, so besitzen sie auch eine grössere Leichtigkeit, sich fremde Sprachen anzueignen. Sie haben einen grossen Geschmack für Lectüre und suchen immer in anständige Gesellschaft zu kommen und sich respectable Freunde zu erwerben. Sie sind vorsichtig in ihrem Betragen und begierig, sich solche Kenntnisse zu verschaffen, welche sie für die besseren Classen der Gesellschaft geschickt machen.

(ibid., 114)

To all this Kohl himself adds:

Diese ohne Zweifel interessanten Berichte stimmen ganz und gar sowohl mit dem, was frühere Reisende sagten, als auch mit dem, was der jetzige Reisende dort bemerken kann, überein.

(ibid., 115)

Only one of the travellers openly contradicted this general admira-

tion for the extent of literacy in Scotland, and, predictably, the exception was Hallberg-Breich. On approaching Edinburgh he exclaims, "Die Schulen sind in Schottland für den Armen sehr vernachlässigt, die wenigsten können lesen, sogar in den Städten" (Hallberg-Breich, 57), and, from Inverness, he utters a further typically inconsequent remark:

Die Strassen laufen voller Kinder, die Schulen scheinen, wie in England, sehr vernachlässigt. Die meisten Engländer schreiben, wie die Franzosen, schlecht.

(ibid., 74)

Of course there may have been some truth behind these observations, but in general the Scottish schools and the level of education in Scotland occasioned nothing but praise.

The upbringing of the children and the finished product was, however, a different matter in the eyes of certain visitors. Holzenthal finds much to criticise in the approach to child rearing amongst the middle class families he encounters:

Früh schon vernachlässigen es die Eltern, sich Ehrfurcht und Gehorsam bei den Kindern zu erwerben und zu begründen, da sie den Kleinen bei jeder ihrer Willensäußerung sofort nachgeben. Wollen die Eltern einen oder den andern Dienst von ihren Kindern gethan haben, so geschieht dies gewöhnlich in einem bittenden und nie in einem befehlenden Tone, welche sich die Kinder auch wohl selbst bedingen.

(Holzenthal, 219f.)

Holzenthal's military background and training was evidently offended. Nonetheless he is relieved to see that the inevitably detrimental consequences of this "verkehrte häusliche Erziehung" in Scotland are averted by the practice of sending the children at a suitably early age to school, where they come under the necessary discipline of a schoolteacher. Otto, while recognising that general education in Scotland was superior to that of England, is quick to point out that in his view this applied only to general literacy and not to true culture:

Immer hat die Frage einen heftigen Streit zwischen Engländern und Schotten veranlasst, ob in England oder in Schottland ein höherer Grad von Cultur herrsche; es ist unläugbar, dass die untern Volksklassen in Schottland nicht so unwissend als die in England sind, wozu wohl auch die durch Vorsorge der

Geistlichen sehr gut organisirten Schulen, in welchen die ärmern Kinder in Schottland erzogen werden, viel beitragen mögen; ich bin aber überzeugt, dass die Schotten den Engländern an wahrer wissenschaftlicher Cultur weit nachstehen und oft nur Nachahmer dieser sind.

(Otto, 294f.)

Twenty years later even Kohl finds himself agreeing with the Dane, and, more surprisingly, with Dr. Johnson:

"Wenn der Schotte jung eingefangen wird," sagt Johnson, "so lässt sich aus ihm am Ende doch noch Etwas machen." Dieser englische Schottenhasser Johnson hat immer Ausdrücke wie ein Bär und ist gegen die Schotten in der Regel im höchsten Grade ungerecht. Doch enthält seine Bemerkung allerdings einen Gran von Wahrheit. Es lässt sich nicht läugnen, dass die Schotten, eine so gute Schulbildung und eine so gute Disciplin ihres Verstandes sie in der Regel empfangen haben, doch durchgängig nicht die Feinheit der Erziehung der gebildeten Classen in England besitzen und auch, ihren Grundlagen nach, für eine grosse Feinheit anmuthig geselliger Politur weniger empfänglich sind als die Engländer.

(Kohl, GB, i, 266f.)

But if the Scots could not attain the English "Feinheit der Erziehung" and that other commodity vital to English education, which Kohl describes as "das Gentlemanlike" (ibid., 267), this did not detract from Kohl's admiration for the Scottish achievements in the education of the people.

Writing in the 1850's, Kalckstein's concern was contrary to that of his fellow military man of forty years previously, Holzenthal. He was concerned not with discipline, but with an aspect of British life which had long concerned German writers and travellers to Britain, namely freedom. It was no chance that Otto should have headed his penultimate chapter on Britain, "Welche Liberalität ist die grössere: die englische oder die französische?" (Otto, 424ff.), for such questions were typical contemporary German concerns. In Kalckstein's view, education should never thwart the freedom of the individual; a child's training should allow him to develop naturally, at the same time subjecting him to sufficient discipline to retain a very necessary respect for his seniors and his fellow men in general:

So bildet die Strenge der britischen Erziehung eine

ihre Schranke erkennende, von Dankbarkeit und Ehrfurcht für Eltern und Erzieher durchdrungene Jugend, und in ihr die Pflanzschule einstiger freier Männer eines freien Staates, wohingegen aus unserm heranwachsenden, zum grossen Theil durch die thörichte Schwäche weichherziger, für die Gebrechen ihrer Sprösslinge bis zur Blindheit kurzsichtiger Väter, verzärtelten und entnervten Geschlecht so häufig eine der gesellschaftlichen Ordnung feindliche Fraktion hervorgeht, oder ihr absolutes Gegentheil eine Kaste zu gefügiger bis zur gedankenlosesten, sittlichen Unfreiheit entnervter Staatsbürger.

(Kalckstein, 211f.)

The subject of the irreverant younger generation may well have been one of Kalckstein's favourite hobby-horses, but nonetheless, if one presumes that he himself taught in the military schools and academies for which he wrote text books, his comments and opinions must have been based on more than casual observation.

Two further visitors to Scotland in the 1850's, Brandes and Lewald, approached education differently. Brandes' personal experience as a schoolteacher caused him to comment on the British attitude to travel as a part of education. At no time does he deny the benefits of educational travel - indeed he was nothing if not an avid traveller himself - but, if inflicted too young, travel in his view can be detrimental. As proof of this he cites the case of the father and two sons whom he met touring the Trossachs. The older son was a highly educated young man in his early twenties, but the taciturn younger boy was barely a teenager, with absolutely no interest in the mountains, lochs and islands around him. To Brandes he was being denied a vital freedom:

So fand ich denn auch an diesem englischen Boy bestätigt, was ich oft an unseren deutschen beobachtet hatte, dass man Knaben solchen Alters auf grosse Reisen nicht mitnehmen sollte; denn sie finden in der Regel an Gegenständen der Natur und Kunst wenig Interesse, da es ihnen an Beobachtung-ungegabe, an Verstand und den erforderlichen Kenntnissen mangelt, sie haben Augen und sehen nicht, Ohren und hören nicht, sind sich und Anderen zur Last, und wenn man sie nach der Rückkehr fragt: was habt Ihr gesehen? so sind sie stumm wie ein Fisch und wissen nichts, und die Eltern haben das Geld vergebens ausgethan. Besser ist's, sie bleiben daheim, wandern in ihrer Heimath umher, laufen und klettern, baden, schwimmen, turnen, schlagen den Ball und bereiten sich im Kleinen zum Grossen vor, und warten bis sie älter und verständiger geworden. (Brandes, 32f.)

The above passage perhaps tells more about Brandes himself, the affable school-teacher, than it does about British education; it contrasts well with Lewald's more serious review of the state of learning in Scotland. She was to be very impressed by the widespread interest in the sciences; attending a scientific conference in Edinburgh, she became very aware that scientific knowledge and learning was not only reserved for academic scholars, but for all who showed a lively interest. Advanced learning may still have been a privilege of the wealthy - "Wer reich ist, wer Musse hat, wendet sich hier von dem Erwerb gar häufig den Wissenschaften zu" (Lewald, ii, 242) - but while in Britain business resources are often put to the use of science, in Germany it would have been unheard of for a businessman to indulge seriously in scientific pursuits. It is in Edinburgh above all that Lewald becomes aware that education and learning can break down class barriers and be a common interest for all:

So viel wir uns mit unserer deutschen Gelehrsamkeit rühmen, so ist sie bei uns doch meist nur der Besitz der Gelehrten, ein Kapital, das sie für sich erweitern, und von dessen Zinsen das Volk nur spät und spärlichen Gewinn hat. In England ist die Wissenschaft dem Wohlhabenden bereits, was sie den Alten war, Musse - Erholung - Genuss - und als Genuss Lebenszweck. Damit ist viel gewonnen, denn nur auf diesem Wege kann und wird sie in die arbeitenden Klassen übergehen, wie alle verfeinerten Lebensgenüsse aus dem Bereich der Begüterten, sich als Lebensnothwendigkeit dem Armen mittheilen. Der Teppich, den einst nur der Luxus des Reichen erforderte, fehlt in England jetzt nicht mehr an dem Kamine seines Dieners und in der Hütte des Armen. Was erst in den lebendigen Strom des Lebens aufgenommen wird, überfluthet und befruchtet die ganze Welt, und es liegt ein grosser Gewinn darin, dass Lord Ros und seine Frau ausgezeichnete Astronomen sind, dass heute der junge Herzog von Argyle über versteinerte Blumen und Pflanzen lesen wird, die er in den Felsen von Staffa gefunden hat.

Jedenfalls ist das Interesse an den Naturwissenschaften hier schon allgemeiner als bei uns, und man strebt auf jede Weise, es immer weiter zu verbreiten. Die Art, in der die Gelehrten die Naturwissenschaften behandeln, die Weise, in der die englischen Buchhändler diese Werke ausstatten, sind dazu geeignet, sie dem Publikum näher zu bringen. (ibid., 243f.)

The British, and the Scots in particular, had achieved a level of education which was as yet unattained by Germany.

ii. Schools, Universities and Learned Societies

Scotland's educational establishments were not visited as frequently as the medical and charitable institutions, although of course some of the latter were educational in aims and practice. Nevertheless certain educational establishments did receive considerable attention from the German visitors, notably the Royal High School in Edinburgh, the University of Edinburgh and its Natural History Museum and the University of Glasgow and the Hunterian Museum. Besides these, Scotland's learned societies gained frequent mention.

Schools

Although the professions of many of the German visitors were directly involved with education, professional interest was apparently not so strong where visits to schools and universities were concerned as it was for visits to hospitals, asylums and prisons. Only Meidinger troubles to give a list of schools and universities in the index to his Reisen, listing the four universities and twenty-two "Gymnasien und lateinische Vorbereitungsschulen mit festen Einkünften" (Meidinger, Reisen, 'Register', 218). Of these he writes of good grammar schools and academies in Cupar, Dunbarton, Glasgow, Kilmarnock and Ayr (ibid., 46, 92, 99, 103 & 104) and gives special mention of the fine building which houses Tain Academy (ibid., 70). He gives further details concerning the schools in St. Andrews, Perth, Aberdeen and Inverness, remarking that Perth not only has a good grammar school and a good academy, but also several charity schools (ibid., 47f.). He describes the Inverness Academy as a simple single-storey building, with bright class rooms, a hall, a small library, gymnastic apparatus and a grassy playground; it has over 200 pupils and five teachers, and, more importantly, a fine reputation (ibid., 68). He describes the Aberdeen schools as being "nach Art der alten deutschen Schulen eingerichtet" (ibid., 62), and reports that English is the only language used for teaching. He also writes of the music school in Aberdeen, in which a Frenchman and an Italian are employed on the teaching staff, to which he adds pointedly, "an die deutsche Sprache denkt man nicht" (ibid., 62). Of education in St. Andrews he writes:

Unter den Schulen zeichnen sich mehrere gute Privat-Erziehungs anstalten aus, sowohl für Knaben als Mädchen. Im Ganzen findet man bei einem längern Aufenthalt in St. Andrews, dass fast die Hälfte der Einwohner aus gebildeten und unterrichteten Leuten besteht, in deren geselligen Kreisen Frohsinn und Heiterkeit herrscht. Die englische Sprache wird sehr rein gesprochen, und für die französische sind 2 Brüder aus Lausanne hier, in deren Gesellschaft ich bei dem obenerwähnten Bibliothekar [Rev. William Menzies] einen frohen Abend verlebte. Auch Musik wird mit grosser Vorliebe getrieben, und nicht selten stösst man hierin auf ausgezeichnete Talente.

(ibid., 45)

The fact that schools and academies were spread throughout the country had been evident to Nemnich back in 1805. Of Fortrose, for instance, he reported: "Fortrose, ein unbedeutender Ort, soll ehemals blühend, und ein Sitz der Wissenschaften und Künste gewesen seyn; in neueren Zeiten ist hier eine Akademie zur Bildung junger Leute angelegt worden" (Nemnich, 594). Of the Edinburgh schools Meidinger mentions first and foremost the Royal High School, then already 250 years old, but also the Academy for Design, four good "Volksschulen" run by the town council, several private academies and charity schools under the auspices of the Edinburgh Education Society, and the numerous Sunday schools, on which Köstlin was to report on his visit in 1849.¹⁸

Of all the Scottish schools, the Royal High School in Edinburgh enjoyed the greatest renown, especially during the ten years, from 1810-20, when James Pillans was Rector.¹⁹ It was in Pillans' time that both Spiker and Meidinger visited the school. Spiker's account is full of admiration:

Als Vorbereitungsschule für die Universität dient die sehr berühmte High-school (hohe Schule), an deren Spitze mehrere der tüchtigsten Männer Schottlands nach einander gestanden haben. Auch der jetzige Rektor, Hr. Pillans, ist ein wackerer Schulmann. Eine vorzügliche Sorgfalt wird auf den Unterricht in den alten Sprachen und in der Erdbeschreibung gewandt, von welcher mehrere Proben zeugten, welche die Schüler in unserer Gegenwart ablegten. Mathematik, Naturgeschichte, und dergleichen Wissenschaften, werden gar nicht gelehrt. Nach den regelmässigen Schulstunden scheiden sich, unter Aufsicht der Lehrer, die Schüler in Abtheilungen von 10 ab, die unter der Leitung eines monitors (Aufseher) ihre Uebungen im Uebersetzen für sich fortsetzen, und so bald sie nicht über den Sinn einer Stelle einig sind, zu dem Lehrer kommen, und ihn um Entscheidung ersuchen. - Zu den monitors der 20 Abtheilungen werden immer die 20 ersten und vorzüglichsten Schüler, der Anstalt gewählt, und nach Verlauf von 14 Tagen von andern abgelöst. Die Anzahl der Schuler, welche von Hrn. Pillans und 4 andern Lehrern unterrichtet werden, beläuft sich auf mehrere Hunderte. Sie gehen gewöhnlich schon im 14ten Jahre (!) zur

Universität ab. -

(Spiker, 221f.)

By the time of Meidinger's visit in 1820 the building in the Old Town had become too small for the High School's 800 pupils and it was also considered too far from the New Town; the new building, at the foot of the Calton Hill, had recently been completed, and Meidinger describes it as light and airy. In his Reisen his account of the curriculum is brief, and he states simply that Reading, Writing, Latin, Greek, Geography, History and, contrary to Spiker's report, Mathematics are taught in the school and that "das System des wechselseitigen Unterrichts ist dabei in Anwendung gebracht" (Meidinger, Reisen, 24), by which he presumably refers to Pillans' monitorial system. In his earlier Briefe, however, he had given a full account of the Classical training the pupils received;

An der Spitze stehen, ausser dem wachsamem und thatigen Rektor Pillans, - einem allgemein geachteten und geliebten Manne, voll Leben, Kraft und Milde, - noch vier Lehrer, wovon jeder seine eigene Classe besitzt.
(Meidinger, Briefe, 139)

There is no mention of Mathematics in this earlier report. In the first form the boys learn spelling and elementary Latin grammar, do Latin prose and read The Life of Hannibal by Cornelius Nepos and selected fables by Phaedrus; in the second form they read some biographies from Nepos, a book from Caesar and selections from Ovid; in the third form they read Ovid and Vergil, using Mair's introductions; in the fourth form they read a book from Sallust with frequent excerpts from Vergil, Tibullus, Horace and Livy, and are also taught something of prosody and start to learn Greek. Finally, in the top form, the rector's class, they read Ovid, Vergil, Horace, Juvenal, Terence, Cicero and Buchanan's translation of the Psalms, do Latin prose and translation, Greek and Geography; of the latter subject Meidinger remarks, "und die Knaben sind darin sehr bewandert, welches in England keineswegs der Fall ist" (ibid, 140). Meidinger goes on to describe and evaluate Pillans' monitorial system. He sees it to have both advantages and disadvantages, one of the latter being that the pupils under a monitor are constantly trying to catch their leader out. On the whole, however, he feels it to be a successful and worthwhile enterprise, and the fact that the groups only number ten is far preferable to having large classes

under one teacher. Moreover, the rector's class is split into two rooms, between which the teacher can divide his time equally. Meidinger also reports that the classes are from 9 to 11 and 12 to 3 and that the pupils are given much homework and rewarded with promotion within the system if they complete extra work. The annual examinations are taken in August; at this time, too, a prize-giving is held and the "Dux" of the school is presented with a commemorative gold coin. As to school fees, he reports that they are £2.11s.0d. per year and converts this to 30 Rhenish florins (*ibid.*, 141). The school evidently made a great impact on Meidinger and he clearly felt that his report would be of much topical interest to German educationalists.

Even after Pillans' departure, the High School continued to enjoy a fine reputation, and in view of this it is perhaps surprising that Brandes, himself a headmaster and geographer, should have contented himself with a description of the High School's classical exterior on his visit in 1850 (Brandes, 65). Lewald, on the other hand, who was in Edinburgh at much the same time as Brandes, does appreciate that the school plays a far more dominant rôle than any of its counterparts in London, since Edinburgh as a town is relatively small. This gives the school "für den deutschen Gelehrten sicher etwas Anheimelndes. Es sollen sich sehr ausgezeichnete Männer an der Highschool befinden und der Verkehr unter ihnen belebt und fordersam sein" (Lewald, ii, 332).

Finally, it might be expected that the most interesting report of a Scottish school should come from Wichmann, who spent the winter of 1851-2 teaching in Musselburgh Grammar School, a school which Meidinger had described thirty years earlier as a "kleine lateinische Schule" (Meidinger, *Reisen*, 7). At the time of Wichmann's stay, the school had roughly 90 pupils and 30 boarders. His report, however, is disappointingly brief, although he makes the reason for this quite plain. His account follows his description of lectures at Edinburgh University and Musselburgh and surroundings:

Von unserer Anstalt (grammar school), von der ich bis jetzt noch kein Wort gesagt habe, ist eigentlich auch nichts zu sagen; sie war, wie alle derartige Anstalten sind.
Auffallend für mich waren nur die vielen heiligen Waschungen, die mit den grossen Bengeln (big boys), Kerle bis zu 16 Jahren, allwöchentlich angestellt

wurden. In grossen Gefässen mit warmem Wasser wurden ihnen die Füsse bis über die Kniee von weiblichen Dien-
stboten jeden Sonnabend gewaschen und abgerieben, wie
in Deutschland hilflosen Säuglingen geschieht.

(Wichmann, 57)

However curious as a piece of social history, this reveals little of the educational aspect of the school. Wichmann's only further comment concerns the oppressive religious atmosphere. He resigned in the spring, finding his position, "in der ich doch immer mehr oder weniger schon Anstands halber, um kein öffentliches Ärgerniss zu geben, gezwungen war, auf Commando mitzubeten" (ibid. 63), too restrictive. Wichmann tells of one further school after having applied for a post as teacher of modern languages in Dollar, a job which not only paid handsomely but also provided the incumbent with a house and garden. He travelled into Edinburgh for an interview with one of the school's governors, and the related conversation tells as much about Wichmann himself as it does about the position and attitude of the interviewer from Dollar:

Zur bestimmten Zeit fand ich denn auch einen würdigen, ältlichen, wohlbeleibten Herrn an dem verabredeten Orte.

Nach den üblichen Begrüssungen waren seine ersten Worte mit einer öligen Stimme: You are very young, Sir (Sie sind sehr jung, mein Herr). Worauf ich ihm erwiderte, dass ich deshalb sehr erfreut sei und nichts sehnlicher wünsche, als nie älter zu werden.

Die Blicke des Vorstandes benannter Anstalt schienen einiges Erstaunen anzudeuten, doch fragte er mich: How will you fill up the house? (Wie wollen Sie das Haus ausfüllen?)

Der Sinn dieser Worte schien mir etwas dunkel, ich sah mich daher genöthigt um nähere Auskunft zu bitten, worauf ich die Antwort erhielt.

Have you any family? (Haben Sie Familie?)

Noch nicht, Verehrter!

How will you fill up the house then? (Wie können Sie denn das Haus ausfüllen?)

Jetzt ging mir ein Licht auf. Je nun, sagte ich, wenn das der Schwerpunkt der Frage ist, werde ich mich jedenfalls, falls mir sonst die Stelle zusagt, nach Kräften bemühen, und das Haus so schnell wie möglich auszufüllen versuchen.

No, that would not do, it must be done at once. (Nein, das geht nicht, es muss sogleich geschehen.)

Da dies ausser meiner Macht lag, verneigte ich mich vor meinem würdigen Gönner und verliess ihn mit grösster Hochachtung.

(Wichmann, 62)

In the next chapter, "Zweite Wanderung in den Hochlanden", Wichmann adds the conclusion to this episode. Being in the possession of a letter of recommendation to a doctor in Dollar, he decided to visit

the town before touring the Trossachs. The doctor received him very hospitably, "doch dauerte es bei diesem vorsichtigen Schotten ungewöhnlich lange, bis wir uns gegenseitig so näherten, dass wir rücksichtslos unsere Gedanken austauschten" (ibid., 65). Once he has finally gained the doctor's confidence, Wichmann learns something of the life in the town where he, too, might have found himself living. Life in a Scottish country town, whose inhabitants are unswervingly narrow in their religious beliefs, evidently left no scope for anybody of differing opinions, and Wichmann concludes that he was more than fortunate to escape the teaching post. Nonetheless, natural curiosity urged him to call on the successful candidate and he equipped himself with a letter of introduction. He found a friendly elderly gentleman (who had indeed filled the house with a wife and three grown-up, unmarried daughters!), sitting at his desk compiling ["Verfertigung" (ibid.)] vocabulary books. He welcomed Wichmann and they conversed happily, until he learned to his surprise and consternation that his visitor was not merely a fellow German, but also the erstwhile candidate for his job. Wichmann finally managed to reassure the teacher of his good-will and the atmosphere of geniality was restored:

Gern wollte mir der gute Herr in seiner Freude eine Pfeife Taback anbieten, doch sagte er mir leise: "Ich darf es hier kaum wagen zu rauchen in meiner Stellung, denn wenn das die Leute erfahren, leidet mein Ruf nicht wenig darunter."
(ibid., 66)

Wichmann leaves his readers in no doubt as to his opinion: the Scottish parochial schools may have enjoyed great renown, but for a German to teach in them was a different matter.

Universities

Victor Aimé Huber, who visited Edinburgh as a student in the 1820's, published the definitive 19th Century German work on the British universities, Die englischen Universitäten, in 1839-40.²⁰ Thereafter there was little need for German travel writers to reproduce facts and figures concerning the history and constitution of the British universities. Raumer, in his England im Jahre 1841, pays due tribute to Huber's work (Raumer, 1841, 244ff.), although in expressing the wish that Huber might extend his work to include a review of the contemporary state of British academia, he underlined the continuing lack of constructive and up-to-date criticism on the subject. As far as Raumer understands the situation, the Scottish universities have two major faults in common with the English: they are too impersonal and the professors are too little involved with their students. Nonetheless he sees great advantages in the tutorial system and the character building which is effected in the students. Raumer consults the 'Quarterly Review' and the 'Statistical Journal' to obtain contemporary statistics and reports that there are 2,300 students in Edinburgh, 1300 in Glasgow, 650 in Aberdeen and 300 in St. Andrews (ibid., 250). In his earlier England im Jahre 1835 he had also reported on the British schools and universities (ibid., 1835, 273ff.), but by the time of his later work, his overall conclusion is that a comparison of British and German universities can only be inadequate since the two societies are so fundamentally different. This concern was seldom shared by Raumer's fellow travellers, however, most of whom were struck rather by the similarity between the German and the Scots universities, as opposed to the English.

Visits to Edinburgh University were more common than to the University of Glasgow, while St. Andrews and Aberdeen are described in some detail only by Nemnich and Meidinger. Meidinger's report is typically thorough. He gives the founding dates of the various colleges in both universities and lists the respective university dignitaries and professorial chairs, giving special mention to the Latin scholar, Dr. John Hunter, in St. Andrews, and "der berühmte Dr. Copland", who lectures daily to more than 80 students at Marischal College in Aberdeen

(Meidinger, Reisen, 44 & 60). Nennich contrasts St. Andrews' early days of trading prosperity with the town as he finds it in 1805, existing almost solely from the University, which he recognises not only as the oldest in the country but also as possessing one of the finest libraries in Britain. He is impressed, too, by the privileges enjoyed by the 150 students: "Sie haben freie Wohnung, einen Freitisch, einen eingezogenen und zugleich angenehmen Aufenthalt, und vortrefliche Gelegenheit viel zu lernen" (Nennich, 570). Meidinger, too, notes this and the fact that most of the students take advantage of the fact that they are allowed to lodge with townsfolk. He refers to a descriptive work by Grierson as a source of information,²² but his own personal observations also emerge.²³ He reports that the Theology students at St. Salvator's College are only accepted after three years' previous university study and must give four public talks before they are eligible to receive their degrees; they must also be present at the daily morning and evening prayers, and, unlike the students at St. Mary's College, must wear black gowns. Meidinger is particularly impressed by the historical collection of the Library, and although the books were now housed in an insignificant building in South Street, their original home having been burnt a few years previously, this is more than compensated for for Meidinger by the cheerful and educated company of the Librarian, the Rev. William Menzies. In all Meidinger finds St. Andrews a refreshing place, whose university has two great assets, firstly the town's attractive situation, and secondly the fact that it is neither a capital city like Edinburgh nor an industrial centre like Glasgow or Aberdeen. The two colleges of Aberdeen are only mentioned by Nennich in passing (Nennich, 580 & 582), but Meidinger pays them more attention; at the time of his visit, fifteen years after Nennich's, there were 257 students at King's College and 250 at Marischal. As far as the architecture is concerned, he is impressed with neither establishment: although he praises the apparatus in the lecture theatre used by Copland and in the observatory at Marischal, he describes the building itself as "ein zwischen Häusern verstecktes klosterähnliches, schwerfälliges Gebäude" (Meidinger, Reisen, 60), while he deems King's College "alt" and "unansehnlich" (ibid., 61). He uses the same word,

"unansehnlich", to describe the Marischal College Library and Natural History Museum, although he does name some items of interest in both collections, and while he admires the tower of King's College Chapel, he pays more attention to the surprising fact that one part of the building houses the Library. The libraries of both King's College and St. Andrews are notable for having the right to one copy of each publication which appears in Britain. Meidinger is amused to find portraits of the ten sibyls alongside Scottish kings and bishops in the King's examination hall, and in the entrance hall, where music is taught, the carved and ink-stained benches and desks remind him of school classrooms in Germany. Finally he comments on the privileges enjoyed by the Aberdeen professors; not only do they receive a good salary, free lodging and land - the patrimony enjoyed also by the professors of St. Andrews and Glasgow - but each student is also obliged to pay the professors three guineas for every lecture course attended. Meidinger concludes: "Die Professoren in Old und New Aberdeen stehen sich sehr gut" (*ibid.*).

It is hardly surprising that the University of Edinburgh gained most attention; as Holzenthal remarked early in the century, it was one of the most famous universities in Europe and probably the best in Britain for the study of medicine, and for this reason the medical visitors in particular were eager to report about it. Thus Frank's report from his visit in 1803 is concerned mostly with the medical faculty, and he even gives the times of some of the lectures; he does also remark, however, that it is a shame that a building whose façade is so "prachtvoll" should have been allowed to fall into decay (Frank, 216). The following decade Holzenthal notes that the uniform of the students,²⁴ the long gowns worn to their ankles, is "sehr geschmacklos" (Holzenthal, 235),²⁵ while Meissner, in Edinburgh a few years later, concentrates on the fact that each student has to pay ten shillings subscription fee to use the library, which should therefore grow well and is already "nicht unbeträchtlich" (Meissner, 219). Spiker, who visited the university the previous year, in 1816, writes of the highly distinguished medical faculty, naming some of its members, Duncan, Gregory, Thomson and Gordon, as "noch jetzt die talentvollsten Männer in Schottland" (Spiker, 213). He was also impressed by the popularity of the mineralogist, Jameson,²⁶ and by his conduct as a

professor, in particular his practice of taking his students on field trips. Spiker attended one of Jameson's lectures on Geology; the professor dressed in a black gown which Spiker compares to a German cassock, illustrated his talk with specimens and drawings, "und sprach überhaupt mit einer Klarheit und Wohlredenheit, wie sie sich nicht oft in Deutschland bei akademischen Lehrern findet" (ibid.). He is also struck by the fact that the lecture theatre is an amphitheatre as in Germany. Meidinger, too, was to note similarities between the Scots and German universities, reporting from Edinburgh²⁷ that, as in Germany, the students wore no special uniform, had a free choice of study and were free to lodge with families in the town according to their private means. He also notes that the professors live in private houses near the University, and he is interested to see advertisements for their lectures posted in the windows.

By the time of Meidinger's first visit in 1820 the new university buildings were well under way and the institution was expanding. In his Briefe Meidinger reports that the Government had granted the University £10,000 a year for ten years from 1815 and in his opinion the new building will be the finest of its kind in Europe. He copies the inscription in the entrance and describes the architecture, but comments that it is a shame that such a building should be surrounded by the narrow streets of the Old Town rather than be situated in the spacious New Town. By the time of his later account Meidinger feels justified in calling the building "ein wahrer Tempel der Wissenschaft, und unstreitig das schönste Universitätsgebäude in Europa" (Meidinger, Reisen, 19). In both accounts he describes the Library, but he is particularly interested by the new Natural History Museum, and describes both the princely rooms in which it is housed and the collection itself. In his earlier account he stresses the excellent condition of the 3,000 species of bird exhibited on the upper floor and gallery, and mentions in particular the British marsh birds, a large Norwegian owl, a magnificent "Falkenkönig" (eagle?) and two rare Sumatran pheasants, adding, "Prof. Jameson, ein dienstfertiger und artiger Mann, ist eifrig am Ausstopfen" (ibid., Briefe, 146). He also gives descriptions of the collections of insects, minerals and mammals, and is particularly impressed by the giant fossil of an elk,

whose antler span he himself could not even reach with his arms outstretched. He writes:

Aus allen Zonen sind hier die verschiedenartigsten Wesen und Naturkörper versammelt, und in ihrer Mitte steht ordnend und prüfend, die grösste Intelligenz auf Erden, der Mensch, mit dem königlichen Antlitze, dem allumfassenden Blicke, und der ewig nach Licht und Wahrheit verlangenden Seele!

(ibid., Reisen, 20)

He pays further tribute to Jameson's directorship, appreciating that the latter's contacts with Scots in the British East and West Indies, "woselbst häufig Schotten die ersten Stellen bekleiden (so wie sich dieselben überhaupt durch ihre Reiselust, Ausdauer und vielfachen Kenntnisse auszeichnen)" (ibid., 20), can only lead to the Museum becoming one of the foremost in Europe.

As far as academic teaching is concerned, Meidinger reports that the lectures of the medical faculty are the most popular, especially Professor Hope's Chemistry lectures, "wobei sich auch viele Frauen (!) einfinden" (ibid., 21). Nor is it only the medical professors who do well; the private lecturers are usually more knowledgeable than the professors, charge less for their lecture courses and are therefore more popular. Meidinger reports that the fees payable to a professor are £4 per semester, while the lecturers demand only £3; over and above this a physician ("Arzt") may charge one guinea for a private medical consultation, while a surgeon ("Wundarzt") demands only five shillings for a visit. Of the students' requirements, Meidinger writes that a student must be over 21 and have studied three years (or if he is a foreigner who has attended a university abroad, two years) in order to gain a doctorate. He gives the number of students as 2,200 in his earlier report, and 2,300 in the later one; in the former account he tells of the many English, Irish and American students, and although there were no German students at the time, he writes of several French, a number of French Swiss from Geneva and Neufchatel who had recently been studying in Edinburgh, and six Russians who had been sent by their government each to study a different subject. A few years later he was able to report that there was one German student at the University, "mein Freund Dr. B. aus Offenbach" (ibid., 21). As with his description of St. Andrews and Aberdeen, Meidinger lists all the professorial chairs in the four faculties; he distinguishes

between the nine chairs funded by the Government and those financed by the town council and in this respect makes special mention of a new chair of Agriculture, recently founded by Johnstone, which was already proving very successful.

The Edinburgh University Library comprised 60,000 volumes at the time of Meidinger's visit, but despite the fact that it receives a copy of each work published in Britain, he finds it outstanding only in the field of medicine, which he also notes is the subject of most of the German books in the collection.²⁸ Of most interest to him is a parchment roll from Bohemia, a protest at the burning of Huss, the text of which he finds in Maitland's History of Scotland. Despite such rare possessions, Meidinger finds the Library's income low at £400 per year. Writing at much the same time, Otto comes to a similar conclusion. He finds it unsatisfactory that the only funds available for the purchase of new books are taken from the matriculation fee of £5 paid by each student to his professor; the result is that Otto can find no new expensive books in the Library, and he concludes that it is an insignificant collection. He is surprised that only the professors are allowed to borrow books, although they can also recommend certain students be able to do so; otherwise he reports that the reading room is open daily only from two to three o'clock. Otto refrains from describing the Natural History Museum, but he feels compelled to comment on the large size and good light of the lecture theatres. As a doctor and professor, he is naturally interested in the medical faculty, and like Meissner before him, he finds it strange that the clinical lectures should be shared by all six professors of the faculty, including the professor of Botany. While Otto's description of the University refers to the original buildings in Nicolson Street, Löwenthal concentrates on the new building after his visit the same year, 1822. Although work had begun in 1789, it was still unfinished, but despite this he considered that the façade, when completed, would bear comparison with that of the Louvre. The Austrian was very impressed with the mineral collection in the Natural History Museum, especially the minerals exhibited from Hungary, Bohemia, Silesia, Salzburg and Wiener-Neustadt, and he in no way begrudges the "anziehende und so schön aufgestellte Sammlung" (Löwenthal, 133) the

admission fee of half a crown. The remarks of Horn, Isensee and Marx echo the opinions of those who had gone before; as medical men, they are all particularly interested in the medical faculty, whose fame was already well known to them. Even by Horn's visit in 1830, the University's move into its new premises had not yet been fully completed; he is able to describe the Museum collection in some detail, but he finds the Library in a state of disarray. The fact that neither the books nor the planned marble busts have yet been installed in the library makes him reflect on the grandeur of the premises themselves: "Der eigentliche Bibliotheksaal, vielleicht zu elegant für einen wissenschaftlichen Zweck, nimmt eine ganze Fronte des oberen Stockwerks ein, und ist wahrhaft schön, hoch und breit" (Horn, 303).

The years before Huber's publication of 1839-40 saw much less interest in the University of Glasgow than that of Edinburgh. Travellers such as Meissner made only passing comments regarding the number of students or the university buildings, while Frank was more interested in the public washhouse on the Clyde than he was in the University, although he did give a description of the latter (Meissner, 281 & Frank 281ff.). Löwenthal dismisses the university as an "Arzeneischule" (Löwenthal, 90), inferior to all its English counterparts, and while Meidinger recognises that the medical faculty was gaining in popularity and had recently much improved, he also comes to the conclusion that Glasgow's university is inferior to that of Edinburgh. Both Meidinger and Marx consider the length of the summer vacation, from May to the end of October, disruptive, although Marx does admit that despite visiting at this time, he meets interesting people in Glasgow. Several visitors to Edinburgh were struck by the lack of a student uniform, and in this respect Glasgow was more memorable to Meidinger: of the 1,500 students he remembers in particular the 400 clad in the red gowns of the Faculty of Arts. The great age of the university buildings did not impress the visitors, whose tastes were for modern, spacious Classical architecture; Otto found the lecture theatres far too small, and even Meidinger, who compares the University with the Oxford colleges, considers its only distinction to be its age. As far as academic achievement is concerned, Meidinger, Otto and Horn are all more impressed with the recently founded technical school, Anderson's Institution. Here was an institution which to Otto's mind deserved more attention

than the University, for it embodied ideals which he, too, harboured:

Ein recht schönes Gebäude mit einem grossen Hörsaale wurde aufgeführt. Der Zweck dieser Anstalt ist, denjenigen, die nicht auf der Universität studiren wollen, hinlänglichen Unterricht in den chemischen und physischen Wissenschaften zu verschaffen; auch Damen können an diesem Unterrichte Theil nehmen. Hier werden Vorlesungen über Physik, Mathematik, Chemie, Botanik und Naturgeschichte gehalten.

(Otto, 338)

The University of Glasgow did have two redeeming features, however, one being the Lunatic Asylum²⁹ and the other the Hunterian Museum. Kalckstein's view is perhaps typical of the average 19th Century tourist's reaction to public institutions; he makes little attempt to penetrate the dark, gloomy, medieval building of the University, which seems to him to be "gegen die Aussenwelt vollkommen klosterartig abgesperrt" (Kalckstein, 242), but instead turns towards the contrasting Classical style of the Hunterian Museum, which appears friendly and welcoming.

Built in 1804, the Hunterian Museum was one of Glasgow's chief attractions, and it was natural that many of the German visitors should give a description of the collection, which, as Otto explains, had only been bequeathed to Glasgow University after the British Museum had refused to accept it from its founder, William Hunter.³⁰ There was little doubt in the visitors' minds that the collection was varied and interesting, "denn Hunter war einer von den Menschen, die alles, was ihnen unter die Hände kommt, sammeln, und bei seinem grossen Vermögen konnte er diese Leidenschaft befriedigen" (Meissner, 281). Meissner describes the collection's catalogue as being "zwei Finger dick" (*ibid.*), while Horn refers in particular to the medical displays, Meidinger to a giant cockle shell, 132 pounds in weight, and Schinkel to the anatomical exhibits, the medals, a Rembrandt landscape and a Vergilian Codex (Horn, 389ff., Meidinger, *Briefe*, 159, & Schinkel, iii, 98). Löwenthal is also impressed by the fine medals and old Roman and Scots coins and mentions bequests from the Dead Sea, Bethlehem and Jerusalem and, amongst other objects, Spanish ladies' cigars (Löwenthal 90f.). Spiker had been much taken with a recent bequest from Brazil of toucans and parrots and also by the coin collection, one of the

finest in Europe; but if the coin cabinet was well lit and secured and carefully catalogued, this was an exception, and the Museum's faults seemed to override its assets. Spiker and Meissner were both disappointed to find the library standing unused and disordered; at that time it comprised some 13,000 volumes and Spiker, as a librarian, was evidently shocked to find them ill-lit and inaccessible behind wire lattice doors. Even the catalogue was locked away and the only books in any sort of order were the early rare volumes (Spiker, 286).

The Germans' overall impression seems to have been of disorder and neglect. Spiker finds the beautiful Brazilian birds very poorly stuffed, while Otto, although he is greatly interested in the collection of indigenous Scottish birds, considers the bird collection to be very incomplete, arranged with no apparent system, and unsatisfactorily displayed with only the English names. "To indicate the lack of order in the Museum as a whole, Otto then lists the collections that follow: first minerals, then butterflies, Roman urns and vases, some prehistoric implements, a motley collection of curiosities, and upstairs, shells and Italian and Dutch paintings. He is interested by the large collection of butterflies, "die für jeden Dänen ein besonderes Interesse haben muss, weil J.C.Fabricius sie zu seiner berühmten Schrift benutzt und selbst mit Namen bezeichnet hat" (Otto, 336), but he finds the curiosities most remarkable and worth listing for their very obscurity, from the water from the Dead Sea to wool from Nazareth, and from a Greek tobacco box to a very poor drawing of Napoleon's grave. As doctors, Meissner and Otto were particularly frustrated by the manner in which the interesting anatomical exhibits had been presented. Meissner finds the glass cases so dusty that it is impossible to see what they contain, while Otto writes:

Die Präparate sind nicht allein in den gläsernen Schränken so gestellt, dass man sie weder von allen Seiten sehen noch umdrehen kann, sondern auch so hoch, dass man viele fast gar nicht gewahr wird. An keinem Glase ist geschrieben was es enthält, nur einige sind numerirt und selbst diese kann man nur mit Mühe in dem Katalog finden, weil die Präparate nach ihrer Grösse (!) geordnet sind; auch muss man sich eine ausdrückliche Erlaubnis verschaffen, um den Katalog selbst zur Einsicht zu erhalten. (ibid., 337)

Finally, both Löwenthal and Meissner are unpleasantly surprised to discover that they have to pay an admission fee to see the collection. Meissner especially begrudges the University his two shillings;

he felt that he had come to see the bequest of a great man and not to fill the coffers of Glasgow University. Otto's conclusion is that a collection of great anatomical interest has been inexplicably neglected; as for the bequests which the Museum had received since Hunter's death, they were mostly quite out of place in the collection and only served to give the overall impression of "ein fast komisches Allerlei" (ibid., 336).

In the 1840's and 50's the travellers were less intent on reproducing facts and figures and giving detailed descriptions, but many still continued to visit the University of Edinburgh. Some, such as Brandes, contented themselves with a perfunctory description of the building and a passing comment on the fact that the Scots universities are comparable to the German rather than their English counterparts (Brandes, 76), while others provide some more reflective comment. On hearing of the one young lady studying in Edinburgh, Lewald ponders on the lasting effect this might have. She does not wish to pronounce any judgement as to whether a woman's schooling is sufficient preparation for university study; her interests lie rather in the reception of the student within the University. She is astonished and gratified to discover how welcome the lady in question has been made; she had been received into Edinburgh's high social circles, been given preferential treatment by the professors, both during and after classes, and her results were now eagerly awaited: "Fördernde Duldsamkeit ist aber Alles, was die Ausnahme bedarf, um sich entwickeln zu können" (Lewald, ii, 332).

A few years later Kalckstein was also concerned with an aspect of student freedom. He is puzzled that Britain, as the land of personal freedom, should insist on such strong discipline in its universities. Although the Scots universities adhere to a less strict regime than the English, the German finds the end-product almost a contradiction of the system through which the student has just emerged:

Dass die schottischen Universitäten in ihrer Verfassung den deutschen am nächsten stehen und die englischen bedeutend überragen, ist eine feststehende Thatsache, jedenfalls aber ist es charakteristisch, dass in England, diesem Lande der persönlichen Freiheit, der Jugend, selbst in dem Uebergangestadium zum Vollalter der Männlichkeit, eine viel beschränktere individuelle Selbstständigkeit eingeräumt wird, wie auf unsern deutschen Hochschulen. Das

Universitätsleben gliedert sich hier noch zum Theil nach dem Zuschnitt eines mittelalterlichen Zunftzwanges ... Selbst die freieren schottischen Hochschulen haben diesen Geist scholastischer Schwerfälligkeit noch nicht ganz überwunden, dazu gehört das noch vorkommende Tragen von Uniformen, die Beaufsichtigung der Haltung der Studirenden während der Lehrvorträge durch dazu angestellte Custoden, Disciplinarstrafen für jugendliche Extravaganzen, wobei das Beschreiben und Bemalen der Tische insbesondere eine Rolle spielt, und ähnliche hierhin gehörende, dem Uebersprudeln eines zu masslosen Freiheitsgefühls entgegenarbeitende Massregeln. Und doch geht ungeachtet dieses Zwanges aus dem englischen Erziehungssystem eine männliche, kräftige, gesinnungstüchtige Generation hervor.

(Kalckstein, 210f.)

It is not clear whether Kalckstein's comments are based on genuine personal observation or not, but there is no doubt that Kohl was struck by something of the same "Geist scholastischer Schwerfälligkeit" when he attended the opening of the University Winter Session in Edinburgh ten years earlier, in 1844;

Es wird nämlich mit den Glocken geläutet, wenn die Professoren, an der Spitze ihren Principal, dem der silberne Universitätsstab mit einem dicken Knopfe, als Zeichen seiner Würde, vorangetragen wird, sich in Bewegung setzen, um über den grossen Hof des Universitätsgebäudes zu der Aula zu schreiten. Es war dies die erste Versammlung von englischen Universitätsbürgern, der ich beiwohnte. Die Studenten sahen im Vergleich zu unseren Studenten alle so schicklich und anständig aus, wie eine Gesellschaft von Gentlemen im Vergleich mit einer Versammlung leichtsinniger, lustiger, sorgenloser, ausgelassener, genialer Burschen. Viele waren auch mit ihren Herren Papas da, die aus den Highlands oder Lowlands herangereist waren, um ihre Söhne hier in den Sitz der Musen selber einzuführen. Die Professoren, je nachdem sie beliebt waren, wurden mit mehr oder weniger grossem Applaus empfangen. Ich konnte sie von Weitem kommen sehen und beurtheilte schon im Voraus nach ihrer Physiognomie, ob sie applaudirt werden würden oder nicht, und ich traf gewöhnlich das Rechte und sah, dass der Geschmack der deutschen und englischen Studenten wahrscheinlich ganz gleich sein müsse. Am lautesten war der Beifall bei dem bekannten Professor der politischen Oekonomie Wilson. Uebrigens enthielten sonst die gehaltenen Reden und Ceremonien weiter nichts Bemerkungswerthes.

(Kohl, ii, 197f.)

Although such accounts as Kohl's were based on first-hand experience, Wichmann's description was the first since that of Barthold Georg Niebuhr to relate a German's experiences as a student in Edinburgh. During his winter in Musselburgh, Wichmann travelled into Edinburgh by train to attend lectures in the famed medical faculty, but also courses on the history of literature, geology and physics. He remarks on the ease with which he, as a foreigner, was allowed to audit lectures, and comments that this would be otherwise in Oxford or Cambridge. Like so many other Germans, he finds many points of comparison between the Scots and German universities; in his view the major difference is that there is no type of entrance examination in Scotland, and anybody who pays his fees may study. As a result he is amused to find bearded gentlemen learning the rudiments of Latin grammar and is surprised at the course the class takes:

Eines Tages, als ich in dieser Latin class hospitirte, störten sogar einige lernbegierige Jünger der Wissenschaft durch überlautes Betragen derart den Herrn Professor, dass er sich veranlasst fand zu sagen: Gentlemen, if you will not be quiet I make you sit down till one o'clock (Meine Herren, wenn Sie nicht ruhig sind, bleiben Sie bis ein Uhr sitzen). Da es gegen elf Uhr war und ich unter diesen Umständen meinen Zug verpasst haben würde, hielt ich mich in Zukunft von dieser Latin class fern.

(Wichmann, 53)

Having previously studied both in Bonn and the Sorbonne, Wichmann feels able to compare the British, French and German universities. In his view the greatest contrast exists between the "wissenschaftliche Speisehäuser" of Oxford and Cambridge and the colleges in Paris; in the former the student may concern himself only with the physical pleasures of eating until it is necessary hurriedly to "cram" his head ("sich geschwind geistig nudeln"), while in the latter the students appear in lectures with their girls on their arms, and even women are allowed to dismiss the duties of household and children in favour of studying. Wichmann concludes: "so bieten solche Gegensätze sehr lehrreiche Vergleiche" (Wichmann, 54), but he chooses to refer to these lessons only by implication. Even if he learnt little during his student days in Edinburgh, there is no doubt that Wichmann thoroughly enjoyed his stay and made many friends.

Learned Societies

Whether or not they came into close contact with academic life, the travellers were all made aware that Edinburgh was Scotland's cultural centre. Kohl exclaims with surprise that no less than 4,000 people are in some way connected with the University, and he concludes that the Scots' claim that almost a third of the city's population of 150,000 belong to the educated classes may well be true (Kohl, I, 49). Some thirty years earlier Holzenthal had noted the preponderance and range of not only the charitable institutions, but also the learned societies:

Ungemein gross ist in Edinburgh die Zahl der menschenfreundlichen Institute, nicht nur für Arme, Waisen, Taube und Blinde beiderlei Geschlechts, sondern auch zur Verbreitung von Kenntnissen in Ackerbau, Gärtnerei, Naturgeschichte, Alterthumsforschung, Forstwissenschaft u.s.w. deren Glieder meistens Personen aus dem ersten Adel sind, die durch ihren Reichthum Unternehmungen der Art unterstützen können.
(Holzenthal, 235)

In the first years of the century Frank, too, had been favourably impressed by the learned societies, in particular the Royal Medical Society and the Royal Colleges of Physicians and of Surgeons.³¹

In Edinburgh herrscht ein sehr solider und schöner Ton und wahrer Eifer für die Wissenschaften unter der studierenden Jugend. Sie findet Gelegenheit, den Umgang der Professoren zu geniessen. Was besonders den Trieb zu den Wissenschaften unter den Studierenden befördert, das sind die gelehrten Gesellschaften, welche unter ihnen Platz finden.
(Frank, 241f.)

The three medical groups mentioned by Frank gained most attention from the German visitors, but other societies were also singled out. Horn, for instance, reported on the Speculative, Plinian, Chemical, Natural History, Royal Physical and Caledonian Horticultural Societies, the Highland Society of Scotland, and, of great topical interest, the Phrenological Society, which had been founded ten years earlier in 1820 (Horn, 321ff.). By the time of Carus' visit in 1844, the Society was in decline and Carus' companion and guide, Dr. Goodsir, was hard pressed to discover the whereabouts of its collection. Carus' reaction to the state of the Society is witness to his anxiety to keep up to date

with current scientific trends:

Endlich fanden wir in einem abgelegnen dunkeln Gäschen das Local, und die, curioser Weise, unter die Obhut einer alten Frau gestellte Sammlung. - Das Äusserliche liess schliessen, dass gegenwärtig dieser Verein ziemlich heruntergekommen seyn möge: und ist es doch nicht möglich dass einem Gegenstande, dem der eigentliche Boden der Wahrheit fehlt, der vielmehr nur durch einen unerkannten und versteckten Keim von Wahrheit noch zeitweilig über Wasser gehalten worden ist, eine anhaltende Theilnahme wirklich bedeutender Naturen lange erhalten werden kann; seine Geltung ist vielmehr gewöhnlich nur auf das erste Enthusiasmusgeschrei einer kleinen schwärmerischen Sekte beschränkt, ebendesshalb aber auch von kurzer Dauer.

(Carus, ii, 315)

Even though Carus denounces the Edinburgh phrenologists for being unoriginal "Nachahmern und Nachäffern Gall's" (*ibid.*, 314),³² he cannot hide his interest in the "Keim von Wahrheit" of their collection, in which he finds a varied selection of skulls from all nations. Several of these specimens were already known to him, but others were not and he proceeds to order some casts from the plaster moulder employed by the Society. Otto had reported on the Phrenological Society shortly after its foundation in 1822; like many others he also wrote of one of the oldest, and arguably best known, of the Edinburgh societies, the Royal Society.³³ Both Spiker and Meidinger refer to the learned papers published in the Royal Society's Transactions, and Spiker was especially gratified to meet one of its most distinguished members, Dr. Brewster (Spiker, 219).³⁴ Horn's report includes two pages on the Royal Society (Horn, 319ff.), while Isensee attended one of their meetings, which he considered a particular honour, since Walter Scott had once been its president. His account is typically marked by wordplay:

Ich hatte das Glück in einer der Versammlungen zu sein. Man sah weder Orden noch Sterne. Indessen machten einige sehr berühmte Anwesende durch den tiefen Ausdruck ihres leuchtenden Blicks glauben, dass ihre Augen für (Struve'sche) Doppelsterne zu halten seien. Es ging mir wie dem einfachen Sterne (Yorik); es machte mich glücklich, unter solchen Männern zu sein. Ich machte einige interessante Bekanntschaften. Bilder und Statuen riefen unwillkürlich lebhafter als je, die hier zum Theil heimischen, grossen Erscheinungen Ossians, Miltons,

Youngs, Popes, Moores, etc., etc. in mir hervor.
(Isensee, 140f.)

References by indirect allusion rather than direct description occur throughout Isensee's account. Allen Thomson, who acted as his guide in Edinburgh, gave him much information on the city, and this included an account of the various societies; Isensee lists eleven of them and their presidents in a footnote (ibid., footnote, 149f.). Of the Royal Medical Society he notes that while its president had formerly been his own friend, F. W. Becker, who had lived in Edinburgh for five years, the Society was now presided over by four students. Some ten years earlier Meidinger had reported that this society had a membership of 1,000, although only about 100 of these were active.³⁵ Meidinger was evidently greatly impressed by the Society and describes its constitution and management in some detail, including information on the library (in which to his disappointment he finds no German works) and the papers and dissertations which the students are required to write (Meidinger, Reisen, 22f.). In his Briefe Meidinger also writes of the Society of Antiquities and of two societies of more practical purpose, the Highland Society and the Caledonian Horticultural Society; he is impressed that the latter had recently sent its secretary, Patrick Neill, and two other members to France to buy seeds and inspect fruit trees. In the same paragraph he reports on the recently founded Gas Company³⁶ and its four "Gasometers", which distilled over 600,000 gallons daily (Meidinger, Briefe, 147f.).

Nearly thirty years later Lewald's comments on the pros and cons of the recently installed gas lighting in the Edinburgh houses lead her to remark on the common means of lighting in libraries. She then goes on to note the great contrast between the Germans and the British in their attitude to libraries and books, and also to learning generally. While even the princesses of the Prussian court think nothing of borrowing books from lending libraries, every well equipped British household has its own library. A German family might think nothing of spending money on a concert or ballet, and yet, while they would never borrow clothes, jewellery or furniture even from a friend, they might happily borrow a book from a complete stranger:

... man würde Ekel haben, von einem Fremden lange benutzte Dinge zu berühren - aber Bücher zu borgen von wem es sei, oder die beschmutzten, nach Taback

riechenden, vielfach befleckten Exemplare der Leihbibliotheken zu miethen, hat Niemand Ekel und schämt sich Niemand. ... In England würde solche Sparsamkeit dem Publikum unglaublich scheinen.

(Lewald, ii, 241f.)

The British love to show off their wealth, but they also have a genuine respect for books and for learning, and rich businessmen are at pains to show that they know how to make intellectually profitable use of their wealth. While elderly bankers attend university lectures in London, the only such example of which Lewald is aware in Germany is the banker Joseph Mendelssohn in Berlin, who occupied himself intellectually as well as commercially. "In England ist die Wissenschaft dem Wohlhabenden bereits, was sie den Alten war, Musse - Erholung - Genuss - und als Genuss Lebenszweck" (*ibid.*, 243). But it does not end there: Learning is accessible to all and becomes a vital bond between rich and poor, and the varied background of those attending the Natural Sciences conference in Edinburgh is sufficient proof to Lewald that Britain is far ahead of Germany in this respect.

iii. Legal and other Institutions

If Lewald was impressed by the great interest in science and the abundance of scientific book collections, earlier travellers had taken careful note of the Edinburgh legal institutions, and in particular the Advocates Library and the Signet Library. Spiker, having described their location in Parliament Square, pays tribute to the former as one of the finest libraries in Britain; he is shown round the collection by the librarian, Mr. Manners, and, as a librarian himself, is greatly interested both by the manuscripts and by the early and rare books of Scottish history and poetry, some of which had been recently used by Walter Scott. He goes on to describe the Signet Library with equal admiration, not only on account of its librarian, McVey Napier,³⁷ but also on account of its collection and fittings and furnishings, especially the carpeted room in which all the proposed new books are laid out and the method of heating, the hot pipes being discreetly covered by green cloth and thus indistinguishable from the reading tables (Spiker, 214 ff.). A few

years later Löwenthal was also to note that the two libraries were the finest in the land and that Scott had often quoted the Advocates Library as a source of reference. He reports, too, that many members of the Faculty of Advocates had studied in Germany, especially Göttingen, and he is told that there are many German books in the collection and that a German is at present employed as a librarian. Since Löwenthal is from Austria, he is shown Hammer's translation of Spenser's sonnets as an example of a Viennese work in the Library, but otherwise he himself sees only some volumes of Goethe and an 18th Century edition of the Neue Deutsche Bibliothek (Löwenthal, 131f.). Meidinger was more thorough on his visit to the Library, and he, too, concentrates on the German collection, which he does not find wanting:

Diese Bibliothek ist die beste in Schottland, weit bedeutender und gewählter wie die Universitäts-Bibliothek, und besitzt auch mehr deutsche wissenschaftliche Bücher aus der neuern Zeit, als alle übrigen Büchersammlungen in Grossbritannien zusammen. Man findet auch darunter alle deutsche Classiker, sämtliche Literaturzeitungen, Ersch und Gruber's Encyclopädie, Conversations-Lexicon etc.

(Meidinger, Briefe, 128)

Visits to the Advocates Library were apparently not so common in later years, but Marx reports enthusiastically of his visit in 1841, on which he was shown round by the librarian, "der humane und gelehrte Dr. Irving" (Marx 22), as does Kalckstein, who was most taken with his friendly reception there in 1854. He, too, is full of praise for the excellence of the collection and for the elegance and comfort of the rooms. He recommends all travellers to see Audubon's paintings of American birds, and adds, "Den Genuss des Lesens steigert noch die behagliche Eleganz, die dem Fremden von gepolsterten Sesseln, kostbaren Teppichen und der penatenartig lodernden Flamme geschmackvoller Kamine entgegentritt" (Kalckstein, 195f.). The Signet Library receives like recognition from Kalckstein.

Many of the German visitors found the proceedings in the law courts so colourful that they took obvious pleasure in recording them; for those who visited in the 1820's there was the added attraction that Walter Scott could be seen at work as Clerk to the Court of Session, and Meidinger, Moscheles and Löwenthal all make a point of mentioning this, Meidinger even informing his readers that Scott's

annual salary in this post was £1,000 (Meidinger, Reisen, 18). In his Reisen Meidinger gives a fairly detailed account of the constitution and running of the courts, from the salaries of the judges to the fact that the written legal petitions to the courts are "oft wahre Meisterwerke des Styls und der Ausarbeitung" (ibid., 18). His earlier account is less factual and recounts his personal impressions:

Das Gewühl ist hier fast noch stärker wie in London. Dort schreiten welche im lebhaften Gespräch einher; hier sitzen mehrere ganz vertieft mit Papieren und Rollen in den Händen, während sich andere eilfertig durchdrängen und die Pedellen von erhöhtem Standpunkte aus die begehrten Namen ausrufen. Um 9 Uhr muss jeder Richter auf seinem Posten seyn. Ueberall hängen kleine Tafeln und Anschlagzettel. In dieser Halle halten bloss zwei der Lords ordinary in kleinen Nischen, mit Schranken umgeben, Gericht. Die übrigen Richter sitzen in den anstossenden schönen Gerichts-Zimmern.

(ibid., Briefe, 127f.)

The noise and bustle also struck Moscheles and Löwenthal; all were astonished that the proceedings could continue at all in the midst of the clamour and apparent disorder. Moscheles was first struck by the mass of black gowns and powdered wigs he saw before him. He continues:

Das Geräusch schien mir tausendstimmig, und doch sitzen die Oberrichter in verschiedenen Abtheilungen da, und lassen sich von den Rechtsgelehrten beider Parteien die verschiedenen Fälle vortragen. Wie es ihnen aber möglich ist, sie in diesem Gewirre zu hören oder gar zu verstehen, ist mir unbegreiflich. Ich stand neben Mr. Murray, einem der grössten Advokaten Schottland's, der eben einen Fall vortrug; das Geräusch war aber so, dass ich nicht ein einziges Wort verstand und nur seinen Mund- und Handbewegungen wie in einer Pantomime sah. Ob nun die Routine dieser Richter so weit geht, in diesem Geräusch genügende Urtheilsprüche auf Grund dieser Rede zu fallen, fragte ich mich, und blieb mir die Antwort schuldig.

(Moscheles, 192f.)

Six years earlier Löwenthal, a recent graduate of Law from the University of Vienna, was even more astonished by the scene he witnessed in Parliament House. I quote his account in full, since it is a typical example of the short descriptive passages which go to make up his work; his style flows with ease only when he is truly affected by a sight or a scene and this is one such instance:

Das Parlamentshaus

Es ist jetzt das Gerichtshaus. Was ich da gleich bei meinem Eintritte sah, war nicht bloss Überraschend, sondern in der That verblüffend und kaum glaublich. In einer langen und hohen Halle, deren luftiges Dach von einem sehr schönen Zimmerwerke, wie das der Westminsterhalls, getragen wird, war eine grosse Menge Menschen, darunter auch Frauenzimmer, versammelt, welche da gingen, standen, lachten, sprachen, kurz einen dumpf verworrenen Lärm verursachten, wie man ihn auf jedem vielbesuchten Börse- oder Kaffeehause gewohnt ist; und für ein solches hält man auch unbedenklich den lauten Saal. Aber was müssen wir erblicken? Hier und dort sitzt an der Wand auf erhöhtem Stuhle ein Mann mit purpurrothem Ueberwurfe und mächtiger Lockenperücke, ein Richter, und horcht gravitatisch den vor ihm perorirenden Rechtsgelehrten, die nicht minder ehrwürdige Perücken auf den Häuptern, aber schwarze Ueberwürfe um den Leib tragen. Solchergestalt werden die Rechtsfälle in erster Instanz verhandelt, unter einem Getöse, welches die, so im gleichgiltigsten Gespräche begriffen sind, schier nöthigt, sich in die Ohren zu schreien. Nothwendig wundern wir uns hier nicht sowohl darüber, dass der Themis geweihte bei solchen Umständen die vorkommenden Fälle entscheiden, als darüber, dass sie überhaupt verstehen können, wovon eigentlich die Rede ist. Unter dem schwirrenden Menschenhaufen wandelte ein Unzahl ebenfalls schon bemäntelter Themisjünger. Ich trat von da in ein Gemach, wo eine Abtheilung der höchsten Gerichtsinstanz Schottlands (Court of Session, Inner Court) Sitzung hielt. Fünf Richter, deren Purpur-Costum dem Kardinals-Kleide nicht unähnlich, und auf deren Häuptern die kunstreichsten weissen Lockengebäude sich erhoben, sassen an einem erhöhten und halbrunden Kanzeltische; vor ihnen auf Bänken eine grosse Menge Sachwalter. Es herrschte Schweigen und Anstand. Aber meine ganze Aufmerksamkeit wurde auf ein einziges Individuum hingezogen. An einem Schreibtische, welcher quer an die Holzwand des Richtertisches angefügt ist, sassen nämlich in ihren schwarzen Amtsmänteln, mit grosser Emsigkeit schreibend, zwei Protokollisten (Clerks to the Court), und der eine von ihnen war Niemand anderer, als Walter Scott, ein gesund und lebenswürdig blickender Kahlkopf, sonder Zweifel der geistreichste, berühmteste, so wie der wohlhabendste Gerichtschreiber unserer Zeit. Der Zufall wollte, dass er sich eben auch von seiner Arbeit erhob und einige Schritte ging, wobei ich denn sah, wie stark er hinke; ein Körpergebrechen, was er bekanntlich auch mit seinem grossen Nebenmanne Byron gemein hatte.

(Löwenthal, 130f.)

This passage has the ingredients of successful travel writing; having set one scene, in which colour, but above all noise and confusion dominate,

Löwenthal then provides an effective contrast, a scene in which colour is coupled with silence and decorum, and finally, having juxtaposed these two scenes, he plays his best card, the sudden and dramatic realisation that there before him is none other than the Great Unknown, Walter Scott himself. The writer becomes involved yet remains an onlooker and the scene can continue without him.

Wichmann also came face to face with a surprise representative of Scotland's legal institutions on his walking tour of the Borders. Setting out on foot from Melrose late one evening, he is offered a lift by a friendly gentleman, travelling alone in a carriage. It transpires he is a circuit judge on his way to court in Jedburgh and next day Wichmann has great pleasure in watching the judge in his robes processing through the streets of the town (Wichmann, 82f.). Forty years earlier Holzenthal had also reported from the Borders on aspects of the law, though his account took the form of factual information on the function of the Jury, Justice Court and local Sheriff Courts (Holzenthal, 225). Meidinger, too, goes into the subject in some detail, (Meidinger, Briefe, 129ff.), but in general interest in legal matters was slight.³⁸ In addition the interests of Meidinger and Nemnich encompassed other institutions such as town councils, trading institutes and banks. Meidinger reports on the Edinburgh banks, including the recently founded savings bank and loan society, and gives a fairly detailed account of the Edinburgh Town Council, commenting also on the inadequacy of the Town Guard, too few in number for the increasing population (ibid., 132 & 135f.: Reisen, 16f. & 24). Nearly twenty years earlier, Nemnich had been particularly impressed by the number of banks in Edinburgh, naming nine private companies besides the three public banking institutions, the Bank of Scotland, The Royal Bank and the British Linen Company. The Perth Bank also drew his attention as a fine establishment, as did the as yet uncompleted Trade Academy (Nemnich, 494f. & 560). Throughout his account Nemnich gives exhaustive lists of banking and trading companies, local exchanges and markets.

Three views can be seen as representative of the German attitude to Scotland's public institutions throughout the years under study. Firstly, Meissner, who visited the country in 1817, wishes to give an

apologia for the Scots' peculiar brand of patriotism and clan spirit by stressing the excellence of the educational and charitable institutions:

So lächerlich auch jenen Nationen, die nichts eigenthümliches, nichts nationales mehr haben, die Liebe der Schotten für ihre alten Gebräuche erscheinen mag, für mich hatte sie des rührenden weit mehr. Wer aber dieses herrliche Volk von seiner würdigsten Seite kennen lernen will, der betrachte seine Unterrichts- und Wohlthätigkeitsanstalten, in welcher Hinsicht kein Land mit diesem zu vergleichen ist.

(Meissner, 223)

Secondly, Isensee, after his visit to Edinburgh in 1835, chooses to stress the preponderance and high standard of the city's charitable institutions in order to rouse the conscience of his readers in Germany:

Ob doch in Deutschland eine grosse Stadt existirt, in deren Bewohnern nicht einiges wohlbegründete Schaamgefühl rege werden sollte, wenn sie hören, dass sogar ausser den genannten, noch eine ganze Reihe solcher Wohlthätigkeits-Anstalten in Edinburg besteht? Gewiss, das verdient Nachahmung!

(Isensee, 135)

Finally, by the time of Lewald's visit in 1850, the Germans were recognising the "Geist der Association" as a trait so firmly rooted in the British character that it even went beyond the educational and charitable institutions. Carus, in describing the new railway tunnel in Edinburgh, had written of "das einzige Zauberwort der 'Association'" (Carus, ii, 314) which was behind it, and Lewald takes this idea one step further. Her liberal tendencies leave her full of admiration, but at the same time she can also appreciate how ridiculous such a trait can become:

Der Geist der Association ist durch die praktischen Verhältnisse so stark ausgebildet, als die socialistischen Lehren es irgend verlangen können. Denn was sind die Klubhäuser für die Reichen, die Wasch- und Badeanstalten für die Armen, alle grossen und merkantilischen Compagnie-Unternehmungen anders, als Werke der Association? - Ich glaube, wenn heute Jemand aus seinem Fenster ein Schild aushinge und darauf schriebe: "Compagnie für die Eisenbahnbrücke nach Amerika," so würde sich morgen schon irgend Jemand erkundigen, ob nach den Theorien der Mechanik eine solche Brücke denkbar sei, und wenn sich eine vernünftige Möglichkeit dafür zeigte, würden bald

viele da sein, welche Mittel und Wege dazu fänden,
denn die wundervolle englische Energie und ihr
grosser Gemeinsinn, schrecken vor keiner Schwierig-
keit zurück, wo ein Erfolg erwartet werden kann.
(Lewald, i, 340f.)