University of Strathclyde
Department of History

Searching for Salvation, Scenery and Self: Pilgrimage and Tourism in Northern Britain, c. 1500-1800

A thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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This thesis is the result of the author's original research. It has been composed by the author and has not been previously submitted for examination which has led to the award of a degree.

Signed: Elizabeth A. Koprowski

Date:

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Abstract

The early modern period in British history is marked by religious, political and social upheaval. The reformations in England and Scotland in the second half of the sixteenth century form a watershed in British religious history and had a wide-reaching impact on many social, cultural and political issues in the following centuries. This dissertation considers the impact of the reformations in England and Scotland by considering change over time in relation to pilgrimage and tourism. Specifically, this study will show that while the religious changes initiated in the sixteenth century and enforced in the seventeenth century invalidated the practice of pilgrimage in northern Britain where pilgrimage shrines had been important features in the late medieval period, the reformations did not remove the impetus to travel. During the seventeenth century pilgrimage declined but was never completely eradicated, particularly in places where the saints, shrines or holy wells held strong social or cultural significance. On-going pilgrimages were witnessed by seventeenth-century leisure travellers who expressed their individual and national identity through contempt for such recusant beliefs, as well as through commentary on other social, cultural and economic factors that represented alterity. The regal and parliamentary unions that bookend the seventeenth century fostered distinct anxieties which furthered travellers' creation of a sense of Otherness. The intellectual developments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries further defined tourists' engagement with northern Britain and allowed for the reassessment of pre-Reformation religious sites as representative of romantic and artistic sentiments that gave spiritual and intellectual meaning to the act of travel. By the end of the eighteenth century, former shrines were included on tourist itineraries along with other sites of historic, literary and artistic significance forming a veritable 'Romantic' pilgrimage that was both a continuation and re-imagination of the medieval practice.

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Abbreviations

APGAKS	Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland
BHO	"British History Online." University of London & History of Parliament Trust. 2013. Accessed 17/11/13. http://www.british-history.ac.uk.
CSPD	Calendar of State Papers Domestic
ODNB	"Oxford Dictionary of National Biography." Oxford University Press. 2004-13. Online Edition. Accessed 17/11/13. http://www.oxforddnb.com.
L&P Henry VIII	*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*. Volume 11. 1536. Ed. James Gairdner. Searchable Text Edition. Accessed 17/11/13. http://www.tannerritchie.com/memso.php.
NLS	National Library of Scotland
PG	Project Gutenberg. 3 June 2013. Accessed 17/11/13. http://www.gutenberg.org.
PMLA	Proceedings of the Modern Language Association
RHS	Royal Historical Society
SAS	"The Statistical Account of Scotland of 1791-99." EDINA, The University of Edinburgh. Online Edition. Accessed 17/11/13. http://edina.ac.uk/statacc-scot.
SSW	Julian Goodare, Lauren Martin, Joyce Miller and Louise Yeoman. "Survey of Scottish Witchcraft." The University of Edinburgh. January 2003. Accessed 17/11/13. http://www-staging.shca.ed.ac.uk/Research/witches.
VBTT	"A Vision of Britain Through Time." Great Britain Historical GIS Project. University of Portsmouth, 2004. Accessed 17/11/13. http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/travellers/index.jsp.

Note on transcriptions and quotations

Original spellings, punctuation, grammar and language have been preserved wherever possible. Changes to original text or where original text was unclear or illegible have been marked in square brackets or marked in the footnotes.

Maps and Tables

All Maps and Charts designed and formatted by Carl Alexander Ramberg Nordal.

Travellers' Itineraries, c.1500-1800

Name	Nationality	Gender	Date	Entered at	Route
Leland, John	English	M	1538	Carlisle	N/A
Moryson, Fynes	English	M	1598	Berwick	Short Tour
Weldon, Sir Anthony	English	M	1617	N/A	N/A
Jonson, Ben	English	M	1618	Berwick	N/A
Franck, Richard	English	M	1656	Dumfries	Long Tour
Ray, John	English	M	1662	Berwick	Short Tour
Brome, James	English	M	1669	Berwick	Short Tour
Kirke, Thomas	English	M	1679	Berwick	N/A
Thoresby, Ralph	English	M	1681	Berwick	Short Tour
Morer, Thomas	English	M	1689	N/A	N/A
Martin, Martin	Scottish	M	1697	N/A	Highlands/Islands
Fiennes, Celia	English	F	1698	Carlisle	Incomplete
Taylor, Joseph	English	M	1705/6	Berwick	Short Tour
Defoe, Daniel	English	M	1720	Berwick	Short Tour
Macky, John	Scottish	M	1720	Berwick	Short Tour
Burt, Edmund	Scottish	M	1730	N/A	Long Tour
Pococke, Richard	English	M	1747/50/60	Berwick	Long Tour
Ray, James	English	M	1747	Berwick	Long Tour
Pennant, Thomas	Welsh	M	1769	Berwick	Long Tour
Mackenzie, Henry	Scottish	M	1770	Berwick	N/A
Pennant, Thomas	Welsh	M	1772	Carlisle	Long Tour
Johnson, Samuel	English	M	1773	N/A	Long Tour/H&I
Boswell, James	Scottish	M	1773	N/A	Long Tour/H&I
Topham, Edward	English	M	1774	Dalkeith	N/A
Gilpin, William	English	M	1776	Carlisle	Short Tour
Cordiner, Charles	Scottish	M	1776	N/A	N/A
Hanway, Mary Ann	English	F	1777	Gretna Green	Short Tour
Buchanan, John Lane	Scottish	M	1782-1790	N/A	Highlands/Islands
Anderson, James	Scottish	M	1785	N/A	Highlands/Islands
Sullivan, Sir Richard Joseph	Irish	M	1785	N/A	N/A
Dawson, Eliza	English	F	1786	Berwick	Short Tour
Thornton, Thomas	English	M	1786	Berwick	Long Tour
Knox, John	Scottish	M	1786	N/A	Short Tour
Rochefoucauld, Alexander de La	French	M	1786	Berwick	Long Tour
Skrine, Henry	English	M	1787/93	Gretna Green	Long Tour
Shaw, Stebbing	English	M	1787	Wigton	Short Tour
Annonymous	English	F	1790	Carlisle	Short Tour
Heron, Robert	Scottish	M	1791	N/A	Long Tour
Lettice, John	English	M	1792	Gretna Green	Long Tour
Murray, Sarah	English	F	1796	Carlisle	Long Tour
Walker, Patrick	N/A	M	1798	N/A	Short Tour
Hill, Rowland	English	M	1798	Carlisle	Short Tour
Garnett, Thomas	English	M	1798	N/A	Highlands/Islands
Cruttwell, Clement	English	M	1801	Berwick	Short Tour
Bristed, John	Irish?	M	1801	N/A	Highlands/Islands
Campbell, Alexander	Scottish	M	1802	N/A	Long Tour
Silliman, Benjamin	American	M	1805/06	Berwick	Short Tour
Spiker, Dr. Samuel H	German	M	1816	Berwick	Short Tour

Introduction

Overview

This study is the inevitable conclusion of nearly a decade of academic study – a decade spent studying voyage myths of the ancient Celts and Irish monks, the influence of Scottish poetry on German Romantic music, conversion symbolism in Welsh mythology, the Victorian re-imagination of medieval festivals, female travel writers in Scotland, Welsh church history, the origins of Western Christianity, and the transnational exchange of information during the Reformation. Although it seems a rather round-about way to get to a Ph.D. thesis on early modern travel in Northern Britain, it is easy to trace both the development of an interest in this subject and the way in which the questions that form the foundation of this study have been formulated. Many of the questions posed by this study were the same questions that formed the basis for earlier research. Why is it that travel narratives, even from the ancient world, seem to conform to similar patterns and tropes? Is it because travel is a means of fulfilling a basic human need; that the journey, rather than the destination is the goal? Can reformation happen spontaneously and immediately, or will the resulting reformed belief system inevitably borrow and reimagine elements of its predecessor? Does the act of travel, and the impressions gained of the destination, reflect more upon the traveller than the observed society? This study, which is essentially a regional case study of the northern half of the British Isles, aims to answer all of the abovementioned questions. These questions will also serve to further clarify the main thesis of this study – that the advent of the reformations in England and Scotland had a profound influence on the tradition of pilgrimage, but that pilgrimage was not completely eradicated and instead was reimagined throughout the early modern period until it coalesced in the late eighteenth century as a fully realised entity that was entirely different from medieval pilgrimage, yet somehow still very much the same.

There has been much discussion regarding development of religious reform in Britain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Claims of "long" and "short" reformations, reform from "above" and "below" and studies that expand the reformative period to include the post-Civil War era and even the long eighteenth century seek to define the nature of the Reformation in Britain and to find a definitive answer to the question of its origins. Scholars dissatisfied with the stark choice of choosing such absolutes have sought to reinterpret the English Reformation in the light of later twentieth-century methodological approaches and the merging of scholarly disciplines. These developments have led to a broader understanding of the English Reformation which, though still debated, has begun to settle into an uneasy history of rebellion, acceptance, conformity and innovation which was rapidly instigated but slowly and organically established. This study operates with this model in mind and will not seek, therefore, to reassess the course of the English Reformation. Additionally the geographic scope focuses upon northern Britain, and Scotland in particular, but the

course of the Scottish Reformation and the development of the kirk is of interest only as a means of examining specific elements of worship that were eliminated or preserved. Few of the primary sources for this study offer any sense of Scottish perceptions or opinions, outside that of hearsay, regarding the religious changes wrought between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Indeed, the travel accounts from the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries considered here are almost exclusively English or non-Scottish and, therefore, offer little clarity on the subject of internal Scottish confessional issues. Instead, this study will: examine change in travellers' perceptions and dialogue over time and explore how this change can be assessed in the light of on-going debates surrounding the course of the Reformation; investigate self and national identity during a period when neither had been firmly defined; and assess the social and cultural links between religious travel, or pilgrimage, in the late medieval period and the development of Romantic tourism in the eighteenth century. The scope of this study is grand and spans nearly three centuries: however, because the overarching concern is change, each century will be approached as a case-study demonstrating the shifting trends and concerns of travellers.

The Journey

Scotland and northern Britain offer an interesting and enlightened view of the questions formulated above. For both the late medieval pilgrim and the early modern tourist, the journey was indeed a significant, if not essential element in the experience. Diana Webb asserts that pilgrimage is a "deep-seated human tendency" while Peter Yeoman, who calls medieval life "a journey to save the immortal soul," attests that pilgrimage was "a specific means of making a real and difficult journey to achieve [salvation]."[1] That being said, pilgrimage need not have been the grand undertaking that a journey from Edinburgh to Rome or Jerusalem would have entailed. This does not mean that the traditional view of medieval pilgrimage – that of the weary traveller, in tattered robes, begging for alms – is to be discounted. Many medieval devotees did complete incredible journeys of thousands of miles and, as Yeoman asserts, medieval Christians believed that "for a pilgrimage to be acceptable in the eyes of God it had to involve extreme distance, along with the associated hardships of travel…the journey was essential."[2] In some respects, the difficulty of the journey and the extremity of personal sacrifice were thought to yield greater spiritual rewards but, Webb argues, "it was unlikely that a pilgrim would go to Jerusalem to seek a cure for a sore throat or a solution to some mundane problem."[3] Long-distance pilgrimages were reserved for much more extensive spiritual needs, and the landscape of medieval Europe was peppered with small, often unofficial shrines to local saints whose patronage

[1] Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage: c. 700-c.1500*, (Basingstoke, 2002), viii; Peter Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland*, (London, 1999), 11-13.
[2] Ibid, 38.
[3] Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage*, xiii.

could be sought for problems in daily life. Indeed, as the history of the Reformation demonstrates, one of the main tenets of medieval faith was belief in saints and their cults, and one of the first targets of the reformers were the shrines, wells and relics that had served as local centres of veneration and pilgrimage.

The grand pilgrimages to Rome, Santiago de Compostela, Jerusalem and the like would have required extensive planning and infrastructure but, in many cases, pilgrimages were spontaneous or at least part of a regular pattern of personal devotion indicating that, while it was the destination that mattered, it was more frequently the act of pilgrimage that served to ameliorate the sin or illness in question.[4] Take for instance the early traveller to Scotland, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who later became Pope Pius II (1458-1464). Piccolomini's journey through Scotland was a diplomatic one, but his sea journey to the northern reaches of the British Isles proved so life-threatening as to inspire the future pope to bargain with God. While the two accounts depicting Piccolomini's journey to Scotland may disagree on key points regarding the future pope's mission, they both agree that Piccolomini promised to make a pilgrimage to the nearest shrine if he survived the journey.[5] His ship was wrecked off the coast of Scotland, but Piccolomini survived and consequently found himself, in December 1435, trudging through the snow to the chapel of Our Lady at Whitekirk, a journey of twelve kilometres which left him a permanent invalid, as he developed rheumatism in the cold.[6] This pilgrimage is an example of the way that for medieval Christians the journey itself was key to fulfilling the spiritual obligation. Similarly, in the later medieval period, pilgrimage was increasingly associated with the "growing belief in Purgatory," and pilgrimages became a common means of earning indulgences or performing penance in the hope of reducing or eliminating one's time spent suffering in the afterlife.[7] This application of pilgrimage was understandably more focused on the journey and as Diana Webb explains, was "commonly described in terms of so many days, weeks, months or years."[8] Indeed, while pilgrimage throughout the medieval period included specific and personal devotion to individual shrines or saints, the practice was clearly and popularly associated with the journey, as illustrated through Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*.[9]

[4] Diana Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, (London, 2000), xv-xvi.
[5] Hume Brown, ed., *Early Travellers in Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1978), 25.
[6] Ibid, 24; Yeoman, *Pilgrimage*, 51.
[7] Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, xv.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Complete Canterbury Tales* trans. Frank Ernest Hill (London, 2007), 8. Chaucer's collection of tales is unfinished, so it is difficult to say whether the anthology would have included any reference or description of the pilgrims' ultimate destination. Chaucer intended for each pilgrim to narrate two stories – one on the way to Beckett's shrine and one on the way back – but did not complete the collection before his death in 1400. The *Tales* are often cited as criticism of the impious nature of late medieval pilgrimage, but regardless of their tone they clearly demonstrate that the journey, and particularly its duration and experience, were a central focus for late medieval pilgrims.

This pattern of journey before destination is also visible in the travels of early-modern tourists in northern Britain. It is difficult to ascertain the actual mind-set of medieval travellers to northern Britain, because very few left personal accounts; however, the eighteenth century knows no such paucity, and there are many examples of published and unpublished journals and letters from this period. These travel accounts offer the historian direct access to the thoughts and observations of eighteenth-century travellers, and these demonstrate that many travellers from this period focused primarily on the journey rather than the destination. In nearly every journal encountered, the traveller offers an explanation as to the motivation of either the journey or the journal. Joseph Taylor, writing in the first decade of the eighteenth century explains that he had, of late, completed a "Journy through most partes of Kent….and being much diverted with the pleasure and satisfaction [he] received in it, [he] propos'd to make a longer Voyage through the Northern partes of England into Scotland."[10] Mary Ann Hanway, who completed a journey to Scotland in 1777, wrote that she had "resolved to travel rather critically than casually, rather to accommodate [her] friends with information than merely to gratify the greediness of vacant curiosity."[11] Eliza Dawson, later Fletcher, anticipated a great deal of pleasure from her journey and was "determin'd to set down every trifling circumstance that [afforded her] the least momentary entertainment" lest she ever forget the experience.[12] There are numerous examples like these and the diaries discussed below demonstrate, through exhaustive descriptions of the roads, scenery, villages and curiosities encountered by the traveler, that though these early modern travellers may have had an ultimate destination in mind – Edinburgh, the Western Isles, or simply the return to London – the experience and value of the excursion was always the journey itself.

Religious Change

For both late medieval pilgrims and early modern tourists, the journey was a critical part of the experience of travel, but this in itself is not a concrete link between medieval pilgrimage in northern Britain and the development of tourism in the same. However, the diaries and letters of eighteenth-century tourists demonstrate that though the journeys were undertaken as a leisurely diversion, the travellers expected landscapes and experiences that would benefit both their minds and bodies. Accounts from the seventeenth century demonstrate that the act of travelling by foot, if not the impetus itself, was still thought of in the terms of pilgrimage. In the summer of 1618, both Ben Jonson and John Taylor set out to walk to Scotland. While Jonson's account of his journey has been lost, William Drummond, a Scottish poet and pamphleteer, hosted Jonson during his 1618 journey to

[10] Joseph Taylor, *A Journey to Edenborough in Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1903), 9.
[11] Mary Ann Hanway, "A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland. With Occasional Remarks on Dr Johnson's Tour. By a Lady (1777)," in *Travel Writing, 1700-1830: An Anthology*, ed. Elizabeth A. Bohls (Oxford, 2005), 164.
[12] NLS, Acc. 12017, Eliza Dawson, *A Tour through part of England and Scotland, by Eliza Dawson in the Year 1786 (diary of a sixteen-year-old girl)*, by permission of Dr. & Mrs. Murphey, 1.

Scotland and his record of their conversations refers to Jonson's journey as a 'foot Pilgrimage."[13] Even more notably John Taylor, whose journey is often thought to have been prompted by Jonson's, emulated penitent pilgrims by travelling without money and titled his account "The Pennyless Pilgrimage."[14] Later in the seventeenth century James Brome, who travelled through England, Scotland and Wales on horseback, also compared his journey to a pilgrimage:

> [W]e resolved to undertake once more a Pilgrimage of a greater extent, than any we had done before; and the Vernal Season, which then began to attire the Country in all its bravery, did as mightily conduce to quicken our Resolutions in steering our Course….Hereupon equipping our selves, like provident Pilgrims, with all things requisite for so great a Journey, we set forward…[15]

Likewise, the similarities between the expectations of eighteenth-century tourists and the practice of pilgrimage have not gone entirely unnoticed. Roy Porter's survey of eighteenth-century English society notes that "the coach tour…came into vogue as a secularized pilgrimage," and David Ditchburn includes "proto-tourism" in his headings of motivations for late-medieval pilgrimage.[16] This study will argue that in northern Britain not only are there distinct thematic and spatial similarities between late-medieval pilgrimage and early modern tourism, but that the former was actually re-imagined and reformulated, albeit mostly subconsciously, into the latter, and that the development of tourism, particularly that which focused on the Romantic notion of the Picturesque and the Celtic pseudo-history of the region, was a continuation of the pre-Reformation practice of pilgrimage in secular guise. Indeed, this study will go so far as to suggest that the development of Romantic tourism in the latter half of the eighteenth century was the direct and rather logical continuation of the religious changes which began as the introduction of Protestant beliefs into Britain, and concluded with the advent of modernity.

Identity

Both the journey and its impetus can give the historian an interesting insight into the development of tourism in the early modern period and can help to show change over time in perceptions of both religious sites and travel in general. However, neither would be possible without the individual traveller and travel writing provided an outlet for personal expression and reflection, which in turn gives historians a unique perspective into the development of identity during the early modern period. Diaries and diary writing can be seen as an outgrowth of the "quest for individuality" and while the

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[13] Michael R. G. Spiller, "Drummond, William, of Hawthornden (1585–1649)," *ODNB*; David Laing, ed., *Notes of Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden* (London, 1842), 28.
[14] Hume Brown, *Early Travellers*, 105-107.
[15] James Brome, *Travels over England, Scotland, and Wales* (London, 1707), 108-09.
[16] Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, (Middlesex:, 1982), 246; David Ditchburn, "'Saints at the Door Don't Make Miracles'? The Contrasting Fortunes of Scottish Pilgrimage, c.1450-1550," in *Sixteenth-century Scotland: essays in honour of Michael Lynch*, eds. Julian Goodare, Alasdair A. MacDonald (Leiden, 2008), 72.

act of keeping a personal record certainly did not originate in the early modern period, it definitely flourished.[17] During this time travel diaries in particular became one of the most prolific forms of personal, amateur writing and by the end of the eighteenth century keeping a diary or journal of one's journey was almost a prerequisite, to the point that at least one of the travellers considered in this study employed a ghost-writer to document his tour.[18] While diaries as a historical source can be a rather contentious medium (Tom Webster laments that diaries are often "treated as an immature form of the autobiography") travel diaries from this period provide such a wealth of information as to become indispensable to the study of a range of subjects from the early modern period and have been crucial to this study.[19] The diaries examined in the course of this dissertation have revealed some remarkable patterns of observation and opinion regarding the changing nature of religious veneration during the two centuries following the onset of reformative action in the British Isles. More interestingly the diaries have revealed something unexpected; that is, the accounts provided by travellers who journeyed into northern Britain show that the patterns of travel and description not only demonstrate changing attitudes towards the remnants of traditional religion but also establish a link between these changing attitudes and the creation of distinct national identities and narratives. While the inclusion of identity-defining elements in personal travel diaries is hardly a revelation, it was surprising to find that they were expressed frequently as a dichotomy between self and the Other and that the ways in which diarists linguistically and ideologically separated themselves from their subjects were tied up in the changing views on religious sites and practices. In the seventeenth century these attitudes tended towards a general disdain by 'modern' travellers to the antiquated and uncivilised aspects of other societies they encountered and created a clear divide of positive self versus negative Other. In the eighteenth century, however, this relationship became more complicated as individual travellers began to embrace the "rational spirit of inquiry."[20] Creating alterity became not just a process of defining one's self, but ultimately about defining the Other. For travellers in the north of Britain, this Otherness was ultimately linked to both the literal and mythic past of the region, and remnants of that past became a way in which travellers could both experience something truly unique and, through the process of recording and disseminating that experience, separate and define themselves. In this way the diaries and journals of early modern travellers provided not just a survey of changing attitudes towards religion and culture over time, but an actual purpose for those changing attitudes and a concrete link between the function of pilgrimage in late medieval society and tourism in early modern Britain.

[17] Irina Paperno, "What can be done with diaries?" *Russian Review* Vol. 63, No. 4 (Oct. 2004), 563.
[18] Ibid, 563. The ghost-written diary will be discussed in more detail in Chapter IV.
[19] Tom Webster, "Writing to Redundancy: Approaches to Spiritual Journals and Early Modern Spirituality," *The Historical Journal* Vol. 39 No. 1 (Mar. 1996), 34.
[20] Burton Feldman and Robert D. Richardson, *The Rise of Modern Mythology, 1680-1860* (London, 1972), xx.

Methodology

Irina Paperno asserts that it is "a common opinion that scholars do not know what to *do* with diaries."[21] While the use of diaries for this study was clear from its inception, one of the primary challenges of using diaries as primary source material is the tendency for such studies to devolve into literary criticism. While literary scholars have established that diaries have "an aesthetic value and function, becoming works of literature," it is becoming increasingly apparent that "historians have something to contribute to the literary study of writing about self."[22] This study, based on a survey of more than three dozen travel diaries, journals or accounts, frequently branches into the realm of literary criticism as the style, point of view and techniques used by the diarists are particularly revealing and offer an insight into their understanding and perceptions. Indeed, as Nicole Chareyron notes in the opening chapter to her comprehensive study of late-medieval accounts of pilgrimage to Jerusalem, travel writing lies "at the confluence of several types of discourse" and this study is a deliberate attempt to bridge the gap between literary criticism and historical research.[23] To that end, this study has employed two specific methods of historical analysis. The first, the study of popular culture, was pioneered in the latter half of the twentieth century and sought to approach historical events and periods from the perspective of the common (and in the medieval and early modern period, mainly illiterate) people who participated in what Peter Burke describes as the "unofficial culture, the culture of the non-elite."[24] In the context of travel history, this first methodology may seem counterintuitive, for though leisure travel during the medieval and early modern periods was not entirely exclusive, in many ways it was restricted to an upper echelon of society. Nonetheless, further examination reveals that the methodology and perspective of cultural history is particularly applicable to this study. Medieval people travelled for a variety of reasons – political, economic, social, military and religious. Religious travel in the form of pilgrimage will be the main type of travel examined in the medieval portion of this study and, although in general travel was arduous, expensive and often times dangerous, there is much evidence to suggest even the poor attempted, and completed, long-distance pilgrimages.[25] Medieval pilgrimage had its roots in popular religion and can most definitely be viewed through the lens of popular culture. Likewise, pilgrimage sites such as shrines, wells and relics were one of the first aspects of the established religion to be attacked by the actions of reformers in the sixteenth century, and these elements in many ways fall into the category of 'popular culture.' Indeed, while some pilgrimage sites were so prestigious as to attract international patronage, most of the sites in northern Britain catered mainly to local penitents.

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[21] Paperno, "What can be done?" 565.
[22] Ibid, 564; Webster, "Writing to Redundancy," 34.
[23] Nicole Chareyron, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages* trans. W. Donald Wilson (New York, 2005), 7.
[24] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 1978), i.
[25] See Chareyron, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, 3; J. Stopford, "Some Approaches to the Archaeology of Christian Pilgrimage," *World Archaeology*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (Jun. 1994), 62; Yeoman, *Pilgrimage*, 110.

One of the main arguments of this study, which will be examined in more detail later, is that the impetus for pilgrimage – to travel for spiritual salvation and healing – was re-imagined and re-invented once the belief in saints and relics was made obsolete by the progress of the Reformation. The re-invention of pilgrimage took on the guise of leisure travel but, as will be demonstrated by this study, was still in many ways spiritual in nature. The motivation for such travel was driven in large part by popular culture, which by the eighteenth century had ceased to be exclusively the culture of the "'subordinate classes'" and was actually becoming the focus of intellectual and cultural approbation by the middling and intellectual elites who were still, at this stage, the primary participants in leisure travel.[26] Finally, like Burke's seminal study, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, this study, through necessity, will employ methodologies and disciplines out with the traditionally historical framework. Literary criticism, anthropology, psychology, folk lore and archaeology all offer insights into the study of travel, and, in the case of this study, prove invaluable in establishing a link between the practice, understanding and impetus of the medieval pilgrim and that of the eighteenth-century tourist. The practice of eighteenth-century tourism is, in almost all respects, completely different from medieval pilgrimage, except in one important, indeed all-encompassing aspect: the perspectives of the travellers. And, as fate would have it, even those travellers were, for the most part, completely unaware that they were continuing a tradition that had its roots in the very nature of the human psyche.

The second methodology employed for this study is also a more recent and rather innovative one – the field of spatial history. Though spatial history often focuses on the application of Geographic Information Systems (GIS), there has been a great deal of research in the past few decades that dismisses more traditional sources and focuses instead on the 'spaces' of history. The 'spatial turn', as this methodological development is sometimes called, is often applied to transnational and comparative studies.[27] Additionally architecture and art history play into this methodology, allowing spatial history to move beyond the physical history of buildings and spaces, and consider instead the understanding of the space. This methodological perspective recognizes that "space, place and location are crucial determining factors in any historical study" and spatial history is particularly useful to the study at hand, particularly in the medieval portion of the study.[28] Travellers of the eighteenth century produced vast quantities of written documentation referring to their travels

[26] Burke, *Popular Culture*, i.
[27] David J. Bodenhamer, John Corrigan and Trevor M. Harris, *The Spatial Humanities: GIS and the Future of Humanities Scholarship*, (Bloomington, 2010), vii; Charles W. J. Withers, "Place and the 'Spatial Turn' in Geography and in History," *Journal of the History of Ideas* Vol. 70, No. 4 (Oct. 2009), 638; Charles W.J. Withers, *Placing the Enlightenment: Thinking Geographically about the Age of Reason* (Chicago, 2007).
[28] Stuart Elden, *Mapping the Present: Heidegger, Foucault and the Project of Spatial History* (London, 2001), 3. See also Alan R.H. Baker, *Geography and History: Bridging the Divide* (Cambridge, 2003); Bodenhamer, et al., *The Spatial Humanities*; Anne Kelly Knowles and Amy Hillier, eds., *Placing History: How Maps, Spatial Data, and GIS are Changing Historical Scholarship* (New York, 2008); Alexander von Lünen and Charles Travis, eds., *History and GIS: Epistemologies, Considerations and Reflections* (London, 2012).

and letters, diaries, sketches, maps and travel guides abound from the latter half of the eighteenth century. However, their medieval counterparts were not nearly so obliging and, in order to understand and interpret their travels, the historian must infer information from more obscure sources. The methodology of spatial history offers an understanding of these sources because it allows the historian to gain an appreciation of both the purpose and the experience of a space. Standard architectural history might allow one to understand how a specific space was constructed, when and what its intended use was; spatial history takes the analysis further and examines how a space was understood by its various participants and what the spaces actually meant. In the context of the history of the Reformation, Will Coster and Andrew Spicer have made a convincing argument for the re-examination of this period from a spatial perspective, particularly as that perspective can be applied to the concept of sacred space. As it applies to the Reformation, "[s]pace is…much more than a physical issue…[it] is not purely architectural utilisation of space, but what that can tell us about the *mentalité* of the people of Reformation Europe."[29]

This concept is particularly applicable to the history of travel during the Reformation as pilgrimage was an action which involved both architectural and spiritual space. Buildings and infrastructure were created to accommodate, support and encourage pilgrimage, but their meaning was determined by the experience of the pilgrims themselves.[30] Likewise, the Reformation, which in many ways targeted concrete spaces, such as cathedrals, parish churches, monasteries and shrines, physically and intellectually altered the way those spaces were experienced. As mentioned before, medieval pilgrims left few written accounts of their experiences and a spatial history examination of sacred sites is one of the ways in which their experiences can be inferred. Likewise, changes in the understanding and use of sacred spaces can help to demonstrate the impact of the Reformation on pilgrimage.

Additionally, the long-term impact of the Reformation and the links between pilgrimage and eighteenth-century tourism can be charted through changes in attitudes towards sacred space. This will be examined in detail later, but can be summed up as follows. In the pre-Reformation British Isles people experienced the divine through sacred spaces that had been designed and designated as such. The Reformation declared those sites (cathedrals, shrines, and holy wells) to be profane or irrelevant, and the material culture of those sites (statues, relics, altars and stained glass) was removed. The Reformation did not alter the religious beliefs of the people overnight but many of the tenets of reformed Christianity, as well as social and intellectual developments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, led to a world-view that was vastly different from that of the medieval period.

[29] Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, "Introduction: the dimensions of sacred space in Reformation Europe," in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge, 2005), 1.
[30] Stopford, "Archaeology of Christian Pilgrimage," 60.

The reformations, which placed great emphasis on the ability of the individual to access a personal relationship with the divine, also helped to encourage changes in society and education that allowed for greater autonomy and self-evaluation, changes that eventually resolved themselves in the Enlightenment. Of course it can be argued that the Enlightenment was a reaction to the religious and political extremes of the seventeenth century, but one must also consider that the Enlightenment may never have come to fruition had it not been for the social and intellectual changes wrought by the Reformation. Indeed, it was the very nature of the Reformation, as Bertrand Russell asserts, that made it impossible for the reformed religion to establish or maintain the kind of dogmatic hold over the populace that the Roman Catholic Church had sustained for centuries.[31]

Primary Source Selection

Diaries as sources for historical research are tantalizing objects, particularly because their contents are often applicable to a variety of subjects. Diaries as source material can also prove complex and awkward, in part because their form and purpose are often as individual as their authors. Travel diaries for instance can appear relatively prescribed but closer examination reveals that when itineraries, experiences and even descriptions were repeated, the travellers could and manifestly intended to, maintain an individual experience. This means, as Irina Paperno states, that historians working with diaries are generally working "with specific individuals," which obviously has an impact on the scope of a study.[32] Additionally, diaries are definitely partial, and while their contents provide a contemporary record of the various times and places visited by the travellers, the historian must always be aware of the voice, intentions, and background of the diarist. Nevertheless, for the purpose of this study the limitations and biases of diaries, and travel diaries in particular, have proved particularly useful. Travel diaries serve as a window into the social and cultural links between late medieval pilgrimage and early modern travel precisely because they are very personal accounts. While eighteenth- century travellers may have been unconscious of the patterns they were replicating, their experiences and language demonstrate continuities. Because of this the selection of diaries featured in this study was based on several key features. There are several prominent and almost canonical travellers from the early modern period whose diaries have both shaped and defined travel to the north in the early modern period and the modern study of travel literature as a specific genre. These travellers – Martin Martin, Celia Fiennes, Daniel Defoe, Samuel Johnson, James Boswell and Thomas Pennant – were obvious and necessary choices, but fame or popularity was not an essential component to the selection of diaries. Indeed, some of the more obscure travellers were just as thorough and engaging as their more celebrated counterparts and a traveller's description and itinerary

[31] Bertrand Russell, *History of Western Philosophy*, (London, 2004), 482. See Chapter I.
[32] Paperno, "What can be done?" 563.

were more important to the selection of sources than his or her status. For instance, Celia Fiennes is possibly one of the most celebrated early modern female travel writers and her description of the Scottish portion of her journey is an important addition to any study of English perceptions of Scotland in the seventeenth century. However, Fiennes' journey north of Carlisle was disappointingly short and her description limited to highly prejudicial criticism of the border region of Scotland.[33] Fiennes' diary is significant, but her contribution is outdone by the relatively unknown Joseph Taylor, a young lawyer who does not even feature in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB). Taylor completed his journey to Scotland only a few years after Fiennes, and though he entered Scotland at Berwick instead of Carlisle, their itineraries are relatively similar in scope.[34] Taylor's description might be considered equally prejudicial to Fiennes' but offers a great deal more in description and analysis and, therefore, is a significantly more important source for this study.

Most of the sources, then, were chosen for content rather than the assumed quality that fame and continuous publication imply. While some individual diaries are found only in manuscript form, many travel diaries were published (either vainly by the diarist during his or her lifetime or posthumously by a scholar or transcriber) shortly after the travellers' journeys. Many of these seventeenth and eighteenth-century publications are no longer in print, but efforts have been made in recent years to scan or digitize such volumes that are in the public domain, and many are now available to view in their entirety online. This online access makes obscure sources more easily comparable, but non-digitized accounts were certainly not excluded; likewise, several prominent and more obscure sources exist in various forms, both physically and digitally, and it was often useful to consult multiple copies, editions and/or versions of the same diary for clarity, a step that was further facilitated by online access to diaries and journals.[35] In short, manuscripts and published diaries that

[33] Richard Pococke, *Tours in Scotland, 1747, 1750, 1760* ed. Daniel William Kemp (Edinburgh, 1887) is another such example. It is certainly important to refer to Pococke for the sake of comparison, but while his account is thorough and detailed, *Tours in Scotland* is more a catalogue of the antiquities and sites of the northern tour than a record of a traveller's social, emotional or cultural engagement with them. As Ronald Hutton noted regarding the wealth of published references to Druids from the eighteenth century, the historian must "[confine himself] to discussions…in which any significant opinions were aired" (Ronald Hutton, *Blood and Mistletoe: The History of the Druids in Britain* [New Haven, 2009], xi).

[34] Fiennes intended to travel as far as Edinburgh, but was deterred by her perceptions of the available hospitality; Taylor travelled as far north as Leith but the majority of his Scottish itinerary, like Fiennes' was limited to the Borders.

[35] The Google Books Project (books.google.com/books) and partnership with various national and university libraries has been invaluable for access to out-of-print or rare seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century books, as have Project Gutenberg (www.gutenberg.org) and Early English Books Online (eebo.chadwyck.com/home). There are also several subject-specific databases available that include access to both published and unpublished sources. For travel diaries, maps and other geographical data, see the University of Portsmouth's *A Vision of Britain through Time* (www.visionofbritain.org.uk). For online, searchable access to *The Statistical Accounts of Scotland 1791-1845*, see the University of Edinburgh's *The Statistical Accounts of Scotland Online 1791-1845* (edina.ac.uk/stat-acc-scot). For Scottish witchcraft see Julian Goodare, Lauren Martin, Joyce Miller and Louise Yeoman, 'The Survey of Scottish Witchcraft', (www.shca.ed.ac.uk/witches). For broadside ballads see the University of California's *English Broadside*

dealt with travel in northern Britain were rarely excluded, except when their contents were so cursory or banal as to provide no additional information to the subject at hand.[36]

There has been some recent scholarship regarding travel and society during the early modern period and, while travel diaries are the most prevalent source for evidence of travel trends, there are a variety of types that offer valuable insight into attitudes towards and patterns within early modern travel. Advice books (a genre popular throughout the early modern period), frequently directed at sons and less often at daughters, often included sections detailing the benefits and pitfalls of travel. The years between the English Reformation and the beginning of the nineteenth century saw the development, promotion, and perfection of the Grand Tour, which originated "as a finishing school for young aristocrats…under the Tudors." [37] Advice books, like Sir Francis Osborn's mid-seventeenth century *Advice to a Son*, show the value placed on travel as an educational tour, but also highlight the perceived hazards and dangers to young people travelling abroad. Osborn opens the chapter on travel by warning his son (and readers) that though travel has been lauded as "*the best Accomplisher of Youth and Gentry*" it is actually "*the greatest Debaucher*; adding Affection to Folly, and Atheism to the Curiosity of many not well principled by Education."[38] Osborn's chapter on travel is particularly focused on the traveller's interaction with continental religious practices: "Enter no farther into *Foreign Churches* than the hand of your own Religion and Conscience leads you," he warns and "Eschew *the company* of all *English* you find in *Orders.*"[39] Some of Osborn's advice regarding travel and religion reflects on the way in which travellers through Britain responded to remnants of pre-Reformation religious practices. "Pity, rather than spurn at those you see prostrate before a *Crucifix*," Osborn instructs, a reaction that is reflected in Celia Fiennes' response to Catholic pilgrims at Holywell.[40] Osborn's *Advice* clearly indicates that for Protestant, English parents one of the greatest threats posed by the Grand Tour to young, impressionable travellers was that the "higher expressions of *Zeal* and *Austerity* [of Roman religion] may seem to discover some defects in [their] own; and so, displeased on all sides, [they] dash upon the Rock of Atheism."[41] However, the *Advice* is also full of more practical advice, of the sort that is still given to young travellers today. Osborn

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Ballad Archive (ebba.english.ucsb.edu). For seventeenth- and eighteenth-century letters and correspondence see Oxford University's *Electronic Enlightenment* (www.e-enlightenment.com).

[36] For instance, an unsigned manuscript held by the NLS, entitled *Journey in the Highlands, 1796*, would have provided an excellent comparison to the other late eighteenth-century journeys but the diary was rather perfunctory and merely outlined stages and miles, rather than providing any detailed description, observations or even personal commentary.

[37] Bohls, *Travel Writing*, xx.

[38] Francis Osborn, *The Works of Francis Osborn Esq; Divine, Historical, Moral, Political. In Four Several Tracts* (London, 1689), 44. See also Sara Warneke, *Images of the Education Traveller in Early Modern England* (Leiden, 1995).

[39] Ibid, 51. Italics are Osborn's.

[40] Ibid, 50. See Chapter I.

[41] Ibid, 51. Despite this passage, Osborn's "tone of worldliness" in the *Advice* reinforced his "reputation for atheism" (Marie C. Henson, "Osborne, Francis (1593–1659),"*ODNB.* For Celia Fiennes' reaction to pilgrims, see Chapter I.

warns his son not to enter into disputes, especially regarding religion, advising instead that he should "mould [his] Arguments rather into Queries…[as it is] *more the business of Travellers, to Learn than Teach*."[42] He also cautions his son regarding practical matters and advises against carrying large sums of money, trusting strangers, and accepting accommodations in inns.[43] Finally, the chapter highlights one of the most pressing concerns regarding young travellers abroad: the moral corruption of upstanding English gentlemen by the "*Levity* of *France*, *Pride* of *Spain*, and *Treachery* of *Italy*."[44] The *Advice* warns against gambling ("play") and "*Quarrels*" but is most concerned with sexual licentiousness and cautions the young man against "giving or receiving *Favours from Women*" or making the "*Promise of Marriage* a Baud to your *Lust*."[45] Interestingly, though Osborn is very explicit regarding the dangers of associating with "*mercenary Women*," he also feels it necessary to advise "handsom, young and beardless" men travelling through Italy that they "may need as much caution and circumspection, to protect [themselves] from the *Lusts of Men*, as the Charms of Women."[46] Despite all these concerns and warnings, Osborn does see some value in travel as a means of advancing "*Opinion in the World*," avoiding military service in England and learning languages, particularly French, which "is most useful."[47]

Indeed, while Osborn was "not much unwilling to give way to peregrine motion for a time," continental travel was also very expensive and the financial resources necessary, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were prohibitive to a "large number of English youth from respectable families."[48] Osborn also felt that continental travel was only beneficial to those who were "well fraught with the Experience of what their own Country affords."[49] Likewise in the latter part of the long eighteenth century political and social pressures on the continent led to an increase in tourism in Britain: what became known as domestic tourism or the Home Tour. The increase in leisure travel during this period is reflected in an abundance of personal travel accounts, both professional and amateur. This study will focus in large part on the transition between pilgrimage and tourism, on the reinvention of travel, not as penitence or profit but as pleasure. Furthermore, a survey of the expressed attitudes of diarists from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries indicates this shift, particularly where the individual nature of journal writing gives clear insight into the secondary theme of this study: identity. Paperno noted that diaries "flourished in the ages and cultures concerned with the individual" and cites Alain Corbin's assertion that late eighteenth-century diaries indicate that the

[42] Osborn, *Works of Francis Osborn*, 46.
[43] Ibid, 55.
[44] Ibid, 44.
[45] Ibid, 52-53.
[46] Ibid, 54.
[47] Ibid, 44, 55.
[48] Ibid, 45; Margaret Hunt, "Racism, Imperialism, and the Traveler's Gaze in Eighteenth-Century England," *Journal of British Studies* Vol. 32, No. 4 (Oct. 1993), 333.
[49] Osborn, *Works of Francis Osborn*, 44.

concept of self was inherently tied to the period's scientific and philosophical reasoning, an examination of which will be found in Chapter III.[50] Analysis of the diaries considered in this study will show that eighteenth-century travellers were generally well-versed in the literature and philosophy of their time, as well as the canon of classical and ancient literature that were the standards of early modern education. However, travellers' reading was not limited to Kant and Cicero and the diaries are full of references to the many contemporary travel accounts, both fictional and non-fictional. Indeed, the period is marked not only by the proliferation of individual travel diaries but also by the publication and popularity of fictional voyage and travel novels. Daniel Defoe, who travelled extensively in Scotland and published a three-volume non-fiction account of his travels in Britain is ultimately most famous for his fictional travel-adventure novel, *Robinson Crusoe*.[51] Notably, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, the genre of travel literature had become so standard as to be lambasted by the famous satirist, Jonathan Swift. Swift's novel published in 1726, *Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World, in Four Parts* (commonly known as *Gulliver's Travels*), cleverly parodied the travel writings of the day.[52]

Secondary Source Analysis

It is interesting to note that both *Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver's Travels* were initially published as if written by the respective title characters; indeed, Defoe deliberately manipulated the press and publication of *Robinson Crusoe* to create the illusion that the narrative was based on reality in order to capitalise on the popularity of travelogues (and promote his own political agendas).[53] Throughout the early modern period and into the present, travel narratives have maintained a complicated literary relationship with fiction and it is not surprising to find that a great deal of the current research in the field of travel writing has been approached as literary criticism. In many studies of travel writing from the early modern period, fictional and non-fictional accounts are viewed almost interchangeably. For instance John Glendening's late twentieth-century study entitled, *The High Road: Romantic Tourism, Scotland and Literature, 1720-1820* sought to establish "the historical and ideological context of works about touring in Scotland" but of the seven specific travel narratives used to explore the concepts of "tourism, romanticism, Scotland, and identity" two are entirely fictional and two others

[50] Paperno, "What can be done?" 563.
[51] Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe: The Life and strange surprising adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York, Mariner: Who lived Eight and Twenty Years, all alone in an un-inhabited Island on the Coast of* America, *near the Mouth of the Great River of* Oroonoque*; Having been cast on Shore by Shipwreck, wherein all the Men perished but himself.* With *An Account how he was at last as strangely deliver'd by* Pyrates, *Written by Himself* (London, 1719).
[52] Jonathan Swift, *Travels into several Remote Nations of the World. In Four Parts. By Lemuel Gulliver, first a* Surgeon, *and then a* Captain *of several* Ships, Vol. I (London, 1726).
[53] Paula R. Backscheider, "Defoe, Daniel (1660?–1731)," *ODNB.*

are largely poetic.[54] The use of fictional sources alongside actual travel accounts in a historiographical study demonstrates that travelogues occupy a singularly indeterminate genre and pose unique challenges for historians and literary critics alike. Glendening's study argues that eighteenth-century travel writing, whether factual or fictional, can serve as a representative model of the social changes implicit within the emergence of modernity and states that each change, "from the upper to the middle class, the foreign to the domestic, the impersonal to the subjective, the conventional to the quasi-adventurous, the instructional to the pleasurable, the vocational to the recreational, and the practical and concrete to the intangibly 'authentic'" are all "clearly demonstrable by any selection" of eighteenth-century travel writing.[55] This is precisely the stance taken by the current study, though where Glendening's sources are limited to well-known and established figures of eighteenth and nineteenth century literature, the sentiment that 'any selection' will confirm the social and cultural transition is borne out a survey of a variety of travellers, whose literary accomplishments run the gamut from professional to amateur, and even fraudulent. *The High Road* is an engaging and informative study of the Romantic elements of Scottish tourism in the eighteenth century, and touches on many of the important historical factors surrounding the rise of tourism in Scotland, including the inherent change in English perceptions of Scotland following the Union of 1707 which, Glendening accurately notes, was the "definitive event behind [Daniel Defoe's *Account and Description of Scotland*]."[56] However, *The High Road* is, ultimately, also a critical assessment of literature, supported by historical analysis and Glendening focuses his chapters on each individual travel writer, seeking to understand the literature by "isolating text from subtext, narrator from author, personality from identity, and civilization from its discontents."[57] This approach indicates some of the limitations of a critical approach to travel literature in a historical study. In contrast, the current study intends to examine early modern travel literature not only within the context of a specific literary genre, but to also understand each travelogue as a product both of the individual writer's experiences and the larger scope of intellectual, artistic, political and social developments of the period.

Perspectives on Travel Writing, a collection of essays compiled and edited by Glenn Hooper and Tim Young, is another study that addresses many of the popular themes in travel writing – from the concept of Otherness to the link between gender, travel and travel writing. Again most of the contributors to this volume favour literary criticism in their approach, though the collection offers an interesting look into the various tropes and concerns facing the study of travel writing. The collection serves as a model for this sort of study and highlights "some of the advantages to be gained from

[54] John Glendening, *The High Road: Romantic Tourism, Scotland and Literature, 1720-1820* (New York, 1997), 2.
[55] Ibid, 6.
[56] Ibid, 54.
[57] Ibid.

interrogating the generalizations made about Europe and its various Others."[58] Helga Quadflieg's essay on travel writing and self is prefaced by the concept that the Tudor and Stuart period was marked by a change in perception regarding the world and the individual's place therein, which can be demonstrated through a chronological analysis of accounts produced throughout the early modern period.[59] More importantly, Quadflieg highlights the clear link between religion, Otherness and identity during this period, as well as the destabilization and diversification of Christian belief following the reforms of the sixteenth century, which the study at hand carries further forward into an investigation of travel and travel writing in the long eighteenth century. Similarly, Betty Hagglund's essay, which explores the journeys of Anne Grant, begins to address some of the major concerns of the present study: specifically, the link between the Enlightenment, Ossian, and Picturesque tourism.[60] Hagglund explains that James Macpherson's publication of the Ossian poetry "provided non-Highland readers of the poems with new ways of seeing and representing the Scottish landscape" and the investigation of Anne Grant's accounts demonstrates how travelogues of this period can be used to explain "some of the motivation behind the fascination for the Home Tour."[61] In short *Perspectives* takes a far greater geographical scope than the subject at hand and uses individual locations such as Scotland as case studies to establish a greater understanding of the "geo-political parameters" underpinning the construction of Europe as a distinct entity and the cross-disciplinary methodologies appropriate for such studies, making it useful and engaging model.

Similarly, Zoë Kinsley's recent study, *Women Writing the Home Tour: 1682-1812*, is perfectly centered on the period in question and is an excellent survey of extant "nonfictional [female-authored] home tour narratives in prose."[62] Like Hooper and Youngs' collection, Kinsley's study demonstrates the unique challenge presented by the source material for this subject and time period - is travel writing history or literature? Kinsley's has approached her study from a literary perspective, opening with an assessment of form and literary merits of travel writing that "stresses the importance of considering the formal and organizational strategies of travelers within the wider context of literary and philosophical debates upon the value and purpose of travel writing, and draws particular attention to the urgent need for a model of critical analysis which acknowledges the significance and complexity of scribal travel texts."[63] This perspective is particularly applicable to both the third and penultimate chapters of this dissertation, which will concentrate on the influence of various intellectual and artistic philosophies that provided some impetus for travel writing and observations.

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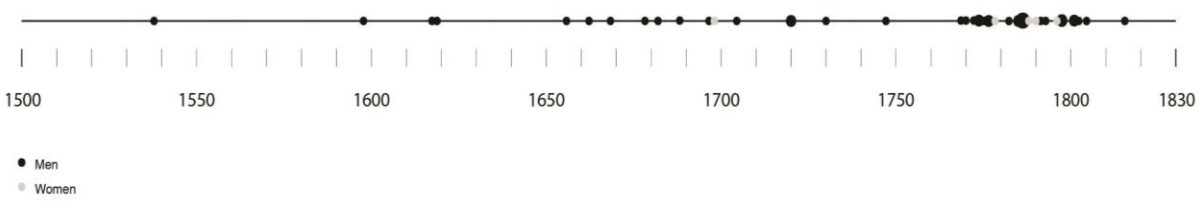
[58] Glenn Hooper and Tim Youngs, eds., *Perspectives on Travel Writing*, (Aldershot, 2004), 1.
[59] Helga Quadflieg, "'As mannerly and civill as any of Europe': Early modern Travel Writing and the Exploration of the English Self" in *Perspectives*, Hooper and Youngs, 28.
[60] Betty Hagglund, "'Not absolutely a native, nor entirely a stranger': The Journeys of Anne Grant," in *Perspectives*, Hooper and Youngs, 50.
[61] Hooper & Youngs, *Perspectives*, 6.
[62] Zoë Kinsley, *Women Writing the Home Tour: 1682-1812* (Aldershot, 2008), 10.
[63] Ibid, 13.

However, Kinsley's study is centred on a strong vein of consideration for gender and its representation in literature. Like Glendening, Kinsley's work is focused on establishing the intersection of the psychology of the travel writer and external social factors, with particular interest on the intersection between gender and other social concerns of the period, and Kinsley places her study within the school of gendered literary criticism. The current study stems from an earlier Masters thesis that focused on female travellers to Scotland and several chapters explore travellers' engagement with and commentary on gender in various contexts. However, while the gender of individual travelers or travellers' views on aspects of male and female roles portrayed in the travel writing could be understood through a gendered methodology, such a scope was considered too limited for the purpose of this study. While there is certainly merit in investigating the role of gender in creating identity or in analysing female or male participation in specific activities, a gendered focus can narrow the view to the degree of exclusion and the topic of change over time in travel needs to first be assessed from a wider angle. As will be shown, a traveller's experience may have been influenced by the expectations and allowances made for or because of his or her gender (there are several examples, for instance, of female travellers being accommodated in already full inns or boarding houses by removing men from occupied rooms) but gender does not appear to have been a particularly limiting factor to the types of experiences pursued nor the tone and sentiment portrayed in the accounts.[64] Additionally, though a survey of the texts included in this study will certainly suggest that men were far more prolific travellers than women (by nearly 10:1) there is little evidence to suggest that women were discouraged from the tour, except by the usual strictures of early modern society and this study confirms that women were increasingly active in the latter half of the eighteenth century.[65]

Figure 1: Concentration of Travellers, c.1500-1800



The current study, then, has deliberately avoided a gendered analysis, except in one specific instance – travellers' perceptions of northern British people, particularly women. While the gender of the individual travellers is of little consequence, their attitude and observation of Scottish people is

[64] As Kinsley quotes on in the introduction to *Women Writing the Home Tour*, Celia Fiennes considered a tour of the British Isle to be beneficial to both men and women, and put particular emphasis on it as a necessity for men, "[e]specially those that serve in parliament" (Kinsley, *Women Writing*, 1; Celia Fiennes, *Through England on a Side Saddle in the Time of William and Mary* [London, 1888], *VBTT*).
[65] See Figure 1.

particularly revealing and such sentiments were often focused on specific gendered issues, such as dress, appearance, work and behavior. However, where studies like Kinsley's utilise a gendered methodology to understand male or female participation within society, travellers' perceptions of Scottish men and women is more aptly accessed through an understanding of changing dynamics and patterns in socio-cultural intellectualism in early modern England and Scotland.

Change over time and patterned behaviour evident in travel literature of the early modern period is the primary focus of this project and therefore, despite the gendered focus, studies like Kinsley's are pertinent because they embrace a relatively wide scope which allows for a more comprehensive view of change and continuity.[66] Indeed, the primary shortcoming of all applicable secondary material in relation to this study has been the scope of the historiography. For instance the foundation for the examinations of patterns in itineraries, experiences and thematic sites is based on the hypothesis that the end result (Romantic tourism in the late eighteenth century) demonstrates a continuation of pre-Reformation pilgrimage practices; however, English and Scottish Reformation Studies rarely embrace the entire early-modern period as continuous.[67] Certainly, such a scope is provocative but it does not ignore established Reformation chronologies and there has been a move towards viewing the English Reformation as a long process which combined politics, policy and popular acceptance and this scope has been particularly applicable for assessing change and continuity in traditions and beliefs. Studies like Nicholas Tyacke's *England's Long Reformation: 1500-1800* are still the exception rather than the rule and have been the catalyst for the chronology of this study. In particular Tyacke's micro approach, which favored case-studies and regional investigations over grand theories and national consensus allows for a more thorough and inclusive examination of the impact and spread of the Reformation. In the instance of pilgrimage, this approach has proved particularly useful. Individual examination of particular regions and shrines, for instance, helps to clarify whether the Reformation became, as Duffy suggested, "a runaway success" or, as Christopher Marsh states, was "more a negotiated modification of popular piety than an outright imposition of something innovative and alien."[68] Similarly, Keith Thomas's momentous *Religion and the Decline of Magic* has shown the benefit of approaching the "period between the Reformation and the dawn of

[66] Nevertheless, Kinsley's chronology is hampered by her gendered focus as there are few, if any, extant examples of writing by female travellers to northern Britain prior to Celia Fiennes. Additionally, this chronological scope has already been embraced by studies of travel outwith northern Britain. See: Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography, 1680-1830* (Manchester, 1999); Peter C. Mancall, ed., *Travel Narratives from the Age of Discovery: An Anthology*. (Oxford, 2006); Andrew McRae, *Literature and Domestic Travel in Early Modern England*. (Cambridge, 2009); F. Thomas Noonan, *The Road to Jerusalem: Pilgrimage and Travel in the Age of Discovery* (Philadelphia, 2007).
[67] For the distinction between Romantic and general tourism, see Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt*, 11.
[68] Nicholas Tyacke, *England's Long Reformation, 1500-1800* (London, 1998), 36, 141.

the Enlightenment" as a unified whole rather than a watershed moment in early modern cultural and religious history.[69]

If this chronology has yet to be thoroughly considered in historiographical studies, it is certainly confirmed by the available source material. At the end of the nineteenth century P. Hume Brown, one of the founding fathers of Scottish history, edited two collections of documents pertaining to Scottish history before the Union of 1707, both of which demonstrate a concentration of writings about Scotland in the period following the reformations in England and Scotland. The larger collection, *Scotland Before 1700 from Contemporary Documents* was originally published in 1893 and contains various social and political documents, including several travel or chorographical accounts ranging from John Major's early sixteenth-century *Historia* to David Buchanan's mid-seventeenth-century *A Description of Edinburgh*.[70] And while *Scotland Before 1700* concentrates on Scottish perspectives, Hume Brown's 1891 *Early Travellers in Scotland* includes accounts from French, Belgian, Spanish, Italian, Greek, Danish, and German, as well as English travellers.[71] *Early Travellers* also shows that travel accounts about Scotland increased steadily throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with a marked increase in English interest in the seventeenth century (nine of the twelve seventeenth-century accounts are written by English, or English-speaking, travellers compared to only three between the 1295 and 1598). More recently, Martin Rackwitz's extremely comprehensive survey of the hundreds of printed and manuscript travel accounts of Scotland clearly indicates the diversity of subject material contained within these journals and diaries, with sections devoted to the development of infrastructure, industrial endeavours, economic and social perceptions and culture.[72] Rackwitz's chronology recognizes the need for an expanded scope and though the main focus of *Travels to Terra Incognita* is the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a period that "[reflects] the process of opening up Scotland to the rest of Europe," the study includes two preliminary sections on perceptions of Scotland in the Middle Ages and travellers in Scotland before the seventeenth century.[73] Rackwitz's argument, that understanding that Scotland was, until the seventeenth century "[positioned] at the periphery of the ancient and medieval world," is important and, though this view neglects Scotland's medieval place and role in the north Atlantic, it does helps

[69] Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England* (Middlesex, 1971), ix-x.
[70] P. Hume Brown, ed., *Scotland Before 1700 from Contemporary Documents* (Edinburgh, 1893).
[71] Hume Brown, *Early Travellers in Scotland*.
[72] Martin Rackwitz, *Travels to Terra Incognita: The Scottish Highlands and Hebrides in early modern travellers' accounts, c.1600 to 1800* (Münster, 2007), 9-12, 94. As Hume Brown asserted more than one hundred years ago, Scandinavian travel accounts should be "the standard" by which pre-modern Scotland "can alone be fairly judged" (Hume Brown, *Early Travellers*, v). Unfortunately, the shortage of Scandinavian to Scotland travel accounts lamented by Hume Brown at the end of the nineteenth century has not been rectified by time and Rackwitz notes an "imbalance" in the direction of travel between Scotland and Scandinavia, with more Scots visiting their northern neighbours, particularly Denmark.
[73] Ibid, 17.

to establish a basis for change over time and allows for analysis of varying perceptions and attitudes towards the region, particularly in regard to the extensive source material from English and continental travellers.[74]

This perceived peripheral status helps to explain some of the attitudes, perceptions and prejudices attached to Scotland during the early modern period; however, the proposed scope of this study also allows for consideration of various influences on travellers' perspectives and motivations. The benefit of a wide scope when considering the impact and progression of the Protestant reformations has already been discussed but by considering the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries, the sources can be examined with regard to specific socio-political events in England and Scotland's increasingly intertwined history. The early modern period (roughly 1500 to 1800) has already been recognised as a neglected but vital era in Scottish history by historians.[75] In *Scottish Society, 1500-1800* R.A. Houston and I.D. Whyte highlight "the comparative lack of academic research on pre-nineteenth-century Scottish society" and the collection's chapters, like Rackwitz's *Travels to Terra Incognita*, demonstrate this chronology can be used to assess change and continuity from a variety of angles within the isolated geographical region occupied by Scotland.[76] It is also useful from a transnational perspective because the three hundred-year scope encompasses a number of major moments in Anglo-Scottish history which means that travel accounts of English visitors to Scotland and northern Britain can be evaluated for changing attitudes in relation to specific events. For instance, Scotland's medieval reputation was that of a remote, mysterious and uncharted region, and its status as wild and inhospitable carried on into the early modern period.[77] Despite some military intervention regarding roads and infrastructure in the early eighteenth century Samuel Johnson, James Boswell and the entire cadre of romantically-inclined tourists of the later eighteenth century would have encountered a region that was marginally more accessible than it was when Fynes Moryson, Sir Anthony Weldon or even Celia Fiennes visited, but the increasingly convenient travel accommodations only account for some of the changing attitudes towards the north.[78] Diaries and journals, as records of individual thoughts, reflections and sensitivities can help chart the impetus for shifting perceptions, from political insecurities to developing identities and philosophies.

Identity, both individual and national, is a particular issue that is aptly approached through both the abovementioned chronology and the source material at hand. Diaries and journals are indispensable as sources for a historical analysis of the development of various identities, and in the case of the current study were approached as such. Examination of personal experiences,

[74] Ibid, 22.
[75] R.A. Houston and I.D. Whyte, eds., *Scottish Society, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1989), 1.
[76] Ibid, 1.
[77] Rackwitz, *Terra Incognita*, 17.
[78] Houston and Whyte, *Scottish Society*, 1.

observations and prejudice were necessary for analysis of changing religious sentiments and perceptions, but early modern travellers did not limit their criticism and assessment to former pilgrimage shrines or ongoing Catholic devotion. Their diaries offer a wealth of opinion and interpretation, construction and investigation on numerous subjects and, as has already been mentioned, this study will show that there is a decisive link between the late medieval patterns of pilgrimage and the early modern 'invention' of leisure tourism. In fact, this study will show that it is the intersection of identity and activity that was instrumental in creating both the traditions and expectations of tourism and in establishing the popular, mythic identity associated with northern Britain. Both late medieval pilgrimage and northern British tourism in the seventeenth and eighteenth century have every mark of what Eric Hobsbawm defines as "Invented tradition," or "a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past…[or attempts] to establish a suitable historic past."[79] Pilgrimage is neither a Christian invention, nor a medieval one but there is no doubt that the act of pilgrimage, in the Christian faith, fulfills these criteria. Likewise, early-modern tourists were not necessarily mimicking pilgrimage in a conscious sense, but when Nicole Chereyron describes medieval pilgrims as viewing themselves "either as carrying on a tradition or as innovators," she could just as easily be describing the process involved in the creation and popularization of the northern tour.[80]

Hugh Trevor-Roper's article in Hobsbawm's *The Invention of Tradition* outlines the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century "creation of an independent Highland tradition," through an investigation of the history and development of the 'traditional' tartan kilt.[81] Trevor-Roper's examination, which includes links between Highland dress culture and the popularization of "indigenous literature" in the latter eighteenth century, is particularly applicable to the study at hand because it demonstrates how existing, if mundane, cultural elements were appropriated in the long eighteenth century to create perceptions and expectations of an 'authentic' Scotland.[82] More specifically, Trevor-Roper shows that while 'Highland culture' may have been defined in the second half of the eighteenth century, that definition was the result of various changes, challenges and innovations in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as Scotland became increasingly accessible and active on a larger scale. This highlights the importance of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a transitional period and reinforces the need for continued use of an expanded scope in studies of this nature.

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[79] Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition,* eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge, 1983), 1.
[80] Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem,* 220.
[81] Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland," in *Invention of Tradition,* Hobsbawm and Ranger, 16.
[82] Trevor-Roper, "Highland Tradition of Scotland," 17.

Terminology

The grand, three-hundred-year scope of this study may provide insight into various subjects, but it also creates numerous challenges and terminology has, perhaps, proved to be one of the greatest. The historiography of the period alone is so diverse as to create an entire lexicon of 'correct' terms for various regions, movements and philosophies, and while attempts have been made to acknowledge the multitude of schools of thought that have contributed to this study it has been necessary to settle on certain terms and generalisations to avoid obfuscating minor issues.

Northern Britain

It is necessary to offer an explanation regarding terminology of the geographical region examined. The primary focus of this study will be the transition from late-medieval pilgrimage to eighteenth-century tourism through an examination of late sixteenth-, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century travel accounts. Chapter I will build on the several interesting studies that establish the history of pilgrimage in Scotland and highlight that the region remained relatively autonomous, both during the English Reformation and into the seventeenth century. Both Chapter I and Chapter II will consider the seventeenth century as a transitional period and Chapter II relies heavily on first person travel accounts from the eighteenth century to begin the process of establishing patterns in travel, expectations and attitudes.

One pattern that emerged almost immediately in the travel accounts was a standard itinerary that took the travellers from southern England (generally London) through Yorkshire and Northumberland and into Scotland. This itinerary, examined in detail in Chapter III, revealed another pattern, which was the tendency of eighteenth-century travellers to give basic, scenic descriptions of the areas immediately adjacent to London, but to expand their assessments to include historiographical, sociological and cultural commentary of the ethnographic sort, once they had left the immediate vicinity of the Midlands. Essentially, the tone and descriptions in the travel accounts suggest that, for most English travellers coming from London and the Midlands, Yorkshire and Northumberland were as foreign as Scotland, a country Joseph Taylor, who visited in 1707, considered "the most barb'rous …in the world."[83]

While the reformed church in northern England and the Scottish kirk differed in many ways, both regions have a shared history of Irish monasticism and Celtic saints. Northern England, in particular, was resistant to the religious changes of the Protestant Reformation, and though there were many political and social influences that led to this resistance, one contributing factor was a strong devotion to local, Celtic saints, such as St Cuthbert in Durham. Indeed, many of the late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century travel accounts reveal that devotional practices in northern England were

[83] Taylor, *Journey to Edenborough*, 95.

surprisingly Roman in appearance and several of the diaries consulted in this study record on-going Catholic worship at cathedrals and shrines. Though Scotland did not have the same history of resistance to reformative measures, there is still much evidence, both from local records and from eighteenth-century travel accounts that sites dedicated to Celtic saints in Scotland survived more readily than those of canonical ones, and that devotion to such saints was still evident. In fact, religious pilgrimage and the yearly celebration of saints' holy days can still be witnessed at several key sites in Scotland and northern England.

With these patterns and questions in mind, this study will consider Scotland and northern England, with some attention to northern Wales, as one geographical region. There is some historical support for the term 'Northern Britain,' especially after the Union of 1707, but it is also problematic.[84] Richard Finlay has expounded on some of the problems associated with the term 'Northern Britain,' as it applies to the concept of Scottish, English and British nationalism in the long eighteenth century.[85] The term 'northern Britain' is not used here as a means of establishing national identity (though occasionally the travellers considered by this study do). Rather, 'northern Britain' in the context of this study will only be used to delineate a geographical region – roughly Yorkshire, Northumberland, the lowlands and highlands of Scotland, and the Hebrides and northern islands, including Orkney and the Shetlands. This geographic region will also, at times, include northern Wales. For the sake of continuity, when discussing the entirety of the island – England, Scotland and Wales – the term 'Britain,' will be used though again acknowledging the semantic issues associated therein. It could be argued that the term 'Celtic Fringe' would be an appropriate alternative to 'Northern Britain,' but this term is even more rife with controversy and carries with it far more nationalist or ethnographic connotations than 'Northern Britain,' which, for the purpose of this study, will only serve to confuse the situation.

That being said, the study will refer also to 'Scotland,' 'north England,' and 'Wales' when necessary. Though there are many links between these which help to support the hypothesis of this study, there are also elements that do not correlate and it will be necessary to distinguish between these in order to discuss the differences and their interpretations by travellers in the context of the

[84] Ibid, 119; Richard J. Finlay, "Caledonia or North Britain?" in *Eighteenth-Century Scotland: New Perspectives*, eds. John R. Young and T.M. Devine, (Ann Arbor, 1999), 145. In his 1707 account of a journey through Scotland, Joseph Taylor witnessed the passing of the Act of Union in Edinburgh and afterwards celebrated the occasion with several "Lords and parliament men" who "embrac'd [Taylor and his companions]…and told [them they] should now be no more English and Scotch, but Brittons." However, Finlay warns that the idea of a homogenized identity in this period is "anachronistic" and that the concept of "Northern Britain" was "constructed by intellectuals," and likely had little resonance with the general population. In fact, the Union was itself constructed in large part by the same intellectuals who would have introduced the concept of 'Northern Britain,' and in the case of Joseph Taylor, it is these same intellectuals and parliament men who are credited with declaring themselves "Brittons."
[85] Ibid, 146-47.

history of travel. Indeed, while there are overarching themes both in the patterns of worship in northern Britain and in the travel narratives of English people in the region, there are many unique features which give rise to additional questions, but also serve to illustrate the exceptions to the rules.

Reformation/reformation

It is also necessary to add a note here on the capitalization or lack thereof of the word 'Reformation,' as well as the use of Protestant and Protestantism. In general, these terms carry a great deal of significance in the history of Western Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For the purpose of this study, 'Reformation' with a capital 'R' will serve to indicate the broad religious changes that began in Germany and were carried to England at the beginning of the sixteenth century by Swiss and German scholars. The terms 'English Reformation' and 'Scottish Reformation' will be utilised when necessary to differentiate between the changes instigated by the Tudor dynasty and those that swept Scotland in the 1560s under the auspices of the Lords of the Congregation, John Knox and others. However, it is important to establish one key point: while the geography of this study is firmly rooted in northern Britain, and specifically within the geo-political boundaries of Scotland, the majority of the travellers considered were English. Therefore, though some discussion of the Scottish Reformation and the kirk will be used for background, the majority of the focus on the Reformation's impact on action and thought will be in reference to the English Reformation, and religious change in England. There will be instances where 'reformative' and 'reformed' – both with lowercase 'r's - are more appropriate, and will be used where appropriate. As a final point, both the church in England and the kirk in Scotland are generally classed as 'Protestant,' which is to say, they are not Catholic. The historiography of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries emphasises the intrinsic doctrinal differences of both churches. For the purpose of this study, 'Protestant' and 'Protestantism' will serve as a blanket term for the beliefs of non-Catholics in Britain. Specific terminology – 'Anglican,' 'Episcopalian,' 'Presbyterian,' 'Puritan,' 'Dissenter' and the like – will be used when the discussion requires such specification.

Cultural Protestantism

It is likewise important to note that although the majority of the travellers surveyed in the course of this study were English Protestants, their personal religious devotions spanned a wide range of persuasions, ranging from nonconformists to deists. Therefore, for clarity's sake this study will refer to the travellers collectively as 'culturally Protestant.' Of course it is necessary to define what is meant by the term 'culturally Protestant.' It has been thoroughly established, both in this study and in numerous others, that the early modern period in England and Scotland was particularly tumultuous, both politically and religiously. While this study will bypass, in large part, any discussion of the confessional upheavals of the seventeenth century as it is rarely addressed directly by the travellers, its impact on religion and society in Britain cannot be wholly dismissed because the seventeenth

century and the confessional and civil conflicts that dominated the middle of the century were instrumental in shaping the religious, intellectual and political activity during the long eighteenth century.[86] Confessional conflicts continued to plague Britain throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but political initiatives, sparked by the revolutions and philosophical developments of the seventeenth century, sought to minimize the conflicts' impact. Specifically, the 1689 Act of Toleration exempted dissenting subjects from the various laws and penalties that had been placed on non-conformists during the preceding decades.[87] While the Act only applied to a select Protestant demographic, it still prohibited non-Anglicans from participating in civil and legal institutions and did nothing to protect the rights of non-Protestant confessions, the Act is considered a 'watershed' and marks the establishment in "legal terms [of] a Christian pluralism of religious practices" in England.[88] The 1689 Act is more accurately a superficial reflection of changing intellectual and theological views towards religion and spirituality at the beginning of the long eighteenth century. The leisure tours of the eighteenth century can be seen as a clear example of this shift and are both influenced by and demonstrative of the "marginalisation of religion" in early-modern British society.[89] Religion, both personal and public, remained an integral part of eighteenth-century life, but the period is marked by a distinct move towards toleration and individualisation of religious beliefs. This is evident in the writings of the various travellers examined by this study where most of the travellers give little or no indication of their own confessional leanings, though bibliographical research does reveal that some of the travellers came from particularly contentious religious backgrounds. Nevertheless, the uniformity of their reactions to certain religious and philosophical features of their tours shows that while the travellers' religious devotions may have been privately diverse, or even radical, they were culturally rather homogenous which, it is hoped, is clearly and consistently illustrated by the term 'culturally Protestant.' With that in mind, the term 'culturally Protestant' is used to describe the majority of the travellers considered in this study, whose cultural religious framework is that of post-Restoration toleration.

[86] There are examples of English travellers observing and commenting upon religious practices in Scotland, but the wording of their observations is in the same vein as those regarding other differences in culture or social organisation. Most notably, the most common observation or criticism levied against Scottish religious practices is that travellers find it difficult to understand sermon due to issues of accent or dialect.
[87] "William and Mary, 1688: An Act for Exempting their Majestyes Protestant Subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the Penalties of certaine Lawes. [Chapter XVIII. Rot. Parl. pt. 5. nu. 15]," *Statutes of the Realm: volume 6: 1685-94* (1819), 74-76, *BHO*.
[88] Justin Champion, "Toleration and Citizenship in Enlightenment England: John Toland and the Naturalization of the Jews, 1714-1753," in Ole Peter Grell and Roy Porter, eds., *Toleration in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge, 2000), 134.
[89] C. John Sommerville, *The Secularization of Early Modern England: From Religious Culture to Religious Faith* (Oxford, 1992), 1.

Secular

Like 'cultural Protestantism,' the term 'secular,' or 'secularisation' is considered problematic as a means of discussing religious belief or lack-thereof during the early modern period. The modern understanding of the term 'secular,' like the term 'atheist,' suggests a lack of or decline in religious belief, but this study considers change in religion during the early modern period rather than its absence, and moreover in many of the diaries the travellers quite clearly express some form of personal Judeo-Christian spirituality. However, the term is useful for understanding the changing focus of and on religion in society during the period and is particularly appropriate for this study. C. John Sommerville's study on the secularization of English society during the early modern period argues that secularization does not just mean "decline or corruption, but also a change in the religion's placement."[90] Sommerville identified several different processes of secularization within societies and the shift from pilgrimage to tourism clearly follows these. Specifically, the romantic tours of the eighteenth century and the individuals involved embody Sommerville's third and fourth categories of secularization in that these tours demonstrate both a secularization of a particular activity through its "transfer from a religious institution to an obviously less religious one," and a secularization of thoughts or ideas, which Sommerville terms more loosely as "the decline…of religious belief."[91] Sommerville also notes that the "Judeo-Christian tradition, and especially Protestantism, is a secularizing religion…[which] means that this tradition wants to separate religion from other aspects of life – for the sake of purifying the religion."[92] This secularisation of travel and tourist activity will be addressed in Chapter III, and analysed in relation to tourist destinations (and their interpretations thereof) in Chapters IV and V.

The Other/Otherness

Finally, this study's inadvertent result was the link between the creation of identity (both individual and national) and the reinvention of the impetus for travel in the early modern period. The creation of any identity requires a conscious understanding of the self as different from all others and the diaries examined here demonstrate an on-going process of establishing and defining the people and culture of northern Britain with direct and increasing reference to a specific national identity. Geoffrey Cubitt asserts that the "concept of the nation is central to the dominant understanding both of political community and of personal identity."[93] The understanding of self and identity is intrinsically tied to the philosophical understanding of the individual and of consciousness. As Bertrand Russell states, "To understand an age or a nation, we must understand its philosophy, and to understand its

[90] Ibid, 8.
[91] Ibid, 5.
[92] Ibid, 8.
[93] Geoffrey Cubitt, ed., *Imagining Nations* (Manchester, 1998), 1.

philosophy we must ourselves be in some degree philosophers."[94] While this study is in no way a history of philosophy, medieval or early modern, nor is it a work of philosophical exploration, it does by necessity employ certain theoretical aspects that rely heavily on the philosophical understanding of self and the Other. Specifically, the concepts of alterity and Otherness as articulated by philosophers like René Descartes, Johannes Fabian, Michel Foucault, Emmanuel Lévinas, and Edward Said can be applied when reading the diaries and journals of seventeenth and eighteenth-century travellers. As Raymond Corbey and Joep Leerssen explain in the introduction to *Alterity, Identity, Image: Selves and Others in Society and Scholarship* the creation and articulation of identity is dependent upon the categorisation of what is not the self, and "the circumscription of cultural identity proceeds by silhouetting it against a contrastive background of Otherness."[95] Therefore, this study will refer to both 'alterity' and 'Otherness,' or 'Others,' as a means of discussing and expressing the dichotomy between the created and internalised 'self' or 'identity,' and that which is different or deliberately separated from the self. This terminology has been particularly useful in articulating the attitudes of travellers towards the societies and cultures encountered, especially in regard to charting changing conceptions and depictions of the Other over time. As Corbey and Leerssen note, "the notion of Otherness as a fundamental category of experience and reflection" has become increasingly important to the study of culture and society, and is especially applicable to analysis of the Age of Discovery in European history.[96] Corbey and Leerssen assert that "the exclusion and subjection of Otherness thus forms a red thread through European intellectual and political history," and while there is frequently the sense that travellers constructed definitions of Otherness that assumed the superiority of self, the philosophical constructs of alterity and Otherness predicate a neutral stance on the part of the researcher that allows one to assess both the nature of the identity being created and the impetus behind its creation.

Conclusion

What follows then is an investigation of nearly three hundred years of travelling to and through the northern reaches of Great Britain, a region which still elicits much of the same sentimentality and critical analysis it garnered four hundred years ago. It moves out from the very end of the medieval period in Britain to the eve of the Victorian era and the beginnings of modernity. This dissertation is concerned primarily with exploring the links between the late medieval practice of pilgrimage and the development of early modern tourism and the ways in which these links were fostered by, and promoted, travellers' conceptions of, identity. However, in the process of considering change over time this study will also show that in many ways, time does little to change the way in which humans

[94] Russell, *Western Philosophy*, 2.
[95] Raymond Corbey and Joep Leerssen, *Alterity, Identity, Image: Selves and Others in Society and Scholarship* (Amsterdam, 1991), vi
[96] Ibid, viii.

experience and understand the world around them. The roads may be smoother, the hotels may be cleaner and the food will be better, but people still travel to find peace, to find authenticity and to find themselves.

Chapter I: From the Reformation to Tourism

Introduction

Pilgrimage and the veneration of saints, relics and images were some of the first elements of traditional Christianity that came under the scrutiny of the Protestant reformers in both England and Scotland in the sixteenth century.[97] The pattern and timing of the elimination of these elements in the sixteenth century can offer a glimpse of the course of the Reformation in England and Scotland, and also helps to illuminate the way in which the religious changes of the period were assimilated and incorporated within society. Early twentieth-century scholarship of the Reformation in Britain tended to view the late medieval period as one of religious stagnation and decline, but more recent studies have argued otherwise and the history of pilgrimage in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seems to corroborate this.[98] Christopher Haigh argues that in the study of the Reformation in England "the existence of long-term religious discontents can be disputed, the significance of Protestantism as a progressive ideological movement can be doubted, the continuing popularity and prestige of the Catholic Church can be stressed, and the political Reformation can be explained as the outcome of factional competition for office and influence…"[99] Similarly, Audrey-Beth Fitch's study of lay faith in Scotland established a view of pre-Reformation Scottish Christianity which was neither stagnant nor discontented and was rather a vibrant and fluid "search for salvation," while Michael Lynch asserts that in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, "the Scottish Church was inseparable from the Scottish nation."[100] The study of pilgrimage during and following the Reformation in England and Scotland corroborates this later interpretation; specifically, pilgrimage, both a physical and spiritual act, was a means for ordinary people to obtain "a greater spiritual perfection."[101] Devotion and petition to saints was an important part of late medieval religious culture in both England and Scotland and, as Fitch explains, was a key element in the "general European upsurge in lay spirituality."[102] Late medieval Christians, in both England and Scotland, were "deeply concerned about their spiritual future beyond death," and pilgrimage was a personal and direct means of improving the quality of one's soul both in the after-life and the here and now.[103] These practices

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[97] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400-c.1580* (New Haven, 1992), 383-85; Alec Ryrie, *The Origins of the Scottish Reformation* (Manchester, 2006), 18-20, 34-37; Nicolas Tyacke, *England's Long Reformation 1500-1800* (London, 1998), 2-9; MacCullough, *The Reformation: Europe's House Divided, 1490-1700* (London, 2004), 2-3.

[98] Ian B. Cowan, *The Scottish Reformation: Church and Society in Sixteenth Century Scotland* (London: 1982), 6-9; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 1-2; Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1993), 25-88; Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (London, 1971); Tyacke, *England's Long Reformation*, 2.

[99] Christopher Haigh, ed., *The English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge, 1987), 2-3.

[100] Audrey-Beth Fitch, *The Search for Salvation: Lay Faith in Scotland 1480-1560* (Edinburgh, 2009), 3, 184; Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London, 1991), 110.

[101] Diana Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England* (London, 2000), xiv.

[102] Fitch, *Search for Salvation*, 1.

[103] Ibid, 9. Diana Webb cites Dr Edward Powell's 1533 sermon refuting Hugh Latimer's teaching against pilgrimage and other traditional religious practices: "Whoever goeth on pilgrimage…left his father and mother and brethren for the time that he was from home; therefore Our Lord's promise applied to him; therefore, let

were still popular on the eve of the Reformation but, by the second half of the sixteenth century, attitudes towards pilgrimage, veneration of saints and other traditional religious practices had shifted and, by the end of the century, were actively discouraged and removed from mainstream religious practice.[104] Nevertheless shrines continued to attract visitors, both religious and secular well into the seventeenth and even eighteenth centuries. Indeed, although the current popularity and presentation of such sites can be attributed to modern or, at the very least, Victorian re-imaginings, one could argue that pilgrimage declined, but never fully lost its power as a devotional practice. Specifically, this study argues that, like many of the aspects of traditional religion targeted by the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century, pilgrimage was merely secularized and transmuted into tourism in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

It is often assumed that because late-medieval pilgrims were, at times, criticised for insincerity or lampooned as vapid pleasure-seekers in popular culture, that the act of pilgrimage had lost its meaning within fifteenth and sixteenth-century religious culture.[105] However, pilgrimage and saints remained an important part of late-medieval religion in England and Scotland, and the first decades of the sixteenth century saw both the improvement and expansion of existing shrines and the establishment of new sites.[106] Some shrines, particularly those devoted to canonical saints like St Andrews in Fife, did see a decline in patronage in the fifteenth century; however, many smaller, local pilgrimage sites grew and prospered up until the eve of the Reformation and the great number of saints' images in churches on the eve of the Reformation "show the luxuriant flourishing of devotion to the saints."[107] Indeed, David McRoberts' seminal article on the church in Scotland in the fifteenth century argued that the late medieval period saw a marked increase in veneration of and interest in native saints in Scotland, a trend that is borne out by the peregrinations of James IV who regularly travelled through and around Scotland to visit the shrines and relics of the country's native saints.[108]

Even after the advent of the Reformation in England, shrines throughout England and Scotland continued to draw pilgrims and patronage. In England, shrines associated with large abbeys and cathedrals were early targets of reformative action, but widespread iconoclasm was not the norm and "the radical campaign against saints and images was broadly ineffective" until the later sixteenth

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him put in the box at the shrine of the saint whatever he would he should receive a hundred times as much in the present world and in the world to come everlasting life." See Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, xiv.

[104] Fitch cites the 1581 *APGAKS*, which found it necessary to "crave that ane Act of Parliament may be made agains them that passes in pilgrimages, and vses superstitioun at wells, croces, images, or vther papisticall idolatrie, or observes feasts and dayes dedicate to Santes, or setts out beanfyres for superstitioun" ('Acts and Proceedings: 1581, October,' *APGAKS, 1560-1618* (1839), 522-547, *BHO*).

[105] Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, 233-261; Fitch, *Search for Salvation*, 1.

[106] Peter Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland* (London, 1999), 15; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 155-205.

[107] Ibid, 156.

[108] David McRoberts, "The Scottish Church and Nationalism in the Fifteenth Century," *The Innes Review* Volume 19 (Spring 1968), 3; Yeoman, *Pilgrimage*, 15. James IV was a noted patron of St Ninian at Whithorn, visiting the shrine numerous times during his reign.

century.[109] During the early years of the Reformation in England, the abolition of pilgrimage and saints from religious practice was hotly debated. Though several prominent reformers, like Hugh Latimer, Thomas Rose and John Bale vocally denounced traditional practices like pilgrimage, purgatory and the veneration of images, their views were often at odds with the religious expectations of late medieval spirituality, and could be considered heretical until the Edwardian reforms of the mid-sixteenth century.[110] The early period of the English Reformation was more interested in rectifying issues regarding papal versus royal supremacy than in doctrinal issues which would have changed the structure of worship and faith in the English church. Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, for instance, argued that the matter of pilgrimage and veneration of saints should be avoided during this volatile period, as the discussion and debate surrounding their maintenance or dismissal was causing unnecessary division within the already discordant church.[111] In 1534 he went so far as to proclaim a year-long ban on the preaching on volatile issues and wrote that in order

> [To] keep unity and quietness in this realm, it is ordained, that no preachers shall contend openly in pulpit one against another…[and] that no preachers for a year shall preach neither with nor against purgatory, honouring of saints, that priests may have wives, that faith only justifieth, to go on pilgrimages, to forgo miracles; considering these things have caused dissension amongst the subjects of this realm already…[and] that from henceforth all preachers shall purely, sincerely, and justly preach the scripture and word of Christ, and not mix them with man's institutions…[112]

As several recent historians have pointed out, the changes instituted to the structure of religion during the period of Henrician reforms were mainly of a political nature, and dealt with specific aspects of clerical versus monarchical power. Cranmer's 1534 letter indicates this clearly, as his instructions call for prayer

> for the whole catholic church of Christ…and specially for the catholic church of this realm: and first…for our sovereign lord king Henry the VIIIth, being immediately next unto God the only and supreme head of this catholic church of England…[and] it is ordained, that every preacher shall preach…against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome.[113]

The Reformation then, in Henry VIII's reign, focused largely on establishing royal authority over the church in England, and though measures like the seizure of church plate and the dissolution of the monasteries caused great political upheaval and, in some areas of England, active lay resistance, they did not drastically alter traditional religious belief except in those practitioners who embraced the Reformation as an immediate conversion.[114] As Tyacke emphasises, it "remains vital to distinguish

[109] Haigh, *English Reformations*, 70.
[110] Tyacke, *England's Long Reformation*, 6-7; Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, xiv.
[111] Tyacke, *England's Long Reformation*, 6.
[112] Thomas Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer* ed. John Edmund Cox (Cambridge, 1846), 460-61.
[113] Ibid, 460-61.
[114] G.W. Bernard, *The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church* (New Haven, 2005), 600.

between the Henrician and Edwardian Reformations" because it was not until the reign of Edward VI that the Reformation in England moved towards more doctrinal and theological changes, and even these were not thoroughly implemented until Elizabeth I's reign. These reforms, which directly affected the daily religious life of the average person, were even more controversial and took several generations to assimilate and implement. The advent of the Scottish Reformation, which coincided quite neatly with the Elizabethan Settlement, was bolstered by the susceptibility of lay faith to what Fitch asserts was the reformed religion's ability to "offer a better means of attaining the spiritual worthiness necessary for acceptance into heaven."[115] Yet it was not universally embraced and pockets of recusant and non-conformist belief persisted throughout the early modern period.

Pilgrimage and the veneration of saints were important aspects of traditional religious life in late medieval England and Scotland. Though the average person did not partake in a pilgrimage on a daily or even yearly basis, the impact of pilgrimages, both grand and local, would have been constantly evident. People who lived near a pilgrimage site or on a pilgrimage trail would frequently have witnessed devotees on their way to shrines; those who had completed a pilgrimage, or who knew someone who had, would likely have access to the curative power of a badge or souvenir. Local parish churches often acquired minor relics associated with the church's patron saint and the occasion of a verified miracle, like the healing of Sir Roger Wentworth's daughter by a vision of Our Lady of Ipswich, and subsequent pilgrimages to the shrine in 1516, could transform an insignificant village into a pilgrimage hub overnight.[116]

It is not surprising then that these beliefs were difficult to completely eradicate. Despite the reformations in the sixteenth century, the belief in saints and the practice of pilgrimage persisted into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Accounts from travellers in the late seventeenth century indicate the instance of on-going Catholic pilgrimages. They also demonstrate that just over a century after the Elizabethan Settlement former pilgrimage shrines had become popular destinations for leisure travellers. Sites like Holywell in north Wales, which had been a centre for thaumaturgic healing throughout the Middle Ages, continued to serve as foci for travellers seeking health and healing. In the case of Holywell, the persistence of Catholic worship at the site was observed by non-Catholic travellers but it did not deter secular participation in the well's healing properties. Likewise, though the veneration of saints was disavowed by the Reformation, shrines to patron saints remained in cathedrals throughout Britain, albeit often relegated to more modest corners of the church.

[115] Fitch, *Search for Salvation*, 189.
[116] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 162-65; Haigh, *English Reformations*, 69.

Resistance to the Reformation was variable. In some areas, the changes were implemented and accepted with little contest; in others, reformers met with strong opposition and outright defiance. Studies of the Reformation in England reveal that there is no definitive pattern to the resistance and anti-Reformation action, but resistance tended to be concentrated in marginal areas of England, such as the west and north in particular, and some isolated instances in the south.[117] While a marginal or geographically isolated location could have contributed to preservation or perpetuation of pre-Reformation practices, in many cases where the activity of pilgrimage resumed or continued past the point of widespread reformation, the saint or shrine in question had played a role in defining local or regional identity. Additionally, most of the pilgrimage shrines that persisted were those specifically devoted to saints who originated in the British Isles and who were instrumental in establishing the Christian faith in the region. This correlation has some interesting implications for both the history of the Reformation in Britain and the development of British national identities in the early modern period, particularly as it relates to the links between pilgrimage and tourism.

Early Christianity in Britain

In order to examine this factor in more detail, it is useful to consider the history of Christianity in Britain and its specific national identity, particularly in its relationship with Rome. Christianity was one of several mystery religions, or cults, that travelled to Britain with the Roman legions.[118] Roman Christians may have imported their beliefs and practices and may have converted some of their native neighbours but Britain, after the departure of the Romans, was still mainly pagan and England was not effectively converted until the seventh century.[119] However, while Anglo-Saxon England was in large

[117] Ibid, 181-87. Various theories regarding this distribution have been put forward: remnants of Lollardy, aversion to a centralized government, or the challenge of reforming rural and isolated areas with little existing religious structure. Regardless they all played a part in creating pockets of dissent or simple ignorance. Local identity is one factor that has been considered, albeit only in passing, and is particularly applicable to the study of pilgrimage in this period. See Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Later Reformation in England 1547-1603* (New York, 1990), 172; Caroline Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity: Gloucestershire, 1540-1580* (Cambridge, 1997), 162.

[118] Marvin W. Meyer, ed., *The Ancient Mysteries: A Sourcebook of Sacred Texts* (Philadelphia, 1987), 4, 5-7, 225. Mystery religions, or cults, are a prominent (if mysterious) feature of ancient Greco-Roman religion and spirituality. While some of the religions "were of great antiquity" others sprang from local agrarian festivals or were derived from the cults of specific deities encountered (and appropriated by) the Roman Empire as it spread across the Mediterranean world. The mystery religions of the ancient world varied in creed and doctrine, but were generally marked by their exclusivity – the activities and benefits of the religions were usually limited to initiates and, in most cases, were closely guarded secrets, so much so that historians are often limited by a lack of source material for the internal workings of these cults. While early Christians were quick to denounce other mysteries, like Mithraism, as godless early Christianity shared many of its distinguishing features with other Greco-Roman mystery religions including ceremonial rites and purifications for initiates, the symbolic consumption of a meal, mysticism, salvation leading to life after death and direct communion with the deity.

[119] Ronald Hutton, *The Pagan Religions of the Ancient British Isles: Their Nature and Legacy* (Oxford, 1991), 296-98.

part converted by and aligned to Rome by Augustine, western and northern Britain had already been converted by Irish monks in the centuries following Rome's departure.[120] As Michael Reed explains,

> St Columba died in 597, the same year in which St Augustine, journeying from Rome, landed in Kent to begin the conversion of the pagan English. By this time, the Church in northern and western Britain had diverted markedly from the mainstream of Mediterranean Christianity, more especially over the calculation of Easter. It had its own long traditions and its bishops saw little reason to accept the authority of a newcomer to the island. It made its own attempts to convert the English.[121]

The Irish version of Christianity centred more heavily on monasticism, and differed from Roman Christianity both in ecclesiastical organization and several key doctrinal issues, including the date of Easter.[122] In Scotland, the rival 'patron saints' Columba and Andrew clearly represent the divide between the Celtic and Roman traditions in the Scottish Church and, as Michael Lynch notes, helped to strike "a balance between old and new" and created "a hybrid Church for a hybrid people."[123] Despite efforts in the seventh and eighth centuries, and throughout the medieval period, to reconcile the two factions, Christianity in Wales, northern England and Scotland continued to manifest distinct local qualities and devotion to local saints, who were often the self-same monks who had proselytized the region, was a defining feature of their individuality.

Indeed, local or regional saints were particularly important features in pre-Reformation Britain, and attempts to eradicate the worship of them was met with determined resistance, though in varying degrees of intensity and success. In many instances, strong resistance to Reformative action and the survival of pilgrimage shrines into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries can be linked with a particularly pervasive local saint's cult, and an examination of several prominent pilgrimage shrines will illustrate this pattern. This pattern also indicates the importance of local or Celtic saints in the development of regional, political and social identities. The following section will examine this trend in greater detail and will focus on some key regions and saints.

As mentioned above, western and northern Britain were, in large part, converted to Christianity through the efforts of Irish and British monks, many of whom became locally (and in some instances, internationally) venerated saints. Indeed, most of the major medieval pilgrimage sites in northern Britain were dedicated to Celtic or British-born, rather than canonical, saints. For instance, in Peter Yeoman's survey of medieval pilgrimage in Scotland, only five of the twenty-odd pilgrimage sites considered were dedicated to non-Celtic saints (the Virgin Mary claimed two at Whitekirk and Musselburgh respectively, while the Norse St. Magnus drew pilgrims to Orkney

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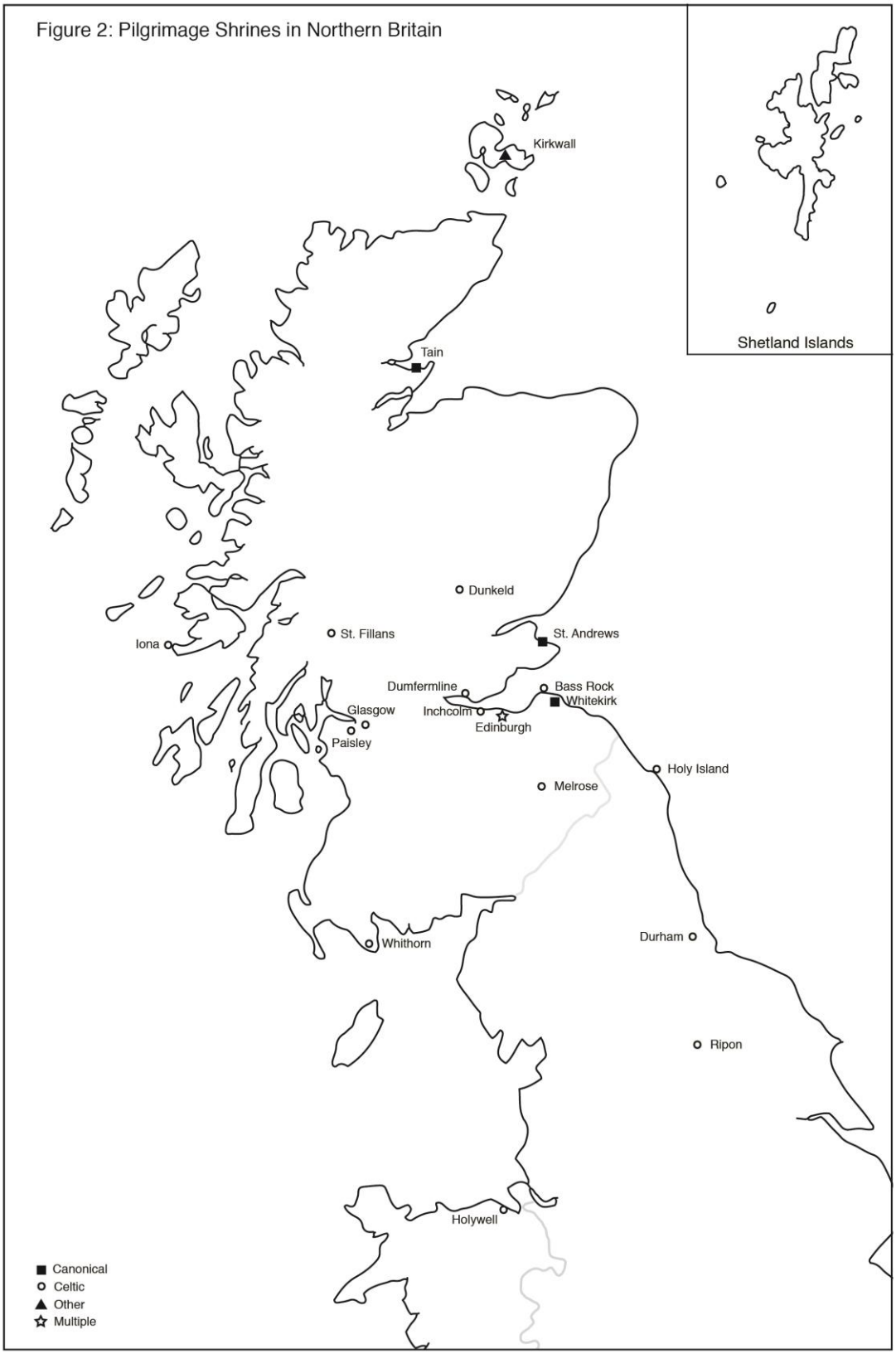
[120] Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, *The Greater Chronicle & Bede's Letter to Egbert* ed. Judith McClure and Roger Collins (Oxford, 1994), 7-62; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* trans. G.N. Garmonsway (London, 1953), 19.
[121] Michael Reed, *The Landscape of Britain from the beginnings to 1914* (London, 1990), 170.
[122] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, 103.
[123] Lynch, *Scotland*, 93-94.

Islands).[124] The apostolic St Andrew may be the patron saint of Scotland and his cult in Fife one of the largest in medieval Scotland, but the country's religious landscape was saturated with its Celtic-Christian heritage. Glasgow and the Strathclyde region boasted shrines to St Mirren (Paisley) and St Constantine (Govan), but it was the shrine and cathedral dedicated to Glasgow's patron saint that led to the city's prominence in the medieval period.[125]

[124] Yeoman, *Pilgrimage*, 50, 51, 53-74, & 93.
[125] See Figure 2.

Figure 2: Pilgrimage Shrines in Northern Britain



The Dear One in the Dear Green Place

St Mungo (or Kentigern) was the grandson of a north British king. Fostered by St Serf, he founded a church in "*Glascu*," converted the people of Strathclyde and became the patron saint of Glasgow.[126] Mungo's relics were, and still are, housed in a shrine in Glasgow Cathedral, which was extensively altered and expanded throughout the middle ages. The additions and alterations to the cathedral were begun by Bishop Jocelin in the twelfth century, in large part to promote the cult of the saint, and renovations to accommodate the popularity of the shrine continued until the sixteenth century. Unfortunately, very little documentary evidence from the medieval period survived the Reformation in Scotland, and while it is difficult to determine the range of Mungo's popularity a quick search of the Old Statistical Accounts of Scotland shows that there were chapels, wells and parish churches dedicated to the saint throughout Scotland, including the counties of Aberdeen, Argyle, Dumfries, Edinburgh and Perth.[127] In the fifteenth century, the Glasgow shrine's Feast of the Dedication was granted an indulgence by Pope Martin V and accommodations for pilgrims were added as late as 1503 suggesting that, unlike its contemporary at St Andrews, St Mungo's cult was still attracting pilgrims in the sixteenth century.[128] Additionally, Glasgow Cathedral is one of the best preserved medieval cathedrals in Scotland, which near-contemporary accounts attribute to the protection of the trade guilds of the city. Reports from the seventeenth and eighteenth century state that a mob of reformers threatened the cathedral with the same sort of destruction and desecration that befell many of Scotland's religious buildings, but that the city's guilds refused to allow it and only the shrines in the nave and the stained glass were removed.[129] Indeed, Glasgow Cathedral remains a striking example of medieval architecture and artistry, and is considered by some to be "the finest remaining building of medieval Scotland."[130]

The story of Glasgow Cathedral's preservation illustrates the way in which local social and political concerns could outweigh doctrinal changes. There is nothing in the account of the

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[126] Ibid, 16.

[127] Several of the entries for the Old Statistical Accounts indicate a persistent importance of Mungo in certain communities, despite the saint's link to 'popish superstition.' Reverend Andrew Duncan's account of the parish of Auchterarder in Perth notes the "remains of a Popish place of worship, commonly known by the name of the Old Kirk, or St Mungo's Chapel. This was formerly the parish-church; and the church-yard was the burying ground of the parish: Many of the inhabitants still retain burying places in it" (Reverend Andrew Duncan, "The Parish of Auchterarder," *SAS* Vol. 4, 4). Reverend Donald McNicol says that the "*Island Mund* signifies the Island of St Mungo, a small island in Loch Leven…dedicated to that saint. The island has been long the common cemetery, or burying place, of the inhabitants of Glenco" (Reverend Donald McNicol, "United Parishes of Lismore and Appin," *SAS* Vol. 1, 482). Reverend Robert Innes records the existence of a hill in Kinore in the Parish of Huntly called St Mungos, "on the W. side of which there is a spring issuing from it; called *St. Mungo's Well*, of no medicinal quality but what arises from superstitious credulity" (Reverend Robert Innes, "Town and Parish of Huntly," *SAS* Vol. 11, 468).

[128] Yeoman, *Pilgrimage*, 19-23.

[129] "City of Glasgow (County of Lanarkshire)" *SAS Vol*. 5, 491; Ian Gordon Lindsay, *The Cathedrals of Scotland* (London, 1926), 150.

[130] Iain Macnair, *Glasgow Cathedral: The Stained Glass Windows* (Historic Scotland, 2009), 1.

cathedral's narrow escape to suggest that the guilds were theologically opposed to the reform; rather, they believed their patronage of the cathedral put it under their jurisdiction and protection. Indeed, though the window is modern, the stained glass on the south aisle of the choir still commemorates the various trade guilds of Glasgow.[131] Nevertheless, Glasgow Cathedral could not escape wholly the reforms that swept Scotland in the latter half of the sixteenth century. None of the medieval stained glass that would have adorned the cathedral's windows survived and the pillars in the nave still bear the scars of the reformers' enthusiastic iconoclasm. The cathedral itself was divided into several separate churches during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries but, unlike many of its contemporaries, its main structure survived unscathed and it has since been returned almost completely to its pre-Reformation layout.[132] In fact, although removed from the high altar in the choir, the tomb and relics of St Mungo are still present in the cathedral. The shrine was present in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as well and, although travellers observed that the cathedral was being put to use as a Protestant place of worship, its pre-Reformation form was still apparent. Patrick Walker, for instance, described the interior of the Cathedral during his tour through Scotland in 1798.

> There is a fine Gallery here which must have been the original place, for the Organ and Chanters: it is adorned with many scriptural figures. From this there is an inner place or vestry where the Synod used to be held. A long dark entry leads to what was used in the Popish Power as Purgatory in which the holy water was kept and all the sacred Relics; and of all places this is certainly the most infernal, and must have been sufficient in those days before that Doctrine was [exposed] to impress and thrill the mind of the bravest Man with fear and awe, when he entered such a Place attended by the Priests dressed in White, with their burning tapers, which could not half illumine it which the damp of the Place would cause to burn dim and thus add horror to horror.[133]

Walker also viewed the relocated shrine of Saint Mungo, which he says was decorated with a "rude stone figure, representing [Mungo] as lately beheaded."[134]

While the patron saint of Glasgow is now a relatively minor feature in the liturgical year the cult of St Mungo once garnered the attention of Rome. Indeed, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Mungo was remembered outside of Glasgow. Both Celia Fiennes and Daniel Defoe visited a well associated with the saint in Yorkshire, near Ripon.[135] Mungo, however, was not the only Celtic saint to be remembered in northern England. The region was, and arguably still is, dedicated to the memory of St Cuthbert and the history of the cult of St Cuthbert in northern Britain is illustrative of the importance, persistence and impact of Celtic Christianity in the formation of regional identity in

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[131] Ibid, 55.
[132] NLS Adv. MS. 20.5.1, Patrick Walker, *Journals of Tours through Scotland with Notes Descriptive and Historical* (1798), 28.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Ibid. Traditional hagiography of St Mungo has the saint dying of old age.
[135] Celia Fiennes, *Through England on a Side Saddle in the Time of William and Mary* (London, 1888), *VBTT*; Daniel Defoe, *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain, divided into circuits or journies* (London, 1927), *VBTT*.

late medieval and early modern Britain.[136] Yorkshire and the northern region of England are marked by distinct social and cultural elements, which separate it from the Midlands and southern England. Likewise, as mentioned earlier, resistance to the Reformation in the sixteenth century was more prominent in northern England. The travel itineraries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reflect this separation both in the patterns of description and their assessment of the area's religious history. Indeed, by the mid and late eighteenth century, tours into Scotland routinely followed a path through Yorkshire and Northumberland which featured a variety of historical, religious and cultural attractions along the way and one of the most frequented stops in northern England on the typical English tour to Scotland was Durham. Nearly every tourist who visited the city commented at length on the cathedral and shrine of the patron saint of northern England: St Cuthbert.

The Wonder-Worker of England

Cuthbert was born in Northumbria, a region that encompassed most of northern England and south-eastern Scotland. He completed most of his monastic life on the isle of Lindisfarne and, after his death his body was carried in procession around Northumbria before being permanently interred in Durham Cathedral. Cuthbert became the patron saint of north England and his legacy is inextricably tied to the region's history and development. Though Bede's account of the life of St Cuthbert indicates that the "saint's earthly life was well attested by his numerous miracles," Cuthbert's fame derived from posthumous miracles attributed to his remains. The first among these was the apparent incorruptibility of the saint's body after death. Bede records that upon opening the saint's coffin eleven years after his death, the monks of Lindisfarne "found the body completely intact, looking as though still alive, and the joints and limbs still flexible. It seemed not dead but sleeping. The vestments, all of them, were not merely unfaded but crisp and fresh like new, and wonderfully bright."[137] Bede went on to note that on his deathbed the saint beseeched his companions that, should they "ever be forced to make the choice of two evils [he] would rather [they] left [Lindisfarne], taking [his - Cuthbert's] bones with [them]," a warning which Bede and later hagiography applied to the infamous invasion of 793, of which Lindisfarne was the first major casualty.[138]

Following the Viking invasion the monks of Lindisfarne are said to have fled the island carrying the exhumed body of Cuthbert around Northumbria in a wagon. The monks travelled until they observed a dun cow sitting on the ground, and buried Cuthbert on the site that would later hold

[136] Though Durham and Northumbria formed a border between England and Scotland in the later medieval period, during the period of the Norman conquest of England, Durham and northern England were more closely aligned with Scotland, a relationship which had a profound impact on the region's identity (William A. Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans: The Church of Durham, 1071-1153* [Woodbridge, 1998], 8).
[137] Bede, *Lives of the Saints: The Voyage of St Brendan, Bede: Life of Cuthbert, & Eddius Stephanus: Life of Wilfrid* trans. J.F. Webb (Baltimore, 1965), 123-24.
[138] Ibid, 120.

Durham Cathedral.[139] Durham Cathedral and the shrine of St Cuthbert would go on to become one of the most important pilgrimage sites in England although, by the advent of the Reformation in England, sources show that devotion to Cuthbert's shrine at Durham had declined.[140] William Camden, for instance, notes in his *Remains Concerning Britain* (1605) that a French bishop who visited the shrine "not many years" before Camden's account, addressed the saint "'*Sancte Cuthberte, si sanctus sis, ora pro me*,'" which was opposed to his more reverent prayer at the Venerable Bede's tomb: "'*Sancte Beda, quia sanctus es, ora pro me*.'"[141] It is, therefore, particularly interesting that seventeenth- and eighteenth-century travel diaries indicate that Cuthbert's shrine was still active and Durham Cathedral itself retained "Cerimonyes and Rites…from the tymes of popery."[142]

As one of the main attractions on the northerly tourist route from London to Scotland, during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries those tourists who visited Durham Cathedral were likely both to view and interact with Cuthbert's shrine, and to comment on the rather blatant continuation of Roman Catholic worship in the cathedral. Likewise, visitors to Lindisfarne during the eighteenth century found the island saturated in reminders of its saint. Post-Reformation Durham and the persistence of Cuthbert's cult in northern England is an excellent example of the way in which a local saint provided the catalyst for resistance to the Reformation. As noted earlier, in the early stages of Henry VIII's reforms the major issue was primarily the question of papal versus royal authority and, as Haigh points out, "a dispute between the king of England and the pope was … nothing new."[143] Disputes concerning the sacraments and religious practices were factors in the early 1530s but Cranmer's declarations in 1534 indicate that the political reformers wished to minimise such dissention, and most of the focus for parliamentary reforms remained firmly on abolishing papal power in England and asserting royal authority.[144] However, by the latter half of the 1530s both Cranmer and especially Thomas Cromwell were pushing a strongly evangelical agenda which focused more heavily on the reformation of religious practices and the abolition of those elements that were

[139] Nigel Pennick, *The Celtic Saints: An Illustrated and Authoritative Guide to these Extraordinary Men and Women* (London, 1997), 72; Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion* (London, 1975), 114-15.
[140] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 195.
[141] "Saint Cuthbert, if you are holy, pray for me," versus "Saint Bede, because you are holy, pray for me." (William Camden, *Remains Concerning Britain*, trans. John Philipot [London, 1674], 256). (Latin translation is author's own.)
[142] Fiennes, *Through England.*
[143] Haigh, *English Reformations*, 142.
[144] Jasper Ridley, *Thomas Cranmer* (Oxford, 1962), 65-70; Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* [New Haven, 1996], 67-69. In the early 1530s, Luther and his supporters "were opposed to [Henry VIII's divorce from Catherine of Aragon]," giving Cranmer, who was by 1533 in strong support of "royal absolution," little reason to embrace Lutheran reforms.

considered impious. These new injunctions came to fruition in 1536 and sparked the northern protests that came to be known as the Pilgrimage of Grace.[145]

Though not a pilgrimage in the literal sense of the term, the Pilgrimage of Grace was in large part a reaction to the more stringent reformative measures that targeted the practice of religion.[146] As Haigh explains,

> [i]t was not suppression of papal authority that brought violent conflict, it was suppression of monasteries. Laymen did not fight for the papal primacy, nor for the liberties of the Church; they did not take risks to protect the clergy from royal taxes or royal visitations. But by the middle of 1536 there was more than an abstract principle and clerical privilege at stake: there were attacks on saints' days and pilgrimages…[147]

The participants in the rebellion were reacting directly to the interference of the government in the social and cultural features of religion, as well as the perceived economic threat that the dissolution of the monasteries and the seizing of church plate entailed.[148] The threat to the shrine of St Cuthbert, as well as those of other saints was also a particular concern. Shrines were frequently associated with monasteries, and monks were the primary custodians of reliquaries and shrines. The dissolution of the monasteries was viewed as a direct threat to these saintly relics, which Robert Aske, one of the leaders of the Pilgrimage, cited as a main objection to the Injunctions of 1536. As Michael Bush states, the "pilgrims' reverence for saintly relics was also evident in the importance they attributed to the banner of St Cuthbert" and it is not insignificant that the Pilgrimage used this banner as the rallying flag for

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[145] While the origins and motivations for the northern uprisings of 1536-37 have been continually debated since Madeleine Hope Dodds and Ruth Dodds first engaged the subject at the beginning of the twentieth century, both R.W. Hoyle and Ethan H. Shagan have recently argued for a largely popular, religiously-motivated revolt that was aimed at political measures seen as both heretical and inadequate. See Michael Bush, *The Pilgrimage of Grace: A Study of the Rebel Armies of October 1536* (Manchester, 1996); Michael Bush, *The Pilgrims' Complaint: A Study of Popular Thought in the Early Tudor North* (Farnham, 2009); C.S.L. Davies, "Popular Religion and *the Pilgrimage of Grace*," in *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* eds. Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson (Cambridge, 1985), 58-91; A.G. Dickens, *Reformation Studies* (London, 1982); Madeleine Hope Dodds and Ruth Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace 1536-1537 and the* Exeter *Conspiracy, 1538* 2 Vols (Cambridge, 1915); G.R. Elton, *Policy and Police: The Enforcement of the Reformation in Age of Thomas Cromwell* (Cambridge, 1972); Christopher Haigh, *The Last Days of the Lancashire Monasteries and the Pilgrimage of Grace* (Manchester, 1969); R.W. Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Politics of the 1530s* (Oxford, 2001), 17; Mervyn Evans James, *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1986); Ethan H. Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2003), 90-91.

[146] Shagan, *Popular Politics*, 92 notes that the movement "co-opted traditional Christian imagery and contrasted itself with the sacrilege of a government that had recently dismissed pilgrimages" and cites Robert Aske's pantomime pilgrimage at York, which mimicked the piety and patronage performed by crusaders to the Holy Land.

[147] Haigh, *English Reformations*, 143. See also *L&P Henry VIII*, xi, nos. 705, 784, 786, 1080, 1086, 1092, 1244-46; *L&P Henry VIII*, xii, part i, nos. 6, 68, 70-72, 852, 900, 901, 945, 946, 1175.

[148] Bush, *Pilgrims' Complaint*, 92, 180 notes that one major concern was the "government's recent reduction in the number of holy days that could be legitimately celebrated as festivals." This reduction, which often focused on saints' days that conflicted with harvests, led to the elimination of holy days and festivals dedicated to three saints important to the north (St Cuthbert, St Wilfred and St Luke). The banner of St Cuthbert, who was particularly important in the north riding, became a symbol of the Pilgrimage, in part because it "stood for everything the government's recent pronouncements on religion had dismissed as superstition."

the movement.[149] Cuthbert had long been employed for success in battle, although the saint's powers were usually applied to victory over Scotland.[150] Following the suppression of the Pilgrimage of Grace the violence of the revolt made Henry VIII wary of further innovation, but the king's death in 1547 and the Protestant agenda of Edward VI's privy council allowed Cromwell to push through additional injunctions. Durham Cathedral did not escape the iconoclasm and visitations that followed but Cuthbert's relics were hidden and protected and, by the late seventeenth century, had been returned to the cathedral although no longer displayed in a place of prominence.

The Pilgrimage of Grace, viewed as a response to the threats directed at traditional religion and local power structures in the early stages of Henry VIII's religious reforms indicates that northern England was not particularly supportive of the introduction of Protestant theology. Durham and the surrounding area were notably 'conservative,' even before the Reformation.[151] However, there is little that suggests a decline in traditional Christian religion in the northern part of England leading up to the Reformation. While the northern region actively resisted change until it was forced to do so after the Elizabethan Settlement, the region continued to maintain a conservative attitude towards religion in general. In the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Protestant travellers in the region readily note the Roman Catholic nature of proceedings at the cathedral in Durham, as well as the relatively large population of recusants. Joseph Taylor, an early eighteenth-century traveller described the interior of Durham Cathedral and noted that he

> must not omit taking notice of the seaven Copes of Velvet and Silk, which are us'd [at Durham Cathedral] in divine Service at the Alter…In these habits, the priests look like Monarchs triumphant, and since we are so happy as to have reform'd from Romish Idolatry, I could not forbear calling these relicts of their pride, Rich Raggs of the Whore of Babylon.[152]

Similarly, Celia Fiennes noted that "there are many papists in the town, popishly affected, and daily increase." Even at the end of the eighteenth century, tourists were being shown the relics of St Cuthbert in the cathedral, and told of superstitions surrounding the saint during visits to Lindisfarne. Eliza Dawson, a young woman who visited the cathedral in 1786, was shown a coffin, shoe and spur said to belong to the saint, which the girl sceptically decided "must have belong'd to a Saint, as it is

[149] Michael Bush, "The Pilgrimage of Grace and the pilgrim tradition of holy war," in *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*, eds. Collin Morris & Peter Roberts (Cambridge, 2002), 186.
[150] Bush, "Pilgrimage of Grace," 183-84.
[151] Margaret M. Harvey, *Lay Religious Life in Late Medieval Durham* (Rochester, 2006), 19
[152] Celia Fiennes confirms this description in her account of Durham Cathedral: "I saw severall fine Embroyder'd Coapes-3 or 4, I saw one above the rest was so Richly Embroider'd wth the whole Description of Christs nativity, Life, Death and ascention; this is put on the Deanes shoulders at the administration of the Lords supper, here is y^{e} only place that they use these things in England, and severall more Cerimonyes and Rites retained from the tymes of popery" (Celia Fiennes, *Through England;* Joseph Taylor, *A Journey to Edenborough in Scotland*, ed. William Cowan (Edinburgh, 1903), 78).

widely different to those shoes that would fit the degenerate feet of the present age."[153] Another young woman, whose tour to Scotland in 1790 took her through Durham, made a detour to Lindisfarne where an old woman presented the woman and her travelling companions "with a bead which she told [the travellers] as long as [they] kept it about [them they] should not be drown'd."[154] The beads presented to the travellers were naturally occurring fossils, which are still collected by modern-day tourists and pilgrims to Holy Island. The beads were a curiosity to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century tourists and are mentioned by other travellers from the period. When Henry Mackenzie visited in 1770 he made note of both the beads and the tales regarding them and their namesake.

> There is a natural curiosity in this place called by the Inhabitants St. Cuthbert's Beads. These Beads are a Sort of Petrifaction which is produced by the tide…They are Cylindrical and have regular processes around them, as if they had been turned by a Turner when they are put into vinegar they move, but whether they will dissolve or not I cannot Say...While I was [sauntering] along the Seas Shore I happened to meet with an old man who said he was an Inhabitant of this Island - I asked him concerning St. Cuthbert. The very name revived him, and I found he had some thing concerning him. I was fond to hear the history of so eminent a Saint, who has been the object of so much Speculation in the Church, and had done so much good in his time. I asked the good old man if he knew St. Cuthbert - Nay says he I never saw him (but I have often heard him) There is a place says he where he makes his Beads upon the Shore.[155]

The presentation of the beads and the beliefs associated with them are noteworthy for several reasons. The first is that their acquisition during tours provides a sense of continuity between the practice of pilgrimage (and the purchase, display and use of badges) and the act of tourism. However, in relation to the perpetuation of pre-Reformation religious beliefs and traditions, the procurement of 'St. Cuthbert's Beads' by eighteenth-century travellers, as well as the visitation to Cuthbert's shrine at Durham, indicates that the cult of the saint was, at least in nominal ways, still active. The passages above reveal that while the eighteenth-century travellers were skeptical regarding the legitimacy of the relics and beads, the local people were at least feigning belief in order to attract tourists.[156]

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[153] NLS Acc.12017, *A Tour through part of England and Scotland, by Eliza Dawson in the Year 1786 (diary of a sixteen-year-old girl),* by permission of Dr. & Mrs. Murphey, 6. Underline is diarist's emphasis. Although not mentioned in Dawson's account, it is likely that the shoe in question would have been attributed to a miracle associated with St Cuthbert. Bede recounts the tale: "There was a youth in a near-by monastery who had lost the use of all his limbs…[the abbot] sent him [to Lindisfarne] with the request that they should do everything within their power to cure him…but all to no effect…Lying there despaired of, [the youth] had recourse to the Divine Physician…he asked his servant to bring him a piece of the incorruptible garments from the sacred body [of Cuthbert] , believing that God, by virtue of the relic, would grant the grace of recovery…the servant brought the shoes which Cuthbert had worn in the tomb and put them on the lifeless feet of the invalid…[he] immediately fell into a calm sleep. Suddenly, as the hours were drawing on into the silence of the night, first one foot, then the other began to twitch…he knew at once that he was cured – the muscles and all the joints of his limbs felt strong and solid and the pain had gone. He rose and stood all through matins giving thanks to God…" (Bede, *Life of Cuthbert*, 126-27).
[154] NLS MS15905, "A Journey Through Scotland." (1790). Underline is diarist's emphasis.
[155] NLS Adv.Ms.22.5.3. *A Collection Bound about 1836,* 45.
[156] See Chapter V.

The travellers mentioned above may have visited the shrines of St Cuthbert and St Mungo, and in some instances they observe what they would consider remnants of Roman Catholic worship. However, sites like Glasgow and Durham in the seventeenth and eighteenth century were visited by non-Catholic travellers mainly for tourist purposes, such as sightseeing and diversion. Tours to Glasgow and Durham were generally aimed at satisfying curiosity or artistic and architectural appreciation, and served no practical purpose, but pilgrimage shrines had once been places of healing and, in some instances, the persistence of a pilgrimage site was directly linked to its thaumaturgic qualities. Specifically, sites such as Holywell in north Wales, which were associated with springs or wells, often attracted Catholic and non-Catholic visitors well into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Wells, Water and Winifred

Wells, springs and water were frequent features of medieval pilgrimage shrines. St Mungo is said to have built his mission on the banks of a spring and Glasgow Cathedral contains a well in the south-east corner of the crypt which Peter Yeoman speculates "is likely to have been fed by an ancient spring long associated with [Saint Mungo]."[157] While the well in Glasgow Cathedral does not have a specified historical function, Yeoman suggests that, like other pilgrimage sites in Scotland and England, "it would be common to have a water source with healing properties next to the shrine."[158] Many of the holy wells and springs in the north of Britain were connected to early Christian missionaries and became the locus for pilgrimages, though many shrines may have predated the cults of the saints associated with them.[159] Indeed, wells and springs were common holy sites in pre-Christian Britain and visiting them for healing "was a practice probably rooted in pre-Christian veneration of water, which early Christian missionaries incorporated into the Roman version of the faith by blessing the wells and associating them with Christ and the saints."[160]

Pope Gregory I, whose missionary efforts in the sixth century brought Roman Christianity to the British Isles in full force, wrote that after long deliberation he decided

> [t]he idol temples of [the English People] should by no means be destroyed, but only the idols in them. Take holy water and sprinkle it in these shrines, build altars and place relics in them…it is essential that they should be changed from the worship of devils to the service of the true God. When the people see that their shrines are not

[157] Yeoman, *Pilgrimage*, 27.
[158] Ibid.
[159] James Porter, "The Folklore of Northern Scotland: Five Discourses on Cultural Representation," *Folklore* Vol. 109 (1998), 7. Ronald Hutton stresses that a blanket association of holy wells with pre-Christian religious practices is misleading; historians and archaeologists "are at a loss to know which of [the holy wells] were venerated by pagan Celts," and while long-standing traditions might help to identify possible pre-Christian sights, these must be verified through archaeological and scientific methodology (Ronald Hutton, *The Pagan Religions of the Ancient British Isles: Their Nature and Legacy* [Oxford, 1991], 167).
[160] Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (New Haven, 2002), 205.

> destroyed they will be able to banish error from their hearts and be more ready to come to the places they are familiar with, but now recognizing and worshipping the true God…It is doubtless impossible to cut out everything at once from their stubborn minds, just as the man who is attempting to climb to the highest place, rises by steps and degrees and not by leaps.[161]

Gregory's deliberate attitude towards local pre-Christian practices probably helped to foster a Christian society in Britain that maintained pagan traditions, albeit unknowingly or in altered forms.[162]

By the advent of the Reformation, in both Scotland and England veneration at wells and springs associated with saints was not only an important part of the act of pilgrimage, but was also a significant cultural and religious feature within society. In medieval Britain, veneration at the numerous holy wells that dotted the landscape (Margo Todd cites an estimate of more than six hundred in late medieval Scotland) often acted as calendar markers for the year, with the wells being considered "to have their full power at Beltane, or May day, and throughout the month of May."[163] May day was an important medieval festival day "that helped to give regularity and structure to the year," and though the church designated the day for the veneration of specific saints it was, as David Cressy describes it, "submerged in a welter of secular and pagan activities."[164] Dan M'Kenzie's early twentieth-century survey of holy wells associated with children asserts that many of the shrines were dedicated to "'saints' [who] seem to be old gods with new faces," but it is important to remember that by the late medieval period, it is unlikely that the pre-Christian elements of folklore and popular religion were even subconsciously acknowledged.[165] In fact, E.O. James argued in the mid twentieth century that pre-Christian traditions were so transitory and so completely subsumed into Christianity, that it was Christianity which in reality kept folklore and its associated practices alive: that Christianity in effect "clothed afresh the dry bones with flesh and blood."[166] Similarly, Ronald Hutton asserts that "[it] is better to say, not that the Christian Church took the older religions into itself, bu that it provided a parallel service to them."[167]

However they were promoted and preserved, wells, springs and the saints associated with them were venerated throughout the year and for various purposes, though the majority of such sites

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[161] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, 57.
[162] As Hutton notes, early British Christianity was not simply Celtic paganism decked out in the trappings of Rome but "paganism did bequeath an enormous legacy of superstitions, literary and artistic images and folk rituals to the culture of later ages" (Hutton, *Pagan Religions*, 324).
[163] Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 205.
[164] David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stewart England* (Stroud, 2004), 21.
[165] Dan M'Kenzie, M.D., "Children and Wells," *Folklore* Vol. 18, No. 3 (Sep. 1907), 265; Owen Davies, "Healing Charms in Use in England and Wales, 1700-1950," *Folklore* Vol. 107 (1996), 29; Hilda Ellis Davidson, "Myths and Symbols in Religion and Folklore," *Folklore* Vol. 100, No. 2 (1989), 141.
[166] E.O. James, "The Influence of Christianity on Folklore," *Folklore* Vol. 58, No. 4 (Dec. 1947), 373-74.
[167] Hutton, *Pagan Religions*, 288.

were attributed with healing properties. Many were, as M'Kenzie illustrated, tied to rituals involving the blessing and healing of infants and children, but many more were utilized by adults for numerous infirmities as well as general supplication for prayers and wishes.[168] The wells and springs' association with saints made them targets during the Reformation but, as will be shown, veneration and visitation of such sites were one of the most difficult aspects of pre-Reformation religion to eliminate from society. Whereas relics and altars could be removed from churches and cathedrals, wells and springs, as natural features of the landscape, were much more difficult to eradicate. Indeed, that their history generally pre-dates the advent of Christianity in Britain is a strong indication of their resiliency.[169]

The shrine and well dedicated to St Winifred was, and still is, located just outside Holywell, Flintshire in North Wales.[170] It is also considered by some to be "the greatest holy well of Britain," and sometimes compared to Lourdes in France.[171] The well's current status and popularity is due almost entirely to its restoration and reinvention in the nineteenth century, although the shrine can also boast of a tradition of near-unabated pilgrimage since the early middle ages.[172] Like the cults of St Mungo and St Cuthbert, in the medieval period Winifred's cult was tied intrinsically to a specific regional identity; however, unlike Mungo and Cuthbert there is some debate as to the authenticity of Winifred's literal existence.[173] According to legend, Winifred was a seventh-century virgin beheaded by a local prince when she refused his carnal desires. Fortunately, she was also the niece of the British missionary-saint, Bueno, who restored Winifred's head to her body and brought the girl back to life. The miracle of Winifred's re-capitation was compounded by the spontaneous appearance of a fountain, which is said to have sprung up from the ground where her head fell.[174] This marvelous spring is the centerpiece of the pilgrimage site, and is still believed to have healing properties.

It is the permanency of holy wells and springs within the landscape that made them so impervious to the efforts of the Reformation. Pope Gregory I's letters demonstrate that some of the earliest conversion methods in Britain concentrated more on altering the mindset of the people rather than their religious landscape and as Michael Reed explains

> [c]hurch buildings are themselves, like every other facet of the landscape, a palimpsest of alterations, rebuildings, and extensions, of patching, mending, and restoration, the oldest surviving parts visible today almost always no reliable guide to the true age of

[168] M'Kenzie, "Children and Wells," 265-273. A late nineteenth century survey of folk traditions cites Sir Anthony Mitchell's mention of the well on Maelrubha in Loch Maree, which was said to cure insanity. (E. Sydney Hartland, "Pin-wells and Rag-bushes," *Folklore* Vol. 4, No. 4 (Dec. 1893) 453.)
[169] Davidson, "Myths and Symbols," 134; James, "Folklore of Northern Scotland," 6.
[170] Winifred is the modern, English translation of the Welsh, Gwenfrewi (or in the medieval period, Winefride).
[171] Pennick, *Celtic Saints*, 104-05; Alexandra Walsham, "Holywell: contesting sacred space in post-Reformation Wales," in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Will Coster & Andrew Spicer (Cambridge, 2005), 211.
[172] Ibid.
[173] Ibid, 212.
[174] Ibid, 211.

> the first building to be erected on the site for Christian worship, an important qualification, since many churches occupy sites which have clearly had politico-religious significance since prehistoric times.[175]

But sites associated with springs or wells, which could have an even greater degree of permanency than church buildings, were frequently viewed by the Reformed church "with greater ambivalence" and were associated with "more spontaneous and unruly features of…'local religion.'"[176] St Winifred's Well, for instance, was almost entirely unscathed by the actions of reformers in North Wales, though the shrine in nearby Shrewsbury dedicated to the same saint was completely destroyed.[177] The survival of St Winifred's Well may have been due, at least in part, to the well's association with and patronage of the Lancaster and Tudor dynasties.[178] Walsham correlates the well's immunity during the early period of the English Reformation with its late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century refurbishments, which were funded by the royal household and states that the shrine at Holywell had, by the early sixteenth century, "become nothing less than a dynastic icon."[179]

Royal patronage and protection was a likely factor in St Winifred's Well's survival during the early years of the English Reformation, but does not fully explain the site's survival into the early modern period. In the late sixteenth century Welsh and English officials were making a concerted effort to discourage remnants of "popery and idolatry," specifically those that involved pilgrimages and wells, and Walsham cites numerous instances where local and national records show attempts to curb and punish persistent veneration at sites throughout Wales.[180] In Wales, as in other parts of England and Scotland, the second half of the sixteenth century marked the introduction of Protestant reforms that had real implications for the practice and experience of traditional religion and, as in other regions, the Reformation was met with varying degrees of cooperation and resistance. Additionally, by the late sixteenth century the Roman Church had taken action to halt or reverse the spread of Protestantism through various grass-root methods.[181] By the latter half of the sixteenth century, Holywell had become a "centre for Counter-Reformation activity" in Wales and Northern England.[182] One tactic of the Counter-Reformation was to emphasize the importance in distinguishing "true from false beliefs," and Holywell, with its persistent and effectively-miraculous cures played an important role in legitimizing the veneration of saints.[183] The well's association with the Counter-

[175] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, 57; Reed, *Landscape of Britain*, 174.
[176] Walsham, "Holywell," 214.
[177] Ibid, 217.
[178] Ibid, 212.
[179] Ibid, 213-215.
[180] Ibid, 218,225-231.
[181] Ibid, 220-222; Alexandra Walsham, "Miracles and the Counter-Reformation Mission to England," *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 46, No. 4 (Dec. 2003), 779-781.
[182] Walsham, "Holywell," 222.
[183] Ibid, 222-226; David Gentilcore, "Was there a 'Popular Medicine' in Early Modern Europe?" *Folklore* Vol. 114, No.2 (Aug. 2004), 151.

Reformation meant that the shrine was actively promoted and supported throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. But such efforts were not blithely tolerated in reformed England and the shrine continued to come under attack, especially during the seventeenth century when it was feared it would become "a rallying point for recusant militancy and conspiratorial activity."[184] Holywell saw a short resurgence in royal patronage during James VII & II's reign, when the king visited the well in 1687 seeking the saint's aid in producing a male heir (Prince James Francis Edward was born ten months later).[185] Walsham postulates that the fall of the Stuart monarchy the following year prevented the shrine from reaching its full potential in the seventeenth century; nevertheless, it continued to provide cures and late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century accounts demonstrate that Holywell remained an active site throughout the period.[186] Notably, by the end of the seventeenth century it had even garnered the attention of Protestant tourists.

Two interesting points emerge from an examination of the records left by non-Catholic tourists to Holywell. First, most of the tourists note the on-going Catholic veneration at the shine. Celia Fiennes visited the site in 1698 and remarked that she had seen an "abundance of devout papists on their Knees all round a well. Poor people are deluded into an [i]gnorant blind zeale and to be pity'd by us [that] have the advantage of knowing better and ought to be better."[187] James Brome visited the well in 1707 and wrote that "the generality of the Commonality hereabouts…are too much addicted to Popish Superstition [and] so extremely Credulous to believe the Legend of this Martyr'd Virgin."[188] Daniel Defoe stopped there in the 1720s and wrote an account of St Winifred, whose story he felt was "too much of the legend, to take up any of [his] time."[189] And although Defoe did note the shrine's reputation as a place of healing, he was dubious as to its miraculous abilities.

> The Romanists indeed believe it [bestows miracles], as 'tis evident, from their thronging hither to receive the healing sanative virtue of the water, which they do not hope for as it is a medicinal water, but as it is a miraculous water, and heals them by virtue of the intercession and influence of this famous virgin, St. Winifrid.[190]

Defoe's discussion of the shrine leads to the second point for consideration. Shrines like Holywell were renowned in the Middle Ages for their thaumaturgic qualities and, after the Reformation, continued to draw Catholic adherents for the same miraculous cures despite discouragement from local authorities and the destruction of altars, relics, images and statues. However, the memory of holy wells as places of healing was not entirely tied up in recusant worship, nor did the belief in the healing qualities of specific wells or springs necessitate a Catholic world-view.

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[184] Walsham, "Holywell," 229.
[185] Ibid, 230.
[186] Ibid, 229.
[187] Fiennes, *Through England*.
[188] James Brome, *Travels Over England, Scotland and Wales* (London, 1707), 237.
[189] Daniel Defoe, *A tour thro'...Great Britain.*
[190] Ibid.

Miracles and Medicinal Waters

The seventeenth century saw the development (or, more aptly, the redevelopment) of belief in medicinal baths and drinking water, and many of the tourists who mention Holywell in their diaries and accounts did so because they were, themselves, visiting the well for the purpose of health or well-being.[191] Celia Fiennes wrote that her "Journeys …were begun to regain [her] health by variety and change of aire and exercise," and that she kept her diary so that as her "bodily health was promoted, [her] mind should not appear totally unoccupied."[192] When Fiennes visited Holywell, her account suggests that she was deterred from the typical application of the water's cure (by total submersion of the body) not from lack of belief in its healing power, but rather that her modesty prevented her from bathing in the spring because there were no "Curtains to have drawn about some part of it to have shelter'd from [the] Streete, for [the] wett garments are no Covering to [the] body."[193] In contrast, Daniel Defoe dismissed the miraculous nature of the waters and reasoned that the extreme coldness and healing qualities of the water were not indications of divine intervention. He asserted "there is no great miracle in [these qualities], considering the rocks it flows from, where it is impregnated by

[191] Bathing and healing waters were an important aspect of medieval medical practices which were dominated by the Hippocratic/Galenic tradition that health and well-being were dictated by a balance of the humours and the impact of the environment. See Carole Rawcliffe, *Leprosy in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2006), 226; Mary Lindemann, *Medicine and Society in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 2010), 13. Bathing and water were also important elements to devotion at pilgrimage shrines, particularly those associated with the cure of leprosy and other bodily ailments, and most of the healing springs, spas and wells used for cures in medieval Britain were, or became associated with saints. While the practice never stopped completely (Sir Henry Lee even describes his 1601 visit to some of the more popular spas in England, including Bath and Cheshire, as a "pilgrimage in hope of some ease,") it is likely that this association with saints and pre-reformation religion led to a decline in popularity in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. See Cecil Papers: April 1601, 1-15, *Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House, Volume 11: 1601* (1906), 153-165, *BHO*; Rawcliffe, *Leprosy*, 229. By the end of the seventeenth century, however, the practice was being 'rediscovered' along with many other "Ancient Practices in Physick" and Sir John Floyer, who published an extensive treatise encouraging and recommending cold bathing, blamed the religious upheaval of the seventeenth century on the decline of the practice and believed that had cold bathing continued unabated it would have "prevented many new vain Niceties and Disputes concerning *Baptism*" (John Floyer, Sir, and Edward Bynard, Dr., *Psychrolousia, or, the History of Cold Bathing: Both Ancient and Modern in Two Parts* (London, 1715), Dedication; emphasis is Floyer's). Certainly, by the eighteenth century spas and baths had become important factors in early modern concepts of health and well-being. Indeed, while most of the examples cited in this chapter indicate that wells and spa water were freely accessible, there is evidence to show that they were also highly sought-after commodities. The late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century *Household Book of Lady Grisell Beillie* contains fourteen records of the expenses associated with procuring spa or "Spaw watter," which ranged from sixteen shillings to an enormous eleven pounds, six shillings for "frawght and other expences of bringing the Spaw water from Leith to Edinburgh." These expenses do not take into account the considerable coinage spent during the family's extended foreign tour where they lodged in (Robert Scott-Moncrieff, ed., *The Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie 1692-1788* [Edinburgh, 1911], 22, 85, 78).

[192] Fiennes, *Through England.*

[193] Fiennes, *Through England.* Conversely, when Fiennes visited St Mungo's Well in north Yorkshire, she showed no qualms at setting aside "[the] papist ffancyes of it," and she bathed in the water numerous times during her stay in the region. Fiennes also declared the water to be "a very good Spring being remarkably Cold and just at [the] head of [the] Spring, so its ffresh [which] must needs be very strengthning; it Shutts up the pores of [the] body immediately, so fortifyes from Cold…and [she] found it Eased a Great pain [she] used to have in [her] head, and [she] was not so apt to Catch Cold so much as before."

divers minerals, the virtue of which, and not of the saint … work the greatest part of the cures."[194]

James Bromes' account of the qualities and effects of the well does little to hide the scorn he feels for superstitions and 'popish' beliefs. However his description, like those of Defoe and Fiennes, indicates that by the beginning of the eighteenth century the well was being utilised for secular as well as religious purposes.

> At this place we met divers Persons…some came hither for the good of their Bodies, and others, as they hoped for, the Benefit of their Souls; some we saw kneeling about the Well, mumbling over their Beads with such profound Murmurs as the Conjurers did of Old…Others were gathering up the bloody Stones, and picking up the sweet Moss from the sides of the Well…others went in purely for their Pleasure and Diversion to cleanse and purifie themselves from Bodily Pollutions, reserving their Souls for other kinds of Lustrations, more suitable and congruous to their Divine Nature.[195]

Bromes' account demonstrates the secular use of the well for physical cleansing and medical assistance, as does Thomas Pennant's account of St Winifred's Well nearly a century later.

> To such who require the use of a cold-bath, few places are more proper; for besides the excellence of the waters, exceeding good medical assistance, and comfortable accommodations, may be found here; and the mind entertained, and the body exercised, in a variety of beautiful rides and walks.[196]

It is interesting to note that despite the introduction of a medicinal, rather than miraculous use for the waters, belief in the saint's intercession through bathing and drinking the water persisted throughout the early modern period and into the nineteenth century. Thomas Pennant compared the healing qualities of Holywell to those at Bethesda, and in his 1773 account noted that the shrine was being utilized both by Catholics and Protestants for its healing qualities.[197]

> All infirmities incident to the human body met with relief; the votive crutches, the barrows, and other proofs of cures, to this moment remain pendent over the well. The saint is equally propitious to Protestants and Catholics; for among the offerings are to be found these grateful testimonies from the patients of each religion.[198]

Joseph Taylor was also witness to the votive offerings during his visit to the shrine in the early eighteenth century.

> This well is very much frequented by the Roman Catholicks, in memory of St. Winifred….insomuch that it has been thought a meritorious pilgrimage to come hither,

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[194] Defoe, *A tour thro'... Great Britain*.

[195] Though Brome seems to scorn those who took the moss as a relic, his own account indicates that he also removed a bit of the moss, though he made sure to note that "the Moss which grows upon the Sides, and bears a very Fragrant Smell, is averred to have been the product of [Winifred's] Hair" but he discovered "that in Process of Time it loseth all its sweetness." See Brome, *Travels*, 238-39, quotation regarding the moss at p.237.

[196] Thomas Pennant, *Tours in Wales*, Vol. I (London, 1810), 57-58.

[197] Pennant claimed that the waters of St Winifred's Well were "almost as sanative as those of the pool of *Bethesda*," the bath or pool in Jerusalem where the Gospel of John records Jesus healing an invalid. Mid-twentieth-century archaeological research has found that the site may have been an asclepeion, or a temple dedicated to Aesculapius, the Greek god of healing (Norman Wareham and Jill Gill, *Every Pilgrim's Guide to the Holy Land* (Norfolk, 1992), 26).

[198] Pennant, *Tours in Wales*, 50.

> they told us of many miraculous cures it had done, and show'd us the Crutches of severall lame people, who by bathing were restor'd to their Limbs…They show'd us a Stone in the Well, which they call the wishing stone, stain'd with St. Winifred's blood, where if a Lady wishes for a good husband, or a Man a good wife, they never faile of Success[199]

Taylor's description is also indicative of the conglomeration of belief, medicine and folklore that came to be associated with wells and springs, none of which needed direct input from an organised religious denomination. Similarly Walter Macfarlane's *Geographical Collections Relating to Scotland*, compiled in the early eighteenth century, perfectly demonstrates the liminal role of wells and folk belief in eighteenth-century Scottish society. The *Geographical Collections* contains no less than thirty-four accounts of on-going visitations to holy wells associated with saints and/or folklore, as well as numerous other references to folk beliefs.[200] Most of Macfarlane's contributors associate the belief in such wells with vulgarity or superstition. William Robertson's 1724 report says that the "Fountain [on Binnen Hill in the parish of Strathdone is] renouned among the Vulgar for Marvelous Cures."[201] John Taylor's 1723 description of a well near Muthil in Callender indicates both his attitudes towards belief in holy wells and the persistence of their popularity:

> Near unto [ane old ruinous popish Cheaple] is a well, which the ignorant and supersticious people pay great respect unto and from which they expect cures to be wrought upon themselves and upon their beasts... their custom is to leave something at it, as a penny, a clout, a parte of the beasts hair or any such trifle as ane offering to the Sainct. But ministers especially since the Revolution have spoken so much against it…that few dare now avowedly frequent it. To put a stop to the abominable supersticions used at this Chapell the Presbytry of Auchterarder about the year 1650 ordered the wals of it to be thrown down…yet it was long after that frequented by the ignorant and superstitious.[202]

While many of the contributors dismiss well visitation as superstition, some do acknowledge that the waters provide some sort of relief, as long as said relief is the result of the water's quality, rather than the intervention of a supernatural power. The 1723 account of the parish of Newhills in Aberdeenshire notes the "ruins of ane old Poish Chappell…remarkable for a well reck'ned medicinall, whither crouds flocks about the beginning of May. It is said to be good for the stomach and for cleansing and curing any ulcerous tumours or any part of the body, when bathed with it."[203] In the

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[199] Joseph Taylor, *A Journey to Edenborough in Scotland*, ed. William Cowan (Edinburgh, 1903), 172.
[200] The *Geographical Collections* also show that throughout Scotland, fairs associated with local saints persisted into the eighteenth century. The *Geographical Collections* contain records of more than thirty yearly fairs named for saints, at least half of which were dedicated to Celtic or specifically Scottish saints. At Bethelnie Saint Nachlan (Nathalan or Nauchlan) was celebrated with a yearly fair on 7 January. The saint had special significance in the parish in the early eighteenth century because according to the report in the *Geographical Collections* "the last time the plague was in Scotland, tho' it raged in all the parishes about, yet it did [not come] into that parish at all, which the common people impute to St. Nachlan" (Walter Macfarlane, *Geographical Collections Relating to Scotland* Vol. I ed. Sir Arthur Mitchell (Edinburgh, 1906), 11).
[201] Ibid, 23.
[202] Ibid, 132.
[203] Ibid, 100.

same year Mr. Johnstoun of Kirkland recorded that the parish of Airth could boast of "a spaw well famous in old times for severall cures, and at this day severalls gets good by it, either by drinking or bathing. It is commonly called by the name of Ladies Well."[204] Indeed, there is little to suggest that even the learned contributors would doubt the efficacy of spring water. Andrew Symson notes "very many excellent springs" in Galloway, but "cannot allow" the practice of visiting said springs on "particular days."[205] The use of wells on specific days is particulary troubling to Symson and other contributors. Symson rails against the belief that "Springs and wells have more vertue on [specific] days than any other," though he allows that the "water thereof may be medicinall."[206]

It is interesting to note that while many of the wells cited in the *Geographical Collections* were associated with particular saints (and that a larger proportion of those were dedicated to saints of British or Irish origin), numerous unnamed wells were still described as being used for folk medical practices.[207] While these practices might be attached to wells named for saints, the *Geographical Collections* indicate that such association was unnecessary. In the eighteenth century the connection between specific wells and saints was beginning to be lost, though the virtue of the water was still acknowledged. William Dundas' report regarding Caithness mentions a well "betwixt Halkirk and Spittle blessed by some Saint and much reverenced & frequented by the Commons both for Religion and Medicine" and almost a third of all the holy wells mentioned in the *Geographical Collections* lack the name of a specific saint.[208] Similarly, an ethnographic account from the late nineteenth century suggest that holy wells, both with and without saints' cults attached, remained an important aspect of religion and culture in Wales, regardless of the confessional divide.[209] M'Kenzie's early twentieth-century survey records the memory of eighteenth-century visitations to St Helen's Well in Yorkshire, where "younger folk used to gather on the Sunday evenings and drink the water mixed with sugar."[210] This calls to mind Celia Fiennes' recipe for the water at Holywell, which she claimed tasted "but like good spring water w[hich] w[ith] wine and sugar and Lemons might make a pleasant Draught after walking amongst those shady trees."[211]

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[204] Ibid, 329.
[205] Macfarlane, *Geographical Collection* Vol. II, 107.
[206] Ibid, 87.
[207] These include the appearance of worms in the water (whose state determined the fate of the patient); immediate health or death upon drinking; association with fairies (particularly in regard to sick children); offerings of food, money or items; visitation on specific days (May Day is most common); and generally inexplicable happenings (like blood in the water or resistance to boiling).
[208] Macfarlane, *Geographical Collections* Vol. III, 83. The *Geographical Collections* report at least thirty-three individual wells associated with a Christian site, though many of the medicinal wells and 'spaws' are likely of the same origin.
[209] John Rhys & T.E. Morris, "Sacred Wells in Wales," *Folklore*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Mar. 1893), 56-59.
[210] M'Kenzie, "Children and Wells," 257.
[211] Fiennes, *Through England*.

Indeed, it seems that visiting sacred or holy wells transcended what even would be considered Christian beliefs. In his survey of wells and springs in late nineteenth-century Wales, John Rhys questioned an elderly woman about Elian's Well near Abergele. The woman, who was seventy at the time, explained that the practice of tying rags with wool to the trees surrounding the well had been "the rule since she was a child" and that the well had a reputation as a "*ffynnon reibio*, or a well to which people resorted for the kindly purpose of bewitching those whom they hated."[212] Such practices persisted in post-Reformation Scotland as well, some evidence for which is demonstrated by records of witch-trials in the seventeenth century, *Macfarlane's Geographical Collections* and the *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*. Holy wells had been targeted by reformers since the late sixteenth century, but are not the most prominent features in accusations of witchcraft in seventeenth century Scotland and, as Todd's study shows, most people brought before the kirk sessions for visiting holy wells received minor punishments.[213] An incident recorded in the *Geographical Collections* refers to the accused individuals merely as "Delinquents."[214] Nevertheless, at least five individuals accused of sorcery in the cases compiled in the Survey of Scottish Witchcraft Database mentioned holy wells by name, and numerous others cite the use of "south-running water" and various water-related rites.[215] This evidence, and the accounts recorded by Rhys, should not be taken to mean that holy wells were directly associated with witchcraft, nor that they had completely reverted to the realm of folk belief. Reverend Archibald Singer's account of the united parishes of Fala and Soutra in the *Old Statistical Accounts* for instance makes note of a "fountain of excellent water…still called Trinity Well."[216] The well stood outside of a twelfth-century hospital for pilgrims and "was formerly much celebrated, and much frequented by sick and diseased persons" though Singer asserted that it did "not now appear to have any medicinal qualities."[217] Rather, the Reformation disassociated holy wells from the daily

[212] Rhys, "Sacred Wells," 57.
[213] P.G. Maxwell-Stuart, *Satan's Conspiracy: Magic and Witchcraft in Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (East Lothian, 2002), 22; Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 204-206. Joyce Miller notes that water cures and well visitation were more accurately examples of charming, which could be associated with witchcraft; however, "not all charmers practiced witchcraft nor did all witches practice charming," and the distinction between the two was often based on intent (Joyce Miller, "Devices and Directions: folk healing aspects of witchcraft practice in seventeenth-century Scotland," in *The Scottish Witch-Hunt in Context* ed. Julian Goodare [Manchester, 2002], 91).
[214] The third volume of the *Geographical Collections* includes a transcription of a letter (dated 16 March 1668) from the minister of Stirling to the minister of Muthill regarding a cure for madness associated with St Patrick's Well at Struthill. A woman, Agnes Symson was brought to the well by four men and they "did freely confess, that they had taken that woman to the Well, that they had stayed two nights at an house hard by the Well, that the first night they did bind her twice to a stone at the Well, but she came into the house to them being loosed without their help. The second night they bound her over again to that same stone, & she returned loosed. And they declare also, that she was very mad, before they took her to the Well & since that time, she is working & sober in her wits" (Macfarlane, *Geographical Collections* Vol. III, 91).
[215] Julian Goodare, Lauren Martin, Joyce Miller and Louise Yeoman, "SSW." The holy wells in question were equally canonical and Celtic saints – St. Mungo, St. Leonard, St Jroganis (Jergen), St. Mary and St. Ninian. Keith Thomas notes the belief that "south-running water had magical qualities" (Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 747).
[216] Archibald Singer, "United Parishes of Fala and Soutra," *SAS* Vol. 10, 607-08.
[217] Ibid, 608.

practice of religion, but did not immediately remove their purpose and meaning from the social and cultural landscape. Wells that had been associated with the healing cult of a specific saint frequently continued to be utilized as such, though the saint may have been discarded or transmuted into a more secular (or folk) guise. For instance, the large cross-slab outside the Chapel of Garioch in Aberdeenshire is commonly known as the Maiden Stone and was, and still is, generally associated with various legends about a maiden who lost a bet with the devil and was turned to stone for her failure. However, as James Porter points out, the stone's name is likely a derivation of "St Medan," an Irish missionary saint connected to this and other sites, including a holy well, in the Aberdeenshire area.[218] Similarly, Reverend John Monteath's account of the united parishes of Houstoun and Killallan makes note of a well associated with the local saint, Fillian (Monteath cites the corruption of *Cella Fillani* as the origin of the parish's name). Monteath reports that the well "issuing from under a rock, shaded with bushes hanging over it" used to be visited by "the country women" who would

> bring their weak and rickety children, and bathe them in the water, leaving some pieces of cloth as a present, or offering, to the Saint, on the bushes. This custom continued till about the end of the last century, when one Mr Hutcheson, who was then minister, caused the well to be filled with stones.[219]

As particularly resilient features of the religious and cultural landscape, it is likely that the practical appeal of holy wells and springs persisted even when their saintly representatives did not and that such features continued to be used in folk medicine and charming throughout the seventeenth century. Water, and particularly water from wells was one of the most common components in folk medicines and rituals and cures could be affected both through drinking or washing.[220] Indeed, kirk session records and registers, Acts of the Privy Council, witchcraft trials, *Macfarlane's Geographical Collections*, the *Old Statistical Accounts of Scotland* and nineteenth-century surveys suggest that wells and springs were a particularly difficult tradition to eradicate and that water from these was intrinsic to folk medicine of the early modern period, the belief in which, as Margo Todd argues, was only dispelled by the advent of modern medicine and the application of scientific reasoning to the natural world.[221] Even then folk medicine, charms and healing wells remained an important cultural element in the marginal areas of Britain, well into the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[222]

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[218] Porter, "Folklore of Northern Scotland," 7.
[219] Reverend John Monteath, "United Parishes of Houstoun and Killallan," *SAS* Vol. 1, 316. Although the well at Houstoun and Killallan may have fallen into disuse at the end of the seventeenth century, the *Geographical Collections* indicate that "thankofferings" or clootie wells were still relatively common into the eighteenth century, with several mentions of wells where offerings were left or where children (and sometimes adults) were to be left overnight. See also Lizanne Henderson, "Charmers, Spells and Holy Wells: the repackaging of belief," in *Review of Scottish Culture* Vol. 19 (April 2007), 10-26; Lizanne Henderson and Edward J. Cowan, *Scottish Fairy Belief: A History* (East Linton, 2001), 98.
[220] Miller, "Devices and Directions," 99.
[221] Todd, *Culture of Protestantism*, 257-59; Miller, "Devices and Directions," 97-100.
[222] Davies, "Healing Charms," 19-20.

Likewise, the attraction of and belief in the medicinal benefits of consuming mineral water in the eighteenth century gave legitimacy to the superstitions of pre-Reformation holy wells. The early eighteenth century record of such wells and springs from *Macfarlane's Geographical Collections* is borne out in the latter half of the century with the compilation of reports in the *Old Statistical Accounts*. Reverend Robert Ure's account of the Parish of Airth lists a heading of 'Mineral Springs," where he makes note of Lady-Well near the Abbeytown Bridge which even in the late eighteenth century was "thought to be medicinal."[223] Ure reports that "numbers have used it, and still use it, as such" though "it [was] supposed to have obtained [its] name, from the holy water, in the time of Popery, being taken from it, to supply the abbacy, or Catholic chapel, then at Airth." Ure's listing of the well separately from the other antiquities that he notes demonstrates that despite its Roman Catholic past, Ure was considering the well in the context of its current use. Indeed, regardless of where reports of former holy wells are listed within the *Old Statistical Accounts*, they are frequently described in terms of their contemporary context and interest – that is, the type and quality of their mineral content. Reverend Kettle's account of the Parish of Leuchars describes St Bernard's Well as "a most excellent well flowing with an abundant stream of soft water," and notes that "a little north of the east end of the village, to the convenience and comfort of the inhabitants, there is another well of equal excellence, called the Lady well, no doubt consecrated to the Blessed Virgin."[224] Reverend Thomas Murray called the Holy Water Cleugh "a perennial spring of excellent soft water," though it bore a name "which ancient superstition had conferred."[225]

Conclusion

The discovery of germs and the development of modern medical practices in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries transformed the world and very nearly severed health and healing from the spiritual and superstitious. Articles and studies published at the turn of the twentieth century treated the use of holy wells and spring water for medicinal cures as folklore and, while the belief in the restorative nature of water and fresh air still permeates the travel and tourism industry, this has more to do with the popularisation of package tours and seaside resorts in the nineteenth century, than a direct link to late medieval pilgrimages. Pilgrimage had been an important part of medieval spirituality and, though pilgrimages were not always extensive, long-distance affairs, pilgrims comprised a significant portion of medieval travellers. After the fall of the Roman Empire ancient travel and trade networks were weakened, the "Mediterranean commonwealth" had fractured and Europe was increasingly comprised of insular, autonomous regions. Religious activities like pilgrimage that linked major cities and kingdoms strengthened the authority and control of the Holy

[223] Robert Ure, "Parish of Airth," *SAS* Vol. 3, 495.
[224] Reverend Kettle, "Parish of Leuchars," *SAS* Vol. 18, 599.
[225] Thomas Murray, "Parish of Channelkirk," *SAS* Vol. 13, 390

Roman Empire, as well as the general development of Western Europe.[226] Pilgrims were offered special protection, both from the church and secular authorities and abuse or harassment of travellers carried "special penalties…[and] the severest ecclesiastical censures."[227] In a world where the majority of people would never have economic or social reason to travel more than a day's journey from home, pilgrimage gave meaning and legitimacy to long-distance travel and helped encourage the development and maintenance of safe and practical routes, infrastructure for hospitality and provisions, and international cooperation.[228] Until the Reformation Roman Christianity was the most unifying feature of West European society and pilgrimage routes connected the most distant realms of Christendom.[229] The spread of reformative theology between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries prohibited pilgrimages and rendered much of the infrastructure of prominent shrines obsolete; likewise, ecclesiastical and royal attempts to limit support of or exposure to the Roman church led to stricter restrictions on international travel and created stronger delineation between nation-states in Western Europe.[230] In short, medieval travellers had certainly been aware of national boundaries and regional identities, but the universal protection and support of pilgrims had offered a sense of both anonymity and community to medieval travellers that was challenged by the end of pilgrimage. By the seventeenth century, travellers were approaching their destinations with the attitude that they were strangers in a strange land, and as a result seventeenth and eighteenth-century travel accounts dwell more frequently on the distinguishing features of foreign lands and the unique experiences of the traveller as a foreigner. Many of the conceptions and perceptions of individual countries and regions were beginning to be widely applied or more thoroughly disseminated by early modern travellers and continued to shape identities and stereotypes into the modern period. In northern Britain holy wells and shrines had been prominent features in the religious and cultural landscape, and though the reformations in both England and Scotland had attempted to detach them from their spiritual connections, many wells and former shrines were still associated with both the promotion of health and a specific local or regional identity. Additionally, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the differences between miraculous and scientific cures were not completely distinct. As has been shown,

[226] Henri Pirenne, *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade* (Princeton, 1925), 1; Robert Bork and Andrea Kann, eds. *The Art, Science, and Technology of Medieval Travel* (Aldershot, 2008), 1-2.
[227] Jonathan Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage: The Medieval Journey to God* (Mahwah, 1975), 254.
[228] For general scholarship of medieval pilgrimage and travel see Paul B. Newman, *Travel and Trade in the Middle Ages* (Jefferson, 2011); Norbert Öhler, *The Medieval Traveller* trans. Caroline Hiller (Woodbridge, 1989); Jennie Stopford, *Pilgrimage Explored* (Rochester, 1999); Sumption, *Age of Pilgrimage*; Diana Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London, 1999); Jean Verdon, *Travel in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, 2003); and Brett Edward Whalen, ed., *Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages: A Reader* (Toronto, 2011).
[229] Jerusalem and Rome were the two most important medieval Christian pilgrimage destinations, but Santiago de Compostela (Spain), Nidaros (Norway), St Andrews (Scotland) and Canterbury (England) were nearly as prominent and attracted long-distance pilgrims from the whole of Europe (Alison Raju, *The Pilgrims Road to Nidaros: St. Olav's Way – Oslo to Trondheim* [Cumbria, 2001], 7).
[230] Laws and proclamations, like the James VI & I's 1606 "Proclamation touching Passengers," were aimed at protecting impressionable individuals (here, "women and persons under the age of twenty and one yeers") from exposure to Roman Christianity (*"*James *I: Volume 23: August-November,* 1606*," CSPD: James I, 1603-1610* (1857), *BHO*.), 328-336.

holy wells and springs were utilised for healing by both Catholics and Protestants, and though accounts show that Protestant tourists to former holy wells viewed their Catholic counterparts as superstitious and unscientific, it was only the Catholic belief in the intercession of the wells' patron saints that was dismissed, not the healing qualities of the water.

More importantly, holy wells continued to draw Catholic pilgrims, but the inclusion of wells on tourist routes gave them relevance beyond that of conservative and recusant religious practices. The seventeenth and eighteenth century fashion for visiting wells and spas with the intention of drinking or bathing demonstrates that, in post-Reformation Scotland and northern England, people were still very much concerned with "the explanation and relief" of human suffering and that in the absence of faith-based cures, reformed society constructed rational and 'scientific' solutions.[231] In some parts of the country and particularly in the north and west, these solutions were still centred on former holy sites which had survived the Reformation in large part because they were important cultural as well as religious elements of the local landscape. Similarly, certain rituals and practices of the traditional religion, which had themselves been adapted by the church from the pre-Christian customs, persisted in the form of folklore or "magical beliefs" that came to "fill the gap" left by the excision of these rites from the reformed church.[232] These practices were performed, in large part, without a conscious understanding of either their pre-Reformation or pre-Christian origins and, by the end of the seventeenth century, were becoming defining features in local culture and identity. The folklore and folk culture that permeated these areas made them attractive to tourists in the eighteenth century. In the early part of the eighteenth century, the regional characteristics and local customs of north Britain were viewed with caution and apprehension but, by the middle of the eighteenth century, began to be the focus of tourists who sought unique and mysterious landscapes.

By the seventeenth century, travellers were approaching their destinations with a clear concept that they were strangers in a strange land and, as a result, seventeenth and eighteenth-century travel accounts dwell more frequently on the distinguishing features of foreign lands and the unique experiences of the traveller as a foreigner. By the end of the seventeenth century, Scotland was no longer "a kind of *terra incognita*…a half-mythical country, where strange things might exist," but rather a region offering diversion and excitement first for seasoned travellers and intrepid individuals like Daniel Defoe and Celia Fiennes, and later for bourgeoisie tourists seeking Picturesque beauty and Romantic ideals.[233] The seventeenth century offers a unique perspective into the construction of patterns, tropes and expectations that would come to dominate Scottish tourism in the modern era and the travels of seventeenth-century visitors to the north of Britain, defined its geography, which in turn

[231] Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 3-20.
[232] Tyacke, *England's Long Reformation*, 1.
[233] P. Hume Brown, ed. *Early Travellers in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1973), ix; Martin Rackwitz, *Travels to Terra Incognita: The Scottish Highlands and Hebrides in early modern travellers' accounts, c. 1600 to 1800* (Münster, 2007), 18.

defined what Scotland and tourism in Scotland meant and would come to mean in the following centuries. As Robert Bucholz and Newton Key state so succinctly, "Geography is…Destiny."[234] The next chapter will explore the transition from the suspicious and critical travellers of the late seventeenth century to the enthusiastic tourism of the long eighteenth century.

[234] Robert Bucholz and Newton Key, *Early Modern England, 1485-1714*: *A Narrative History* (Malden, 2004), 1.

Chapter II: Borders and Barbarians

Introduction

Scotland's destiny has long been linked to its geography. Though the lowland region was easily accessible the country's rugged highland terrain made it formidable to invaders and insulated its inhabitants from incursions, both cultural and military, while the coastal firths and outlying islands created strong maritime links with Europe. In mainland Europe, since the time of the Romans Scotland had a reputation for inaccessibility – William Camden claimed that Tertullian's "*inaccessa Romanis*" referred to "that part which was after called Scotland."[235] In the middle ages travelers that did make it to the far northern reaches of the British Isles frequently returned with tales of wonder and vague notions of its remote and foreign location – geese that grew on trees, warlike natives, and islands where the sun never set or "which [deflected] from one shore to the other with the ebb and flow of the tide."[236] Knowledge of Scotland's geography was "sketchy" at least until the sixteenth century.[237] Even after the region began to attract more frequent visits, travellers' reports, as well as the region's strong social and cultural attachment to local saints, traditions and religious identity, imbued travellers' views of Scotland with a strong concept of Otherness. Travel accounts from the seventeenth century continue to demonstrate this construction of alterity, particularly as it applied to travellers' understanding of their own individual identity and their perceptions of Scottish identity as separate from that of their own. As was noted in the previous chapter, Protestant travellers in the post-Reformation period continued to encounter and comment upon persistent pre-Reformation religious practices. They actively defined their own beliefs as in opposition to these and constructed identities based upon their experiences. The late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were marked by intense confessional conflict and it is not surprising to find travellers constructing identity based on religious practice; however, religion was not the only socio-cultural concern and the travel accounts of visitors to northern Britain from the post-Reformation period clearly demonstrate some of the main issues surrounding the emerging concept of national identity. This formulation of individual identity

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[235] William Camden, *Remains Concerning Britain*, trans. John Philipot (London, 1674), 5.

[236] P. Hume Brown. *Early Travellers in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1973), ix, 25-26, 46, & 57. In the eighteenth century, tales were still circulating regarding Scotland's association with 'floating islands.' Thomas Garnett wrote that "the common people of the neighbourhood tell you, that Loch Lomond has long been famed for three wonders: *fish without fins*, *waves without wind*, and *a floating island*…There is indeed a small island, near the west coast of Inch-Conagan, which is called the Floating Island; it is now however fixed, but that it may have once floated, is certainly credible…whether islands of this kind were more common in ancient times, or whether the stories we have of them may be attributed to the credulity of those dark ages, is uncertain; but PLINY the younger mentions several…" See T.M.D. Garnett, *Observations on a Tour through the Highlands and Part of the Western Isles of Scotland*, Vol. I (London, 1810), 45.

[237] Hume Brown, *Early Travellers*, ix; Roger A. Mason, "From Buchanan to Blaeu: The Politics of Scottish Chorography, 1582-1654," in *George Buchanan: Political Thought in Early Modern Britain and Europe*, Caroline Erskine and Roger A. Mason eds. (Farnham, 2013), 19; Martin Rackwitz, *Travels to* Terra Incognita*: The Scottish Highlands and Hebrides in early modern travellers' accounts, c. 1600 to 1800* (Münster, 2007), 17. Hume Brown reports that "it was a common belief on the Continent that Scotland formed a distinct island, that it was considerably larger than England, and that it lay not north and south, but east and west, in the direction of Denmark and Norway."

is crucial to understanding the transition from pre- to post-Reformation patterns of travel and is represented within the Scottish travel itinerary of the Romantic period.

Scotland's geography played a direct role in this transition. While there is a tendency to oversimplify its inaccessible and outlandish reputation or, as some mid twentieth-century historians have done, imagine that this reputation persisted unaltered up to the modern era, the political border between Scotland and England and the very physical and perceived divide between the Lowlands and Highlands were instrumental to both the development of the region and the perceptions and conceptions (or misconceptions) of the north in the early modern period.[238] The border region, or marches, that divide England from Scotland had represented a frontier since the Roman occupation, and frequent military conflicts throughout the medieval period naturally fostered tensions on either side of the border. However, at the beginning of the seventeenth century the union of the English and Scottish crowns "was to have a profound impact" on both nations, with a particular emphasis on the construction and perceptions of national identity.[239] James VI and I's attempts at further uniting the two nations may have relieved some of the tensions along the border, but did not drastically alter the character of the region nor the identity of its inhabitants who were notoriously "tenacious" and frequently acted as "a law unto themselves."[240] Throughout the early modern period a strong perception of a geographically-defined differentiation between England and Scotland not only persisted but became more deeply ingrained in the political and social commentary of travellers.

James VI and I's reign also altered Scotland's internal relationship with its two disparate regions, the Lowlands and the Highlands. Historically the Highlands had maintained a distinct social, cultural and even political identity, which was largely dictated and created by the unique geography of the region.[241] This distinction was highlighted by late medieval historians and chorographers, who

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[238] Alexander Murdoch, *British History 1660-1832* (London, 1998), 15; A.J. Youngson, *Beyond the Highland Line: Three Journals in Eighteenth Century Scotland, Burt, Pennant, Thornton* (London, 1974), 13. Murdoch calls James VI and I "the poor king of an equally poor kingdom, peripheral not just in European but also in British terms. Youngson claimed that until the end of the eighteenth century, Scotland was only every described in disparaging terms and that "no one visited the Highlands for pleasure, or out of a sense of scientific curiosity" before 1750, both points that are refuted in this and following chapters

[239] John R. Young, "The Scottish Parliament and National Identity from the Union of the Crowns to the Union of the Parliaments, 1603-1707," in *Image and Identity: The Making and Re-Making of Scotland Through the Ages* eds. Dauvit Broun, R.J. Finlay and Michael Lynch (Edinburgh, 1998), 106. See also Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts, eds., *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533-1707* (Cambridge, 1998); Julian Goodare and Michael Lynch, eds., *The Reign of James VI* (Edinburgh, 2008); Ralph Anthony Houlbrooke, ed., *James VI and I: Ideas, Authority, and Government* (Aldershot, 2006); Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism, and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (Cambridge, 2004); Charles W.J. Withers, *Geography, Science and National Identity: Scotland Since 1520* (Cambridge, 2001).

[240] Edward J. Cowan and Lizanne Henderson, eds., *A History of Everyday Life in Medieval Scotland, 1000 to 1600* (Edinburgh, 2011), 17. See also: Anna Groundwater, *The Scottish Middle March, 1573-1625: Power, Kinship, Allegiance* (Woodbridge, 2010).

[241] Youngson, *Beyond the Highland Line*, 16 noted that "the fragmentation of the [Highland] population was largely a consequence of Highland geography" and that this fragmented geography led to the development of clan organisation because it prevented the development of "unified military control, and thence unified government, could not be established" over the whole of the region. Furthermore, Alison Cathcart, "The

alternately condemned the Highlands as a wild, uncivilised region or celebrated it as a bastion of "the pristine virtue of the original Scots."[242] The late medieval and early modern Scottish crowns were not nearly so divided in their view of the Highland territories and made efforts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries "to assert royal authority…by both coercive and conciliatory means."[243] The aim, ostensibly, was to align the Highlands more closely with eastern, Lowland Scotland and, during the reign of James VI and I, these measures had the added dimension of fostering the king's "vision of Great Britain" which had no place or patience for an uncivilised, barbaric, illiterate and economically-unviable Highland region.[244] James VI and I's concerns regarding Highland civility were, as Alison Cathcart notes, "informed by the wider debate concerning 'uncivilised' peoples" that had been gathering steam during the sixteenth century as exploration, empire and conquest brought the 'civilised' West into contact with 'undiscovered' societies in the New World.[245]

Among other things, this debate served to reinforce concerns surrounding the Anglo-Scottish unions that book-end the seventeenth century, and while English travellers in northern Britain were not 'discovering' a new world, they were certainly primed to encounter a foreign land. The border-crossing at Berwick or Carlisle represented a very real differentiation, regardless of whether the people or culture varied greatly from north to south.[246] Travellers actively, if subconsciously, created a sense of alterity, or Otherness between themselves and the societies they visited and, in the case of Scotland and northern Britain, this contributed to travellers' interpretations of the places and things they visited, including traditional religious sites and practices, and allowed these to be reimagined and reformulated into the Romantic pilgrimages of the eighteenth century.[247] However, before northern

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Western *Gàidhealtachd*," in *Scotland: The Making and Unmaking of the Nation, c.1100-1707* eds. Bob Harris and Alan R. MacDonald (Dundee, 2007), 92 highlights the lack of unity throughout the Highlands and argues that the region "should not be treated as a homogenous unit" during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See also Withers, *Geography, Science and National Identity*.

[242] Mason, "Buchanan to Blaeu," 21. See also Cathcart, "*Gàidhealtachd*," 90; Hector Boethius, "Scotorum Historia (1575)," *The Philological Museum*, online edition [http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/boece, accessed 17/11/13]. *Historia John of Fordun's Chronicle of the Scottish Nation* ed. William F. Skene (Lampeter, 1993), ii, 3.

[243] Cathcart, 90.

[244] Ibid, 95.

[245] Ibid.

[246] For instance, Celia Fiennes despised and refused to eat the "Clapt out bread" (oatcakes) served to her in Scotland but she first encountered the dish in Westmorland where she thought it "as Crisp and pleasant to Eate as any thing you Can imagine" (Celia Fiennes, *Through England on a Side Saddle in the Time of William and Mary* (London, 1888), *VBTT*). Fiennes' seemingly hypocritical dietary proclivities aptly illustrate the way in which travellers experienced the Other and created identities through difference. As Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Oxford, 1989), 271 notes, "national identity…is contingent and relational: it is defined by the social or territorial boundaries drawn to distinguish the collective self and its implicit negation, the other". See also Ian Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Location of Identity* (Princeton, 1999); Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven, 1992).

[247] The 'Other,' 'Otherness,' and 'alterity' are philosophical terms relating to the understanding of self, identity and ones relationship with others and the world. The terms are frequently applied to the study of anthropology but are particularly applicable to understanding and interpreting the language and meaning of travellers' diaries and journals. For a fuller discussion of the historiography of Otherness and Alterity see Introduction, xxvi. See

Britain could be romanticised by early modern tourists, the region had to be thoroughly deconstructed. In the mid-eighteenth century, this deconstruction had come to be based upon travellers' perceptions of authenticity; however, in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, travellers were not yet embroiled in the "crisis [of] authenticity" that would come to dominate the second half of the period and, instead, were far more concerned with utility and experience.[248] This chapter will focus on travellers' construction of alterity and Otherness within their accounts and will demonstrate how the transitional period of the seventeenth century, which was fraught with religious, social and political upheaval, was crucial to the development of travel and travel writing as a means of expressing and constructing identity, both national and individual.

The analysis within this chapter will focus on individual accounts spanning more than a century. The period marks an increase both in travel and literacy, though the journals and diaries that illuminate the topic at hand sadly lack the diversity of authorship found from the eighteenth-century. While the diaries of the long eighteenth century would offer the insight and opinions of young and old, male and female, noble and middling, those of the seventeenth century were still mainly limited to male travellers who had been educated at Oxford or Cambridge; indeed, of the travellers listed below, all but three are English-born and the list contains only one woman.[249] The travellers considered here include William Camden (English, 1586), Fynes Moryson (English, 1590s), Paul Hentzner (German, 1597), Sir Anthony Weldon (English, 1617), Richard Franck (English, 1656), John Ray (English, 1662?), James Brome (English, 1669), Thomas Kirke (English,1677/79), Ralph Thoresby (English, 1680s), Reverend George Turnbull (Scottish, 1680s-90s), Thomas Morer (?, 1689), Celia Fiennes (English, 1698), Martin Martin (Scottish, 1697), Joseph Taylor (English, 1705/6) and Daniel Defoe (English, 1720s).[250] All travelled to and through northern Britain in the late sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, but their accounts are significantly different from their later eighteenth century-counterparts.[251] The journeys of these travellers pre-dated organized or prescribed tours of Scotland, but their travels and experiences helped to create the

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also Elizabeth Hallam and Brian V. Street, eds., *Cultural Encounters: Representing 'Otherness'* (London, 2000); Emmanuel Levinas, *Alterity and Transcendence* trans. Michael B. Smith (London, 1999).

[248] Susan Stewart, "Scandals of the Ballad," *Representations* No. 32 (Autumn 1990), 134.

[249] It should be noted that Celia Fiennes' account is primarily unique because of her gender. Fiennes may be notable because she was a female traveller whose 'Great Journey' of 1698 (which included her brief foray into Scotland) was completed on horseback without chaperones or extensive retinue, but her family's wealth and prominence placed her firmly within the sphere of the privileged and her descriptions and commentary reveal many of the same prejudices and preconceptions exhibited by her male counterparts.

[250] For a complete list of travellers see p.ix.

[251] Though conscious of the political, social and cultural implications of the term 'Northern Britain,' this paper uses it in a strictly geographical sense, to indicate the northern areas of England (Yorkshire and Northumberland) and Scotland and the Islands as a distinct region. The connotations of this geographical delineation are, of course, linked to social and political issues of which this specific study is aware but does not address in detail. See Introduction, 22.

practice of tourism in the modern sense. Additionally their accounts reveal common themes that reoccur in travel writing both historical and modern.

Revealing *Terra Incognita*

For medieval travellers, both from England and from the Continent, northern Britain was nearly as distant as the Holy Land. For continental travellers the journey was arduous and dangerous, and though an English traveller from London could make the journey on horseback with only a few days hard riding, the border region had a reputation for lawlessness and the country north of the border was considered to be wild, inhospitable and entirely foreign.[252] English travellers' impressions had not changed much by the beginnings of the seventeenth century, but their curiosity was peaked and the rising interest in travel as a leisure activity began to draw them into Scotland. The majority of these travellers were not tourists in the strictest sense of the word. William Camden, for instance, was a teacher whose travels focused on antiquarian research.[253] Camden's *Britannia*, published in 1586, is based on the observations he kept during his travels but the text is not strictly a travel diary, and has more in common with earlier chronicle-style accounts of the British Isles, like William Harrison's *The Description of England* written in the late sixteenth century or the chorographies of George Buchanan and Joan Blaeu.[254] Conversely, Ralph Thoresby who also travelled with an eye for the antique kept a more straightforward journal of his travels, recording daily activities in chronological order.[255] Nevertheless Camden, Thoresby and the rest all reveal a common interest in understanding, observing and recording the differences between their native lands and those that they visit. Likewise, their journals, diaries and chronicles illustrate that in the seventeenth century northern Britain was most definitely viewed similarly to foreign lands. In addition, the journals considered here reveal the

[252] Hume Brown, *Early Travellers*, 2, 24. Despite a fall from his horse that "made [him] so weak, that [he] was forced to ride a soft pace" after Norham in Northumberland, Sir Robert Carey, first earl of Monmouth made the journey in three days in order to bring news of Elizabeth I's death to James VI and to salute him "by his title of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland" (Robert Carey, *Memoirs of Robert Cary, Earl of Monmouth* (Edinburgh, 1808), 127-28).

[253] William Camden, *Britain, or, a Chorographicall Description of the most flourishing Kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London, 1610), *VBTT*. Camden was also tutor to Ben Jonson, whose account of his 1619 journey to Scotland was destroyed in a fire. However, the recent discovery of an anonymous journal in the Aldersey family archives in Cheshire may offer some insight into the tour, which Jonson completed on foot. The journal is being examined and transcribed by researchers from the University of Nottingham and the University of Edinburgh. See Emma Rayner, "Literary Detectives Unravel Famous Ben Jonson Mystery," *UK Campus* 25/10/2011, [http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/news/pressreleases/2011/october/benjonson.aspx, accessed 15/5/2013].

[254] Mason, "Buchanan to Blaeu," 14; Wyman H. Herendeen, "Camden, William (1551–1623)," *ODNB*. Mason notes that such publications were "intended to make a firm statement about the country's past, present and future status" and Camden's *Britannia* was almost immediately a "cultural icon affecting the national self-image." Camden's introduction to *Britannia* explicitly states that he intended to "restore antiquity to Britaine, and Britaine to his antiquity" and that "the glory of [his] country encouraged [him] to undertake" the task (Camden, *Britain*).

[255] Ralph Thoresby, "Diary of Ralph Thoresby," in P. Hume Brown ed. *Tours in Scotland, 1677 & 1681* (Edinburgh, 1892), 49-60.

underlying issues surrounding the political and social construction of national identity in a period when local and regional identity was as defining as national identity is today. In these examples, the travellers define their identities through their descriptions, observations and opinions about various features, customs and individuals that they encounter during their journeys. As was examined in the previous chapter, English travellers to the northern half of Britain tended to create a very distinct identity for themselves and the locals based both on experiences in the region and pre-conceived perceptions. Many of the current studies surrounding descriptions of travel in eighteenth-century Scotland focus on the construction of identity, both of the narrating individual and the concept of Scotland or the Highlands. John Glendening writes in his study on Romanticism and Scottish travel writing that "Scotland was formulated and reformulated for English needs…it was a subject for description, but the descriptions also created the "Scotland" that travellers beheld."[256] In the travel accounts from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries this is constantly reinforced through observations about the people and accommodations the travellers encounter on their journeys and in many instances is directly related to the concepts of identity.

Berwick and the Borders

These perceptions were highly dependent upon the regions and routes utilised by travellers and most visitors to Scotland in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries spent their time in Edinburgh or along the border. During this period the most detailed accounts focus on the narrow stretch of lowland Scotland that runs from Berwick to Carlisle and the border between England and Scotland is yet another repetitive theme in the literature. Discussions of both the border regions and travellers' crossings demonstrate the ways in which travellers perceived and created identities and accounts of the border-crossing at Berwick offer an example of the ways that English travellers in this period separated themselves, both socially and geographically.

Diaries of journeys in northern Britain from the early seventeenth, late seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries show only slight variations in routes and itineraries. For the most part, English travellers followed roughly the path outlined by Fynes Moryson.

> First, let them passe out of *Normandy* to *Rhye,* an English Hauen in *Sussex,* then let them visit such of the fiue Kentish Ports as they please, let them see *Cânterbury,* famous for the Seate of the Metropolitan Archbishop; then the Castle of *Qüinborrough,* in the Iland of *Shoppey,* and the Regall Nauy; then let them passe by *Rochester* (a Bishops Seate), the Regall Pallace at *Greenewich,* and *Depford* the Nauall storehouse… and so let them come to *London.* When they haue viewed the Monuments of *London* and *Westminster,* and seene the Kings Court, they may take a cursory iourney to view such antiquities in *Middlesex, Surry,* and *Barkshire…* from *London* they may take a cursory iourney to see the Vniuersity of *Oxford,* and so by *Worcester* returne to *London.* In their iourney to the confines of *England* and

[256] John Glendening, *The High Road: Romantic Tourism, Scotland and Literature, 1720-1820* (NewYork, 1997), 10.

Scotland, they may see the Vniuersitie of *Cambridge*, and view the most choise antiquities mentioned by Master *Camden* in *Harfordshire, Northamptonshire, Lincolnsheire, Yorkeshire, Durham* and *Northumberland.*[257]

[257] Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary Written by Fynes Moryson Gent.* (London, 1617), 272. See Figure 3.

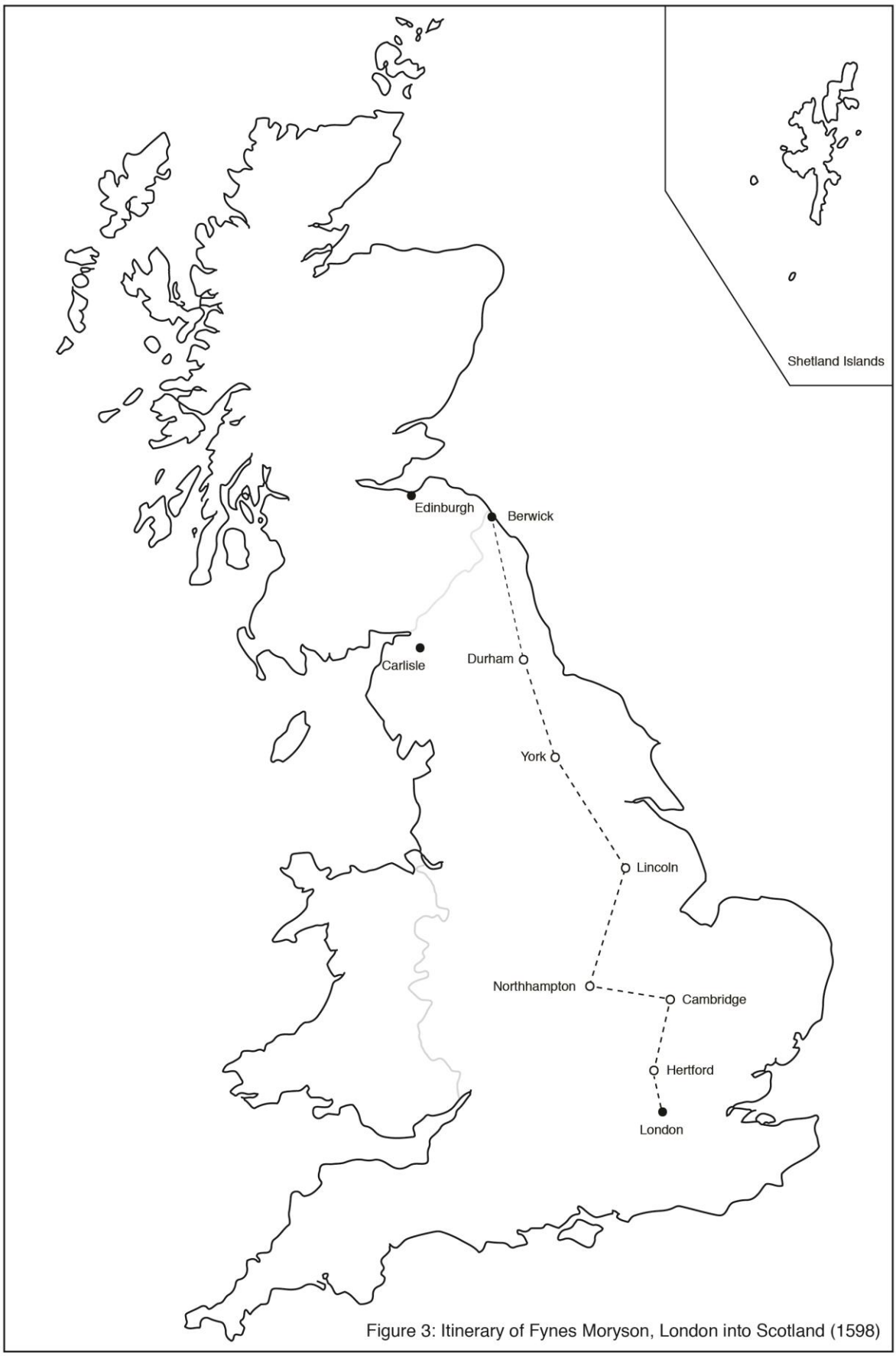

Figure 3: Itinerary of Fynes Moryson, London into Scotland (1598)

Most of the travellers considered in this chapter began their journeys in London, though Thomas Kirke and Ralph Thorsby left from Yorkshire and Leeds respectively. Likewise, a majority of the travellers entered Scotland through Berwick, which Camden named "the utmost towne in England and the strongest hold in all Britaine."[258] Celia Fiennes is the only one of the seventeenth-century travellers examined who crossed into Scotland at Carlisle, the usual exit point for seventeenth-century journeys in the north. Nevertheless, the border between England and Scotland proved to be a concrete and emotional feature on the northern itineraries. The marches between England and Scotland had long been a source of contention and in the medieval period were subject to frequent skirmishes, with Berwick marking one of the main points of entry between the two countries. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II, who had entered Scotland via a rather harrowing sea voyage, chose to leave the country overland, and crossed into England at "a large town," which P. Hume Brown concludes from Piccolomini's description "must be Berwick."[259] Piccolomini depicts Berwick as a town in constant fear of incursion and his night in the town was marred by a false alarm regarding a Scottish assault. Though Piccolomini and the town escaped the night unscathed, the Italian traveller left for Newcastle at first light, and expressed relief to leave "Scotland and that part of England adjoining it [which] bear no resemblance to Italy, but are nothing but a rugged wilderness, unvisited by the genial sun."[260]

By the seventeenth century the two countries had been officially at peace since the second half of the sixteenth-century and James VI's accession to the throne of England further united the nations under his kingship.[261] Nonetheless, travel accounts even from the late seventeenth century reveal that the old hostilities were far from forgotten, and most of the travellers make note of the military fortifications at Berwick as well as the contentious history of the two countries. Camden's description of the town gives a thorough overview of Berwick's place in the joint history of England and Scotland and notes that "it was the first thing alwaies that both nations tooke care of whensoever they were at any discord."[262] When Fynes Moryson visited in 1617 Berwick was still "a Towne then very strongly fortified by the English, to restraine the sudden incursions of the Scots."[263] Thomas Kirke wrote that "on the north side of the town, upon the wall, is a tower, wherein hangs one bell; this

[258] Camden, *Britain*.
[259] Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II), "Scotland: Its Climate, its People, and their Habtis – Aeneas's Experiences in the Country (*De Europa*)" in Hume Brown, *Early Travellers in Scotland*, n. 28-29. See Introduction, iii.
[260] Ibid, 29. Camden, *Britain* cites Piccolomini's account thinking it "good here to put downe, considering as yet they have nothing degenerated." Camden also makes notes of Servius Honoratus's claim that "*Britaine is so plentiful of day light, that it affordeth scarce any time for the nights; neither is it any mervaile that souldiers without other light doe play here all night long at Dice*" and includes Juvenal's reference to Britain's long summer nights.
[261] Ibid.
[262] Ibid.
[263] Moryson, *Itinerary*, 272.

was a watchtower against the Scots, and this was rung to give notice of them."[264] Taylor encountered English soldiers on active duty at Berwick but notes that "the fortifications of Berwick are now but of small strength…" and because the soldiers are young and have not "well learn't their Duty." Taylor and his companions were not properly processed upon their arrival, which led to some confusion and inconvenience for the travellers.[265]

Taylor's stay in Berwick, as well as his despair at entering the "desolate Country" of Scotland, demonstrates that even as Scotland and England worked towards unification not only of their parliaments but of their social and economic fortunes, English travellers still viewed Scotland as a coarse and backwards country and their journals present a constructed Otherness both of Scotland and Scottish people, reflected clearly in the stark delineation between north and south and negative or dismissive English attitudes toward Scotland.[266] For some, the difference was immediately discernible. Joseph Taylor and his travelling companions left Scotland through Carlisle and, after a rather tedious journey through south-western Scotland to the border, they "embrac'd one another with Extasies of Joy, as coming into a new World. The Air Climate and everything seem'd like Paradice."[267] Taylor also notes that the entertainment in Carlisle was "so different…from what we had in Scotland, that [they] blest [themselves] at this wonderfull alteration in so small a distance."[268]

The perceived differences are also clearly demonstrated by Defoe's description of the region just north of Berwick. Like Taylor, Defoe left Berwick and crossed through "the little district between, [which is considered] to be neither in England or Scotland, and is call'd Berwickshire."[269] His description of Berwickshire is particularly grim, though this is likely due to the "fierce…wind, so exceeding keen and cold, [that it] pierc'd [their] very eyes, that [they] could scarcely bear to hold them open," rather than on account of the quality of the land, which Defoe noted to be "good."[270] However, it is Defoe's comments on the first Scottish town that give a clear indication to his sentiments regarding Scotland and Scottish identity. His comments, like those of Taylor cited above, also create a distinct indication of English identity, as separate from that of Scotland, and are repeated throughout

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[264] Thomas Kirke, "An Account of a Tour in Scotland, 1677," in P. Hume Brown ed. *Tours in Scotland, 1677 & 1681* (Edinburgh, 1892), 8.
[265] Joseph Taylor, *A Journey to Edenborough in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1903), 92-93.
[266] See Karin Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion and the Anglo-Scottish Union, 1699-1707* (Woodbridge, 2007); Dauvit Broun, R.J. Finlay and Michael Lynch, eds., *Image and Identity: The Making and Re-Making of Scotland Through the Ages* (Edinburgh, 1998); Bob Harris and Alan R. MacDonald, *Scotland: The Making and Unmaking of the Nation, c.1100-1707* Vol. 2 (Dundee, 2007); Allan I. Macinnes, *Union and Empire: The Making of the United Kingdom in 1707* (Cambridge, 2007); Christopher A. Whatley, *The Scots and the Union* (Edinburgh, 2006).
[267] Taylor, *Journey to Edenborough*, 154. This reaction very neatly presents a mirror-image to the travellers' despair upon entering Scotland at Berwick.
[268] Ibid, 155.
[269] Daniel Defoe, *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain, divided into circuits or journies* (London, 1927), *VBTT*.
[270] Ibid.

the English travel accounts. Defoe writes that Mordintown, the first town one encounters after leaving Berwick is

> as perfectly Scots, as if you were 100 miles north of Edinburgh; nor is there the least appearance of any thing English, either in customs, habits, usages of the people, or in their way of living, eating, dress, or behaviour; any more than if they had never heard of an English nation; nor was there an Englishman to be seen, or an English family to be found among them.[271]

The categories Defoe outlines in the passage above are to be found in nearly every travel account from the period and define both the English perceptions of 'Scottishness', and create a separate English identity for the travellers. English travellers in the long eighteenth century were acutely aware of differences between Scotland and England, which manifested themselves in living conditions, cuisine, costume and customs. Additionally, English travellers, both male and female were more likely to comment on differences in the behaviour and dress of Scottish women than Scottish men.

Hospitality and Hygiene

The categories listed above were a specific means of establishing an instantly recognizable Scotland for English visitors, and accounts like Defoe's helped to prime English expectations. Defoe's observations were not spontaneous, nor were they necessarily original. In 1662 John Ray noted that the Scots

> have a custom to make up the fronts of their houses, even in their principal towns, with firr boards nailed one over another, in which are often made many round holes or windows to put out their heads. In the best Scottish houses, even the king's places, the windows are not glazed throughout, but the upper part only, the lower have two wooden shuts or folds to open at pleasure, and admit the fresh air.[272]

A few years later Thomas Morer gave a detailed account of Scottish houses in his 1689 account and drew very clear distinctions between the English and Scottish styles of town-planning and architecture.

> [T]heir avenues are very indifferent, and they want their gardens, which are the beauty and pride of our English seats. The vulgar houses, and what are seen in the villages, are low and feeble. Their walls are made of a few stones jumbled together without mortar to cement 'em: On which they set up pieces of wood meeting at the top, ridge-fashion, but so order'd that there is neither sightlines nor strength; and it does not cost much more time to erect such a cottage than to pull it down. They cover these houses with turf of an inch thick, and in the shape of larger tiles, which they fasten with wooden pins, and renew as often as there is occasion; and that is very frequently done. 'Tis rare to find chimneys in these places, a small vent in the roof sufficing to convey the smoak away. So that, considering the humility of those roofs, and the gross nature

[271] Ibid.
[272] John Ray, "Select Remains of the Learned John Ray," in Hume Brown, *Early Travellers*, 231.

> of the fuel, we may easily guess what a smother it makes, and what little comfort there is in sitting at one of their fires.[273]

Sir William Brereton (1636) remarked that Edinburgh "is placed in a dainty, healthful pure air, and doubtless were a most healthful place to live in, were not the inhabitants most sluttish, nasty, and slothful people. [He] could never pass through the hall, but [he] was constrained to hold [his] nose…"[274] Thomas Kirke described Edinburgh (and by extrapolation the other towns and cities of Scotland) as "poor and populous…which so well suits with the inhabitants that one character will serve them both, viz., high and dirty."[275] Celia Fiennes' tour also demonstrates this preoccupation with Scottish living conditions, cuisine and clothing which were major considerations for the late seventeenth-century traveler, and Fiennes' concerns are echoed by both Taylor and Defoe. Indeed, though the travellers' tales are full of accounts of Scottish houses and homes, their opinions become far more detailed and derogatory when the travelers experienced, rather than simply observed.

Celia Fiennes is positively disgusted by the conditions of her accommodations north of Carlisle, where despite the "[c]leaning of their parlour for [her she] was not able to beare the roome; the smell of the hay was a perfume and … [she would] Rather Chose to stay and see [her] horses Eate their provender in the stable than to stand in [the] roome for [she] Could not bring [herself] to sit down."[276] Similarly, at Hartwistle in Northumberland, Fiennes was

> forced to take up in a poor Cottage w[hich] was open to [the] Thatch and no partitions but hurdles plaistered. Indeed [the] Loft as they Called it w[hich] was over the other roomes was shelter'd but w[ith] a hurdle; here [she] was fforced to take up [her] abode and [the] Landlady brought [Fiennes] out her best sheetes w[hich] serv'd to secure [her] own sheetes from [the landlady's] dirty blanckets, and Indeed [Fiennes] had [the landlady's] fine sheete to spread over [the] top of the Clothes; but noe sleepe Could [Fiennes] get, they burning turff and their Chimneys are sort of fflews or open tunnills, [the] smoake does annoy the roomes.[277]

Kirke also had trouble sleeping in Scottish accommodations. During his stay in Edinburgh his room was furnished with a bed made of "loose boards, one laid over another, with sharp edges, and a thin bed upon it. [He] ken [he] got but little sleep that night."[278] Near John of Groat's house in northern Scotland, Kirke and his companions were so tired after a long journey that their "weariness caused [them] to enter mean beds, and [they] might have rested had not the mice rendezvoused over [their] faces."[279] Later in his journey, when he was unable to get lodgings at the Laird of Meldrum's house,

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[273] Thomas Morer, "A Short Account of Scotland," in Hume Brown, *Early Travellers*, 275.
[274] Sir William Brereton, "Travels of Sir William Brereton," in Hume Brown, *Early Travellers*, 140.
[275] Thomas Kirke, "A Modern Account of Scotland by an English Gentleman," in Hume Brown, *Early Travellers*, 256.
[276] Fiennes, *Through England*.
[277] Ibid.
[278] Kirke, "Tour in Scotland," 13.
[279] Ibid, 33. Insects and vermin were common complaints of travellers in Scotland. One group of seventeenth century travellers, whose 1641 adventures were memorialised in verse by the unknown poet P.J., found it difficult to sleep in Scottish accommodations: "Poore harmelesse sleepe, whom lice and fleas affright,/ for they

Kirke "was forced to take up at that poor village called Old Meldrum" in Aberdeenshire and though he was able to get "wine, ale, and bread from the Laird's house," there was "no abiding this poor place" and Kirke and his companions were forced to move on.[280] Even had he been entertained by the laird, Kirke may have been sadly disappointed. Joseph Taylor was pressed by the Laird of Ecclefechan to "bait [in the town], [assured] of good entertainment," but the inn recommended by the Laird could hardly even provide accommodations for the traveller's horses, who "were forc't to stand at the door in the bleak Ayr."[281] The travellers found the inn to be a single room "on a ground flour, there being no higher Story, where were two Beds One Table, two Chairs, and a few bricks to support the fire, whose Smoke evaporated thro' a great Hole in the Roofe, instead of a Chimney, made for that purpose."[282] And though the travellers managed to get a decent meal of "Neck of Mutton, and Cabbage, drest in an extraordinary manner… [with] the addition of a Bannock, and some sowr cheese," it was served on a cloth so filthy "which [the travellers] did not dare come nigh, much less touch it, so terrible was its look."[283]

Taylor was absolutely horrified by the lack of cleanliness and hygiene among the Scottish people. His journal contains a very extensive and thorough examination of the offenses of the Scots regarding public and personal sanitation.

> Every street shows the nastiness of the Inhabitants, the excrements lye in heaps…In a Morning the Scent was so offensive, that [they] were forc't to hold [their] Noses as [they] past the streets, and take care where [they] trod for fear of dislodging [their] shoes…The Lodgings are as nasty as the streets, and wasn't so seldom, that the dirt is thin eno' to be par'd off with a Shovell, Every room is well scented with a close stoole, and the Master Mistress and Servants lye all on a flour, like so many Swine in a Hogsty; This with the rest of their Sluttishness, is no doubt the occasion of the Itch, which is so common amongst them…[Taylor and his companions] were mightily afraid of the Itch the first night, which made [them] keep on [their] white thread Stockins, and gloves, but [they] all had the good fortune to escape it.[284]

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are the cruell bugbears in the night,/And we to shun them would have layne in straw,/But God forgive us for it, there we saw/Three demibeds in battaile ray appeare,/As if they had crept out o' th' wall for feare,/And these had beene ship cabines in their youth,/ Then to a spittle sent, and no forsooth/Kept as a strange regale here to please/The wearied passenger, and give him ease./But these sweet dreames which we in them expect/Are sowered with a nasty foule defect,/The sheetes smelt soe as wee were all affraide/That the last horrid plot was there bewrayd" (J.P., "A Scottish Journie: Being an Account in Verse of a Tour from Edinburgh to Glasgow in 1641," ed. C.H. Firth in *Publications of the Scottish History Society, Volume XLIV: Miscellany* [Edinburgh, 1904], 277).

[280] Ibid, 23.

[281] Taylor, *Journey to Edenborough*, 151.

[282] Ibid, 151-152.

[283] Ibid, 152.

[284] Ibid, 134-36. "The Itch" Taylor describes is most likely a reference to the body louse, or *Pediculus humanus humanus*. Taylor writes, "the fear of this distemper put us upon enquiring into the nature of it, and the best account I could find, was in the monthly philosophicall transactions (No. 283)…containing some observations on the Itch, which is occasion'd by a minute little creature, in shape resembling a Tortoise, of whitish colour, a little dark upon the back, with some thin long hairs, of nimble motion, with six feet, a sharp head, with 2 little horns at the end of the Snout, which getting between the Fingers, in the little furrows of the Cuticula, with their sharp heads, begin to enter, and by their gnawing and working in with their bodyes, make the itching, which by scratching is encreas't,…[the observer] whilst he was drawing the Figure of one of these animals by

Taylor was so fearful of catching "the Itch," that he "therefore took care of good clean linen at Edenborough, but upon the road in Scotland [he and his companions] never went to bed, and scarce touch't a cloth."[285] Indeed while Fiennes, Kirke and Taylor offer a pretty grim account of travel accommodations in Scotland, James Brome's account from 1669 offered perhaps the most melodramatic of the lot. After leaving Hamilton on his way to Dumfries, Brome and his companions

> had two days journey very doleful and troublesome, fore [they] travelled over wide meers and dangerous mountains in the company of some Scotch gentlemen, who were going that way for England, where the weather was ill, the ways worse, and the long miles with their way-bits at the end of them worst of all, where our lodging was hard, our diet course, and our bodies thin, that it might easily be decerned how we had lately pass'd through the territorys of famine, who reigns very potently over that cold and pinching region.[286]

Brome's account indicates that while hard lodgings might have been a trial for travelers, food and cuisine were, perhaps, one of the most pressing concerns.[287] English travelers were not particularly fond of Scottish fare. For the English traveller, even before the eighteenth century, the most foreign aspect of Scottish life was the regular consumption of oats, and the presentation of oatcakes to the travellers incited a range of comments and responses. Oats were a baser grain, likely due to traditions carried through the middle ages from classical writers such as Pliny and, to some, were a foodstuff fit only for animals.[288] Peder Swave (1535) wrote that the "wild Scots [Highlanders]…are ignorant of the use of bread."[289] Estienne Perlin explained in his mid-sixteenth-century account that "the poor people put their dough between two irons to make it into bread, and then made it what is esteemed good food in that country."[290] Fynes Moryson devoted an entire section of his account to the diet of the Scots. He noted that they "eate much red Colewort and Cabbage, but little fresh meate," and observed "no Art of Cookery." He also wrote that the Scots "vulgarly eate harth Cakes of Oates, but in the Cities have also wheaten bread, which for the most part was brought by Courtiers, Gentlemen, and the best sort of Citizens."[291] Richard Franck, a native of

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Microscope…perceiv'd a very small Egg drop from the hinder part, from which he is of opinion these creatures are generated, And these Animalcules sticking to everything that touches them, he infers that from thence the Itch comes to be so catching."

[285] Ibid, 136.

[286] James Brome, "Three Years' Travels over England, Scotland, and Wales," in Hume Brown, *Early Travellers*, 249.

[287] Claude Julien Rawson, *God, Gulliver, and Genocide: Barbarism and the European Imagination, 1492-1945* (Oxford, 2001), 74 notes the "traditional territory of ethnic slurs based on savage eating habits and outlandish foods," which became a standard rhetoric of language and writing about primitive cultures and a clear indicator of Otherness.

[288] Lane Cooper, "Dr. Johnson on Oats and Other Grains," *PMLA* Vol. 52, No. 3 (Sep. 1937), 786.

[289] Peder Swave, "Diary of Peder Swave," in Hume Brown, *Early Travellers*, 57.

[290] Estienne Perlin, "Description des Royaulmes D'Angleterre et D'Escosse," in Hume Brown, *Early Travellers*, 79.

[291] Hume Brown, *Early Travellers*, 88-89. Wheaten bread was certainly familiar to the more privileged members of Scottish society. The *Ochtertyre House Booke of Acomps 1737-1739* contains numerous records of bread purchases, with the terms 'loves' or 'loafe' ostensibly indicating risen wheaten bread, rather than

Cambridge, recalled his experiences as a trooper in Cromwell's army: "[W]e stormed the town, and 'twould make a man storm to be treated only with oatmeal, of which we made cakes; for every souldier became a baker…"[292] John Ray, writing in the 1660s, declared that the Scots

> have neither good bread, cheese, or drink. They cannot make them, nor will they learn. Their butter is very indifferent, and one would wonder how they could contrive to make it so bad. They use much pottage made of coal-wort, which they call keal, sometimes broth of decorticated barley.[293]

Sir William Brereton declared that during his travels in Ayrshire, he and his companion

> were exceedingly punished for want of drink and meat for ourselves and our horses…the entertainment we accepted, in a poorer house than any upon Handforth Green, was Tharck-cakes [oatcakes], two eggs, and some dried fish buttered; this day, as many days before, [he drank] nothing but water…[294]

It should not be surprising that the satirical pamphlet attributed to Sir Anthony Weldon criticized Scottish cuisine. The author allowed that the Scots had "good store of fish…and good for those that can eat it raw; but if it come once into [Scottish] hands, it is worse than if it were three days old: for their butter and cheese, I will not meddle withal at this time, nor no man else at any time that loves his life."[295] What is surprising is that the vitriolic author does not criticize the Scottish oatcake, but rather uses it as jibe at what he perceives as irregular Scottish religious practices:

> They christen without the cross, marry without the ring, receive the sacrament without reverence, die without repentance, and bury without divine service: they keep no holy days, nor acknowledge any saint but St Andrew, who they said got that honour by presenting Christ with an oaten cake after his forty days fast. They say likewise, that he that translated the Bible was the son of a maltster, because it speaks of a miracle done by barley-loaves; whereas they swear they were oaten cakes, and that no other bread of that quantity could have sufficed so many thousands.[296]

Thomas Morer was more forgiving of the oatcake, and explained that "[t]heir bread, for the most part, is of oat-meal, which, if thin and well baked upon broad irons or stones for that purpose, is palatable enough, and often brought to gentlemen's tables."[297] However, Morer's kind and rather neutral assessment would have been quickly dismissed by Celia Fiennes, who was particularly dissatisfied with the oaten bread, though she first encountered the oatcake in Lancaster.

> Here it was [she] was first presented w[ith] [the] Clap bread w[hich] is much talked of made all of oates. [Fiennes] was surpris'd when the Cloth was Laid, [the hosts]

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traditional unleavened oatcakes. Surprisingly the account book contains no direct reference to the notorious oatcake, though there are many references to 'pancakes' and 'sour cakes,' of which the latter was, according to the glossary, a dish made of fermented oatmeal dough (James Colville, ed., *Ochtertyre House Booke of Accomps 1737-1739* [Edinburgh, 1907], 258).

[292] Richard Franck, "Franck's Experience as a Trooper in Scotland," in Hume Brown, *Early Travellers*, 186.

[293] Ray, "Select Remains," 231.

[294] Brereton, "Travels," 157.

[295] Sir Anthony Weldon, "A Perfect Description of the People and Country of Scotland," in Hume Brown, *Early Travellers,* 97.

[296] Ibid, 101.

[297] Hume Brown, *Early Travellers*, 273.

> brought a great Basket such as one uses to undress Children with and set it on the table full of thin waffers as big as Pancakes and drye that they Easily breake into shivers, but Coming to dinner found it to be [the] only thing [she] must Eate for bread. [The] taste of oate bread is pleasant enough and where its well made is very acceptable, but for [the] most part its scarce baked and full of drye flour on [the] outside.[298]

Fiennes devoted a great deal of her prose to a description of the baking methods along the borderlands, an attention to detail perhaps explained by the fact that she was greatly troubled by the oaten bread, which "so disagrees w[ith] [her] as allwayes to make [her] sick w[hich] [she] found by its Effects whenever [she] met w[ith] any, tho' [she] did not discern it by the taste."[299] Later Fiennes told how one of the landladies

> offered [her] a good dish of ffish and brought [her] butter in a Lairdly Dish with the Clap bread, but [Fiennes] Could have no stomach to Eate any of the ffood they should order, and finding they had noe wheaten bread [she] told her [she] Could not Eate their Clapt out bread, soe [she] bought the ffish she got.[300]

Thomas Kirke travelled more extensively through Scotland than Fiennes; however, he too found reason to complain of both the hospitality and the bread. In Ayreshire, he and his companions stayed at a "poor house" where they were shown to a room that had only just been vacated by a flock of geese and, as a result, was "full of feathers." Kirke and his company "could neither get eggs, wine, brandy, milk, or spring water, but only oat bread, and some muddy ale," and were subjected to the further injustice of having to share their accommodations with the landlady's sons.[301] Ralph Thoresby, who visited Scotland only four years after Kirke was equally displeased and was "too impatient at the Scotch victuals, not able to eat anything, though we had the bailiff's (or alderman's) own dinner; only at last made a shift to get down some eggs without bread, butter, or salt."[302]

Though displeasing to the English palate, oats and oatcakes were a staple of the northern British diet in the early modern period, likely due to the ease and stability of its cultivation in the region, compared with other staple grains, such as wheat.[303] Joseph Taylor wrote that the land around Leith was "the most pleasant and fruitfull in Scotland, 'Tis all open, and abounds with Oats." Similarly, Daniel Defoe was optimistic about the prospects of the Highlands, in part because the region supplied its inhabitants with "four sorts of provisions in great plenty; and with a supply of which 'tis reasonable to say they could suffer no dangerous want."[304] The first of these four Defoe listed as "[v]ery good bread, as well oat bread as wheat, though the last not so cheap as the first."[305]

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[298] Fiennes, *Through England*, 22.
[299] Ibid, 22.
[300] Ibid, 24.
[301] Thomas Kirke, "Tour in Scotland," 47.
[302] Thoresby, "Diary of Ralph Thoresby," 50-51.
[303] J.S. Gibson and T.C. Smout, "Regional Prices and Market Regions: The Evolution of the Early Modern Scottish Grain Market," *The Economic History Review* New Series Vol. 48, No. 2 (May 1995), 258-63.
[304] Defoe, *Tour thro'…Great Britain.*
[305] Ibid.

As noted above by Moryson, wheaten bread was available in Scotland; however, it was more expensive than traditional oatcakes, and as Samuel Johnson and James Boswell discovered on their Highland tour, unlikely to be presented in the recognizable, risen form common to the English.[306] Later, in Skye, Johnson expounds at length upon the use of oats, and explained:

> Their native bread is made of oats, or barley. Of oatmeal they spread very thin cakes, coarse and hard, to which unaccustomed palates are not easily reconciled. The barley cakes are thicker and softer; [he] began to eat them without unwillingness; the blackness of their colour raises some dislike, but the taste is not disagreeable. In most houses there is wheat flower, with which [Johnson and Boswell] were sure to be treated, if [they] staid long enough to have it kneaded and baked. As neither yeast nor leaven are used among them, their bread of every kind is unfermented. They make only cakes, and never mould a loaf.[307]

All of this, and particularly Taylor and Defoe's seeming approval of oats as a provision for the Scots, further delineates their conceptions of Scottish versus English identity. Though Johnson's *Journey* gave a relatively fair account of the use of oats in Highland Scotland, the Doctor is still more commonly remembered for his glib definition of the oat in his 1755 *Dictionary of the English Langauge*: "A grain, which in England is generally given to horses, but in Scotland supports the people."[308] There is the sense, from the late seventeenth-century accounts, that the Scots were scorned for their ready consumption of oats, a food which few of the English travellers deign to touch, let alone consume on a regular basis, but also that it suited the perception that the Scots were a baser and less civilized people.

A Monstrous Regiment

The travellers cited may have been critical of their accommodations and provisions while in Scotland, but their disparagement of Scottish hospitality and cuisine is nothing when compared to their critique of the Scottish people themselves, which frequently manifests in tropes typical of Western encounters with primitive and savage cultures in the New World. English travellers in the seventeenth century were acutely interested in the native inhabitants of their destinations and it is in this feature that the true nature of seventeenth-century travel emerges. For European travellers and explorers in the early modern period, foreign lands were particularly interesting from an ethnographic point of view. Indeed, travel writing from this period frequently mimics the discourse of Noble Savagery that "often determined Western visions of indigenous people" from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment and the

[306] Samuel Johnson, *Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland* (London, 1785), 15. In the second half of the eighteenth century, when Johnson and Boswell made their journey into the Highlands, the renowned pair shared their English bread with the local people, for Boswell "supposed them never to have tasted a wheaten loaf before."
[307] Johnson, *Journey to the Western Isles*, 19.
[308] Samuel Johnson, "Oats," *A Dictionary of the English Language: A Digital Edition of the 1755 Classic by Samuel Johnson*, ed. Brandi Besalke [http://johnsonsdictionaryonline.com/?p=3471, accessed 27/12/2012].

journals and accounts examined here are no exception.[309] The concept of 'noble savagery,' which had emerged in the century after Columbus encountered the Americas, became even more important in the latter half of the eighteenth century as European interests in the New World brought "scientifically minded" individuals into contact with non-European cultures and societies.[310] Nevertheless, seventeenth and early eighteenth-century travellers' descriptions of native Scots, both from the Highlands and the Lowlands, demonstrate the on-going construction of a separate identity. Scottish-born travellers and chroniclers may have used descriptions of Highlanders and Islanders to promote examples of "ancient Scottish discipline and virtue," but seventeenth-century visitors were rarely swayed by such descriptions.[311] In particular their accounts make frequent note of both the clothing and habits of the locals, and are particularly interested in the appearance, behaviour and role of women in the societies they observe. Indeed, if anything could have offended an English traveller more than being forced to eat oats, it was the sight and experience of Scottish women. Descriptions of Scottish women from the early modern period give a clear picture of the prejudice, anxiety and tensions that English travellers felt regarding their northern neighbours and it is particularly noteworthy that travellers' descriptions became blatantly vicious in the periods surrounding movement towards greater unity between the two countries.

Weldon, writing in the early part of the seventeenth century, was characteristically harsh and reported that Scotland

> although it be mountainous, affords no monsters but women, of which the greatest sort (as countesses and ladies) are kept like lions in iron gates; the merchants wives also prisoners, but not in so strong a hold; they have wooden cages, like our Boarfranks, through which sometimes peeping to catch the air, we are almost choaked with the sight of them. The greatest madness amongst the men, is jealousie; in that they fear what no man that hath but two of his sense will take from them.
> The ladies are of opinion, that Susanna could not be chaste, because she bathed so often. Pride is a thing bred in their bones, and their flesh naturally abhors cleanliness; their body smells of sweat, and their splay feet never offend in socks. To be chained in marriage with one of them, were to be tied to a dead carcass, and cast into a stinking ditch; formosity and a dainty face are things they dream not of.[312]

The English poet who memorialised a journey between Edinburgh and Glasgow in verse seems to have encountered one attractive Scottish woman, but he concludes his description of her "grace" and beauty with a sly, back-handed compliment:

> This country lasse deckt in her native hew,
> With something of I know not what was new,

[309] Harry Liebersohn, "Discovering Indigenous Nobility: Tocqueville, Chamisso, and Romantic Travel Writing," *The American Historical Review* Vol. 99, No.3 (Jun. 1994), 746.
[310] Ter Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage* (London, 2001), 11. While the concept of the 'noble savage' emerged during the Enlightenment in the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and John Dryden, as well as others, the idea is related to the much older literary and philosophical trope of primitivism (Gaile McGregor, *The Noble Savage in the New World Garden: Notes Towards a Syntactics of Place* (Toronto, 1988), 12).
[311] Mason, "Buchanan to Blaeu," 27.
[312] Weldon, "Perfect Description of…Scotland," 103.

> Did better please the fancy and delight
> Then courtly ladyes did in red and white.
> But 'twas with her as 'tis in every thing,
> Amongst the blinde the one ey'd man's a king.[313]

Kirke called Scottish women "two-handed tools, strong-posted timber," and declared that they

> dislike English men because they have no legs, or (like themselves) posts to walk on; the meaner go barefoot and bare-head, with two black elf-locks on either side of their faces; some of them have scarce any cloaths at all, save part of their bed-cloaths pinn'd about their shoulders.[314]

In a different account, Kirke wrote that he thought Scottish women "esteem it an honour to go bare-foot and bare-leg, for when [he and his companions] entered [their] inn, a maid there had stockings and shoes on, but upon [their] coming she pulled them off and went bare-legged."[315] Fiennes also noted that Scottish women seemed indifferent to proper footwear. Near Adison Bank she saw

> women and great Girles bare legged [leading] a horse w[hich] draws a sort of carriage, the Wheeles like a Dung-pott and hold about 4 wheele barrows. These people tho' with naked Leggs are yet wrapp'd up in plodds, a piece of woollen Like a Blanket, or Else Rideing hoods-and this when they are in their houses. [She] tooke them for people w[hich] were sick, seeing 2 or 3 great wenches as tall and bigg as any woman sat hovering between their bed and Chimney corner, all [i]dle doing nothing or at Least was not settled to any work tho' it was nine of the Clock when [she] Came thither.[316]

Taylor encountered bare-footed Scottish women outside of Ecclefechan. He and his companions riding "along an open Cornfield, [where] there were two or three Scotchmen at Harvest, with a Woman, who had no Shoes nor Stockings to her feet."[317] Unlike Fiennes and Kirke, Taylor does not seem to have any strong opinions regarding barefooted Scottish women, but he was not terribly impressed with their general appearance. He wrote that "the women were most vail'd with plods, which gave us but little opportunity of passing our Judgement on the Scotch beautyes, but those we saw were very indifferent."[318] John Ray noted that "the women generally to [him] seemed none of the handsomest. They are not very cleanly in their houses, and but sluttish in dressing their meat."[319] These descriptions of Scottish women are particularly revealing of English perceptions and prejudices, especially when one considers some of the non-English accounts from the same period. Certainly, one might expect French reports to be favourable towards the Scots but one striking, if early, example from Don Pedro de Ayala, ambassador to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, completely contradicts the English descriptions of Scottish women. De Ayala declared that

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[313] J.P., "A Scottish Journie," 282.
[314] Kirke, "Modern Account," 260.
[315] Kirke, "Tour in Scotland," 10.
[316] Fiennes, *Through England.*
[317] Taylor, *Journey to Edenborough*, 150.
[318] Ibid, 137.
[319] Ray, "Select Remains," 231.

> [Scottish] women are courteous in the extreme…they are really honest, though very bold. They are absolute mistresses of their houses, and even of their husbands, in all things concerning the administration of their property, income as well as expenditure. They are very graceful and handsome women. They dress much better than [in England], and especially as regards the head-dress, which is, I think, the handsomest in the world.[320]

Ayala's description predates most of those previously discussed, and the rest of his account displays a great deal of anti-English and pro-Scottish sentiments, though Hume Brown's commentary on the account insists that Ayala was "afraid his description of Scotland may appear partial; his intention, however, [was] to tell the truth."[321] While Ayala's description is isolated and likely biased, the comparison between his account and those of seventeenth-century English travellers demonstrates that descriptions contained a degree of expression relating to perceptions of the social and cultural value of the people encountered. English travellers, particularly those writing at the end of the seventeenth century were inclined to be hyper-critical of Scottish people

Union and Use

Within many of the diaries there is a definite sense that the experience of travel in the north was less pleasing than in the south. Taylor, Fiennes and the rest of the travellers become noticeably less impressed with everything they encountered the further north they ventured, whether accommodation, diet or the people themselves, but it is Taylor's early eighteenth-century account that gives a clear indication of the anxieties imbedded within such views. Taylor's experience of Scotland definitely left a strong impression on the traveler, both regarding the Scottish landscape and the prospective union of the two countries. On his way to Kendall, Taylor encountered

> a most dismall barren and stony Country, where there is not a tree for 10 miles, Except one Thorn…which grows on a Rock…[He and his companions] now thought [themselves] in Scotland again, and remembering the discourse there of incorporating, or a Federall union between the 2 Nations, [they] unanimously voted that Scotland ought only to be incorporated with Westmoreland, as being the most agreeable to one another.[322]

Taylor's account demonstrates his attitude towards the integration of the two countries on the eve of the union and offers some insight into the concerns regarding the union, as well as English perceptions of the remoteness of the northern regions of Britain. Specifically, this and other comments indicate that Taylor was not convinced that the union of Scotland and England would be mutually beneficial and suggests instead that remote and unappealing areas of England, such as Westmoreland, could be annexed to Scotland, where they belonged. Taylor's comment is glib but, as it follows shortly after his description of both a debate in Edinburgh regarding the proposed union and

[320] Don Pedro de Ayala, "James IV and His People," in Hume Brown, *Early Travellers*, 47.
[321] Ayala, "James IV," 49.
[322] Taylor, *Journey to Edenborough*, 159-60.

his assessment of the failed Darien Scheme, it is particularly revealing of Taylor's attitude towards the union and Scotland's ability to contribute both politically and economically to a united Britain.

Taylor's assessment of the main concerns of the union debate highlights some of the political motivations, both English and Scottish, behind the union or, at the very least, Taylor's understanding thereof.[323] The union, which was largely unfavourably in Scotland, was marketed to the Scots, both by England and by Scotland's ruling class, as an economic boon to the country whose fortunes had been severely depleted in the second half of the seventeenth century, particularly the "'ill years' of the 1690s" and further limited by the Alien Act 1705, which Taylor calls an "Act…which not only declar'd [the Scots] Aliens, but prohibited their goods, and thereby touch't them in the most sensible part."[324] Interestingly, Taylor records that for the ministers of the Scottish Parliament the main affront posed by this act was not the economic limitations but rather that it was an insult to "an ancient independent Nation" and that "England could not make [the Scots] Aliens, since they were natural born subjects to the Queen."[325] Certainly, the Alien Act of 1705 posed a challenge to Scotland's economy,[326] but the motivation for it was Scotland's Act of Security of 1703, which in turn was a response to England's Act of Settlement of 1701. Therefore, if Taylor's narrative is to be believed, stability of the crown and succession were the primary incentives for both parliaments on the eve of the union.[327] Indeed, the only mention Taylor makes of economic considerations during the debate was that Andrew Fletcher and "Another Gentleman" opposed Queen Anne as nominator for commissioners of the Scottish Parliament because the "Queen is in England, under the Influences of an English Ministry" and the English were "engaged in a long and expensive war….but they [the Scottish Parliament] being poor, and not able to assist her, the English would certainly have the greater influence."[328]

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[323] Ibid, 5. Though little is known about Taylor outwith the information provided in his journal, which identifies him as "a barrister of the Inner Temple." William Cowan, who edited Taylor's journal in 1903 posits that Taylor was "admitted… [to the Inner Temple] in 1701." It is not surprising then to find that Taylor was singularly interested in the legal aspects of Union.

[324] Christopher A. Whatley, *Scottish Society, 1707-1830: Beyond Jacobitism, Towards Industrialisation* (New York, 2000), 1; T.C. Smout, "The Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707. I. The Economic Background," *The Economic History Review* New Series, Vol. 16, No. 3 (1964), 45; Taylor, *Journey to Edenborough*, 114. For public and political perceptions and motivations for the union see: Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*; Macinnes, *Union and Empire*; Smout, *Anglo-Scottish Relations*; Smout, "The Anglo-Scottish Union," 455-467; Whatley, *Scots and the Union*. See also Daniel Defoe, *The History of the Union of Great Britain* (Edinburgh, 1709).

[325] Taylor, *Journey to Edinburgh*, 114.

[326] After leaving Edinburgh, Taylor and his companions met an old woman on the road to England who inquired "whether they were to have free trade with England, which [Taylor, et al] told her was agreed upon; This good news procur'd us the woman's blessing, and convinc't us of the effect our Act of parliament for prohibiting trade with them would have had, were it not repeal'd" (Taylor, *Journey to Edenborough*, 145).

[327] John Robertson, "Fletcher, Andrew, of Saltoun (1653?–1716)," *ODNB*.

[328] Fletcher was one of the main proponents and authors of the Act of Security put forth by the Scottish Parliament in 1704 (Robertson, 'Fletcher, Andrew," *ODNB*; Taylor, *Journey to Edenborough*, 117).

Taylor's report of the debates is notably objective, especially when compared to his assessment of two other infamous affairs that were directly related to Anglo-Scottish relations at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Just after the debates concluded in a vote on the Act of Union (Taylor states it "'twas carry'd approven, by 34 voices") the travellers made their way to Leith, where they stayed at the Sun, a public house "where Captain Green lodg'd."[329] Though Taylor and his companions had been warned "not to speak anything…in relation to Captain Green, Darien, or the Succession" they decided to trust the landlord of the Sun and were "civilly oblig'd" with an account of the trial and execution of Captain Thomas Green.[330] The story that was relayed to Taylor led the traveller to declare that he had "never heard of any person that dyed more like a Man of honour and Christian…[and induced Taylor] in charity to believe him innocent."[331] While it is likely that Captain Green was innocent, Taylor was also convinced that the Scots were "worse than pirates themselves… [and had] very little trade, and so were oblig'd by necessity to go a privateering for this Ship [the Worcester], which was a considerable prize in so poor a Country."[332] He also dismissed the failure of the Darien scheme as "ill luck" and saw the whole affair as an occasion for the Scots' "dull Bards…to vent out some poeticall malice, in barb'rous Satyrs, against the English."[333] Overall, Taylor's account is rather unfavorable towards Scotland, with a strong sense that he blamed much of the country's failings on the general population rather than the nobles and gentry. He pinned much of the blame for Captain Green's execution on the common people by noting that the "Lord Chancellor very narrowly escap't being torn in peices" by the mob so that "there was no avoiding the necessity of sacrificing [Green] to [its] fury."[334] In regards to the Darien Scheme Taylor chided the "inferior people…[and] the Servants" who "expected no less than a Great Fortune for half a Dollar."[335] Even the one thing Taylor felt he could "commend in this country…the excellent wine in every place" he felt would

[329] Ibid, 118, 121.

[330] Ibid, 121-22, 125. Taylor states he had been informed that "a Gentleman had like to have been stab'd for speaking his Sentiments too freely" regarding the Green Affair. The trial (in Edinburgh) and execution (in Leith) of Captain Thomas Green was of great public interest during this period. William Cowan's notes to Taylor's *Journey* include a summary of the case: Green was captain of the *Worcester*, a ship connected with the East India Company (EIC). EIC had recently seized the *Annandale*, a ship in the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies (Cowan calls this the "African Company") and the *Worcester* was captured in an act of reprisal by Mr Roderick Mackenzie, secretary of the Company of Scotland. Rumours that the *Worcester* had "been guilty of piracy on a vessel belonging to the Darien Company, called the *Speedy Return*" led to the indictment of Green and some of his crew for "piracy and murder." Despite appeals by the Queen and Government, evidence to the contrary and the reappearance of an unscathed *Speedy Return* and its captain, Drummond, Green was executed on 11 April 1705 in Leith. This account, along with Taylor's attendance at the parliamentary session settling on the Act of Union suggests that his journey was completed during the summer of 1706. See Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, 40-44.

[331] Taylor, *Journey to Edenborough*, 123.

[332] Ibid, 125. Smout, "Anglo-Scottish Union," 462 cites the arrest and execution of Green as reparation for the Alien Act of 1705.

[333] Taylor, *Journey to Edenborough*, 126. Taylor also noted that "the children, which can but just speak, seem to have a natural Antipathy against the English.

[334] Ibid, 123.

[335] Ibid, 126. For discussions of the the Darien Scheme and Scottish identity in the late seventeenth century see David Armitage, "The Scottish Vision of Empire: Intellectual Origins of the Darien Venture," in *A Union for*

> mightily contribute to the impoverishment of the Scotch, if they continue to drink the same quantity they do now, because they pay ready mony for it, and have but few Commodities to make a return, the chief whereof are Fish, and course white cloth, which will scarce balance the Consumption of wine.[336]

This last statement is Taylor's final indictment of a mismanaged Scotland and gives the reader a sense he is concerned regarding the country's ability to contribute meaningfully in the potential union. Twenty years later Defoe's account of Scotland confirmed Taylor's apprehensions and declared that all previous descriptions of Scotland had been put forth by native Scots with such "scandalous partiality," so as to "describe [Scotland's] commerce as an immense thing for magnitude, has set off their manufactures in such a figure, and as such extraordinary things, that the English are trifles to them, and their merchandizing, according to his account, must be inferior to very few, if any nation in Europe."[337] Consequently, he set out to provide an accurate picture of Scottish society, culture and economics in his *Description*, though Defoe, who served as a spy to further English interests in Edinburgh during the debates for and against union, would have a vested interest in describing England's northern neighbour as a country worthy of English interest and development.[338]

Near Dunbar, for instance, Defoe begins to take note of the great number of trees that were planted around the various noble houses on or near the road to Edinburgh. Travellers' perceptions of the surplus or paucity of trees in Scotland is an on-going theme in the writings of English visitors, and will be discussed in detail below. However, in the light of Defoe's underlying purpose, that is, to paint Scotland as a potentially profitable and beneficial partner for England, his discussion is worth examining here. Specifically, Defoe writes of the value of the trees to the noble family who planted them, and notes that the six thousand acres of fir trees planted by the Earl of Tweedale will be

> much more value than six pence a tree; for they have now been planted near three-score years…and, if they stand another age, and we do not find the family needy of money enough to make them forward to cut any of them down, there may be a noble estate in firr timber, enough, if it falls into good hands, to enrich the family.[339]

Even more pertinent are Defoe's comments regarding the export of timber from Scotland, if plantations could be encouraged. As he continued towards Edinburgh, Defoe noted that

> [one can] hardly see a gentleman's house, as [one passes] the Louthains, towards Edinburgh, but they are distinguish'd by groves and walks of firr-trees about

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Empire: Political Thought and the British Union of 1707 ed. John Robertson (Cambridge, 1995), 97-119; Douglas Hamilton, "Scotland and the Eighteenth-Century Empire," in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History* eds. T.M. Devine and Jenny Wormald (Oxford, 2012), 423-38; Allan I. Macinnes and Arthur H. Williamson, eds. *Shaping the Stuart World, 1603-1714: The Atlantic Connection* (Leiden, 2006); Charles W. Withers, *Geography, Science and National Identity: Scotland Since 1520* (Cambridge, 2001), 104-110.

[336] Ibid, 126, 133.

[337] Defoe, *Tour thro'…Great Britain*. It is possible that Defoe is making reference to William Lithgow's account (see p.90).

[338] Smout, "Anglo-Scottish Union," 463.

[339] Defoe, *Tour thro'…Great Britain*.

> them; which, tho' in most places they are but young, yet they shew us, that in a few years, Scotland will not need to send to Norway for timber and deal, but will have sufficient of her own, and perhaps, be able to furnish England too with considerable quantities.[340]

It is evident that Defoe sees potential value in this region of Scotland and that, due to the political and economic ties fostered by the Union of 1707, this value would ultimately bring benefits to both countries.[341]

Defoe may have been at pains to find pleasant and profitable aspects of Scotland, but elements like this show that his *Description* is demonstrably self-reflexive and encapsulates a great deal of the tensions and concerns of England during the early years of the Union. For instance, Defoe claims that though the Scottish side of the border is nothing like England, England has been thoroughly colonized by its northern neighbours. There is, he says

> in England abundance of Scotsmen, Scots customs, words, habits, and usages, even more than comes them; nay, even the buildings in the towns, and in the villages, imitate the Scots almost all over Northumberland; witness their building the houses with the stairs (to the second floor) going up on the outside of the house, so that one family may live below, and another above, without going in at the same door; which is the Scots way of living, and which we see in Alnwick and Warkworth, and several other towns.

This passage may not contain the overt prejudice of Thomas Kirke's 1679 account that compared Scotland to a parasitic insect.

> Italy is compared to a leg, Scotland to a louse, whose legs and engrailed edges represent the promontories, and buttings out into the sea, with more nooks and angles than the most conceited of my Lord Mayor's custards; nor does the comparison determine here: A louse preys upon its own fosterer and preserver, and is productive of those minute animals called nitts; so Scotland, whose

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[340] Ibid.

[341] Ibid. Defoe makes note of woollen manufacturing near Haddington which hads been set up "for making broad cloths, such as they call'd English cloth." Though he sees this industry as "an advantage of the poor," Defoe does not believe the manufacture of cloth in the region will be of much benefit to Scotland as a whole because, since union, the woollen trade prohibitions that once prevented the import of English cloth had been removed and "the clothiers from Worcester, and the counties adjoining such as Gloucester and Wilts, brought in their goods, and [were] under selling the Scots" so that Lothian-milled wool could not compete. If one compares this assessment with that of Defoe's assumptions about the potential of timber-trade, it is evident that the benefits of economic union were, at least from Defoe's presentation, rather one-sided. Certainly, Scotland's surplus of timber should be supplied to England, but there is little or no concern regarding the deterioration of the Scottish wool industry which "supplied [the Scots] very well" before the union. See also Smout, "Anglo-Scottish Union," 456-64. Prior to the Union of the Crowns in 1603 Scottish trade with England was limited at best and often disrupted by piracy and border conflicts, but Scotland had strong and lucrative economic ties with the Continent for the export of "native wool" and other Scottish goods, including an alliance with France that "gave the Scots extraordinary commercial privileges and encouragement to look beyond Britain for their cultural and economic ties." The export of woollen plaiding declined sharply at the end of the seventeenth century and the threat of the Alien Act (which was triggered, in part, by the Scottish parliament's Act allowing the Exportation of Wool) provided sufficient economic incentive for a serious consideration of union with England. Defoe, acting as a pro-union spy and pamphleteer in Edinburgh in the early eighteenth century, emphasised the importance of Scottish linen and cattle as exports to England, rather than its woollen trade.

> proboscis joyns too close to England has sucked away the nutriment from Northumberland.[342]

However, Defoe's comments do echo Taylor's snide remark regarding the similarities between "dismall barren and stony" Westmorland and Scotland, and hints that the more 'appropriate' solution for the two nations may have been to join the undesirable parts of England with Scotland, rather than the whole of the northern country with its pleasant and southerly neighbor.[343]

As Hume Brown's examination of travellers' accounts before the eighteenth century suggests, English travellers who visited Scotland deliberately intended "to make odious and ridiculous everything connected with Scotland."[344] The satirical tract *A Perfect Description of the People and Country of Scotland,* the authorship of which is still debated, gives a striking example of this bias.[345] The tract is sometimes attributed to Sir Anthony Weldon, who travelled with James VI & I to Scotland in 1617 and opens by declaring: "First, for the country, I must confess it is good for those that possess it, and too bad for others, to be at the charge to conquer it. The air might be wholesome but for the stinking people that inhabit it; the ground might be fruitful had they wit to manure it."[346] While the tract is deliberately and exaggeratedly harsh, many of the seventeenth-century accounts bear similar witness to English prejudices. For instance, Elizabeth Murray, Duchess of Lauderdale, may have married the Scottish-born John Maitland and lived in "extravagant style" at Thirlestane Castle in Scotland, but drew clear distinctions between Scotland and her native land. When her young son fell ill she feared that "the Aire of St. Andrews [was] to sharp for him" and requested that Bishop Sharp "inable [the child] to come to England" where she "hoped his native country may best agree with him."[347] Of course, the Duchess's letter is hardly a travel account, but while later diaries can and do offer a more unbiased description, even the union of Scotland and England's parliaments at the beginning of the eighteenth century did little to discourage travellers from promoting already established stereotypes about Scotland. If the travel accounts from the early decades of the eighteenth century are any indication, the union merely encouraged proto-anthropological travel-writing that was inherently ethnocentric in nature. Defoe's early eighteenth-century description is an excellent example and the introduction to his *Description* demonstrates the application of constructive criticism of Scotland through travel writing. Defoe states:

> [A]s I shall not make a Paradise of Scotland, so I assure you I shall not make a wilderness of it. I shall endeavour to shew you what it really is, what it might be, and what, perhaps, it would much sooner have been, if some people's

[342] Kirke, "Modern Account," 253.
[343] Taylor, *Journey to Edenborough*, 159-60. See Note 78.
[344] P. Hume Brown, ed. *Scotland Before 1700 from Contemporary Documents* (Edinburgh, 1893), ix.
[345] Joseph Marshall and Sean Kelsey, "Weldon, Sir Anthony (*bap.* 1583, *d.* 1648)," *ODNB.*
[346] Weldon, "Perfect Description," 97.
[347] Elizabeth Murray, Duchess of Lauderdale, "The Duchess of Lauderdale to Sharp (XXVII), Whitehall, May 31, 1676," *Publications of the Scottish Historical Society* Vol. XV "Miscellany (First Volume)," (Edinburgh, 1893), 283-84.

> engagements were made good to them, which were lustily promis'd a little before the late Union: Such as erecting manufactures there under English direction, embarking stocks from England to carry on trade, employing hands to cut down their northern woods, and make navigations to bring the fir-timber, and deals to England, of which Scotland is able to furnish an exceeding quantity; encouraging their fishery, and abundance of fine things more which were much talk'd of I say, but little done.[348]

These observations and concerns are fairly evident when the journals are compared to one another. A pattern of observations and issues emerge as most of the travellers settle into a rather prescribed set of topics. While this indicates a clear demarcation from the practice of pilgrimage, it also sets travel in the north on a path towards regular tourism. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, artistic appreciation of landscape was overshadowed by a more practical consideration: land usage – and particularly what English visitors viewed as the Scottish tendency towards ill-use or neglect. Indeed, though Defoe asserts that his abovementioned assessment is not actually "the business of [his] work," the whole of his *Description* is full of discussions regarding the improvement of Scotland through the proper application of modern, English methods of farming and industry, and he outlines quite clearly the "few things needful to bring Scotland to be….as rich in soil, as fruitful, as populous, as full of trade, shipping, and wealth, as most, if not as the best counties in England."[349] Descriptions like Defoe's demonstrably create a dichotomy between England and Scotland, ostensibly implying a superiority of the former and constructing alterity not just between the two nations, but between the intellect and ability of their people. While Defoe is adamant that he has "so much honour for the noblemen and gentlemen of Scotland, that [he is] persuaded they will be as well pleas'd to see justice done them and their country," his overall tone is of notable condescension.[350] "I hope it is no reflection upon Scotland," he writes "to say they are where we were, I mean as to the improvement of their country and commerce; and they may be where we are."[351]

Seeing the Forest for the Trees

Improvement is perhaps the most important concept to take away from the descriptions of Scotland between the regnal union of 1603 and the parliamentary union of 1707. While sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century accounts of northern Britain frequently make note of the region's remoteness or the ways in which its society and culture differ from that of England, earlier remarks regarding the land's worth were generally balanced in their assessment. Diaries from this period show attention and emphasis on the fecundity of the landscape. John Major's sixteenth-century account notes that while "England excels Scotland, by a little in fertility" England had the benefit of being "not removed so far

[348] Defoe, *Tour thro'…Great Britain.*
[349] Ibid.
[350] Ibid.
[351] Ibid.

from the path of the sun [and] in fish Scotland far more abounds: that is, that very nearness to the sun of the other country God has made up to [the Scots] in another way."[352] In his late seventeenth-century diary of his journey to the Hebrides, Martin Martin observed that the island of St. Kilda is "one hard Rock…All thinly covered with black or brown Earth, not above a Foot, some places half a foot deep…[it] affords them good Turf, the Grass is short but kindly, producing plenty of Milk."[353] Fynes Moryson recommended that all travellers who wished to journey through the British Isles first consult "the Chapter, wherein these Kingdomes are Geographically described out of *Camden,* or if he list, rather let him reade *Camden* himselfe of this point."[354] Moryson is not as detailed as Camden in his descriptions, but still makes note of various features of the agricultural landscape. He writes that Berwick is "abounding with all things necessary for food;" that a palace near Dunbar is "beautified with faire Orchards and Gardens, and [is] for that clime pleasant;" that Musselborough lies in "stony soyle;" and that Edinburgh is "the most ciuill Region of *Scotland,* being hilly and fruitfull of corne, but hauing little or no wood."[355]

The lack of trees in Scotland is a concern repeated by travellers in both the seventeenth and eighteenth century. While in Leith, Moryson noted that grounds of noble houses were often "compassed with little groues, though trees are so rare in those parts, as I remember not to haue seene one wood."[356] Thomas Kirke confirmed Moryson's account in his description of Leslie House in Fife. The house, built shortly before Kirke visited in 1677, stood "in a bottom, the country about being barren and naked; but around the house are abundance of trees."[357] Indeed, accounts from the seventeenth century seem to suggest that Scotland was naturally barren of trees, as travellers in nearly every region comment on the lack thereof. The tract attributed to Sir Anthony Weldon claimed that

> as for fruit, for their grandsire Adam's sake [the Scots] never planted any; and for other trees, had Christ been betrayed in [Scotland] (as doubtless he should, had he come as a stranger), Judas had sooner found the grace of repentance than a tree to hang himself on.[358]

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[352] John Major, "Of the Boundaries of Scotland, its Cities, Towns, and Villages; of its Customs in War, and in the Church; of its Abundance of Fish, its Harbours, Woods, Islands, etc.," in Hume Brown, *Scotland Before 1700*, 45. It should be noted that Major, or Mair, was an early proponent of a unionised England and Scotland (R.R. Davies, "The Peoples of Britain and Ireland, 1100-1400: II Names, Boundaries and Regional Solidarities," in *The Royal Historical Society Transactions* Series Six, Vol. 5 (Cambridge, 1994), 4). Nevertheless, Scotland's climate remained a notable challenge to farming and husbandry, though John Cockburn of Ormiston, a noted agricultural improver, believed that Scotland's struggles did "not entirely arise from the climate…but [that agricultural affairs were] never right managed nor every thing necessary in order…A little Ignorance is an Ingredient in our not having such things much better than we have" (James Colville, ed., *Letters of John Cockburn of Ormistoun to His Gardener, 1727-1744* [Edinburgh, 1904], 50).

[353] Martin Martin, *A late voyage to St. Kilda, the remotest of all the Hebrides, or the Western isles of Scotland* (London, 1698), 26-27.

[354] Moryson, *Itinerary*, 272.

[355] Ibid, 272-274.

[356] Ibid, 274.

[357] Kirke, "Account," 17.

[358] Weldon, "A Perfect Description of…Scotland," 97-98.

On St. Kilda, Martin declared, "there is no sort of Trees, no, nor the least Shrub grows here."[359] Camden wrote of Lothian that the region had "many hilles in it and little wood" but that the land was to be commended for "fruitfull cornfields."[360] Sir William Brereton "diligently observed" the Scottish countryside, but "[could not] find any timber in riding near one hundred miles" through "any of the south or west parts of this kingdom."[361] Thomas Kirke noted that "woods they have none… [except] [s]ome firr woods there are in the Highlands, but so inaccessible, that they serve for no other use than dens for those ravenous wolves with two legs, and they prey upon their neighbourhood, and shelter themselves under this covert…"[362] Of course, the stereotypical view of a tree-less Scotland would be permanently etched in the minds of travellers nearly one hundred years later, when Samuel Johnson's published travel diary declared that

> [t]he roads of Scotland afford little diversion to the traveller…The variety of sun and shade is here utterly unknown. There is no tree for either shelter or timber. The oak and the thorn is equally a stranger, and the whole country is extended in uniform nakedness…[363]

Johnson's account was certainly biased and reflects not only the Doctor's acerbic wit but his own personal prejudices. However, it, and the other descriptions of a barren Scotland, also demonstrate the profound importance geography played in the creation of travellers' perceptions of the region: the perception that Scotland lacked trees was almost certainly due to the routes and regions traversed.[364] For instance, Piccolomini visited Scotland in the fifteenth century and noted in the eastern lowland region he visited that, the people "burned [coal] instead of wood, of which the country is destitute," but that Scotland itself was divided into "two distinct countries…the one cultivated, the other covered with forests and possessing no tilled land."[365] Indeed, travel accounts from the seventeenth century confirm that the lack of trees was limited to the lowlands in seventeenth century Scotland. Thomas Kirke, who noted the barrenness of Fife, wrote that near Loch Ness there

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[359] Martin, *Voyage to St. Kilda*, 31.
[360] Camden, *Britain*.
[361] Brereton, "Travels," 150.
[362] Kirke, "Modern Account," 253-54.
[363] Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland* (London, 1775), *VBTT*.
[364] Fynes Moryson provided a basic itinerary from southern England into Scotland, which roughly followed the Old North Road or Ermine Street north to Berwick (see Chapter III). This route passed through most major settlements, including numerous ecclesiastical centres that built up around the cults of various saint in the medieval period, and entered the Scottish Lowlands along the coast of the North Sea. The geography of Lowland and eastern Scotland, as well as the Hebrides, Orkneys and Shetlands is naturally adverse to the extensive growth of trees, giving travellers who journeyed no further than Edinburgh and the borders (or who confined their itineraries to the coasts) the impression that Scotland was treeless. (R.M.M Crawford, "Trees by the Sea: Advantages and Disadvantages of Oceanic Climates," *Biology and Environment: Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* Vol. 105B, No. 3 [Nov 2005], 131). See also T.C. Smout, *Exploring Environmental History: Selected Essays* (Edinburgh, 2009); T.C. Smout, "Land and Sea," 19-38; T.C. Smout, *Nature Contested: Environmental History in Scotland and northern England since 1600* (Edinburgh, 2000); T.C. Smout, *People and Woods in Scotland: A History* (Edinburgh, 2003); T.C. Smout, Alan R. MacDonald and Fiona Watson, *A History of the Native Woodlands of Scotland, 1500-1920* (Edinburgh, 2005).
[365] Piccolomini "Scotland," 24-29.

were "great fir-woods, but they are so full of rogues that we durst not see them."[366] Similarly Camden commented on Lothian's dearth of trees, but his description of Scotland north of the Antonine Wall presents a different picture altogether. Camden begins his description of Northern Scotland with the history of Caledonia, a region that, in Roman times contained "the Wood Caledonia" which spread "out a mighty way, and [was] impassable by reason of tall trees standing so thick."[367] In Camden's time, this ancient forest still filled the valleys of Perthshire, though Camden's "dreadful" description of the wood, with its "sundry turnings and windings in and out… hideous horror of darke shade…[and] the Burrowes and dennes of wilde bulles with thicke manes" may have had more to do with the region's reputation as the home to robbers and thieves as well as "witches and wicked women," than to the reality of an area Camden also called "a large, plentiful and rich country."[368]

Farming and Fisheries

Despite the lack of trees in the more habitable and accessible areas of Scotland, the descriptions of the lowlands from the early seventeenth century suggest a land with a variety of natural resources. Camden and Moryson both laude the country for containing "fruitfull soyle and wholsome aire…[and] many springs of sweet waters."[369] However, later descriptions are far less positive, and though travellers like Joseph Taylor, Celia Fiennes and Daniel Defoe continue to make note of the natural abundance of Scotland's resources, they are increasingly critical of the utilisation and focus more on the deficiencies of Scotland, its people and the management of the land. These travellers, who visited Scotland shortly before or immediately after 1707, reveal some of the concerns regarding the potential effects of the parliamentary union and emphasise that Scotland was viewed, on the eve of the union, as a thoroughly foreign land. Its people spoke and dressed strangely, they ate strange food, and perhaps most importantly, they did not work or farm like their southern neighbours. While this study is not particularly focused on the politics of the late seventeenth century or the parliamentary union, these accounts, culled from the transitional years between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, indicate that the rhetoric of alterity between the two nations was part of the consciousness of the period and the travellers' diaries are particularly indicative of the ways they utilised personal

[366] Kirke, "Tour in Scotland," 29.
[367] Camden, *Britain*.
[368] Ibid. The northern reaches of the Scottish Highlands were historically a military advantage and likely contributed to and furthered their menacing reputation. For example, Jean de Montereul, a French ambassador, reported that when Ruthven in Badenoch was taken, the Marquis of Huntly escaped with at least one hundred men "either to join Alexander Macdonald or to penetrate into the wildest and least accessible part of the Scottish Highlands called Strathnaver" (J.G. Fotheringham, ed., *The Diplomatic Correspondence of Jean de Montereul and the Brothers de Bellievre French Ambassadors in England and Scotland 1645-48* [Edinburgh, 1899],21, 65, 117).
[369] Moryson, *Itinerary*, 273. See Chapter I: Walter MacFarlane's early eighteenth-century *Geographical Collection* would confirm this assessment, though Macfarlane's contributors would also make note of the persistent superstitions attached to some of these "many excellent springs" (Walter Macfarlane, *Geographical Collections Relating to Scotland* Vol. II (Edinburgh, 1907), 107).

experiences and observations of these differences both to create and confirm identities for themselves and for the people and lands they observed.[370]

For instance, Joseph Taylor believed that "the ground around Edenborough might be much improv'd with good husbandry…"[371] Defoe noted that East Lothian "was not so naturally barren, as some people represent it [and] with application and judgment, in the proper methods of improving lands, might be made to equal, not England only, but even the richest, most fruitful, most pleasant, and best improv'd part of England."[372] Such improvements, however, could only be made if the Scots were to acquire "the same methods of improvement, and [if they] were as good husbandmen as the English."[373] Here Defoe echoes the late seventeenth-century discussions regarding the condition of Scottish economic and agricultural production like the description of Scotland written by the Reverend Mr Thomas Morer, who declared that the Scots had "many fine valleys, which might be improved into a competitorship with our English meadows, yet for want of sufficient industry and care they become almost useless."[374] Defoe's account of Scotland is not entirely critical. He repeatedly praises the natural fertility of the land, as well as the efforts of the landed gentry to improve their holdings, particularly in regard to the plantation of trees.[375] Near Mussleborough, Defoe notes that

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[370] This is also particularly revealing in light of the economic and social crisis faced by Scotland at the end of the seventeenth century. During the 1690s Scotland, like many regions in northern and western Europe, experienced a famine that reduced the national population by up to fifteen per cent (Christopher A. Whatley cites a figure up to twenty per cent). These famines, which were likely the result of "erratic weather conditions" at the end of the Little Ice Age led to widespread crop failure, and in Scotland, where subsistence farming was the norm, the crisis was particularly devastating. See: Christopher A. Whatley, "Taking Stock: Scotland at the End of the Seventeenth Century," in *Anglo-Scottish Relations from 1603 to 1900* ed. T.C. Smout (Oxford, 2005), 109; Karen J. Cullen, *Famine in Scotland: The "Ill Years" of the 1690s* (Edinburgh, 2010), 1-2. Despite the natural nature of the disaster, neither Fiennes nor Taylor makes note of the famine and are instead focused on the perceived lack of industry and initiative of the Scottish peasants as the reason for Scotland's underdevelopment, though this may have been because conditions "outside the Highlands were less desperate" (T.C. Smout, "Land and Sea: The Environment," in *Handbook of Modern Scottish History*, 24). For additional reading on the political and economic history of Scotland, particularly in regard to its agricultural potential and the late seventeenth-century famine, see: Thomas Martin Devine, *Exploring Scottish Past: Themes in the History of Scottish Society* (East Lothian, 1995); A.J.S. Gibson and T.C. Smout, *Prices, Food and Wages in Scotland 1550-1780* (Cambridge, 1995); Smout, *Anglo-Scottish Relations*; T.C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830* (London, 1969).

[371] Taylor, *Journey to Edenborough*, 99-100.

[372] Defoe, *Tour thro'…Great Britain*.

[373] Ibid.

[374] Morer, "Short Account," 266.

[375] See Giraldus Cambrensis, *The Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis* trans. Thomas Forester and Sir Richard Colt Hoare, ed. Thomas Wright (London, 1863), 6-7. Defoe's insights are hardly revolutionary and are similar to those levied upon Ireland and the colonies. A striking early example of such treatment is Gerald of Wales' *Topography of Wales*, first published in 1188. Gerald of Wales' tone is echoed in Defoe's "Introduction to Scotland." Gerald of Wales writes "it occurred to me that there was one corner of the earth, Ireland, which, from its position on the furthest borders of the globe, had been neglected…Not that it had been left altogether untouched, but no writer had hitherto comprehensively treated of it…Let us follow the example of great orators, who, in an admirable manner, most polished the shafts of their eloquence, when the poverty of their subject required it to be elevated by the superiority of their style…Notwithstanding, it will be my endeavour…to rouse the reader's attention, by setting before him some new things…of Ireland." See Chapter II, 82.

> The success of this planting is a great encouragement to the nobility of Scotland to improve their estates by the same method, so we find abundance of gentlemen of estates do fall into it, and follow the example.[376]

However, Defoe's praise of Scotland's resources is nearly always tempered with the sorts of sentiments evidenced above – that Scotland's natural advantages could be improved by the application of English methods, or that should the improvements already in development continue, their yield will be of great benefit to England. Defoe's Anglo-centric tone demonstrates the conclusion of this chapter: changing English perceptions of Scotland before and immediately after the Union of 1707. The travel writing from this period shows that English perceptions of northern Britain were based partly on pre-conceived expectations; however, they were also shaped and directed by the travellers during the post-union period who helped to create an image of the region that both attracted tourists to the country and built the foundations for modern conceptions of social and cultural norms.

Before northern Britain could be built into a tourist destination overflowing with Romantic history and Picturesque scenery, however, the English travellers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth-centuries first had to deconstruct the region and determine how best to improve it, both for its natural inhabitants and, more importantly, for those visiting from the genteel and civilized south. Even before the union in 1707 English travellers were offering their ideas of how Scotland might progress and develop. Celia Fiennes, who has already been shown to be highly critical of Scotland, noted that

> all here about w[hich] are Called borderers seem to be very poor people w[hich] [she] impute[s] to their sloth. Scotland this part of it is a Low Marshy ground where they Cutt turff and peate for the fewell, tho' [she] should apprehend [the] sea might Convey Coales to them. [She saw] Little that they are Employ'd besides ffishing w[hich] makes provision plentifull or Else their Cutting and Carving turff and peat.[377]

Fiennes frequently highlights what she considers sloth and laziness, but her comment here is interesting because she considers the Scottish industry - here, peat-cutting for fuel – to be an inefficient method which could be eliminated by the importation of coal presumably from England where coal-mining on a large scale had emerged only recently as a lucrative industry and was helping to boost England's economy and fuel its homes.[378] Fiennes's commentary is not simply criticism, but a suggestion of how the situation might be improved, and while it gives some insight into both the economy of south-western Scotland in the late seventeenth century and the method of heating used by

[376] Defoe, *Tour thro'…Great Britain.*
[377] Fiennes, *Through England.*
[378] Asta Moller, "Coal-Mining in the Seventeenth Century," *Royal Historical Review* Vol. 8 (1925), 79-81. Though the use of coal as fuel had been known before the early modern period, the mineral only emerged in England as a common fuel source in the sixteenth century, when a lack of timber coupled with England's expanding (wooden) navy made wood too valuable a substance to be burnt.

the border Scots during this period, it also gives insight into Fiennes' own cultural preferences and economic situation. Fiennes notes that the area has a ready supply of fish – she buys "ffish [the landlady] got for [her] w[hich] was full Cheape Enough, nine pence for two pieces of Salmon halfe a one neer a yard Long, and a very Large trout of an amber Coullour."[379] Therefore, in Fiennes' mind, the area can easily feed its inhabitants; likewise, their geographic location would make the importation of coal easy enough. Rather she is critical of the use of peat, which requires a considerable amount of time to harvest and dry, time Fiennes assumes could be better applied to another industry that would bring greater prosperity to the region.

Fiennes' criticism may be subjective but, only two decades later, Daniel Defoe observed that the development of trade in the Lothian and south-eastern region had rendered its towns "more considerable than they would otherwise be."[380] Like Fiennes, Defoe noted the abundance of seafood harvested in the region, and at the time of Defoe's visit, south-eastern Scottish fishermen were exporting their oysters to Newcastle, and their white fish as far as Spain.[381] Defoe also observes that "there is great plenty of coal in the hills, and so near the sea as to make the carriage not difficult," and that the availability of coal had allowed for the development of salt production, which gave the region a flourishing export trade of "this salt to Norway, Hamburgh, Bremen, and the Baltick; and the number of ships loaded [there] yearly with salt [was] very considerable."[382] It must be noted that Fiennes and Defoe were observing opposite sides of the Scottish border region (Defoe called the south-eastern region of Scotland the "best and most pleasant, as well as most fruitful part of Scotland") but Defoe's praise should not be seen as a dismissal of Fiennes' criticism.[383] Lothian was generally perceived as the most (or more) civil region of Scotland and Edinburgh and the region surrounding the capital city had a long-standing, positive reputation. Ben Jonson called Edinburgh "the heart of Scotland, Britaines other eye," and Camden claimed the region was known "for fruitfull cornfields, [and was] for courtesie also and civility of manners commended above all other countries of Scotland."[384] When Joseph Taylor and his companions crossed back into England at Carlisle, they were told by

> Mr Graham, a Gentleman of the Temple…[that] the people had been in a great dispute about what Countrymen [they] were, but all agreed if [they] were Scotchmen, [they]

[379] Fiennes, *Through England*.
[380] Defoe, *Tour thro'…Great Britain*.
[381] Ibid. William Lithgow calls the Tweed and Tiviot rivers "the Egyptian strands that irriuate the fertile fields, which imbolster both bosoms, sending their bordering breath of daily necessaries to strengthen the life of Barwick" (William Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse, of the Rare Adventures, and Painfull Peregrinations of long nineteen Yeares Trauayles, from Scotland, to the most Famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Africa* (Lyon, 1632), 499).
[382] Defoe, *Tour thro'…Great Britain*.
[383] Ibid.
[384] David Laing, ed. *Notes of Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthorndon* (London, 1842), 45; Camden, *Britain*.

> must needs be Lothianers, thinking [they] made a better appearance than [border-Scots] generally doe.[385]

Scots in Scotland

It is important to assess the partiality shown to Edinburgh and its surroundings in the context of developing identities. Travellers' contrasting views of various regions not only provide historical record of economic and social development, but reinforce the alterity created during the seventeenth century between the north and south; in particular, Edinburgh and the Lothian region represented a more domesticated Scotland, as opposed to the wild and savage highland interior or the rough and underdeveloped border regions.[386] During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this Lowland 'domesticity' was actively championed as Scotland's potential in relation to England, the political Union and James VI & I's aim of a 'Great Britain.'[387] For English travellers like Fiennes and Defoe this potential was, as yet, unfulfilled; but for many educated Scots the Lowlands were already suitable and could serve as an instrument for furthering development in the country's less domesticated regions.[388] This perspective is rather apparent when one compares non-English (and particularly, Scottish) accounts from the same period, which were at pains to rectify both the "inaccuracies and inadequacies" of earlier Scottish histories and the "deep-seated European tradition" that civilisation was unsustainable in such a wild, inhospitable northern region.[389] George Buchanan's late sixteenth-century account, which was certainly written with an "agenda," declared that the south-western region was "well adapted for pasture, and not unfavourable for grain. The whole country not only abounds in the riches of the earth, and of the ocean, sufficient for the supply of its own inhabitants, but they have also large quantities to spare for their neighbours."[390] Similarly, Donald Monro's mid-sixteenth century description of the Western Isles of Scotland is particularly positive, frequently making note of the "guid land" and "fertyle ground" he found during his journey.[391] Martin Martin, who addressed his

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[385] Taylor, *Journey to Edenborough*, 157.
[386] David Buchanan's mid-seventeenth century description of Edinburgh makes note of "the house and gardens of the Earl of Moray" which are "of such elegance, and cultivated with such diligence, that they easily challenge comparison with the gardens of warmer climates, and almost of England itself." See David Buchanan, "A Description of Edinburgh (1647-1652)," in Hume Brown, *Scotland Before 1700*, 317.
[387] Cathcart, "Gàidhealtachd," 96.
[388] Ibid. As Cathcart notes, James VI & I required "all [Highland] chiefs…to send their heirs to be educated in the Lowlands, where they would learn the values of Lowland society and be educated in English…" Education and literacy were priorities in post-Reformation Scotland as a general means of improvement. See also Keith M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family and Culture from Reformation to Revolution* (Edinburgh, 2000); R.A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and northern England, 1600-1800* (Cambridge, 1985); Allan MacInnes and Arthur Williamson, eds., *Shaping the Stuart World, 1603-1714: The Atlantic Connection* (Leiden, 2006); Margaret Szasz, *Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans: Indigenous Education in the Eighteenth Century Atlantic World* (Norman, 2007).
[389] Mason, "Buchanan to Blaeu," 22; Williamson, "Education, Culture and the Scottish Civic Tradition," in MacInnes & Williamson, *Shaping the Stuart World, 1603-1714*, 34-35.
[390] George Buchanan, "Description of Scotland," in Hume Brown, *Scotland Before 1700*, 221.
[391] Mason, "Buchanan to Blaeu," 18, 26; Donald Monro, *Description of the Western Isles of Scotland, called Hybrides* (Edinburgh, 1774), 5-19. Buchanan was acquainted with Monro and had access to Monro's materials.

1703 London edition of his *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* to Prince George of Denmark, declared that the Hebridean Islanders believed "their great distance from the Imperial Seat, rather than their want of Native Worth" was the reason "that their Islands [had been] so little regarded" and that they might prove "a considerable accession of Strength and Riches to the Crown."[392] He also notes that "the Improvement of the Isles…depends upon the Government of *Scotland*," and that despite some persistence of "Heathenism and Pagan Superstition…the Islanders in general…in Religion and Vertue…excel many thousands of others."[393]

No one was more positive in his description of Scotland than the well-travelled William Lithgow, born in 1582 at Lanark, whose account of his travels, *The Totall Discourse, of the Rare Adventures, and Painfull Peregrinations of long nineteen Yeares Trauayles, from Scotland, to the most Famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Africa,* was published in 1632. Lithgow praised the soil, manners and industry of his homeland and compared these favourably to those of the countries he had visited. He found that the "good Cheare, Hospitality, and Serviceable attendance" he received in Galloway was equal to that of Lombardy or Naples and that the wool produced in the region was "nothing inferior to that in Biscai of Spain," nor did "Calabrian silke, [have] neuer a better lustre."[394] And while Lithgow might seem partial to Galloway, his survey of Scotland includes an overview of all the "most delicious soiles of the Kingdome," including the Clydesdale region which Lithgow declared "may iustly be surnamed the Paradice of *Scotland*."[395] Interestingly, Lithgow paid little attention to Edinburgh or Lothian, except to note that Edinburgh was one of the country's "principal towns" and that "thrice-divided Lothiane [was] a girnal of grain for foreign nations."[396] Lithgow was also split in his opinion of the "nobility and gentry of the kingdom," who "for general complete worthiness, [he] never found their matches amongst the best people of foreign nations."[397] Lithgow tempers this praise with a scathing chastisement of those "ignoble gallants" who "though nobly born, swallow up the honour of their famous predecessors, with posting foolery, boy-winding horns, gormandizing gluttony, lust, and vain apparel," and who "as Mr Knox did with [Scotland's] glorious churches of abbacies and monasteries (which were the greatest beauty of the kingdom), [knock] all down to desolation…"[398] This indictment of lowland Scottish nobles stands out against Lithgow's description of the most northerly of Scottish regions and their inhabitants. In Ross, Sutherland and

[392] Martin Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (London, 1703), dedication.
[393] Martin, *Description of the Western Islands*, Preface.
[394] Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 495. See also Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *An Intrepid Scot: William Lithgow of Lanark's Travels in the Ottoman Lands, North Africa and Central Europe, 1609-21* (Aldershot, 2006).
[395] Ibid, 497.
[396] Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 497, 498. Lithgow lumps Edinburgh in with "Perth, Glasgow, Dundie, Abirdene, St Andrews, Aire, Striveling, Lithgow, Dumfries, Innernes, Elgin Monros, Jedburgh, Haddington, Leith, &c.; and for antiquity, old Lanerk, &c." This list is extensive, especially when compared with Celia Fiennes' inventory: "It seemes there are very few towns Except Edenborough, Abberdeen and Kerk w[hich] Can give better treatment to strangers." See Fiennes, *Through England*.
[397] Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 499.
[398] Ibid, 500.

Caithness Lithgow found "soils so abundant in all things fit to illustrate greatness, embellish gentry, and succour commons, that their fertile goodness far exceeded [his] expectation."[399] The northern Scots were "the best, and most bountiful Christmas-keepers (the Greeks excepted) that ever [Lithgow] saw in the Christian world," and he was "ravished…to behold such great and daily cheer, familiar fellowship, and jovial cheerfulness…"[400]

Lithgow's description, apparently culled from his lost (or perhaps, unwritten) *Lithgowes Surueigh of Scotland*, is certainly biased and contrasts quite strangely with other contemporary accounts of the country. Lithgow also published a poem just a few years after *The Totall Discourse* about which P. Hume Brown commented that it "would justify the most caustic gibes of travellers."[401] That Lithgow was scornful of certain elements of his native country is clear both from the description of Scotland included in *The Totall Discourse* and his poem, but his vitriol is aimed at those who neglected the interests of Scotland in favour of their own or other countries' welfare. He believes the land is "voyd of planting" because the landlords "change and flit their Tennants as they please,/ and will not give them Leasse, Taks, Tymes, nor ease,/ To prosper and to thryve."[402] He chastises the "nobility and gentry" who "with idle projects, [become] down-drawers of destruction upon their own necks, their children, and their estates."[403] And perhaps most notably, Lithgow sees the central focus on Edinburgh as one of the primary problems facing the rest of the country. In Orkney he noted that "the inhabitants being left void of a governor…are just become like to a broken battle, a scattered people without a head; having but a burgess-sheriff to administer justice, and he too an alien to them, and a residenter in Edinburgh."[404] In light of these criticisms, Lithgow's report might be read as an attempt to clarify some of the common conceptions (or misconceptions) propagated regarding the country of Scotland. Lithgow even goes so far as to correct some widespread mistakes regarding the country's geography:

> [N]ow to observe my former summary condition; the length of the kingdom lieth south and north…between Dungsby-head in Cathnes, and the aforesaid Mould of Gallowy…extending to three hundred and twenty miles; which I reckon to be four hundred and fifty English miles: confounding hereby the ignorant presumptions of blind cosmographers, who in their maps make England longer than Scotland, when contrariwise, Scotland outstrippeth the other in length a hundred and twenty miles.[405]

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[399] Ibid, 500.
[400] Ibid, 501.
[401] William Lithgow, "Scotland's Welcome to her Native Sonne and Soveraigne Lord King Charles," in Hume Brown, *Scotland Before 1700*, 291.
[402] Lithgow, "Scotland's Welcome," 292. Joseph Taylor would have agreed with Lithgow on this count. "I can't forbear censuring that disadvantageous custom of the Scots, who are so farr from letting Leases to their Tennants to encourage them to cultivate their land to the best advantage, that if any Tennants happen to grow rich, the Landlord think it a peice of policy to turn them out, that so they may have none under them, but such whose poverty may make them absolute Vassalls to their will." See Taylor, *Journey to Edenborough*, 100.
[403] Lithgow, *Totall Discourse*, 500.
[404] Ibid, 505-506.
[405] Ibid, 496.

Lithgow's description of and attitude towards Scotland (especially the Highlands) is surprisingly prescient of the Picturesque tourism that would dominate the second half of the eighteenth century.[406] However, even before romanticism and the Picturesque made the Highlands artistically and sentimentally worthy, negative descriptions of Scottish people and society tended to focus on lowland and city Scots, rather than the Highlanders. Most significantly, many of the travellers who wrote disparagingly of Scottish women or Scottish cities also included relatively positive and praiseworthy descriptions of the Highland Scots, though it was the Romanticism of the eighteenth century that would properly idealise and mythologize the Highlands.

The travellers' harsh critique of the Scottish people is in direct opposition to their depiction of the Scottish Highlander, whose dress Joseph Taylor described as

> very pretty, [the Highlander] wears a Scotch plod over his Shoulders, like a Scarf, and a great Basket hilted Sword by his side, a Pistoll tuck't into his Belt, a Bonnet with a Bunch of Ribbons on his head, and a pair of pumps on his feet, with which hee'l travel 60 miles a day.[407]

Taylor's description matches Kirke's, who says of the Highlanders' dress that

> [t]heir doublets are slashed in the sleeves, and open on the back; their breeches and stockings are either all on a piece, and straight to them, plaid colour; or otherwise, a sort of breeches not unlike a petticoat…and their stockings are rolled up about the calves of their legs, and tied with a garter, their knee and thigh being naked. On their right side they wear a dagger, about a foot or half-a-yard long, the back filed like a saw, and several kinnes struck in the sheat of it; in either pocket a case of iron or brass pistols, a sword about a handful broad, and five feet long, on the other side, and perhaps a gun on one shoulder, and a sack of luggage on the other. Thus accoutred, with a plaid over the left shoulder and under the right arm, and a cap a-cock, he struts like a peacock, and rather prides in than disdains his speckled feet…[408]

Indeed, though Kirke and Taylor both predate the Romantic idealisation of the Highlanders and traditional Scottish culture by nearly a century, their descriptions suggest the beginnings of such a construction, albeit one that is judiciously tempered with the sense that the Highland Scots were decidedly primitive. Richard Franck, for instance painted Caithness as a curious region "where a rude sort of inhabitants dwell (almost as barbarous as Canibals) who when they kill a beast, boil him in his

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[406] Lithgow's writings also include early musings on primitivism and barbarism, which Lithgow directs at the Irish (Rawson, *God, Gulliver, and Genocide*, 504-505). Similarly, his descriptions of some of the firths are almost sublime with their references to "struggling Neptune" and warnings of waters that like "fatal Euripus shall then become their swallowing sepulchre."

[407] Taylor, *Journey to Edenborough*, 138.

[408] Kirke, *Tour in Scotland*, 28-29. Kirke's anonymously published account describes the Highlanders' dress in a similar manner: "The Highlanders wear slashed doublets, commonly without breeches, only a plad tyed about their wastes, &c., thrown over their shoulder, with short stockings to the gartering place, their knees and part of their thights being naked; others have breeches and stocings all of a piece of plad ware, close to their thighs; in one side of their girdle sticks a durk or skean, of about a foot and half a yard long, very sharp, and the back of it filed with divers notches, wherein they put poison; on the other side a brace (at least) of brass pistols; nor is this honour sufficient, if they can purchase more, they must have a long swinging sword." See Kirke, "A Modern Account," 260.

hide, make a caldron of his skin, browis of his bowels, drink of his blood, and bread and meat of his carcass."[409] Thomas Morer's "Short Account" noted that "not a few [of the Highlanders] profess no religion at all, but are next door to barbarity and heathenism."[410] Notably, there is the sense that for the English travellers of this period, the lowland, urban-dwelling Scots represent what can and will be improved about Scotland through the judicious application of English sensibilities while the Highlanders, who make only rare appearances in travellers journals before the eighteenth century, in the seventeenth century were still viewed with the same sort of detached awe reserved for the native populations of far distant lands.[411]

Conclusion

The seventeenth century can be seen as a particularly defining and definitive century in the history of Britain. Indeed, one might argue that it is the first period in which *British* history, rather than separate but interconnected English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh histories can be considered in real depth. The sixteenth century had been a particularly disconcerting century for English and Scottish identities and the political, religious and social developments of the seventeenth century did little to quell anxieties. The examples given in this chapter have shown that English travellers frequently expressed their anxieties regarding English identity through criticism of and contempt for Scottish society. They may not have been pilgrims in the traditional sense, but they were on a mission. Indeed, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, when political and economic unity of the two nations was in earnest travellers began to view Scotland not just with condescension, but with an eye towards use and improvement. The eighteenth century would see travellers not only embrace Scotland as a desirable destination, but would in fact create an identity – both for themselves and for Scotland – which reimagined its place in the spiritual and cultural realm of Britain.

[409] Franck, "Memoirs," 202. This appears to be an early reference to haggis. During the early modern period cannibalism was seen as inevitable to primitive tribalism and "starvation precipitated a reversion to" such practices, though whether Franck considered this dish to be a creation of necessity brought about by extreme privation is unclear (Rawson, *God, Gulliver, and Genocide*, 74). Incidentally, the *Ochtertyre House Booke of Accomps* references haggis, or 'hagas' nearly seventy times but in all but three instances the dish was listed as "for servants" (Colville, *Ochtertyre House Booke*).
[410] Morer, "Short Account," 268.
[411] See Colin G. Calloway, *White People, Indians, and Highlanders: Tribal People and Colonial Encounters in Scotland and America* (Oxford, 2008); Rawson, *God, Gulliver, and Genocide*; Szasz, *Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans*.

Chapter III: The Beginnings of the Romantic Pilgrimage

Introduction

The late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries marked a major upswing both in leisure travel and travel writing. This period, sometimes called the Long Eighteenth Century, is crucial for some of the main questions posed by this study and understanding the links between medieval pilgrimage, early modern tourism and the emerging concept of national identity. Though it is difficult to determine whether pilgrimage activity continued unabated throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, earlier chapters have shown that the accounts of late seventeenth century travellers, like Celia Fiennes and Joseph Taylor, as well as surveys like *Macfarlane's Geographical Collections*, indicate that Catholic pilgrimages were taking place at various shrines and holy wells. Likewise, the inclusion of former pilgrimage sites on eighteenth-century leisure tours of Scotland demonstrate that despite the fact most of the tourist accounts were written by culturally Protestant travellers whose itineraries were intended for secular rather than explicitly religious experiences, and who actively express disdain for 'superstitious' beliefs, the sites themselves still held some significance: whether it was spiritual, historical or artistic is dependent upon the individual traveller. Finally, though eighteenth-century tourism of Scotland roughly followed former pilgrimage trails, many new destinations were added to the typical itineraries. These new sites are particularly indicative of the link between pilgrimage and tourism in this period, as well as some of the ways in which the practice and understanding of religious beliefs had shifted over the previous two centuries.

The eighteenth century saw the rise of leisure tourism, which was in part driven by the development of the Enlightenment and the artistic sentiments of the Romantic movement. Though many eighteenth-century travellers followed former pilgrimage paths, they were not necessarily conscious their paths replicated pilgrimages, nor did they necessarily express religious intentions. Many of the highways and routes followed by eighteenth-century tourists to the north were already old, established paths that had little to do with tourism or, for that matter, pilgrimage. The most common route taken by tourists from London and the Midlands into Scotland during the early modern period roughly followed the Old North Road, or Ermine Street, which was itself following a series of older routes many of which dated to the Roman period.[412] Joseph Taylor's early eighteenth-century itinerary, at least as far as Nottingham, follows "Iter VI" of the *Antonine Itinerary*, as does the journey of an unnamed diarist in 1790.[413] Most of the other itineraries follow similar roads and routes, and while they may occasionally have encountered shrines or holy wells along the way, the majority were either incidental, or were included under the guise of tourism and diversion rather than religious interest. Indeed, the diaries and journals of these tourists frequently show that the travellers

[412] Thomas Reynolds, *Iter Britanniarum or that part of the Itinerary of Antoninus which relates to Britain*, (Cambridge, 1749). Sir Robert Cary, Earl of Monmouth, used the route on his journey from London to Edinburgh to bring James VI the news of Elizabeth I's death (Saturday, 26 March 1603) (Robert Cary, *Memoirs of Robert Cary, Earl of Monmouth…and Fragmenta Regalia; Being a History of Queen Elizabeth's Favourites* ed. Robert Naunton (Edinburgh, 1808), 126-128).

[413] Reynolds, *Iter Britanniarum*, 270. See Figures 4, 5 & 6.

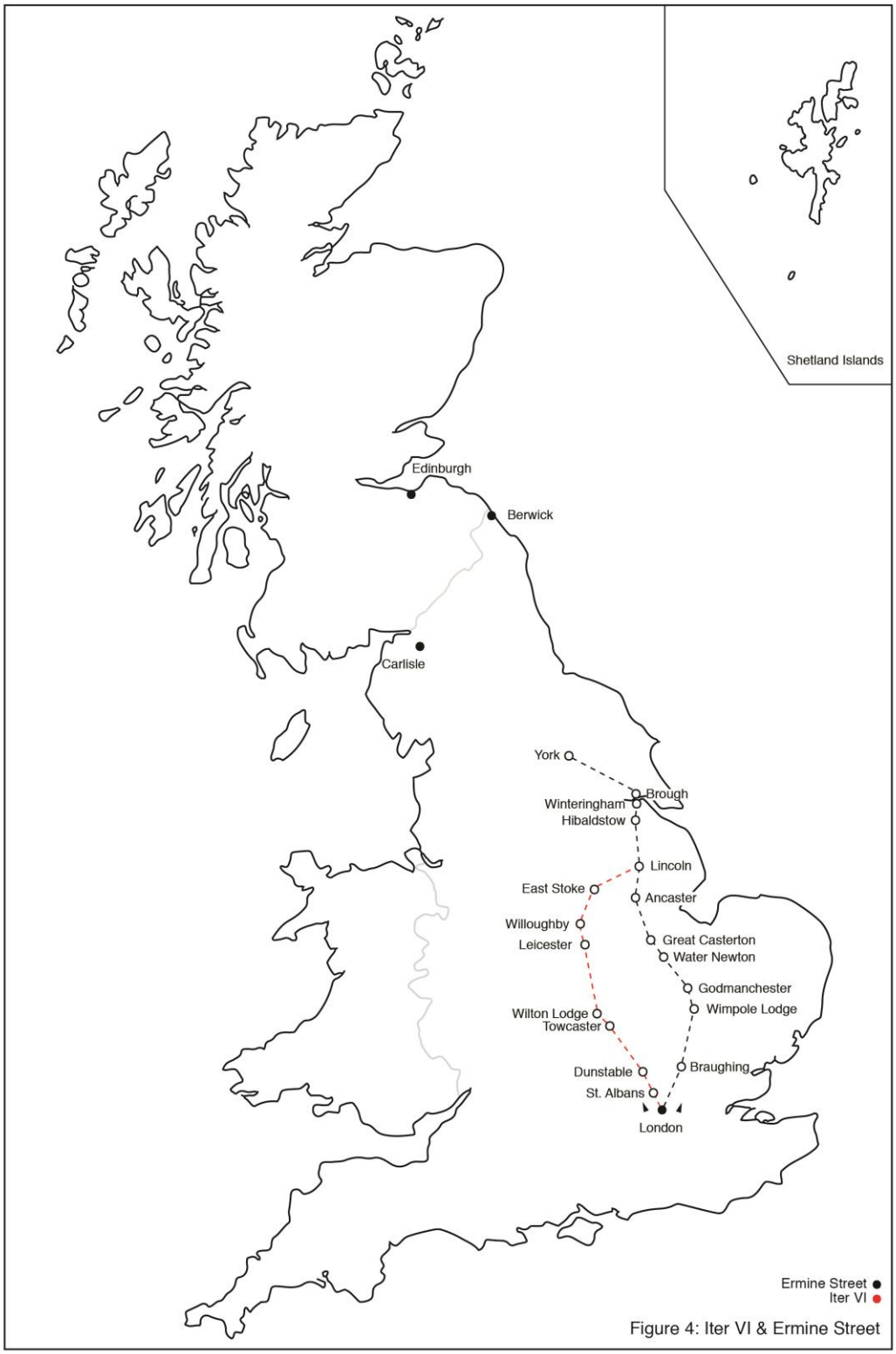

Figure 4: Iter VI & Ermine Street

Figure 5: Itinerary of Joseph Taylor (1706)

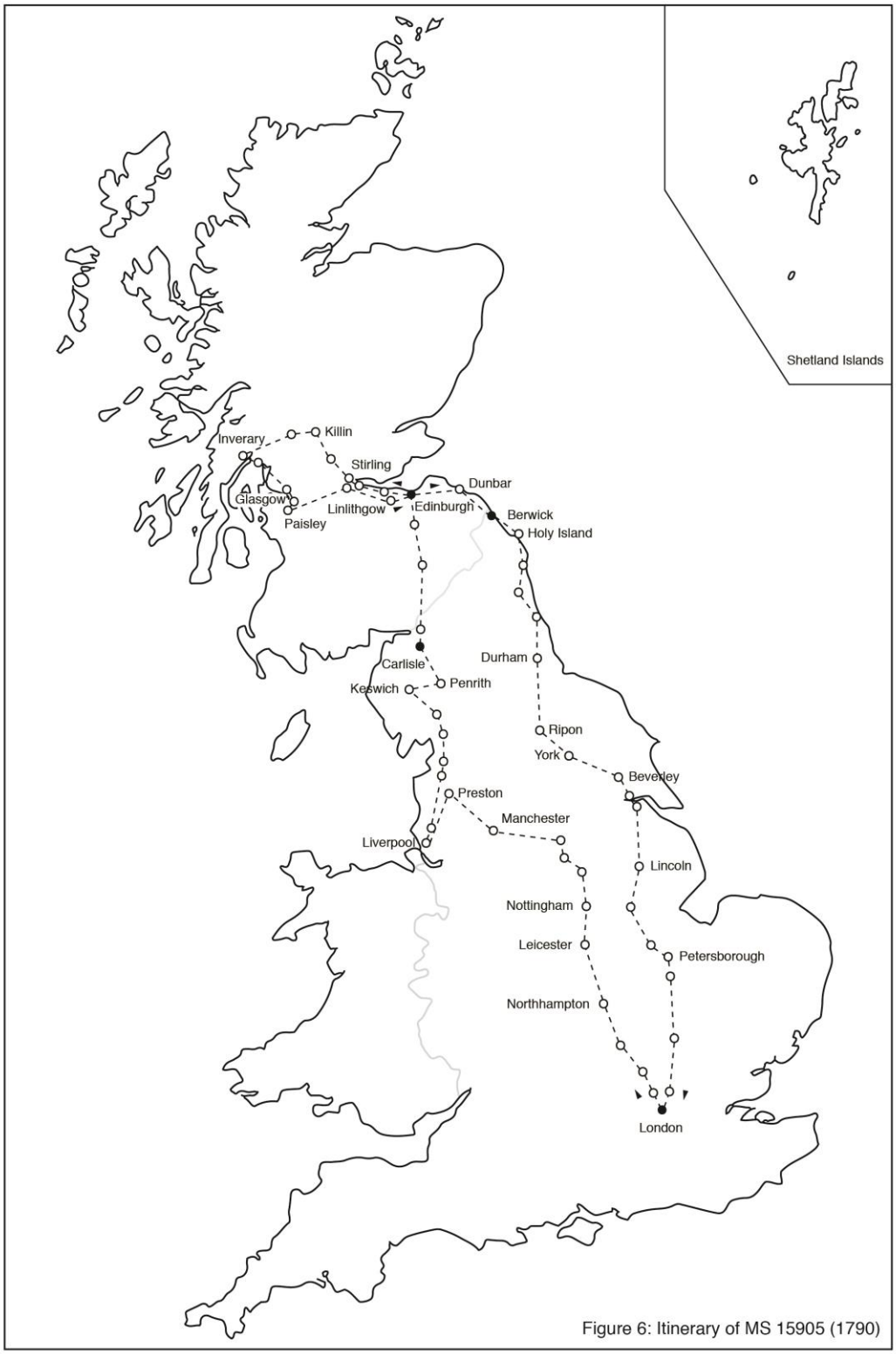

Figure 6: Itinerary of MS 15905 (1790)

approached religious sites with incredulity. Conversely, in the eighteenth century travellers began to openly embrace sites of prehistoric and pseudo-historic significance, which gives rise to the final link between pilgrimage and tourism. Despite the fact that for the Enlightened, secular, eighteenth-century traveller, pilgrimage shrines and holy wells were at best historical curiosities and at worst relics of Catholic (or pagan) superstition, the writings of these travellers demonstrate that journeys were frequently undertaken with an understanding that completing the tour would bring a sense of physical, spiritual and/or intellectual fulfilment. Indeed, like medieval pilgrims, eighteenth-century tourists were partaking of a complex pageant that combined social, religious and cultural conventions. Specifically Robert Mayhew argues that the context of eighteenth-century aesthetic tourism was inherently religious and that "religion was the key factor structuring the diverse contexts in which landscape description was invoked in the eighteenth century."[414] This chapter will consider the descriptions and discussions of religious, historical and pseudo-historical sites visited by these tourists in the light of the academic, philosophical and artistic developments promoted and perpetuated in the long eighteenth century.

Identifying Landscape

There are several factors to consider when examining the patterns and tropes of eighteenth-century travel writing in northern Britain, particularly when considering what these accounts *mean*. First, as has already been shown, the Union of 1707 played an important role in both promoting interest in the northern half of Britain and in shaping the dialogue and descriptions of travellers, particularly in regards to national identity. English travellers to the north in the early decades of the eighteenth century would have been both consciously and unconsciously interpreting Scotland in the light of the recent union and many, like Daniel Defoe, were assessing the North's place, purpose and value in the new social, economic and political entity. As noted in the previous chapter late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century travellers generally judged northern Britain, and Scotland in particular, in terms of its agricultural potential which, prior to the development of Romanticism and Picturesque tourism in the second half of the eighteenth century, was expressed in terms of appreciation or criticism of the landscape. Defoe's descriptions, for instance, were frequently focused on the landscape and earth, with more than twenty mentions of land and soil quality or methods of improving these in his eleventh letter, which recounts his perceptions of south-eastern Scotland. More importantly, though Defoe's account is primarily practical and is notable for its lack of flowery exposition, the eleventh letter includes six references to the 'view' and four to 'prospects,' all of which pertain to seeing and appreciating the landscape. Defoe's account shows that even when approaching landscape with a

[414] Robert J. Mayhew, *Landscape, Literature and English Religious Culture, 1660-1800* (New York, 2004), 70.

utilitarian objective, perspective was important. Defoe's description of Edinburgh illustrates this and emphasises the importance of landscape in the eighteenth century.

> When you stand at a small distance, and take a view of it from the east, you have really but a confus'd idea of the city, because the situation being in length from east to west, and the breadth but ill proportion'd to its length, you view under the greatest disadvantage possible; whereas if you turn a little to the right hand towards Leith, and so come towards the city, from the north you see a very handsome prospect of the whole city, and from the south you have yet a better view of one part, because the city is encreased on that side with new streets, which, on the north side, cannot be.[415]

Similarly the letters of Edmund Burt were originally published anonymously in 1754 because he feared his criticism of Scotland, and even his "most modest Description of any part of it," would provoke "an unruly Passion, complicated of Jealousy, Pity, and Anger" from the native Scots.[416] Burt's descriptions of the country, written while he was a rent-collector in co-operation with Wade in the 1720s, were far from complimentary. However, even he could not help but be impressed by the dramatic landscape of the Highlands:

> [W]hat is pretty strange, though very true (by what charm I know not), I have been well enough pleased to see them [the mountains] again, at my first entrance to them in my returns from England; and this has made my wonder cease that a native should be so fond of such a country.[417]

Burt also displays early signs of picturesque appreciation of landscape, though Scotland's 'views' do little to recommend the region to him or his reader. Burt's attention to the landscape is often focused on the layout and appearance of roads, and while such descriptions are ostensibly of a practical nature (that is, as an assessment of the quality and direction of the roads in question), one is immediately struck by the similarity between Burt's description and later appreciation for picturesque and sublime qualities of landscape. Burt writes that "[t]o stop and take a general view of the hills before you from an eminence, in some part where the eye penetrates far within the void spaces, the roads would appear to you in a kind of whimsical disorder."[418] Similarly, Burt's description of a dangerous road leading into the Highlands is noticeably similar to late eighteenth-century descriptions that emphasise the awfulness and sublime nature of such mountain passes. Burt calls the view "most horrible" and notes that it must be a "terrifying Sight to those who are not accustomed to such Views."[419] While Burt does not clearly indicate his location in the description, he could easily be describing the pass over the Caddon described by Sarah Murray in 1799:

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[415] Daniel Defoe, *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain, divided into circuits or journies*, electronic edition, *VBTT*.
[416] Edmund Burt, *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland to His Friend in London* Vol. I (London, 1754), 4
[417] David Stevenson, "Burt, Edmund (d. 1755)," ODNB; Burt, *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland to His Friend in London* Vol. II (London, 1822), 40.
[418] Ibid, 190.
[419] Burt, *Letters* Vol. I, 246.

> The road itself, however, is very good, though it be narrow; and the ascent from Tweedale very sharp, and frightful, for a timorous traveller to pass: - but as for lovers of nature, in the sublime and beautiful, *they* can have neither eyes to see their danger, nor *any* sensation, but that of regret at quitting a scene so enchanting.[420]

Burt's description is also similar to that of John Lettice, who presents a thoroughly awful view of the mountains surrounding the King's House, an inn on the road to Fort William. Lettice declared that "[m]ore desolate prospects than those, which presented themselves, every way, round our inn, are not easily imagined. They exhibit, however, not the mere negation of beauty, but the most positive, and even curious ugliness."[421] He also compared the mountains to a "sublime skeleton…the carcase of a mountain pealed, sore and hideously disgustful."[422] Certainly, descriptions of landscape and scenic views were an incontrovertible element in the travel writing of the long eighteenth century, but the tone of these descriptions shifted perceptibly over the course of the century and this changing tone confirms Mayhew statement that "landscape…was a vehicle for the expression of opinion about a wide variety of subjects."[423]

The last chapter has already discussed how early modern travellers' comments on the landscape were often indicative of social concerns, particularly in regard to the union of the Scottish and English parliaments and English understandings of national identity in this period. Mayhew's study of Samuel Johnson's contributions to landscape descriptions confirms the social and political aspects of such accounts, but also emphasises the importance of considering religion as a motivating factor both in the appreciation of landscape and its use in political and social discourse. Mayhew argues that "politics was also incorporated into the religious understanding of the English nexus of church and state…the discussion of landscape gained in worth to the extent that it could demonstrate such truths from the moral sphere."[424] Certainly, in the eighteenth century religion and spirituality played an important role in appreciating landscape and natural features of the earth, but the religious impetus towards tourism should not simply be viewed as an isolated instance of eighteenth-century piety, and the spirituality imbedded in descriptions of the landscape echo back to the significance of the journey both for medieval pilgrims and early modern tourists. Indeed, if nothing else, religious undertones to travel indicate that travel was and still is a uniquely personal experience, and each traveller gives his or her voice and perception to the accounts considered here. As previously noted, travel diaries tend to follow certain patterns and models, and in the eighteenth century these became increasingly standardised. Even so, the personal nature of journaling, even when it was intended (as

[420] Sarah Murray, *A Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland*, (London, 1799), 111.
[421] John Lettice, *Letters on a Tour through various parts of Scotland, in the year 1792* (London, 1794), 297-98.
[422] Ibid, 298. Interestingly, Lettice also notes that despite the "savage nakedness" of the scene, their guide Mac Allum, who resided in "the melancholy extent of the vale" had a "strong firm tone [to] his voice, and [a] hearty chearfulness [to] his conversation" and Lettice was "strongly inclined to believe, that [Mac Allum] enjoy[ed] as much happiness as commonly falls to the lot of man."
[423] Mayhew, *Landscape, Literature and English Religious Culture*, 59.
[424] Ibid, 60.

many of the travel accounts were) for wider dissemination, means that the individual travellers – their personalities, histories and influences – play an important role in interpreting both travel and travel writing from the eighteenth century.

The Voice of the Traveller

Agency and the intention of the traveller are of great importance. Chapter II highlighted that in the instance of Celia Fiennes' and Joseph Taylor's experiences at St. Monger's Well in Yorkshire, travellers might visit the same exact locations and participate in the same activities, but their accounts and impressions will always be shaped both by their stated purpose and their personal (and frequently unstated) demeanour and situation. Celia Fiennes specifically outlines her intentions in her Preface and her journeys and accounts mirror her quest for bodily health, mental stimulation and to some degree, diversion. Likewise, Fiennes even justifies the frank and at times harsh tone that makes her account so engaging, stating that those who know her will be aware that she tends to a "ffreedom and Easyness" in her conversation and writing and, therefore, will "not expect exactness or politeness in this book, tho' such Embellishments might have adorned the descriptions and suited the nicer taste."[425] Joseph Taylor is more brief in his explanation for travelling and writing, stating simply that in the previous year he had taken a "Journy through most parts of Kent, in Company with severall of [his] Acquaintance…and being very much diverted with the pleasure and satisfaction [he] received in it, [he] propos'd to make a longer Voyage through the Northern partes of England into Scotland."[426] Daniel Defoe repeatedly explains that the purpose of his travels is to "hear what account an Englishman shall give of Scotland, who has had occasion to see most of it, and to make critical enquiries into what he has not seen; and, if describing it, as it really is, and as in time it may be."[427] And Edward Burt, whose journeys and experiences in Scotland were hardly leisurely, explained to the recipient of his letters that the writing of them was to be "the Occasion of some Employment for [him]" and that he had "at present little else to do."[428] Many of these early modern travellers express an interest in authenticity, that is, they declare that their journeys and descriptions will present to the reader an original, but comprehensive and truthful account of the people, places and cultures observed.[429] In the latter half of the eighteenth century, the importance of authenticity expanded to include not just the account itself, but the actual experience of the travellers in the foreign land. James Boswell, for instance wrote, that he and Samuel Johnson sought to "contemplate a system of life almost totally different from what [they] had been accustomed to see; and, to find simplicity and

[425] Celia Fiennes, *Through England on a Side Saddle in the Time of William and Mary*, *VBTT*.
[426] Joseph Taylor, *A Journey to Edenborough in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1903), 9.
[427] Defoe, *A tour thro'…of Great Britain.*
[428] Burt, *Letters* Vol. I, 1.
[429] See Chapter IV, 85-90.

wildness, and all the circumstances of remote time or place…"[430] For his part, Johnson could not "remember how the wish [to travel to the Hebrides] was originally excited," but he made frequent note of sites or events that satisfied his and Boswell's curiosity, and remarks that he found in "Mr. Boswell a companion, whose acuteness would help [Johnson's] inquiry, and whose gaiety of conversation and civility of manners [were] sufficient to counteract the inconveniences of travel."[431]

The opening passage of Boswell's account of the journey to the Hebrides offers some clarity to Johnson's memory lapse. Boswell asserted that the inspiration for the expedition had been Martin Martin's 1703 publication of *A Description of the Western Isles of Scotland*, and that Johnson had claimed in the summer of 1763 "that his father had put Martin's Account into his hands when he was very young, and that he was much pleased with it."[432] Both travellers had been inspired and intrigued by this publication and it would seem that their curiosity was sufficiently fulfilled. Boswell concludes his *Tour to the Hebrides* by asserting that Johnson declared the tour "the pleasantest part of his life."[433] For his part, Johnson was slightly more reflective:

> Such are the things which this journey has given me an opportunity of seeing, and such are the reflections which that sight has raised. Having passed my time almost wholly in cities, I may have been surprised by modes of life and appearances of nature, that are familiar to men of wider survey and more varied conversation. Novelty and ignorance must always be reciprocal, and I cannot but be conscious that my thoughts on national manners, are the thoughts of one who has seen but little.[434]

Travellers of Feeling

Curiosity and scenery were definite themes for the late eighteenth-century traveller, and as the century moved towards a greater appreciation of the Romantic sentiments that would come to dominate the art, literature and culture of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, travellers began to preface accounts of their journeys with more artistic impulses. The August 1770 travel diary ascribed to Henry MacKenzie, a Scottish sentimental novelist, shows that by the second half of the century, agency was becoming second to style.[435] MacKenzie's opening paragraphs alone earn him the sobriquet synonymous with his most famous publication, *The Man of Feeling.*

> Riding on Horseback is the best method of travelling in fine weather; the Motion is good for health and a man has the pleasure of seeing all the objects around him. There are innumerable objects to make a person happy in travelling provided he be at peace

[430] James Boswell, *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson* (London, 1785), 27.
[431] Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland*, (London, 1791), 1-2.
[432] Boswell, *Journal of a Tour*, 1-2.
[433] Ibid, 507.
[434] Johnson, *Journey to the Western Isles*, 383-84.
[435] Henry MacKenzie (1745-1831) was born in Edinburgh and published his sentimental novel, *The Man of Feeling*, in 1771 one year after the Highland tour ascribed to him. He was a member of the Highland Society of Scotland and was part of the committee charged with authenticating James Macpherson's 'translations.' MacKenzie was active in Scottish literary and intellectual circles throughout his life and died in Edinburgh at the age of eighty-six (H. W. Drescher, "Mackenzie, Henry (1745–1831)," *ODNB*).

> with himself and the World before he sets out. In Summer Nature smiles upon all who pass along. There is not a pile of Grass nor a flower in the field, a rill, […] or Cascade but says to the traveller be happy. The Green Lawn the variegated Mead - the uncultivated wild, have all some beauties to inchant the Eyes or please the rest of the Senses. It is a pity an reasonable Creature should pervert the intention of Nature, and desire pain from what was intended to give them Pleasure. [436]

MacKenzie's account highlights a number of different features which are characteristic of both eighteenth-century travel writing and its links to religion and pilgrimage. MacKenzie's description shows both agency – the desire for pleasure and health – but also indicates that one of the primary objectives of his travels is to uplift his senses, one of the main tenets of picturesque travel writing. Interestingly, MacKenzie's travel diary, which seems from the binder's introduction to have never been published, predates the publications of William Gilpin whose essays on the picturesque codified eighteenth-century appreciation of picturesque and sublime scenery, and MacKenzie's description of opposing features in the landscape demonstrate a keen understandings of the Picturesque.[437]

> A Traveller may receive a great degree of pleasure by Contrasting objects…this fine Cultivated Spot must have been once a barren wild - there are still some marks of its primitive state to be seen by the way side, left on purpose one would think to give pleasure to passangers…What might not nature produce, if men were disposed to apply Art and industry to assist her in those productions which she is less able to bring forth without help?[438]

Indeed, MacKenzie's assessment of the landscape near Blagdon matches Gilpin's explanation of the difference between beauty and the picturesque.

> [*R*]*oughness* forms the most essential point of difference between the *beautiful*, and the *picturesque*; as it seems to be that particular quality that makes objects chiefly pleasing in paintings….but properly speaking roughness relates only to the surfaces of bodies: when we speak of their delineations, we use the word *ruggedness*. Both ideas however equally enter into the picturesque; and both are observable in the smaller, as well as the larger parts of nature – in the outline, and bark of a tree, as in the rude summit, and craggy sides of a mountain.[439]

MacKenzie's journal demonstrates that appreciation of the picturesque was well-established within the tropes of travel writing even before Gilpin's essays and that northern Britain, in the late eighteenth century, was already eliciting its vocabulary.

MacKenzie's journal is rife with picturesque descriptions, but more important is the link between his imaginative prose and religious sentiment in the context of picturesque tourism. The second chapter of MacKenzie's travel journal, titled 'The Music of the Mill,' waxes poetic on a "new method of music" which in the opinion of the "Sentimental Traveller" rival the "finest airs of Handel

[436] NLS Adv.Ms.22.5.3, *Collection bound about 1836* (1770), 1-2.
[437] Ibid, 1.
[438] Ibid, 2-3.
[439] William Gilpin, "Essay I: On Picturesque Beauty," in *Three Essays on Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and On Sketching Landscape: to which is added a poem, On Landscape Painting* (London, 1792), 7.

or the tenderest notes of Tenducci;" that is, the sound of the water mill at Stannington Bridge in Sheffield. MacKenzie is extremely pleased with the sound of the water running through the mill and the chapter is full of picturesque allusions, but the most striking feature of MacKenzie's attention to the mill is its link to the divine. The first half of MacKenzie's account regarding the mill asserts that the 'music' created by the mill resembles that of an organ and continues with a rather satirical recommendation for the adoption of mills as a means for facilitating worship in church.

> I would advise all organists in Cathedrals to resort and take a pattern…A Good water machine would be of great service in all Churches for gathering wind, where there is so much Sonorous worship and Windy devotion. It would be easy to construct a Machine of this sort; it would only require to remove all Churches that are at a distance from the water near to the side of rivers and Brooks on purpose to have a good Church Mill Damm; and then the organist would have nothing to do but set the water on his mill, and proceed with this devotion. There is no profanity in this Can't please your Reverences/ for a Mill in a Church is as Orthodox as an Organ itself - equally agreeable to the New testament Worship - Besides it may be of great service to all the Clergy, by affording them an opportunity of having all their Tythes grinded Moultrie Free and encourage them to insist upon having all their Tythes in kind for the benefit of their own mill. This I am persuaded is entirely a new Invention and deserves a premium from the Society for propagating Christian knowledge.[440]

MacKenzie's plan for mill-based worship in river-side churches is meant merely as a witticism, and is demonstrative of the shift from late seventeenth-century travel accounts that centered on criticism and 'accurate' observations and the style of writing (and travelling) that began to emerge in the middle of the eighteenth century. This style is particularly evident in the diaries of Samuel Johnson and James Boswell and is frequently imitated, or at least applied, in the diaries from the end of the century, but this will be examined in more detail further on. MacKenzie's treatise on mill-music is amusing certainly, but also demonstrates that picturesque tourism was inherently tied up in the travellers' sense of spirituality and morality. As Mayhew states, "landscape came to be a vehicle for discussion of a large number of themes, moving out from religion to morality."[441] Indeed, almost immediately after his mill-music plan, MacKenzie shifts his tone to a more serious and contemplative one and begins to instruct the reader in the 'true' value of his observations.

> When a Traveller passes by a Mill, he may have occasion to raise several moral reflections this Mill brought to my mind a very serious passage of Scripture relating to a very solemn Event….Two women shall be grinding together in the Mill the one shall be taken and the other left. It suggests the Soverign display of divine mercy according to the Goodwill of him who only knows how to make a proper difference between one Man and another. The Music of a Mill suggests to a Sentimental Traveller, the coming of the Son of Man - And that is more than can be said for any band of Music in England.[442]

Here again, MacKenzie almost foreshadows Gilpin who gave instructions on the proper order of

[440] *Collection…1836,* 6-8.
[441] Mayhew, *Landscape, Literature and English Religious Culture*, 44.
[442] *Collectio…1836,* 9-10.

appreciation for objects of picturesque beauty. Gilpin outlined that picturesque travel should first be a pursuit of beauty "in every shape; through nature, through art; and all [its] various arrangements in form, and colour; admiring it in the grandest objects, and not rejecting it in the humblest."[443] However, Gilpin also considered the sites and diversions of picturesque travel as "sources of amusement" enhanced by the "way the mind is gratified by these objects."[444] This gratification should come, according to Gilpin, not just from the amusement produced but from the pursuit of beauty, which "should naturally lead the mind to the great origin of all beauty."[445] Gilpin was less insistent upon this element as he hoped "that every admirer of *picturesque beauty*, is an admirer also of the *beauty of virtue*; and that every lover of nature reflects that 'Nature is but a name for an *effect*,/ Whose *cause* is God."[446] Gilpin believed that to derive amusement alone from appreciation of the picturesque was adequate; however

> if the admirer of nature can turn his amusements to a higher purpose; if it's great scenes can inspire him with religious awe; or it's tranquil scenes with that complacency of mind, which is so nearly allied to benevolence, it is certainly better.[447]

It seems necessary to point out that though Gilpin stipulates that the appreciation of picturesque beauty applies to "objects of nature," his specifications do not imply only *natural* objects and scenes as a modern traveller might expect. Gilpin's discourse on picturesque beauty and morality is prefaced by the qualification that "the picturesque eye is not merely restricted to nature."[448] Indeed, Gilpin goes on to explain that

> [w]e are most delighted, when some grand scene, tho perhaps of incorrect composition, rising before the eye, strikes us beyond the power of thought – when the *vox faucibus hæret*; and every mental operation is suspended. In this pause of intellect; this *deliquium* of the soul, an enthusiastic sensation of pleasure overspreads it, previous to any examination by the rules of art. The general idea of the scene makes the impression, before any appeal is made to the judgement. We rather *feel*, than survey it.
>
> This high delight is generally indeed produced by the scenes of nature, yet sometimes by artificial objects. Here and there a capital picture will raise these emotions…[449]

Certainly, the scene of the ruins at St Andrews elicited such a response from Samuel Johnson although, according to Boswell, it did not render him entirely speechless.

> It was a very fine day. Dr. Johnson seemed quite wrapt up in contemplation of the scenes which were now presented to him. He kept his hat off while he was upon any part of the ground where the cathedral had stood. He said well, that "Knox had set on a mob, without knowing where it would end; and that differing from a man in doctrine

[443] Gilpin, "On Picturesque Beauty," 46.
[444] Ibid.
[445] Ibid, 47.
[446] Ibid. Emphasis is Gilpin's.
[447] Ibid.
[448] Ibid, 45-46.
[449] Ibid, 49-50.

> was no reason why you should pull his house about his ears." As we walked in the cloisters, there was a solemn echo, while he talked loudly of a proper retirement from the world…[450]

The sentimentality attributed to Johnson may be more Boswell's own, as Johnson is rather less emotive in his own description of the ruins, though he alliteratively names them "mournful memorials."[451] Nevertheless, Johnson's description does indicate that he is concerned with the artistic value of the site.

> The cathedral, of which the foundations may be still traced, and a small part of the wall is standing, appears to have been a spacious and majestick building, not unsuitable to the primacy of the kingdom. Of the architecture, the poor remains can hardly exhibit, even to an artist, a sufficient specimen.[452]

Johnson also considers the religious impact of St Andrews, though despite Boswell's assessment Johnson's own account is more verbose than contemplative.

> The change of religion in Scotland, eager and vehement as it was, raised an epidemical enthusiasm, compounded of sullen scrupulousness and warlike ferocity, which, in a people whom idleness resigned to their own thoughts, and who, conversing only with each other, suffered no dilution of their zeal from the gradual influx of new opinions, was long transmitted in its full strength from the old to the young, but by trade and intercourse with England, is now visibly abating, and giving way too fast to that laxity of practice and indifference of opinion, in which men, not sufficiently instructed to find the middle point, too easily shelter themselves from rigour and constraint.[453]

For Johnson, the ruins seem to have inspired a sort of righteous indignation, but Boswell felt it "was somewhat dispiriting, to see this ancient arch-episcopal city now sadly deserted" and "was struck with the same kind of feeling with which the churches of Italy impress" him.[454] Though he does not specifically note whether his feelings at St Andrews were the same as those that elicited a "sceptical but reverent superstition, which by a mysterious and inexplicable mixture of feelings, calmed [his] uneasy mind," in Rome, it is evident that for Johnson, Boswell and MacKenzie, the act of travel was most definitely tied up with the spiritual. Boswell's *Tour to the Hebrides* is filled with accounts of spirited religious debates and discussions with Samuel Johnson; however, most of these conversations are a result of Boswell's life-long interest in and struggle with his own religious beliefs and, therefore, one should not assume that they were triggered by his travels.[455] Indeed, it is likely that his vivacious

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[450] Boswell, *Tour to the Hebrides*, 53.
[451] Johnson, *Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland*, 7.
[452] Ibid.
[453] Ibid, 8.
[454] Boswell, *Tour to the Hebrides*, 55. Boswell had written to Jean-Jacques Rousseau in 1765 describing his journey through Italy and his personal experience in the churches in Rome, which made him "calm" and "a little melancholy," and reinforced his belief that "the revelation given by Jesus was true" (James Boswell, *On the Grand Tour: Italy, Corsica, and France, 1765-1766* eds. Frank Brady and Frederick A. Pottle [New York, 1955], 6-7).
[455] Gordon Turnbull, "Boswell, James (1740–1795)," *ODNB*. These religious conversations do, however, give some insight into the mind-set of both men regarding religion, spirituality and morals, though for the most part

dialogues on religion (and many other subjects) were the "gaiety of conversation" to which his travelling companion earlier referred.[456]

Spiritual Advantages of Travel

It is necessary to return to a consideration of the travellers' intentions, or agency, particularly in regard to curiosity and diversion which are both tied to the spiritual nature of travel. In the medieval period, pilgrimages were thought to be of great benefit to the soul, so much so that some people would leave "bequests for the performance of pilgrimages" in their wills, the belief being that "the performance of one or more pilgrimages on the testator's behalf would be of assistance to his or her soul in Purgatory, and not infrequently also to the souls of previously deceased spouses, parents or other kin."[457] While eighteenth-century tourists do not explicitly express that travel will benefit their souls in the afterlife, there is a definite sense of travel and tourism promoting the health of the living soul. Specifically one could argue Gilpin's assertion, that appreciation of picturesque beauty could (and should) lead the traveller to more easily understand God and become an admirer of "the *beauty of virtue*," indicates that even in the late eighteenth century, there was an understanding that travel could save the soul.[458] Mayhew contends that travel and picturesque scenery were active elements in early modern religious belief and that "[i]ntimately interconnected with Christianity was the notion of moral lessons in the landscape."[459] Appreciation of beauty and nature were central to the ethos of Romanticism which "depended partly on a belief that there was an inherent wisdom and virtue as well as beauty, poetry and numinous divinity in wild nature."[460] Certainly, there was some conviction that travelling through and appreciating the beauty of nature was, if nothing else, a means of improving one's self. Boswell records that while on Skye, the poor weather of early September forced them inside and away from the diversions of travel, which put him into a "kind of lethargy of indolence" and was "hurt to find even such a temporary feebleness, and that [he] was so far from being that robust wise man who is so sufficient for his own happiness."[461] However, the next day "was better, and in a little while it was calm and clear. [Boswell] felt [his] spirits much elated. The propriety of the expression 'the sunshine of the breast' now struck [him] with peculiar force; for the brilliant rays

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the details of these discourses are recorded only by Boswell. For instance, on the road to Nairn Boswell records a conversation and writes that he "introduced the subject of the origin of evil." (Boswell, *Tour to the Hebrides*, 84). Johnson on the other hand makes no note of the conversation and remarks only that the road the travelled was the same on which "Macbeth heard the fatal prediction." (Johnson, *Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland*).

[456] Ibid, 1-2

[457] Diana Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England* (London, 2000), 191-92.

[458] Gilpin, "On Picturesque Beauty," 46-47.

[459] Mayhew, *Landscape, Literature and English Religious Culture*, 47.

[460] Ronald Hutton, *Blood and Mistletoe: The History of the Druids in Britain* (New Haven, 2009), 111.

[461] Boswell, *Tour to the Hebrides*, 111.

penetrated into [his] very soul."[462] MacKenzie takes the edifying aspects of nature even further and demonstrates quite clearly Gilpin's assessment that natural beauty would, inevitably, lead one to acknowledge the majesty of a creator.

> What is natural has a beauty in it which distinguishes it from Art, as far as the works of the Almighty are distinguished above the imitations of all Creatures. It is much to be doubted if the finest displays of Art can affect the heart; it is only as far as art assumes the Complexion of Nature, that it can give real pleasure. Our Feelings are touched in the finest Manner by those impressions which come directly from the hand of the Deity. All art is a sort of Circumlocution Substituted in the place of nature but can never supply the real want there of. Those substitutes are but imperfect Succedaneums assumed for the want of perfect samples which cannot be imitated. The simple notes of a Thrush or a black bird will Create a feeling more pleasant and refined than the finest loudness of a Lute or a Harpsichord. The [fibers] of the human frames vibrate more lively and quick by those pure touches of nature than ever they do by the accumulated refinement of all the Artists in the world.[463]

Indeed, though Johnson was not moved to divine worship even he was moved by the sight and sound of the waterfalls outside Inveraray, and his account is reminiscent of MacKenzie's allusions to natural music.

> The night came on while we had yet a great part of the way to go, though not so dark but that we could discern the cataracts which poured down the hills on one side, and fell into one general channel that ran with great violence on the other. The wind was loud, the rain was heavy, and the whistling of the blast, the fall of the shower, the rush of the cataracts, and the roar of the torrent, made a nobler chorus of the rough music of nature, than it had ever been my chance to hear before.[464]

Johnson's description of the falls is, of course, missing any reference either to a Christian deity or to spiritual improvement or enlightenment and is therefore different from those of MacKenzie and Boswell. Nevertheless, it demonstrates another key aspect to the 'improvement' sought by eighteenth-century travellers. Most of the diaries spend a considerable amount of time describing the diversion and pleasure that they experience during their travels and often make note of particularly entertaining days or events. Travel as a source of entertainment is hardly a novel concept. However, as has been shown, until the beginnings of the eighteenth century travellers to the north of Britain rarely expressed their impetus to travel as such and even when their journeys can be interpreted as pleasurable, they were almost always justified in another sense. For instance, Celia Fiennes' reasons for travelling, outlined earlier in this chapter, express the desire to procure diversion from her travels although her primary motive is physical health. Joseph Taylor, meanwhile, is the first to directly acknowledge that the objective of his journey is pleasure. Obviously, travellers prior to the eighteenth century experienced pleasure during their journeys, both to Scotland and abroad, but in a general sense travel before the eighteenth century was normally considered something that gave the traveller

[462] Ibid, 112.
[463] MacKenzie, 20-21.
[464] Johnson, *Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland*, 370.

more discomfort than anything else and, in the case of medieval pilgrimages, was almost a requirement. Diana Webb explains that in the medieval period, the "radical dissimilarity of [pilgrimage] from all that normal people considered most comfortable and desirable gave it power not merely as a form of asceticism, a means to a greater spiritual perfection, but as a form of penance, a way of purging the soul from the dross of sin…"[465]

The reformations of the sixteenth century in both England and Scotland eliminated the need for and belief in such penance, and the social, cultural and economic developments of the late seventeenth century meant that leisure travel was viewed both as, and able to be, more pleasurable. As Roy Porter argues, the eighteenth century marked the beginning of a more commercialized society, and the economic and social developments of the period "opened up new vistas of material enjoyment."[466] Porter cites improvements in transportation methods (more comfortable coaches) and rising levels of economic stability leading to more expendable income, but more importantly Porter notes that English society at the end of the seventeenth century was rapidly moving towards secularization and that leisure activities and the "public domain" were more frequently being sought outside the Church.[467] This point, though hardly central to Porter's discussion, points to one of the most unexpected and ultimately important revelations of this current study of pilgrimage and tourism. Specifically, this study sought to examine whether the transition from pilgrimage to tourism over the course of the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century could give some insight into the course of the Reformation in the British Isles. Instead, what this research has found is that travel patterns from 1500 to 1800 indicate an increased secularization of social activities and that the link between pilgrimage and tourism is the sense that in the absence of proscribed religious devotional activities, travellers began to create a need to travel that incorporated inherent spiritual needs, albeit interpreted through the lens of a more personally-constructed religiosity. As Porter notes, the "religious pluralism and toleration" that emerged in the late seventeenth century in English society meant that the church, whether Catholic or Protestant could no longer comprehensively cater to the whole of society and leisure time "was thus being spent in less religious ways."[468]

A Path Appears

The secularization of society is also tied up in the philosophical and academic developments of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. As already noted the emergence of the Enlightenment systematically altered the world-view of Western culture and in England particularly shaped social,

[465] Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, xiv.
[466] Roy Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1982), 232.
[467] Porter, *English Society*, 243-247.
[468] Ibid, 244, 247.

political and cultural mores. John Locke, for instance, was incredibly influential in the development of ideas concerning religious tolerance, but his philosophies were significant to the understanding of self in the early modern period. In regards to travel and tourism Locke, whom Bertrand Russell asserts "may be regarded as the founder of empiricism," is particularly important in that he based his philosophy of human understanding on the concept that all human knowledge "is derived from experience."[469] Locke was fascinated with travel accounts, in part because "he used the variety of customs to be found in different societies as evidence against the doctrine of innate ideas."[470] Additionally, one can consider travel and tourism in the light of Locke's philosophies and note that most of the eighteenth-century diaries express in some way the aim of increasing the traveller's knowledge through the experience of travel. Likewise, the relationship between medieval pilgrimage and early modern tourism indicates a shift in perception of the spiritual benefit of a deliberately unpleasant experience (pilgrimage) to the aim of maximizing pleasure (tourism). This shift is clearly linked to Lockean philosophy which postulated that

> Things then are good or evil, only in reference to pleasure or pain. That we call GOOD… is apt to cause or increase pleasure, or diminish pain…And, on the possession of any other good or absence of any evil…. we name that EVIL which is apt to produce or increase any pain, or diminish any pleasure…By pleasure and pain, I must be understood to mean of body or mind, as they are commonly distinguished; though in truth they be only different constitutions of the MIND, sometimes occasioned by disorder in the body, sometimes by thoughts of the mind.[471]

Locke's philosophy is intimately tied up in the eighteenth century concept of tourism, particularly in relation to Gilpin's philosophies of the picturesque. Gilpin prefaced his chapter on picturesque travel by explaining how and why an appreciation of the picturesque should be applied to travel.

> Enough has been said to shew the difficulty of *assigning causes*: let us then take another course, and amuse ourselves with *searching after effects.* This is the general intention of picturesque travel. We mean not bring it into competition with any of the more useful ends of travelling: but as many travel without any end at all, amusing themselves without being able to give a reason why they are amused, we offer an end, which may possibly engage some vacant minds; and may indeed afford a rational amusement to such as travel for more important purposes.
> In treating of picturesque travel, we may consider first it's *object*; and secondly it's sources of *amusement.*[472]

Later in the second essay, Gilpin continues his argument for the benefits of picturesque tourism and, as is noted above, makes pleasure the key element to establishing whether a scene is picturesque. Indeed, Gilpin postulates that appreciation of picturesque beauty and the pleasure derived therein, can even "be of some use in an age teeming with licentious pleasure; and may in this light be at least

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[469] Bertrand Russell, *History of Western Philosophy* (London, 1946), 551-56.
[470] Ruth W. Grant, "Locke's Political Anthropology and Lockean Individualism," *The Journal of Politics* Vol. 50, No. 1 (Feb 1988), 42.
[471] John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Humane Understanding, Volume I* (London, 1690), Chapter XX, *PG*.
[472] Gilpin, "On Picturesque Travel," 41.

considered as having a moral tendency."[473] This sentiment is directly linked to Locke who stressed (as Russell paraphrases) that "the prudent pleasure-seeker will therefore be virtuous" and indicates an on-going understanding and development of Enlightenment ideals in the eighteenth century that intertwined reason and rationality with religion.[474] Further on, Gilpin also delineates the way in which appreciating the picturesque becomes a means of engaging one's mind, which echoes Locke's claim that "all the light we can let in upon our minds, all the acquaintance we can make with our own understandings, will not only be very pleasant, but bring us great advantage, in directing our thoughts in the search of other things."[475] Gilpin follows this by dictating the way in which assessing scenery from a picturesque perspective both engages and amuses the mind.

> After the pursuit we are gratified with the *attainment* of the object. Our amusement…arises from the employment of the mind in examining the beautiful scenes…Sometimes we examine them under the idea of a *whole*; we admire the composition, the colouring, and the light, in one *comprehensive view*. When we are fortunate enough to fall in with scenes of this kind, we are highly delighted. But as we have less frequent opportunities of being thus gratified, we are more commonly employed in analysing the *parts of scenes*; which may be exquisitely beautiful, tho unable to produce a whole. We examine what would amend the composition; how little is wanting to reduce it to the rules of art; what a trifling circumstance sometimes forms the limit between beauty, and deformity. Or we compare the objects before us with other objects of the same kind: - or perhaps we compare them with the imitations of art. From all these operations of the mind results great amusement.[476]

The travel diaries from the middle of the eighteenth century onward are full of examples and discussions that indicate the influence of Lockean and other Enlightenment philosophies within the concepts of picturesque tourism. Specifically, William Gilpin was particularly devoted to promoting the Lockean "political and religious values of liberty and Protestantism," particularly at his boys' schools at Cheam and Boldre, where Gilpin utilised "literal Lockeanism" in the discipline and management of his pupils.[477] Mayhew also argues that Gilpin's picturesque theory essentially embodied a Latitudinarian "approach to the face of nature."[478] Likewise, the diaries are particularly illustrative of the move towards secularization both of society and travel, but are also indicative of the ways in which the patterns of pilgrimage were still inherent in the action of tourism and that the void left by the veneration of saints and the eternal benefits of pilgrimage was being filled by a reimagining of traditional religious practices.

Some of these patterns have already been considered in earlier chapters in regard to the seventeenth century. Specifically, the inclusion of holy wells on spa tours in the late seventeenth

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[473] Ibid, 47.
[474] Russell, *Western Philosophy*, 559.
[475] Locke, *Humane Understanding*, Introduction.
[476] Gilpin, "On Picturesque Travel," 48-49.
[477] Robert Mayhew, "William Gilpin and the Latitudinarian Picturesque," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* Vol. 33, No. 3 (Spring 2000), 350.
[478] Ibid, 350.

century indicate a strong link between the itineraries of early modern travellers and medieval pilgrimage; likewise, the propensity of surviving wells to be associated with local British saints suggests a pervasive local identity in relation to traditional religious practices. In the seventeenth century remnants of pre-Reformation religion often provoked criticism from non-Catholic travellers, but by the late eighteenth century the tone of tourists' diaries had shifted considerably and not only were the remainders of Catholicism less offensive, but they became a feature that, at times, enhanced the tourists' experience. This shift can be linked to the emergence of Enlightened thinking in the period and shows both its direct and indirect application within the society and culture of the eighteenth century. First, as noted earlier, proponents of the Enlightenment, like John Locke, helped to nurture tolerance in eighteenth-century Britain and, though theological debates and denominational divides persisted within organised religion, English society and culture were becoming less prescriptive.[479] Therefore, it is not surprising that by the second half of the 1700s, English travellers who encountered traces of Catholicism while on tours to the north would be less critical and perhaps, more curious. Similarly, the Enlightenment's emphasis on experience and individual interpretation encouraged such curiosity and is evident in the tourists' accounts of various shrines, relics and former pilgrimage locations that they visited. For instance, as has already been seen in chapter one, Joseph Taylor (1705?) was morally outraged by the "Rich Raggs of the Whore of Babylon" which he saw displayed and used in Durham Cathedral. In contrast, Eliza Dawson (1786) views them without any sense of disdain and remarks that

> a woman conducted us to see the curiosities, we were shown five very ancient robes, one was given by Charles the first, its red velvet curiously inwrought with gold, it had been intended for a cloak, and on the hood is the figure of David with Goliath's head in his hand; the other four are said to have been hear ever since the church was founded, they are different colour'd velvets cover'd with emblematical figures taken from scripture inwrought with gold, silver and various colour'd silks.[480]

Oddly enough, the female diarist of *A Journey through Scotland* who visited Durham Cathedral only four years later makes no note of these velvets at all and says only that the Cathedral "is very plain and neat and the only building except an old ruin of a Castle on Holy Island in the Saxon Stile."[481] Few of the travellers from the 1790s make much of the Cathedral. Rowland Hill, whose 1799 journal expressed disappointment at the cathedral's interior, stated merely that it "has nothing to boast of as a building" while Thomas Thornton called it "an aged and stupendous pile…but the exterior owes much of its effect to its situation, being otherwise plain, and possessing few claims to elegance. Some of the monastic buildings remain, but most of the ancient tombs have been sacrilegiously

[479] Porter, *English Society*, 184-85.
[480] NLS, Acc 12017, Eliza Dawson, *A Tour through part of England and Scotland, by Eliza Dawson in the Year 1786, (diary of a sixteen-year-old girl),* by permission of Dr. & Mrs. Murphey, 5.
[481] NLS Ms 15905, *A Journey Through Scotland* (1790).

destroyed."[482] Doctor Samuel Heinrich Spiker, librarian to the King of Prussia, who visited the cathedral in 1816 noted the extensive alterations made to the interior and exterior at the end of the eighteenth century. Spiker's account also gives some small clue as to what may have happened both to the ornamentation of the cathedral's interior and the various 'curiosities' that had so intrigued Dawson. Spiker was certain that "[t]he impression made by this noble building would…be far greater, if… the whole front had not been modernized and deprived of its ancient design…" and thought that the white-washing of the cathedral's internal and external walls detracted "very much from its antique appearance."[483] The whole cathedral, Spiker asserted, had been remodelled with little attention to "the finer architectural embellishments," many of which had "suffered greatly from destroying hands in the time of the civil wars."[484] Most notably, the tomb of the venerable Bede, "one of the most ancient and faithful historians of England," was almost unrecognisable under "bundles of linen, wrapped in paper…[which were] piled over it to the height of an ordinary man."[485] Many of the alterations noted by Spiker and the other late eighteenth-century travellers were probably the work of architect James Wyatt, who was employed in the last decade of the century to orchestrate renovations on Durham and several other English cathedrals. Wyatt's work often involved "opening up vistas, clearing away screens" and frequently "showed a lack of respect for the historical integrity of an old building."[486] However, the late eighteenth-century renovations to Durham Cathedral were mainly practical and stylistic, rather than iconoclastic or dogmatic in nature. Thus, although Wyatt's and other architects' 'improvements' to the cathedral at the end of the century effectively may have removed many of the remaining traces of pre-Reformation worship in the cathedral, these changes do not appear to be driven by any religious fervour. What is interesting, however, is the fact that the tourists who make note of the changes generally find the elimination of historical details to be disappointing, or even "sacrilegious" as Thornton expressed. As a Northerner by birth, his outrage may reflect once again, the local identity tied up with Durham Cathedral and its patron saint. Nevertheless, late eighteenth-century travel accounts reveal that appreciation of historical architectural features within formerly Catholic buildings was no longer being qualified with any sort of religious justification, as was demonstrated by Joseph Taylor and Celia Fiennes.

Instead, the journals and diaries from the second half of the eighteenth century indicate a strong sentimental and often spiritual appreciation for the historical, or antique elements of architecture – both functional and ruinous – that travellers encountered. Indeed, Gilpin stated that of

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[482] Rowland Hill, *Journal of a Tour Through the North of England and Parts of Scotland* (London, 1799), 56; Thomas Thorton, *A Sporting Tour Through the Northern Parts of England, and Great Part of the Highlands of Scotland* (London, 1804), 9.
[483] S.H. Spiker, Dr., *Travels Through England, Wales and Scotland in the Year 1816* trans. Anonymous (London, 1820), 129.
[484] Ibid, 130.
[485] Ibid, 131.
[486] John Martin Robinson, "Wyatt, James (1746–1813)," *ODNB.*

> all the objects of art, the picturesque eye is perhaps most inquisitive after the elegant relics of ancient architecture; the ruined tower, the Gothic arch, the remains of castles and abbeys. These are the richest legacies of art. They are consecrated by time; and almost deserve the veneration we pay to the works of nature itself.[487]

First, it is important to consider Gilpin's terminology here; his use of the words 'consecrated' and 'veneration' definitely imply a religious element to the appreciation of art and picturesque scenery. As previously noted, Gilpin supported the idea that beautiful sights could move one spiritually and inspire admiration not only for the artistic appearance, but also for an "Infinite Creator" who either directly or indirectly created the scene.[488] Gilpin's aesthetic philosophy, as Mayhew asserts, thoroughly embodied a Latitudinarian view of Christianity, which relied heavily on the use of "the natural world as a mode of evidence that fitted their need for uncontroversial proof of God and Christianity, to draw those of diverse religious beliefs into concord."[489] Gilpin's sermon, entitled "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so shall the Son of Man be lifted up; that whosever believeth on Him, should not perish but have everlasting life," gives a simple illustration of this technique used to refute Deist apologetics. Gilpin argues that a deist might claim the revelations of Scripture are "mysterious," and answers with the assertion that

> so is every pile of grass you tread on. But the question is not, whether a thing be mysterious – or all things are mysterious – but whether the mystery be supported by evidence? The pile of grass appeals to all nature, for its being the work of God: and the truth of Christ's atonement, however mysterious, is supported by evidence equally strong. – It rests on all the evidence that scripture can give – on the prophetic parts of the Old Testament, and on the historic and epistolary parts of the New.[490]

This is, perhaps, a rather flawed argument, but the point is not whether Gilpin's sermons were valid but rather that his religious convictions were tied very clearly to his appreciation for nature and scenery. Even more striking in this regard is the correlations Gilpin draws between travel and faith. Indeed, while his sermons are smattered with allusions to natural religion, one sermon in particular draws a very succinct parallel between tourism and religious belief. Gilpin's eighth sermon in his Country Congregation series is based on Hebrews 11:13 and is tellingly titled "The confessed, that they were strangers, and pilgrims on the earth." Here, Gilpin draws a direct correlation between the earthly act of travel to that of the spiritual path of human life, and more importantly Gilpin's sermon suggests yet another link between pilgrimage and tourism, that is, that the difference between the two is dependent on the individual travelling. "Some travel in a more expensive way with equipage, and

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[487] Gilpin, "On Picturesque Travel," 46.
[488] John Ray, *Select Remains of the Learned John Ray, M.A. and F.R.S. with His Life* ed. William Derham (London, 1760), 50.
[489] Mayhew, "William Gilpin," 351.
[490] William Gilpin, "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so shall the Son of Man be lifted up; that whosever believeth on Him, should not perish but have everlasting life," in *Sermons Preached to a Country Congregation to which are added, a few Hints for Sermons; intended chiefly for the use of the younger clergy* Vol. I (London, 1822), 23.

attendants: others, in a humble manner, like the poor pilgrim with his staff; but all, in this confusion and variety, are hastening to one great point – their everlasting home."[491] This sermon also reinforces Gilpin's Latitudinarian stance on religious beliefs, as he compares those with divergent *Christian* beliefs as travellers on a different, but not indirect or incorrect path.

> Every one accustomed to travelling, knows there are various roads commonly leading to the same place. Some are bad – others indirect – while there is generally but one, which is the best; and which every prudent traveller would wish to pursue.
> Such too is our journey to eternal life….Ask any, who are not quite abandoned, and they will tell you, they hope to go to heaven…but through what variety of paths do they often pursue it? – I do not mean here, by *different paths*, the different modes of religion, by which different persuasions of christians seek heaven. Far should I be from calling a sincere christian in any persuasion, though differing from our own, a traveller in an indirect path. He may, in some points, be in error – he may, in many points, pursue the way, which we may not think best – yet if he be a pious and good man, his path cannot possibly be much awry. By those therefore who travel in an *indirect path*, I mean such only as, in *any* persuasion, lead careless, inattentive lives – who tread the path of pleasure – who are given up too much to the world – and expect their chief happiness from it.[492]

Obviously, Gilpin is using the image of travelling as a metaphor; however, his conclusion here – that those who are on the "indirect path" are also those who are "inattentive" - plays into Gilpin's theories of the picturesque and his emphasis on appreciation of beauty whilst travelling. As has already been shown, Gilpin believed that the picturesque could inspire travellers to moral and religious contemplation, a philosophy that built on the late seventeenth-century writings of the natural philosopher Robert Boyle, though he did admit that he "[dared] not *promise* [the traveller] more from picturesque travel, than a rational, and agreeable amusement."[493] Nevertheless, the implication both of Gilpin's sermons and his essays on the picturesque gives one the sense that such *amusements* were considered significantly more legitimate and praiseworthy than the "licentious pleasure[s]" sought by less enlightened minds.[494]

The diaries and journals from the late eighteenth century indicate that Gilpin's formula for rational amusement that both uplifted the spirits and enriched the mind was applied most directly to scenes of ancient or historical monuments, particularly those with religious significance. Specifically, sites of historical and/or religious importance frequently prompted diarists from the period to provide more detailed (and often carefully reasoned) speculations, and in many instances such descriptions are overtly emotional in nature. Patrick Walker's accounts from 1798 of both Glasgow Cathedral and Paisley Abbey are particularly indicative of the sentimental diversion that such places induced in

[491] William Gilpin, "The confessed, that they were strangers, and pilgrims on the earth," in *Sermons Preached to a Country Congregation*, 89.
[492] Gilpin, "Strangers, and pilgrims on the earth," 91-92.
[493] Gilpin, "On Picturesque Travel," 47. See Michael Hunter, ed., *Robert Boyle Reconsidered* (Cambridge, 1994); Mayhew, "William Gilpin," 349-366; Patrick Müller, *Latitudinarianism and Diadacticism in Eighteenth Century Literature: Moral Theology in Fielding, Sterne, and Goldsmith* (Münster, 2007).
[494] Gilpin, "On Picturesque Travel," 47.

picturesque tourists, though there is no clear indication as to Gilpin's direct influence on Walker. During his tour Walker spent a considerable amount of time describing the interior of Glasgow Cathedral and his account contains a great deal of information about eighteenth-century perceptions of its original use and organization. His conclusions regarding the impact of the Cathedral's interior architecture on pre-Reformation worshippers is particularly noteworthy and demonstrates a picturesque and sentimental appreciation for its form and function.[495] In this instance, Walker is speculating as to the emotional resonance of the Cathedral's architecture – though he does not say that the feelings he projects on medieval worshippers were his own, one might postulate that Walker was also 'impressed, thrilled and filled with fear and awe' upon entering the Cathedral.[496] Certainly, his description of the vault at Paisley Abbey confirms that Walker was rather prone to Gothic reflections.

> On entering into this Vault or Chapel, the mind of the stranger is struck with awe, without knowing for what, as there are no useless ornaments, only the death Flags across the Tomb, up to which are two steps not another niche or cut in the whole Fabrick (*sic*). The Echo is very strong here and returns louder than the words pronounced and more distinct. The Stranger upon entering is as it were forced by some internal power to be quiet and fix his Eyes upon these sad Flags the tokens of death; the place is perfectly hush, he begins to muse, and his own breath however low, echoing disconcerts him and breaks the silence of the Place.[497]

Walker's emotional contemplation is echoed in Alexander Campbell's description of the ruins of the cathedral at Dunkeld.

> On contemplating the effects of time, and of the ruthless hands which in mistaken zeal dilapidated this once magnificent pile, its ruins excite in the beholder a tender sentiment of regret, that awakens kindred ideas, most aptly associated with those called forth in viewing the scenery around, and which carries the mind of the pensive spectator to former times, when the God of nature was worshipped in the sacred temple here dedicated to his name, with all the pomp and splendor of idolatrous ceremony. But the scene is changed; the reign of the church has ceased; the age of chivalry is no more; and commerce has assumed the place of splendid piety and elevated distinction in the northern section of our island.[498]

An appreciation for the Gothic - both architecturally and sentimentally – was characteristic of the eighteenth century and came to full fruition at the end of the century when it became a defining feature of Romanticism in both literature and art. Although regarded as "a shift away from neoclassical ideals of order and reason" that were the result of the Enlightenment, in the context of travel writing and tourism, elements of the Gothic were more aptly tied up with the sort of influence promoted by Gilpin in regard to the picturesque and religious reflection.[499] Specifically, Robert Hume

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[495] For Walker's description of Glasgow Cathedral see Chapter I, 39.
[496] Ibid, 30.
[497] Ibid, 16.
[498] Alexander Campbell, *A Journey from Edinburgh through Parts of North Britain, Volume I* (London, 1802), 290.
[499] Robert D. Hume, "Gothic versus Romantic: A Revaluation of the Gothic Novel," *PMLA* Vol. 84, No. 2 (Mar. 1969), 282.

states that the use of Gothic 'terror' in late eighteenth-century literature was part of a literary movement that attempted to "rouse the reader's imaginative sympathies" and sites like ruins, ancient cathedrals and prehistoric monuments were the perfect scenes for such contemplations.[500] Gilpin, for instance, was highly critical of the architect Lancelot 'Capability' Brown's 'improvements' to Roche Abbey. Brown's landscaping, in Gilpin's opinion was too ordered "and the ruin stands now on a neat bowling-green like a house just built…"[501] This situation highly disappointed Gilpin, who believed that

> in a *ruin* the reigning ideas are *solitude, neglect, and desolation.* The environs of a house should partake of the elegance or grandeur of the mansion they adorn, *because* harmony and propriety require it. If there is force in *this* reason, it surely holds equally true, that a ruin should be left in a state of wildness, and negligence. Harmony and propriety require one as much as the other.[502]

Walker's descriptions of Glasgow and Paisley most certainly are designed to elicit strong feelings from his readers; but more importantly, eighteenth-century travellers expected the scenes and sites they visited to inspire them in such a way. The unnamed female diarist who visited Scotland in 1790 writes of the "pleasing awefulness" of a thunderstorm over Lake Windermere; Thomas Thornton reported that the cathedral at Elgin was "a most melancholy heap of ruin," that Durham was "singularly romantic" and that the Cathedral "cannot fail to impress the mind of the spectator with awe"; while Henry MacKenzie declared that scenery surrounding Morpeth Mill "[s]trikes a sort of awe in the mind of a Traveller" and "puts one in mind of those water falls where Nymphs of Ancient Romance sat and Combed their dishelmed hair on some Crag in the midst of a pleasant river, and Sung triple to the Bass of the River Deity."[503]

Waterfalls in particular seemed to induce discussions of the Gothic, picturesque and romantic, and their appeal is tied to two specific features that are key to the spiritual nature of eighteenth century tourism. The first is embodied in one of the paradoxes of Gilpin's picturesque theory – that a picturesque scene is simultaneously rough and beautiful. Indeed, Gilpin argues that "picturesque beauty…greatly depends on rough objects" but that smoothness is also key to its appreciation in the sense that "the smoothness of [a painting of a lake] is more in *reality*, than in *appearance*. Were it spread upon the canvas in one simple hue, it would certainly be a dull, fatiguing object. But to the eye it appears broken by shades of various kinds; by the undulations of the water; or by reflections from all the rough objects in it's neighbourhood."[504] In this context, waterfalls and other natural structures provided for tourists a scene that was both rough and wild, but also presented something which was

[500] Hume, "Gothic v. Romantic," 282.
[501] William Gilpin, *Observations Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1776, On Several Parts of Great Britain; Particularly the High-Lands of Scotland,* Vol. I (London, 1789), 23.
[502] Ibid, 24.
[503] Ms 15905; Thornton, *Sporting Tour,* 187; MacKenzie, 17.
[504] Giplin, "On Picturesque Beauty," 22.

considered beautiful because they gave the impression of having been intelligently created. Thomas Thornton's diary provides an excellent example of this. He and his companions visited Gordale-Scar in Yorkshire where the rocks form "an astonishing rent or chasm, through which rushes a fine cascade, having a rude natural arch remaining above."[505] Thornton emphasizes the chasm's architectural features and later refers to it as a "natural grotto."[506] However it is his companion, Mr. Gray, who conceptualizes the scene's sentimentality. Thornton writes that Mr. Grey expressed his feelings regarding the cascade "in very pathetic terms" and explained that

> The idea…for personal safety, excited some awful sensations, accompanied with a tremor. The mind is not always able to divest itself of prejudices and unpleasing associations of ideas. Reason told us that this rock could not be moved…we stood too far under its margin to be affected by any crumbling…yet in spite of reason and judgment, the same unpleasing sensations of terror ran coldly through our veins…[507]

Similarly Thornton is diverted by the sight of Adam's Crag, near Calder, which he declares "might, with great propriety, be denominated *Castle Crag*, as it happily assumes the form of an elegant, large castle, when viewed at a proper distance; and upon a nearer inspection, is a singularly magnificent, natural curiosity."[508] Indeed though Thornton does not, as Gilpin perhaps would have wished, use the view of these falls to contemplate the Divine their form should imply, his descriptions confirm that the theories Gilpin espoused were actively applied by late eighteenth-century tourists.

Conclusion

Travellers' descriptions of 'natural curiosities' also suggests a second feature that links them to the spiritual elements of tourism. Gilpin's theory specifically incorporated a religious component that while Latitudinarian in nature, was distinctly Judeo-Christian. That is, Gilpin's 'Creator' was specifically the Old Testament God and natural beauty was meant to be proof of God's divine plan and activity in the mortal world. However, as has been demonstrated by several of the passages already cited, natural and picturesque beauty did not just inspire contemplation of Christian doctrine, but frequently brought to mind passages from the classical writings, Shakespeare, medieval romances and contemporary literature and, in the latter half of the century, travellers became obsessed with experiencing natural features that resembled or were associated with what they imagined to be the historical romances of the countries they visited. For these travellers, Scotland possessed a mythic atmosphere that conjured up heroes, saints, ghosts and kings. Tourists in the late eighteenth century frequently visited former pilgrimage shrines and cathedrals, and some even expressed regret at the Reformation's role in the damage and neglect to such sites, but they did not attend to these as

[505] Thornton, *Sporting Tour*, 503.
[506] Ibid.
[507] Ibid.
[508] Ibid, 290.

pilgrims. Instead, tourists' spiritual needs were more likely to be fulfilled by witnessing notable sites of natural beauty, which were becoming increasingly associated with figures from myths and legends, both new and old. These figures – Fingal, Ossian, Macbeth, William Wallace, and King Arthur to name a few – became, in a sense, romantic saints and picturesque tourists attended to their 'shrines' with nearly as much fervour and devotion as medieval pilgrims had to the holy men and women of the Church.

Chapter IV: Romantic Saints and Shrines

Introduction

The search for picturesque and romantic scenery was one of the primary goals of eighteenth-century tourists, and northern Britain was able to provide this in abundance. As argued in the previous chapter, sites of historical significance – cathedrals, ruined abbeys, ancient castles and prehistoric monuments – were important parts of early modern tours, while William Gilpin's theories of the Picturesque defined such features as essential to a picturesque appreciation of landscape. These Gothic ruins and "noble piles" were artistically interesting and inspired the travellers to spiritual and philosophical contemplations; however, they were also key features in the construction of a romantic and mythic pseudo-history, of which northern Britain became the centre stage.[509] This chapter will explore the ways in which tourists created both an understanding of and appreciation for northern Britain. While landscape and artistic merit were paramount, the second half of the eighteenth century saw literature take prominence as a means of interpreting and framing travellers' experiences, which is demonstrated through both the construction of literary depictions (fictional and literal) of travel and the connection of literary figures and movements with the sights, scenery and society encountered on the tour. By the end of the century, romanticism had taken hold of the public imagination and journeys and depictions of the north, and Scotland in particular, were increasingly dependent upon a romantic interpretation.

Authenticity & Accuracy

Much of the north's appeal in regard to romanticism, as John Glendening explains, was that the region and the Highlands of Scotland in particular were promoted "as the real thing, a genuine, exotic" location filled with remnants of a heroic and suitably sublime past.[510] In past chapters it was noted that early modern travellers frequently were very specific regarding the authenticity of their travel accounts – both in narrating their experiences as they happened and in taking pains to ensure that those things they experienced were *genuine*.[511] The first consideration, the authenticity of the actual account, was generally expounded directly by the various travellers in the preface or introduction to their journals, though these are exclusive to the published versions. Eliza Dawson, for instance, offers only that her intention in keeping a journal of her tour was due to the concern that her experiences

> might probably slip [her] memory and by that means…lose the satisfaction of reciting them…that doubtless in course of time…we are too apt to lose all remembrances of the former bounties we have enjoy'd.[512]

[509] William Gilpin, *Observations Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1776, on Several Parts of Great Britain; Particularly the High-Lands of Scotland*, Volume I (London, 1789), 27.
[510] John Glendening, *The High Road: Romantic Tourism, Scotland, and Literature, 1720-1820* (London, 1997), 9.
[511] See Chapter III.
[512] NLS, Acc. 12017, Eliza Dawson, *A Tour through part of England and Scotland, by Eliza Dawson in the Year 1786*," *(diary of a sixteen-year-old girl)*, by permission of Dr. & Mrs. Murphey, 1.

Conversely, the introduction to John Macky's three volume *Journeys through England* declares that "the Person that presents you with [these volumes], hath been so exact as to examine every Thing himself, and has inserted nothing but what he has seen; therefore he hopes to give you as much Pleasure in Reading [these volumes], as he really had in seeing the Places contained in it."[513] Doctor Samuel Heinrich Spiker, Librarian to the King of Prussia, claimed that the only merit of his 1816 account of England, Wales and Scotland was that he had not "described any thing which did not actually come under [his] own observation, and of having in the description been solely guided by [his] own unbiased judgement."[514] Robert Heron went so far as to enumerate all of those qualifications (nearly two pages' worth!) which made his *Topographical Description* credible, though he still cautioned that "it is hardly possible…in a work containing so many minute and particular facts, various inaccuracies should not have deceived all enquiries, and eluded all cares," and that "the candid reader will please to consider, that imperfections of this sort are more or less incident to all the works of humanity."[515] Henry Skrine only saw fit to qualify his observations regarding the "state of society, and the manners which prevail in the remoter parts of our island" of which he was "studious to be impartial and unprejudiced, in his remarks…"[516] James Brome advertised the authenticity of his account in the title – *Travels over England, Scotland and Wales: Giving a True and Exact Description of the Chiefest Cities, Towns and Corporations*. This title was most certainly designed to draw attention to what is further expounded upon in the author's Preface to the Reader which claimed that Brome's narrative had "[stolen] Clandestinely into the World under the specious Title of Mr. Roger's Three Years Travels over England and Wales, etc."[517]

In some instances, accuracy was not only desired but tantamount. James Anderson's 1785 journey to the Hebrides and Western Islands was hardly a leisurely tour. Rather Anderson's journal

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[513] John Macky, *A Journey Through England in Familiar Letters from a Gentleman Here to his Friend Abroad* (London, 1722), iv.

[514] Samuel Heinrich Spiker, *Travels through England, Wales, and Scotland in the Year 1816* (London, 1820), 2-3.

[515] Robert Heron, *Scotland Described: or a Topographical Description of all the Counties of Scotland with the Northern and Western Isles Belonging to It* (Edinburgh, 1797), 8-9. Heron's qualifications were as follows: "To qualify me for this little undertaking, I have had several peculiar advantages. I have been engaged, for nearly these four years, in the composition of a general history of Scotland, which I have now almost completed. In composing it, I was absolutely compelled to acquire much of that topographical knowledge of my country, which this small volume contains. I have had occasion to traverse, in various journies, in the course of these last ten years, a very considerable proportion of the territory of Scotland. I have had an opportunity to peruse many valuable works, of recent publication, in which much authentic matter, concerning the present state of Scotland, has been carefully accumulated. I have had the honour to converse and to correspond upon these subjects, with not a few of the most enlightened men in the different quarters of the kingdom. Without possessing such advantages as these for its composition, I should never have presumed to offer this TRIFLE to the Public."

[516] Henry Skrine, *Three Successive Tours in the North of England and Great Part of Scotland* (London, 1795), 6.

[517] James Brome, *Travels over England, Scotland and Wales* (London, 1707), I; Anita McConnell and Vivienne Larminie, "Brome, James (1651/2–1719)," *ODNB*. Of course, the real irony is that, as McConnell and Larminie claim, Brome himself fabricated the *Travels* and it was "unlikely…that Brome had ever ventured far beyond his own library."

was a report for the Lords of Treasury intended to "explain the circumstances that have hitherto repressed the industry of the Natives; and some hints are suggested for encouraging the Fisheries, and promoting other improvements in those countries." As he states in the account's introduction, "a perfect knowledge of the circumstances of the case is necessary, before laws can be made, effectually to promote any measure that may be under contemplation."[518]

Rowland Hill, an evangelical preacher, offered no claim of accuracy but did declare that his journey through north Britain was guided by a higher power. "The path of duty appeared much more plain before me. ---My prayer was answered, 'Teach me the way in which I should go, for I lift up my soul unto thee.' As I trust, I heard the voice of a gracious Providence distinctly say, 'This is the way, walk ye in it.'"[519] Reverend John Lane Buchanan claimed not only "duty to the common Parent and Lord of all mankind" in his late eighteenth-century account of the Western Hebrides, but declared that he was "actuated by motives of humanity," and challenged any who wished to "publicly controvert the truth of the facts asserted" and to "ascribe his name to what he may write." In response Buchanan would "support [his] assertion, by producing the evidence on which [he] made it."[520]

First hand and personal experience were evidently the most common and accepted qualifications for authenticity of account, though occasionally diarists admitted to either utilizing or employing additional help. When Patrick Walker and his companions travelled from Edinburgh to Glasgow via stagecoach, they "were disappointed at not finding a fourth [passenger] because [they] might have been lucky enough to get one who was acquainted with the Country through which [they] were to pass."[521] Henry Skrine freely admitted that he "found much information, as well as entertainment, in Gray's and West's Tours of the Lakes, Ainslie's new Map, and general Account of Scotland, Dr. Johnson's Tour, and above all, in Mr. Pennant's very accurate and valuable work."[522] Thomas Pennant "prevailed upon two gentlemen to favour [him] with their company, and to supply by their knowledge what [he] found wanting in [himself]."[523] Thomas Gray's *Traveller's Companion* unabashedly proclaimed to be a compilation of "his own extensive researches into the topography of

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[518] James Anderson, *An Account of the Present State of the Hebrides and Western Coasts of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1785), title page & x; John Knox, *A Tour through the Highlands of Scotland and the Hebride Isles in 1786* (London, 1787), 14. John Knox's 1786 account (addressed to the members of the British Society for Extending the Fisheries) makes note of some plans already being implemented in response to Anderson's report. At Killein Knox "had the pleasure of being informed that the Earl of Breadalbane [intended] to build a regular town, nearly upon the plan proposed to the *British Society for Extending the Fisheries.*" According to Jean Dunlop, *The British Fisheries Society, 1786-1893* (Edinburgh, 1978), 20, both Knox and Anderson were called as witnesses by the Committee "appointed to inquire into the state of the British Fisheries," established in 1785.
[519] Rowland Hill, *Journal of a Tour through the North of England and Parts of Scotland with Remarks on the Present State of the Established Church of Scotland* (London, 1799), vi.
[520] John Lane Buchanan, Reverend, *Travels in the Western Hebrides, From 1782 to 1790* (London, 1793), vi-vii.
[521] NLS, Adv. Ms. 20.5.1-3, Patrick Walker, *Journals of Tours through Scotland with notes Descriptive and Historical* (1798), 1.
[522] Skrine, *Three Progressive Tours*, 7.
[523] Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland, and Voyage to the Hebrides: 1772* (London, 1776), iii.

this island" supported by Gray's "Summer tours…[and] the information of such persons on whose taste and judgement he could best depend."[524] Even Thomas Thornton's *A Sporting Tour Through the Northern Parts of England and Great Part of the Highlands of Scotland,* albeit suspected to have been ghost-written, advertised the pains to which Colonel Thornton went to present an authentic depiction of his tour. The published *Sporting Tour,* which appeared with illustrations in 1804 included the claim that Colonel Thornton, on a previous excursion, had lamented "the want of an artist, who could portray, with taste and accuracy, the numerous enchanting views he met with." In order to remedy this "deficiency," Thornton employed the painter George Garrard to document his 1786 tour.[525]

Published tours then, as well as a few of the unpublished manuscripts, demonstrate that travel diaries from the end of the eighteenth century followed a fairly standard style and definite narrative pattern, at least in regard to claims of authenticity. Indeed, by the end of the eighteenth century the travel account of a northern tour had become so consistent in form and content that they seem at times to be composites of one another. A good example is the diaries of Thomas Thornton and Eliza Dawson. Both Thornton and Dawson toured Scotland in 1786, and though Thornton travelled in a hunting party and Dawson by coach, their diaries seem to suggest they encountered one another on their journeys. Dawson, who was merely sixteen at the time of her journey, gave a particularly colourful account of a late arrival to an inn somewhere on the road between Killin and Tyndrum.

> It grew dark long before we reach'd Tynedrum … at length we perceived a light and never were poor benighted travellers more rejoiced…I was met in a long dark passage by a prodigious fat gigantic woman with a candle in her hand and with a hoarse voice scarcely intelligible informed me she could not possibly make room for us – you positively must spare us a corner said I we will put up with any accommodations but for Gods sake admit us into the house for we are almost starved and tired to death – Well replied she then follow me – I did so up a pair of dark stone stairs at the top of which she open'd a door, pop'd in her head and mutter'd something I could not understand, upon which a large party of drunken Highlanders stagger'd out of it…this room said she is bespoke by a Gentleman in the house but perhaps he may give it up to you – I will ask him [*sic*]…Soon after Captain Campbell sent his Comp[liments] and desired me to make use of his room – which offer I readily accepted and returned my thanks – we spent our evening very merrily in praising the gallantry of the Caledonian Beaux – about twelve we parted and lucky for us we were so tired as not to regard our uncomfortable lodgings.[526]

Dawson's account is diverting enough on its own and presents an engaging picture of the trials of an eighteenth-century leisure traveller in Scotland. However, when compared to the following excerpt from Thornton's journal, it becomes more interesting still.

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[524] Thomas Gray, *The Traveller's Companion in a Tour Through England and Wales* (London, 1799), iii.
[525] Thomas Thornton, *A Sporting Tour Through the Northern Parts of England and Great Part of the Highlands of Scotland* (London, 1804), I; Robyn Asleson, "Garrard, George (1760–1826)," *ODNB.* Iris M. Middleton, "Thornton, Thomas (1751/2–1823)," *ODNB.*
[526] Dawson, *Tour*, 44-45.

> Got to our Inn at Avemore about ten…The house being full, I gave up my bed to a *lady*…a Yorkshire lady, with whom I had the pleasure of being acquainted: had the landlord, who is certainly a most unfit man for his station, informed me that she was an English lady…I should easily have induced her…to have waved that form though necessary elsewhere, and have prevailed on her to favour us with her company at supper.
> The intelligence of the lady's name came too late; but gave me an opportunity of requesting permission to pay my compliments to her in the morning. I received for answer, that she was indispensably obliged to set out early, but if I could breakfast at the Gothic hour of six, she should be glad of my company.[527]

Obviously, there are several inconsistencies in the actual passages. Dawson claims the inn was outside Tyndrum, while Thornton's account takes place near Aviemore. Likewise, Thornton insinuates that the lady in question was a married woman (he refers to the lady in question as "Mrs. ---"), while Dawson writes that the gallant gentleman was named Colonel Campbell.[528] Additionally, her nickname for their generous benefactor – Caledonian Beaux – suggests that she believed the gentleman to be of Scottish origin, while both she and Thornton were originally from Yorkshire. Finally, the dates of the passages – Dawson's is dated 22nd August, while Thornton's is 22nd September – conflict.

The point is not whether Thornton or Dawson actually met, or whether one mined the other's diary for details, but rather that travel accounts of this period show both a distinct stylistic pattern *and* that the tours themselves were particularly regular even when the travel intentions were not.[529] In fact, Thornton's 'sporting tour' includes quite a few standard tourist spots, which becomes particularly evident when his account is compared to Miss Dawson's. Thornton's description of a visit to the Hermitage at Dunkeld, for instance, differs very little from Dawson's except for a mention of "some of the finest fish" the sporting party had caught that day which they meant to have as a picnic outside the Hermitage.[530] Otherwise the two accounts are similarly concerned with the picturesque appearance of the falls and the aesthetics of the Hermitage. Thornton found the area to be "singularly picturesque," but felt that the building was "much too elegant, and takes from the beauty of the waterfall…the residence of an anchorite should undoubtedly be plain and simple..."[531] Miss

[527] Thornton, *Sporting Tour*, 176-77.
[528] Incidentally when Thornton visited Killin, a place both he and Miss Dawson visited with pleasure because the inn was kept by a couple formerly of Yorkshire who were acquainted with both Thornton and Dawson's uncle, Thornton met with a Mr. Campbell who was superintendent to a local nobleman, Lord Braedalbane (Ibid, 55-56; Dawson, *Tour*, 44).
[529] Dawson's memoirs are silent as to her possible acquaintance with Thornton, and as Dawson's travel diary remains unpublished and privately owned, it is unlikely that Thornton (or his ghost-writer) would have had access to it apart from personal acquaintance with the diarist.
[530] Thornton, *Sporting Tour*, 65.
[531] Ibid, 64

Dawson noted that the falls were "beautiful and romantic" but that "many think [an actual] hermitage in this situation would have been more in character than this elegant little Temple."[532]

The similarities between Thornton and Dawson's accounts, and particularly the inclusion of the Hermitage on both tours, are interesting in the light of the discussion regarding authenticity. As noted in an earlier chapter, despite the prescriptive form of travel writing the individual authors frequently stress the novelty of their experiences, and even where their itineraries were similar the agency of the authors or, more specifically, the author's individuality makes each diary unique. Within the routine descriptions of mountains, rivers and native peoples the individual personality and experiences of the writer generally shine through and give the diary a particular perspective. The instance of Dunkeld and specifically the Hermitage and Ossian's Hall, which was a standard stop on most northern tours in the eighteenth century, demonstrates that the real irony in this quest for authenticity lies not in the regularity and repetitiveness of travel accounts from the late eighteenth century but rather that the 'authentic' Scotland that these travellers sought never existed in any concrete sense and was constructed for and by them. This chapter will explore the reasons and means by which the northern regions of Britain became a destination that attracted romantic tourism in the late eighteenth century.

Romantic Nationalism and National Identity

There are several key elements to the construction of an *authentic Scotland* which are important to consider in relation to late eighteenth-century travel. The first, which ties into the discussion from chapter two regarding nationalism and identity, plays off eighteenth-century ideas about social and cultural development. Specifically, travel and travel writing in the eighteenth century was often directed by Enlightened concepts of primitivism and noble savagery. While such discussions were applied by European and English travellers in particular to non-European cultures, travel accounts from northern Britain indicate that the trope was readily applied to England's recently incorporated northern neighbour, Scotland. Indeed even after the initial concerns of the early eighteenth century, which came in response to the union and addressed English perceptions of Scotland's economic and social viability within the newly united nation, English travellers to Scotland, as well as Edinburgh intellectuals, were continually fascinated by the subject of the native people of Scotland's Highlands and Islands and frequently resorted to ethnographic assessment thereof.[533] In the latter half of the

[532] Dawson, *Tour*, 39.

[533] For an examination of the similarities between depictions of Scottish Highlanders and Indigenous North Americans, see Colin G. Calloway, *White Men, Indians and Highlanders: Tribal Peoples and Colonial Encounters in Scotland and America* (Oxford, 2008); Colin Kidd, "Gaelic Antiquity and National Identity in Enlightenment Ireland and Scotland," *The English Historical Review* Vol. 109, No. 434 (Nov. 1994), 1197-1214.

century, retrospective consideration of the Jacobite risings and subsequent English imperialism in northern Scotland led to further anthropologic evaluation.

James Anderson's account, published in 1785, asserted that the rebellions of the eighteenth century had been "the means of abolishing that system of feudal government which tended to excite perpetual civil wars and lawless disorder, and to introduce in its stead a system of civil government which has entirely civilized the people."[534] Anderson was a Scottish political economist whose report on the fishing industry of north-western Scotland is full of primitivistic language.[535] The full title alone is rather telling – *An Account of the Present State of the Hebrides and Western Coasts of Scotland: In which an attempt is made to explain the circumstances that have hitherto repressed the industry of the Natives; and some hints are suggested for encouraging the Fisheries, and promoting other improvements in those countries* – but the rest of his account, though written about his native country, adheres very much to the idea that England's culture and industry are superior to Scotland's. A footnote in his introduction, for instance, offers an explanation for Anderson's astonishingly high estimates for Scottish parish populations. Anderson asserted that the English manner of farming and cultivation allowed that "no more hands are suffered to remain upon [the enclosed and improved English farms], than those which are necessary for carrying forward the operations," a system Anderson finds far more favourable than the "wretched kind of culture of the ground, in small patches scattered over the whole face of the country, as in Scotland."[536] Robert Heron, another Scot, concurred with Anderson. Though he allowed that the climate of Inverness-shire did not allow for crops to grow "so happily as in the southern counties," Heron qualified this seemingly sympathetic view by stating that the "inhabitants of Inverness-shire [had not] yet acquired those habits of vigilant, assiduous industry" necessary for successful husbandry and that "[w]hatever has been done for the improvement of Inverness-shire, has had its origin…in those measures which the British Government has…employed to restrain the turbulence, and fix the loyalty of the native inhabitants of these vales and mountains."[537]

Of course Anderson's account is hardly the first or only account of Scotland from the early modern period to assert that Scotland was an uncivilized country. This study's previous discussions regarding travel diaries from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have firmly established that travellers to Scotland were expecting to find a completely primitive society, and while many of the travellers still express surprise or indignation when faced with situations that offended their 'modern' sensibilities, there is also a sense that such inconveniences and hardships were part of the experience. Similarly, the idea that the Highlands, and Scotland in general, were populated by pre-industrialized

[534] Anderson, *Present State of the Hebrides,* 12.
[535] Rosalind Mitchison, "Anderson, James (1739–1808)," *ODNB.*
[536] Anderson, *Present State of the Hebrides*, lxxii.
[537] Heron, *Scotland Described*, 228.

natives living a traditional life was, by the end of the eighteenth century, part of the appeal of tourism in Scotland. Thomas Thornton wrote that outside Melrose "the natives inherit, and still retain, all the pastoral softness of Caledonian manners; and lasses, attired in the primitive dress, are seen sitting on the ruins of the venerable pile [of Melrose Abbey], chanting in nature's sweetness the songs of Scotland."[538] While in the Hebrides, Doctor Johnson and James Boswell were "entertained…with a primitive heartiness. Whisky was served in a shell, according to the ancient Highland custom. Dr. Johnson would not partake of it; but, being desirous to do honour to the modes 'of other times, drank some water out of the shell.'"[539] Alexander Campbell declared that "in the more remote parts of any country we are to expect the least alteration in the customs and manners o the people, [therefore] the inhabitants of the western isles may reasonably be supposed to have preserved much of their primitive mode of life."[540] Campbell also described the Highlanders as "ancient" and "unpolished nations," and his account contains extensive quotations from Martin Martin and another anonymous author regarding the Highland dress.[541] Rowland Hill was thoroughly critical of Scottish religion, but when he did praise various aspects of worship and ecclesiastical organization he did so because those elements were primitive in nature and harkened back to what Hill believed was closest to the original form of Christianity. He wrote that while he "oftentimes admired the beautiful original design of the Church of Scotland…as also their solemn and primitive mode of administration, it is equally to be lamented that among the multitudes who attend, many are brought together through mere customary formality."[542] Hill uses the term *primitive* nearly twenty times in reference to the Scottish Church, with several notable instances inferring that the term is a particularly positive attribute.

In the late eighteenth century this obsession with the primitive aspects of existing societies often manifested itself in discussions of the Highlands and pre-historical landscape features, which were linked in the travellers' imaginations with the region's pseudo-historic past, or as Colin Kidd names it, 'Gaelic antiquity.'[543] Kidd's argument centres on the importance of Gaelic antiquity to the development of the Enlightenment within Ireland and Scotland and asserts that in both countries Gaelic antiquity was used to support and define the regions' burgeoning national identities.[544] In the context of travel and tourism, the concept of Gaelic antiquity also features prominently in the English, or non-Scottish, creation of a Scottish identity. Interestingly, this identity relied heavily on concepts of romantic nationalism, as well as the neo-Stoic notion of heroic virtue, which could be

[538] Thornton, *Sporting Tour*, 269.
[539] James Boswell, *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, *VBTT*.
[540] Campbell, *Journey from Edinburgh*, 169.
[541] Ibid, 170-181.
[542] Hill, *Journal of a Tour*, 117-18; Daniel Defoe, *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain, divided into circuits or journies, VBTT*. Daniel Defoe makes reference to this habitual church-going in his Letter XI: "The people of Scotland do not wander about on the Sabbath-days, as in England; and even those who may have no more religion than enough, yet custom has made it almost natural to them, they all go to the kirk."
[543] Kidd, "Gaelic Antiquity," 1197.
[544] Ibid, 1197-2000.

simultaneously positive and patronising.[545] For instance Kidd argues that Gaelic antiquity was viewed by many members of the Scottish educated elite in the light of the Enlightenment idea of *stadialism*, or socio-cultural evolution, a view which did not paint Scotland, and particularly the Highlands, in a positive light.[546] Many of the accounts from the eighteenth century, following in the footsteps of late medieval Scottish antiquarians and chorographers like Hector Boece, present the Highlands and Highlanders as the remnants of a grand, heroic Scottish past. Whether the Highlands were a "embarrassing anachronism" that needed improvement or a "living presence" of the ideals set out by Adam Ferguson in his *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767) remained a pressing concern of patriots, social reformers and travellers throughout the long eighteenth century.[547]

Thomas Pennant's 1772 edition of his tour contains a singularly epic lamentation, presented as an account of a dream or "*waking of the soul*."[548] Pennant wrote that "a figure, dressed in the garb of an antient warrior, floated in the air before [him]: his target and his *clymore* seemed of no common size, and spoke the former strength of the hero."[549] This figure claims to have been, in life, the possessor of "an ample portion of the tract thou seest to the North…[and] the dread of the neighbouring chieftains" and spends the following seven pages elucidating his noble life, the heroic nature of his clan, the wealth of his lands and the "strong fidelity and warm friendship [that] reigned" among his people.[550] Following this lengthy catalogue, the Highlander sadly informs Pennant that since the "great and wild magnificence of [his] feudal reign" the "mighty CHIEFTAINS, the brave and disinterested heroes of old times" have undergone a "most violent and surprizing transformation" and are now "rapacious landlords" who have abandoned their tenants to "primeval poverty."[551] The spectre concludes by charging Pennant to "Return to your country: inform them with your presence; restore to them the laudable part of the antient manners; eradicate the bad."[552] Pennant's 'dream' is especially melodramatic, but is particularly interesting given the wider context of the eighteenth

[545] Linas Eriksonas, *National Heroes and National Identities: Scotland, Norway and Lithuania* (Brussels, 2004), 31.
[546] Kidd, "Gaelic Antiquity," 1997.
[547] For a discussion of late medieval and early modern perceptions of the origins and history of the Scottish people, see Martin Rackwitz, *Travels to Terra Incognita: The Scottish Highlands and Hebrides in the early modern travellers' accounts c. 1600-1800* (Münster, 2007), 29-37. Adam Ferguson is frequently seen as a proponent of Highland civilisation, though this association has been called into question by sociologist John D. Brewer. For arguments surrounding Enlightened perceptions of the Scottish Highlands, as well as Ferguson's contribution to and place within the debate see David L. Blaney and Naeem Inayatullah, eds. *Savage Economics: Wealth, Poverty and the Temporal Walls of Capitalism* (New York, 2010), 86; John D. Brewer, "Putting Adam Ferguson in his place," *The British Journal of Sociology* Vol. 58, No. 1 (Mar. 2007), 105-122; Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (Philadelphia, 1819); Kidd, "Gaelic Antiquity," 1206; Iain McDaniel, *Adam Ferguson in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Roman Past and Europe's Future* (Cambridge, 2013).
[548] Pennant, *Tour in Scotland, 1772*, 420. Pennant is quoting Brown's *Religio Medici.* Emphasis is Pennant's.
[549] Ibid, 421. Emphasis is Pennant's.
[550] Ibid.
[551] Ibid, 422-24.
[552] Ibid, 426.

century and reflects the paradoxical relationship between primitivism and romanticism that emerged in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Early eighteenth-century tourists to Scotland, like Celia Fiennes and Daniel Defoe, and perhaps even Samuel Johnson, may have agreed that "the rudimentary level of economic and cultural life of the Gaelic Highlands…provided a powerful concrete example of stagnation at an early stage of social development" but tourists in the latter half of the century were generally more critical of Lowland Scotland, and tend to idealise and romanticise the Highlands.[553] Pennant's 'dream' articulated the tourists' struggle to rationalise the north's lack of economic development with what was perceived as a long and romantic cultural tradition. Furthermore this cultural tradition, particularly the emphasis on the virtue and fidelity of historic Scottish figures, was used both by Scottish nationalists in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to "strengthen the sense of *patria*," and by romanticists and tourists in the eighteenth century as a means of conceptualising the mythic grandeur of Highland culture.[554] In fact, the diaries from the late eighteenth century show that Gaelic antiquity and other elements of the Highland's pseudo-history were integral to tourists' conception both of what Scotland meant and what they could expect to gain or accomplish by visiting.[555]

The Literature and Literacy of Travel

Gaelic antiquity was also a driving force in the second key element that travellers used in their formula for an authentic experience. Though travel guides in the modern sense only began to be popular and widely distributed in the nineteenth century, travellers were not trekking blindly north. Many of the accounts already considered in this study were written, at least nominally, as guides to future travellers. Some, like Celia Fiennes', were not published until much later and though they may have been used by "near relations" to guide subsequent journeys, are not directly referenced in later accounts. Others, like those of William Camden, Martin Martin, Thomas Pennant and Samuel Johnson, were standard reading for eighteenth century travellers and especially those who ventured north.[556] Alexander Campbell, for instance, referenced Johnson nearly ten times and Pennant more than twenty. Literature therefore played an indispensable role in the constructed perceptions of what travellers would and could expect to see and experience during their journeys. For instance Samuel Johnson's comment regarding the lack of trees in Scotland was widely repeated by successive

[553] Kidd, "Gaelic Antiquity," 1198.
[554] Eriksonas, *National Heroes and National Identities*, 27.
[555] Ronald Hutton clearly articulates this in his history of the Druids, a group which would become the lynchpin of a multitude of British identities. Hutton states that "[the Druids] were bound up in two of the most powerful forces in [British culture] during the eighteenth century…the growth of a British identity…which could transcend traditional rivalries…[and] Romanticism" (Ronald Hutton, *Blood and Mistletoe: The History of the Druids in Britain* [New Haven, 2009], 111). Druids will be discussed in more detail in Chapter V.
[556] Though Martin was born on Skye, his *A Description of the Western Isles* (1703) was published in London and he spent the last years of his life in England's capital city (Domhnall Uilleam Stiùbhart, "Martin, Martin (*d.* 1718)," *ODNB*).

adventurers, though many were at pains to note the trees they did see.[557] The unnamed diarist of MS 15905 disputed the honourable Doctor's assessment and declared she believed that if "Dr Johnson had enter'd Scotland by Carlisle he would have found some trees and good ones."[558] Henry Skrine was similarly dismissive of Johnson's criticism and wrote that he wished "Dr. Johnson had passed from Blair to Dunkeld, before he branded Scotland with the imputation of being bare of wood" for Skrine could not recall having seen "richer groves of oak, beech, and birch, or finer single trees, in any part of England."[559] Interestingly, a slightly later account from Benjamin Silliman in the early nineteenth century indicates not only that some travellers did agree with Johnson, but that his influence stretched beyond the literate travellers of Britain. Silliman wrote that Arthur's Seat in Edinburgh was "perfectly destitute of trees, presenting nothing but bleak naked eminence…[but that he was] not disposed to rail, with Johnson, at Scotland, because it does not abound with trees, yet it is not easy for an American to consider any prospect as perfect of which trees do not form a part."[560]
Likewise, travellers frequently turned to older chronicles and itineraries for information on the historical and antique features they would encounter. Thomas Pennant references William Camden extensively and, though he occasionally cites John Leland's sixteenth-century *Itinerary* as more accurate than Camden's, on certain points Pennant dares not "controvert [Camden's] opinion."[561] William Gilpin (1772 & 1776), Sir Richard Joseph Sullivan (1785) and Clement Cruttwell (1801) all cited Camden as an authority on early British history, while Thomas Thornton (1799) used both Camden and Leland to support several noteworthy sites of antiquity and Bishop Richard Pococke (1747, 1750, 1760) utilised the expertise of both Buchanan and Camden. However, travellers did not rely solely on near-contemporary accounts, and the late eighteenth-century diaries frequently refer to ancient literary accounts of the British landscape.[562] This use of ancient or classical texts, which are often referenced rather casually and with a sense that the reader will be as familiar with the source as the diarist, reflects several key developments in literacy and learning in the eighteenth century.

This study has considered travel in Britain throughout the early modern period; but the majority of sources, and especially first-hand diary or journal accounts, have come from the eighteenth century. The early modern period in Britain was marked by numerous socio-cultural and economic developments, including increased urbanization and eventual industrialization; however, one of the most influential developments of the period was the increased rate of literacy in Britain.

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[557] See Chapter II, 51-53.
[558] NLS MS15905, *A Journey through Scotland* (1790), 16.
[559] Skrine, *Three Successive Tours*, 58.
[560] Benjamin Silliman, *A Journal of Travels in England, Holland and Scotland, and of Two Passages over the Atlantic, in the years 1805 and 1806, in Two Volumes* Vol. II (New York, 1810), 314.
[561] Pennant, *Tour in Scotland, 1772*, 232.
[562] Bishop Pococke refers to the Greco-Roman geographer, Ptolemy, sixteen times regarding place-names and other antiquities (Richard Pococke, *Tours in Scotland, 1747, 1750, 1760*, ed. Daniel William Kemp [Edinburgh, 1887]).

The eighteenth century in particular saw a marked rise in literacy although, due to the standards used for measuring literacy in this period (mainly, the ability to sign a document with one's name), establishing actual rates is often difficult or debatable.[563] Furthermore, while travel diaries from the eighteenth century are far more prevalent than from earlier centuries, the authors of those journals considered here represent fairly well-off individuals who would have had access to more comprehensive and advanced educations.[564]

Indeed, travel diaries are not particularly useful in establishing rates of literacy though the extant diaries from the latter half of the century indicate women were increasingly active both in travelling and writing. What these diaries can show, however, is the sort of education that was available to those whose socio-economic status allowed for extensive leisure travel. Specifically, the diaries indicate that English travellers to northern Britain tended to be classically educated. The diaries frequently reference Pliny, Virgil and Tacitus, as well as a variety of literary, historical and poetical works. Likewise, as shown by the popularity of the Grand Tour in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, travel was considered an important part of a young person's education, as well as a means for educated individuals to utilize their knowledge. The diarists occasionally include transcriptions or passages in Latin or Greek and are generally well versed in classical histories, literature and art. A few offer full English translations of inscriptions or explanations as to the relevance of a literary allusion, but the majority of the diarists include such information without any clarification, indicating an assumption that their audience would be similarly versed and educated.

The notation and transcription of inscriptions is also interesting for its link to concepts of authenticity. Such inscriptions were a favourite attraction of late eighteenth-century tourists. For instance, Thomas Thornton visited Elgin Cathedral and noted "the great tower was built principally by John Innes…as appears by the inscription…*Hic jacet, in Christo Pater et Dominus, Dominus Johannes de Innes, hujus ecclesiae episcopus, qui hoc notabile opus incepit et per sepennium edificait*."[565] For Benjamin Silliman, the modern buildings of the University of Edinburgh were "rendered more impressive by an inscription commemorative of the royal origin of the University."[566] Thomas Pennant declares that the garden wall of Paisley Abbey "conveys some idea of the ancient

[563] Stephen W. Brown and Warren McDougall, eds., *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland: Volume 2 Enlightenment and Expansion* (Edinburgh, 2012), 289.
[564] For a survey of British and European literacy in the early modern period, see David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1980); R.A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and society in Scotland and northern England, 1600-1800* (Cambridge, 1985); R.A. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education 1500-1800* (London, 2002).
[565] Thornton, *Sporting Tour*, 188. "Here lies the Lord John Innes, father and lord in Christ, bishop of this church, who has built this notable work over seven years." (Translation is author's own.)
[566] Silliman, *Journal of Travels*, 322.

grandeur of the place" and that the inscription upon it "is too singular to be omitted."[567] Eliza Dawson visited Glasgow and was shown around the College by a Dr. Williamson, who took Dawson and her companions

> into a place in which are arranged several pieces of Roman architecture which have been found by digging the canal near this place, there are many Altars, the inscriptions still very legible one of the most superb has been dedicated to Jupiter Olympus, there is a place at the top on which the libation has been put, also several pieces of Roman wall, pavement, etc., which have the appearance of great antiquity.[568]

Patrick Walker visited these same antiquities during his 1798 tour. Walker's account specifies that below the College's library "all the Roman inscriptions found in Grahams Dyke, with altars and other Antiquities found in Scotland are preserved in cases."[569] Alexander Campbell, as mentioned in an earlier chapter, was quite taken by the picturesque beauty of the Cathedral at Dunkeld, but disappointed by the grave-yard, where there "appears scarcely an inscription on any of the tablets or tomb-stones worthy of notice."[570] Clement Cruttwell noted nearly twenty different inscriptions, though the majority of these were more recent than those preserved in Glasgow and were either inscribed or translated into English. In one instance Cruttwell provides a transcription of a Latin inscription found on a cross at the Abbey of Lindores near Newburgh. Cruttwell seems doubtful of the accuracy of both the Latin text and its provided translation, stating that "the following is said to be the inscription [on the Cross Macduff]…Part of it is pretended to be thus translated!"[571] Thomas Pennant included numerous references to inscriptions, including an extensive catalogue of the "various altars, inscriptions, utensils, and every other antiquity collected" at Netherby, which he "illustrated with some figures for the amusement of those who are fond of this study."[572]

Gardens, Follies and Ruins

These and many of the other inscriptions and ruins are examples of legitimate historical features frequented by eighteenth-century tourists. In some instances, fragments of ruined buildings or historical artifacts were gathered into early museums such as those held below the College library in Glasgow or those Pennant noted were "housed in the green house" at Netherby. This sort of organization indicates that historical tourism was particularly popular and warranted specially appointed spaces, and is a minor instance of the way in which the authenticity of a tourists' experience was shaped and constructed in the eighteenth century. However, the popularity of ruins and inscriptions was also expressed in ways which blurred the lines between authenticity and construction even further. The earlier discussion regarding the Picturesque, and particularly William

[567] Pennant, *Tour in Scotland*, 170.
[568] Dawson, *Tour*, 54.
[569] Walker, *Journals of Tours*, 26.
[570] Campbell, *Journey from Edinburgh*, 287. See Chapter III, 81.
[571] Crutwell, *Tour Through…Great Britain*, 156.
[572] Pennant, *Tour in Scotland*, 79-80.

Gilpin's theories, indicate that the rough outlines and textures of ruined buildings were essential to the creation and appreciation of picturesque scenery. In the eighteenth century, ruins – both authentic and newly created – became frequent features in landscape gardening. In fact, C.L.L. Hirschfeld's seminal *Théorie de L'Art des Jardins* includes an entire chapter not only on the inclusion of ruins and monuments but also a section on the importance and presentation of inscriptions on those ruins.[573] The inherent history of ruins was also part of what made them appealing to tourists. Andrew Jackson Downing, whose *Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1841) built upon Hirschfeld's theories, wrote that "a castellated residence…in a wild and picturesque situation, may be interesting, not only from its being perfectly in keeping with surrounding nature, but from the delightful manner in which it awakens associations fraught with the most enticing history of the past."[574] Likewise the inclusion of Latin or classical inscriptions on buildings and monuments, as in Silliman's example of Edinburgh University, lent these sites a sense of antiquity and gravitas that rendered them more authentic, even when they were completely new or fanciful constructions. As mentioned above, in the eighteenth century, ruins were an important feature in landscape gardening, and in the context of north British tourism, landscape gardens were one of several types of attractions whose popularity is particularly interesting to the discussion of authenticity.

While ruined abbeys, cathedrals, castles and other genuine sites of antiquity were popular tourist destinations for travellers in the north, the gardens, parks and pleasure-grounds of noble houses and estates were often just as standard to eighteenth-century tours. These were often highly stylized and were based, and judged by tourists, on the virtue of their adherence to the theories of Picturesque scenery and landscape gardening. Additionally, the century's obsession with classical history meant that landscaped gardens often featured transplanted or constructed ruins, miniature temples and statuary. In some instances, these features were simply ornaments, but in other cases whole complexes of ruins were created, as in the case of William Beckford, who commissioned "a gothick abbey" for his grounds at Fonthill in Wiltshire.[575] While tourists to the north continued to place emphasis on the authentic scenes they experienced, landscaped gardens and pleasure-grounds were judged more on their artistic merit than whether the ruins, temples and follies were historically accurate. Campbell visited the pleasure-grounds of the estate at Auchtertyre, the landscape of which he declared to be "greatly improved" because the proprietor had "led the muses to his dwelling by the languages in which they were formerly wooed by Greek and Roman bards; there being scarcely an avenue, grot, bower, or resting-place, in which some elegant inscription from one or other of the

[573] Christian Cajus Lorenz Hirschfeld, *Théorie de L'Art des Jardins*, Volume 3-4 (Leipzig, 1781), 175. (Translation provided by Dr. Per-Erik Nordal.)
[574] Andrew Jackson Downing, *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening*, (New York, 1850), 405.
[575] Porter, *English Society*, 265; John Wilton-Ely, "The Genesis and Evolution of Fonthill Abbey," *Architectural History* Vol. 23 (1980), 40-44.

favourite authors of antiquity, is not to be met…"[576] The Duke of Atholl's pleasure-grounds at Dunkeld serve as a primary example in this chapter in part because the descriptions of the grounds are frequently mentioned by tourists to Scotland. However, they are also a perfect example of ways in which eighteenth-century concepts of antiquity, beauty and nature were manipulated to inspire contemplation of the Picturesque. While it is unlikely that the duke initially intended such consideration, the grounds of his estate offered tourists a chance to apply their knowledge of the Picturesque and Romanticism to a thorough critique of its merits and deficiencies. Ossian's Hall, a small, chapel-like structure situated directly in front of and above the falls, was the primary object of tourists' praise or derision within the duke's grounds. Spiker, Skrine, Campbell and Dawson, who all toured for leisure purposes, visited the Hermitage and made note of its picturesque appointment, though Skrine and Campbell may have been some of the "many" that Dawson claims were disappointed.[577] Skrine wrote that Ossian's Hall was "whimsical, and not without some effect…[but] insufferably tawdry, and does not correspond with the situation." Campbell complained the waterfall was "much injured by the appearance on the right, immediately opposite to the cataract, of a pavilion of modern taste, placed on a hanging precipice called, by way of eminence, *Ossian's Hall…*it ought to be removed."[578]

Though the Hall was the main attraction for eighteenth-century tourists, the park itself garnered some consideration. Spiker declared it to be "one of the finest in Great Britain…[with] an infinitely more natural appearance than that of most of the parks in England, which are too visibly the works of art, and too much calculated for the pleasures of the cha[s]e."[579] For Robert Heron, the duke's lands were noteworthy because of the pleasing mixture of natural and cultivated forests and his reader is offered information about "ancient forest [and] extensive modern plantations" as well as the industry, language and culture of the local population.[580] The Duke of Atholl's forest was "extensive and interesting, by the great diversity of fine forest-trees which it contains."[581] Henry Skrine, who was not particularly impressed by Ossian's Hall, gives a thorough account of the duke's grounds which Skrine finds to be acceptable because of the proximity of the ruined cathedral. "The house is a plain neat building…and the ruins of the cathedral stand in the gardens. The tower is yet entire; and the arches and windows of the principal aile are perfect, in the solid style of the ancient Gothic."[582] Rowland Hill, whose journey was religious in nature, was even inspired to contemplate the lost potential in its dilapidated architecture.

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[576] Campbell, *Journey from Edinburgh*, 94.
[577] Dawson, *Tour*, 39.
[578] Heron, *Scotland Described*, 191, Skrine, *Three Successive Tours*, 59; Campbell, *Journey from Edinburgh*, 272.
[579] Spiker, *Travels Through England, Wales, & Scotland*, 185.
[580] Heron, *Scotland Described*, 191.
[581] Ibid.
[582] Skrine, *Three Successive Tours*, 58.

> Why could not good and commodious buildings have been spared, though the hand of superstition had reared them? In England, I never behold the ruins of an abbey or monastery, but I ask myself the question – What if the building had stood as a house of industry to the destitute, or as an asylum to the unfortunate or infirm? Would not the community have now enjoyed the benefit which then some wretched court minion eagerly swallowed as the bait of the day, entailing the same spirit of his successor, far more rapacious and cruel to his industrious tenant, that he may provide himself with the means of his extravagance and lust, than had even the monks and friars continued in possession?[583]

Not surprisingly, William Gilpin gave the duke's park an extensive and critical review:

> This favoured spot…consists of a large circular valley…It's surface is various…would even be esteemed lofty, if it were not for the grand skreen of mountains, which circles the whole…The whole valley is interspersed with wood…and would have been a still more beautiful scene if art had done as much as nature. Much indeed has been done; but nothing well. Cascades, and slopes, and other puerilities deform the scene which is in itself calculated to receive all the grandeur of landscape. The walks shew some contrivance; and might with a few alterations, be made beautiful. Indeed the whole is capable of receiving any improvement…The remains of the abbey, shrouded in wood, stand on the edge of the lawn; but rather too near the house. The solitude, which naturally belongs to them, and the embellishments which are necessary about a habitable mansion, interfere rather too much with each other.[584]

Eliza Dawson's view of the grounds at Dunkeld have already been mentioned, but the young writer also visited the duke's house and grounds at Blair Atholl, which she described as being "not equal to that at Dunkeld, but the pleasure grounds more extensive and well laid out some fine natural cascades ornaments it very much."[585] The construction and visitation of pleasure-grounds and ornamental gardens, particularly in northern Britain where much of the appeal to tourists was the rugged and wild quality of the landscape, was a means by which the north was constructed for and by the expectations of tourism, and these artificial natures became a part of tourists' conception of what was real about the north.

Though places like Ossian's Hall at Dunkeld are considered some of the earliest 'tourist traps' in Scotland, they were not traps in the modern sense of the word. In the eighteenth century eminent landholders like the Duke of Atholl often embellished their holdings with follies and pleasure gardens.[586] These decorative features of landscape architecture were primarily a source of amusement and markers of prestige for the lord, rather than intended diversions for tourist.[587] In the case of Atholl's 'Ossianic folly,' Christopher Dingwall writes that it is traditionally thought to have been constructed as a surprise for the second Duke of Atholl.[588] Nevertheless, these embellishments, in

[583] Hill, *Journal of a Tour*, 23.
[584] Gilpin, *Observations1776*, 113-14.
[585] Dawson, *Tour*, 40.
[586] Porter, *English Society*, 264-66.
[587] Ibid, 264.
[588] Christopher Dingwall, "Gardens in the Wild," *Garden History* Vol. 22, No. 2 (Winter 1994), 144.

most cases, were intended to demonstrate the wealth and taste of the landholder and, while the duke's pleasure-grounds were still essentially a private estate, they would not have functioned as intended if they were not open to the public. Indeed the diaries clearly indicate that, to the tourists of the late eighteenth century, the homes and gardens of the landed gentry were decidedly public. Thomas Thornton wrote that when he and his companions "arrived at the gate leading to the hermitage" they were at first turned away by the gardener who told them "he had positive orders not to show the cascade without leave from his master."[589] Thornton was not deterred and "thought it singular that an order should be given to prevent travellers from seeing an object clearly meant for public inspection."[590] Thornton then "adopted the usual recipe, and found means to convince…Cerberus of the inconsistency," whereby the travellers were admitted and shown to the falls, Hall and Hermitage.[591] When Eliza Dawson visited the duke's estate near Blair, even the most intimate aspects of home life were open to scrutiny. "The family had just beakfast'd and had regaled themselves with herrings as we saw several plates full of well pick'd bones. I suppose this is their Graces usual breakfast."[592] Likewise, though the homes and gardens were ostensibly designed and decorated to the owner's taste, it appears that public opinion could and did direct these features. Dingwall asserts that the criticism the duke received from tourists regarding the overly stylized appearance of the Hall in relation to its natural surroundings may have "prompted the [Duke] to build a second more rustic hermitage a little further upstream."[593] In short, even the authenticity of the owners' intentions became subject to the whims of tourists, and tourists' conceptions of northern Britain, as well as their experience of it, were constructed largely for and by what they expected to find.

Romantic Saints and Shrines

The obvious question then is: where and why did these expectations arise? This study has already examined late seventeenth and early eighteenth century accounts of visits to the north and has shown, through the example of travellers like Celia Fiennes, Daniel Defoe and Joseph Taylor, that early eighteenth-century perceptions of the north, and Scotland in particular, were shaped in large part by nationalistic rhetoric and concerns regarding the union. In the instance of the abovementioned travellers, these were a reflection of English partialities. This study has previously noted the literary shift in depictions of Scotland and the north between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, but has done so mainly in reference to places of pilgrimage. By the end of the sixteenth century, the Reformation had spread throughout England and Scotland, and in the intervening century, the confessional divide was a particularly powerful social and cultural identifier. Protestant travellers

[589] Thornton, *Sporting Tour*, 63.
[590] Ibid, 64.
[591] Ibid.
[592] Dawson, *Tour*, 41. Emphasis is Dawson's.
[593] Dingwall, "Gardens in the Wild," 147.

encountering remnants or, in some cases, active elements of Catholic devotion were likely to note these with disdain, suspicion or at the very least, indifference. By the end of the eighteenth century, however, religious tolerance was beginning to be a social, if not political, reality and the relaxation of doctrinal strictures on society brought about by the advent of the Enlightenment meant that visitors to former sites of Catholic worship were more curious than critical. More importantly, late eighteenth-century travellers not only embraced former shrines and ruined abbeys as historical diversions, they created new sites that mimicked the patterns of late medieval pilgrimage, albeit in ways that appealed to the sensible and Enlightened mind-set of the eighteenth century. Medieval pilgrims travelled for spiritual fulfilment and though the doctrine and beliefs of their eighteenth-century counterparts had changed significantly, their needs were nearly identical. This then was the driving force behind some of the major components of tourism in north Britain.

In the discussion above, the Duke of Atholl's pleasure gardens near Dunkeld featured prominently. There are several reasons this location has been central to this study. First, as noted earlier, it was one of the most popular tourist destinations on the northern itinerary. Apart from a few of the diarists, who focused mainly on the Hebrides and northern Highlands, Dunkeld and the Hermitage were a must-see on any Scottish itinerary. Likewise, though the site was not necessarily intended as a tourist trap, it was designed to be visited and was shaped and altered to appeal to visitors. However, the Hermitage at Dunkeld demonstrates an even more important aspect of travel in the late eighteenth-century, as well as being a concrete link between the practice of pilgrimage in the late medieval period and early-modern leisure tourism. Travel in the eighteenth century was a more relaxing past-time than it had been in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Roads and transportation had improved, inns and stages were more frequent, and published maps and guides were making for a much more standard, predictable and safe experience. Nevertheless, as discussed in the previous chapter, travel was still, at least subconsciously, about the journey and tourism in the eighteenth century continued to fulfil a highly spiritual need. Sites like the Hermitage at Dunkeld established this spiritual aspect in several fundamental ways.

First, there is the obvious conceptual connection of a hermitage. While the Duke of Atholl's Hermitage seems unlikely to have ever housed an actual hermit - none of the eighteenth-century accounts mention one – the suggestion is that the place in question (in this instance the banks of the River Braan) was a suitable site for spiritual contemplation. Indeed a resident hermit was unnecessary, though the tradition of one certainly added to a site's Romanticism. The Hermitage at Warkworth became a popular tourist destination in the late eighteenth century in large part because of the publication of Thomas Percy's ballad-style poem, "The Hermit of Warkworth."[594] Dawson

[594] Thomas Percy, "The Hermit of Warkworth. A Northumberland Ballad. In Three Fits or Cantos," in *The Muse's Pocket Companion: A Collection of Poems* (Carlisle, 1785), 101.

referenced the poem during her visit to the Hermitage, which she declared "a most delightful spot" though Percy's poem lent the site significantly more romance than its reality as a late medieval chapel or chantry featuring a carving of the Nativity.[595] Nevertheless, the Warkworth Hermitage was uninhabited and Dawson felt the absence of a hermit to "count his beads over [a statue's] inanimate resemblance."[596] Certainly, Picturesque scenery was viewed from a spiritual perspective and hermitages, which were a common motif of pleasure gardens, reinforced this.

Dawson's account of the Hermitage at Warkworth indicates another, more important connection between pilgrimage and tourism. The primary goal of a religious pilgrimage is to receive some sort of benefit – healing, penance or an indulgence – and in the medieval Christian tradition, these benefits were almost exclusively bestowed by contact with a saint. In the eighteenth century, travellers and writers were quite actively, if unwittingly, creating a new canon of saints, whose blessings were art and the Sublime, and whose shrines were Picturesque and Romantic scenery. In the early period of Western Christianity, as Peter Yeoman highlighted, "the Church was conscious of the need to align the attributes of the spirits and deities of pre-Christian times, with the attributes of the saints, helping to make Christianity more palatable for newly converted people." Furthermore, David Cressy has argued that while the advent of the Reformation led to the culling of all but the most important of saints's days from the calendar, newly created holidays celebrating national events and figures began to replace the abandoned feasts and were frequently "grafted on to a regional custom."[597] With tourism the process was not nearly as transparent or conscious. Sources like Pope Gregory and Saint Augustine point to the transition from pagan spirits and deities to Christian saints; while for post-Reformation calendar celebrations, Cressy cites William Camden and John Leland, as

[595] Dawson, *Tour*, 9; Percy, "The Hermit of Warkworth," 101. Percy's 213-stanza ballad-style poem tells the story of young Henry Percy, son of Sir Henry Percy, known as Hotspur. According to Percy's poem, the young Henry was hidden in Scotland by his father during the war with Bolingbroke. A hermit discovers Henry and his beloved, Eleanor (a Bolingbroke), in the woods near the Warkworth Hermitage. The hermit shelters the lovers and reveals that he is actually Sir Bertram, a night in Percy's service who accidentally slew his beloved, Isabel, and his brother while attempting to rescue the girl from a Scottish chief who had kidnapped her. Bertram vowed to "spend [his] life/In penitence and prayer" and retired to the titular hermitage where he "carv'd her beauteous form./And scoop'd this holy cave" and "daily o'er this sculptur'd saint…dropt the pensive tear". The poem received a tolerable reception as a replica of "the rude efforts of our ancestors," and inspired numerous imitations, see Thomas Percy, 1771, "The Hermit of Warkworth," comp. David Hill Radcliffe, *Spencer and the Tradition: English Poetry 1579-1830* online edition [http://spenserians.cath.vt.edu/TextRecord.php?action=GET&textsid=34815, accessed 6/10/2013].

[596] Dawson, *Tour*, 9; *A Description of the Hermitage at Warkworth* (Alnwick, 1800), 5. An early nineteenth century description of the Hermitage gives a fairly detailed account of the chapel and statue, asserting that both are "very exactly described in the Ballad." The statue, which the *Description of the Hermitage* calls a "Tomb, ornamented with three human Figures, elegantly cut in the rock" is designated "an almost life-size Nativity scene" by the information provided by English Heritage on the Hermitage's official site. See *Description*, 8; "Description of Warkworth Castle and Hermitage," *English Heritage* [online] [http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/daysout/properties/warkworth-castle-and-hermitage/history-and-research/description, accessed 6/10/2013].

[597] Peter Yeoman, *Pilgrimage in Medieval Scotland*, 11; David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, 51 & 5-66.

well as the pilgrimage's numerous puritan objectors.[598] For eighteenth century tourism, the progression can and must be deduced more through language and, specifically, the popular literature of the period.

One of the important developments in northern British tourism between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the explosion of tourist destinations. Increased footfall in the north certainly inspired the development of such sites, but the tourists themselves were drawn by something else. It has already been noted that by the end of the eighteenth century tour diaries indicate that many travellers were reading the same accounts of earlier journeys, like those of Samuel Johnson and Thomas Pennant, as guides and inspiration. Similarly, the education of many of these travellers had provided them with a wealth of classical literature references. William Gilpin, for instance, referenced Virgil, Boethius and Tacitus in relation to British history, though he did question the accuracy of Tacitus and also cited Virgil as "a great master…who…seems ever to have had before his eyes, ideas of picturesque beauty."[599] During his visit to Arran, Patrick Walker cited both Pliny and local superstitions regarding the cure for a viper bite.[600] Campbell cited both Pliny and Boethius in reference to the *Sylva Caledonia*, the extensive woods that once covered much of Scotland, and Thomas Garnett called Pliny "the celebrated natural historian."[601] Thornton used Pliny to support his theory of the composition of the stones at Burroughbridge, called the Devil's Arrows, while Thomas Pennant demonstrated an even more comprehensive illustration of his literary education by linking Hector Boece's 1527 account with one of the most famous literary depictions of Scotland, at least prior to those of the Romantic period.

> On a moor, not far from Forres, Boethius, and Shakespear from him, places the reencounter of Macbeth and the three wayward sisters, or witches…Boethius tells his story admirably well; but entirely confines it to the predictions of the three fatal sisters, which Shakespear has so finely copied in the fourth scene of the first act. The poet…calls them witches: in fact they were the *fates*, the Valkyriae the northern nations, Gunna, Rota, and Skulda, the hand-maids of Odin, the active Mars, and styled the Chusers of the Slain, it being their office in battle to mark those devoted to death.[602]

Incidentally, Thomas Thornton seems to have lifted this entire passage, as well as several more not quoted here directly from Pennant. The point is, not only do eighteenth-century travellers reference the accounts of those who travelled before them as well as the ancient and classical historians who gave descriptions of the places they visit but, by the end of the eighteenth century, literature had

[598] Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells*, 54-56.
[599] Gilpin, *Observations* 1776, 105; William Gilpin, *Observations Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1772, on Several Parts of England; particularly the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland, and Westmoreland*, 3rd Edition, Vol. II (London, 1792), 255.
[600] Walker, *Journal of Tours*, 40-42.
[601] Garnett, *Observations on a Tour of the Highlands*, 54.
[602] Pennant, *Tour in Scotland*, 165-66. Throughout his *Tour in Scotland* Pennant refers to Hector Boece by the Latin translation of his name, Boethius.

become a frequent and important reference point for travellers. Passages like Pennant's demonstrate two factors. The first shows the author is well-read, but the second indicates a literary reference made a place interesting and worthy of note. Literary tourism, or tourism in search of the scenes, images and sensations impressed upon readers by particular stories, poems and plays became, in a sense a new, secular pilgrimage. Tourists visited caves and cataracts named for ancient Celtic folk heroes, they visited castles and hills associated with tragic kings and gazed upon the monuments and battlefields dedicated to rebels and champions. In short, the characters of literature became, for Romantically-inclined tourists of the late eighteenth century, secular saints and the places associated with them – caves, ruins, waterfalls and lochs – became their shrines.[603]

[603] See Figure 7.

Figure 7: Romatic 'Shrines' in Northern Britain

The Thane of Cawdor

By the end of the eighteenth century many of the sites visited by tourists had a literary background, or reminded the traveller of a passage of poetry or prose. With the explosion of Romantic literature after the turn of the nineteenth century, the itinerary of the Romantic pilgrimage became so extensive and regular that the "poetic traveller" could "[tread] the steps of his favourite Burns." Nevertheless, the late-eighteenth century canon of literary saints was certainly impressive and offered visitors to the north numerous opportunities for veneration.[604] In Scotland, references to William Shakespeare's *Macbeth* are justifiably frequent, in large part because Shakespeare's language and style were prescient of the Picturesque. Shakespeare's *Macbeth* was based on a real Scottish king but, as Thomas Pennant asserted,

> all the fine incantations that succeed [in *Macbeth*], are borrowed from the fanciful *Diableries* of old times, but sublimed, and purged from all that is ridiculous by the creative genius of the inimitable Poet…We laugh at the magic of others; but *Shakespear's* makes us tremble. The windy caps of King *Eric*, and the vendible knots of the wind of the *Finland* magicians appear infinitely ridiculous; but when our Poet dress up the same idea, how horrible is the storm he creates![605]

Macbeth then was one of the earliest figures to feature in the Romantic canon, and his principal shrine was the ruins of Dunsinane and Birnam Woods. William Gilpin noted that at Birnam "stands a hill celebrated in dramatic story…it is now totally divested of wood. Shakespear however is right in making it once a woody scene, which it certainly was. Of Dunsinane no vestiges remain; except a deep double ditch."[606] Alexander Campbell visited Murthly Castle, near Dunkeld and wrote that

> on either side of the river [Tay], the higher grounds are steep, craggy, and well wooded. In the back ground, the plain of Stormont…appears; behind which, Dunsinnan, of the Silda hills, made classic ground by the magic pen of Shakespeare, towers in the distance and terminates the prospect.[607]

Campbell gave a more emotional description later in his account:

> Among the Sidlaw hills, *Dunsinnan*, the proud eminence on which MACBETH bade defiance to fate, is distinctly seen on the right. In whatever direction we turn, to vary the prospect, all is so rich, vast, and magnificent, as to impress the mind with ideas of sublimity and beauty, truly such, in the fullest sense of those words, as applied to scenery on its grandest scale.[608]

Samuel Spiker's visit to Scotland would not have been complete without a visit to Birnam Woods, where the librarian declared "every thing reminds us of Shakespeare's Macbeth, the country becomes more and more wild and romantic."[609] Eliza Dawson was so determined to visit the remains of

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[604] Thomas Walford, *The Scientific Tourist through England, Wales & Scotland, Vol. II* (London, 1818), Ayrshire.
[605] Pennant, *Tour in Scotland*, 166-67.
[606] Gilpin, *Observations, 1776*, 117.
[607] Campbell, *Journey from Edinburgh*, 195.
[608] Ibid, 357.
[609] Spiker, *Travels through England, Wales & Scotland*, 184.

Dunsinane that despite poor weather and though the hill was "impossible to ride up," Dawson and her friends "secured the arm of a Beau and with much fatigue, difficulty and length of time, reach'd the summit" where they found "not the smallest remains left of the Castle above ground."[610] Bishop Pococke cites Buchanan regarding a lake near Fort William which was "noted for Banco the Thane…who was here murdered by Macbeth the Tyrant…on which story Shakespeare founded his Tragedy of Macbeth."[611] Clement Cruttwell mentions Macbeth several times but seems to refer more to the historical, rather than theatrical, king. Nevertheless, he quotes Pennant regarding Forres and Macbeth's encounter with the weird sisters.[612] Indeed, this "blasted heath," which was visited by Henry Skrine after a disappointing visit to Elgin demonstrates most effectively the way in which eighteenth-century literary tourism resembled a pilgrimage, albeit one that conferred on the pilgrim Romantic rather than religious benefits.[613]

> A better spot could no where have been chose for the horrors of enchantment, and the aptness of the scene concurring with the classic descriptions our memories presented, awakened every dormant spark of imagination, and endowed the place with all the holiness of literary veneration.[614]

James Boswell visited the heath with Dr Johnson and wrote that he "had great romantick satisfaction in seeing Johnson upon the classical scenes of Shakespeare in Scotland; which [he] really looked upon as almost as improbable as that 'Birnam wood should come to Dunsinane.'"[615] Even Samuel Johnson could not visit the spot without being moved. "We went forwards the same day to Fores, the town to which Macbeth was travelling, when he met the weird sisters in his way. This to an Englishman is classic ground. Our imaginations were heated, and our thoughts recalled to their old amusements."[616] Pennant's visit to Saneg-mor Cave on the Isle of Islay was similarly evocative, and his description is striking in its similarity to contemporaneous depictions of the interior of cathedrals:

> Within this cave was another straight…with a fine arched entrance: several of the company had got into it, and passing with their tapers backwards and forwards, from recess to recess, appeared at [their] distance like the gilding spectres of *Shakespear* in the pit of *Acheron*.[617]

Pennant's account of the Saneg-mor Cave is an example of the way in which natural sites could become more meaningful through the application of a literary allusion. Saneg-mor Cave (or

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[610] Dawson, *Tour*, 36.
[611] Pococke, *Tours in Scotland*, 98.
[612] Crutwell, *Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, 238.
[613] Skrine, *Three Successive Tours*, 129.
[614] Ibid.
[615] Boswell, *Journal of a Tour*.
[616] Johnson, *Journey to the Western Islands*, 50. If Boswell is to be believed, Johnson recited a great deal of *Macbeth* while here, and even composed some small parodies of the witches' speech at Boswell's expense (Boswell, *Journal of a Tour*).
[617] Pennant, *Tour in Scotland*, 257, 153. Consider Pennant's description of Glasgow Cathedral: "It is at present divided into three places for divine service; two above, one beneath, and deep under ground, where the congregation may truly say, *clamavi ex profundis*. The roof of this is fine, of stone, and supported by pillars…"

Sanaigmore as it is known today) has no common tradition of being associated with Shakespeare or *Macbeth*, and Pennant's reference here is only in regard to the feeling the cave inspired in him. William Thomson, who toured England and Scotland in 1785, described a cave in the Peak District in a similarly evocative manner. The cave, colloquially known as the Devil's Arse until 1880, was regarded as a natural curiosity and Thomson's account of it is full of religious and Shakespearian imagery.

> You are entertained by a company of singers…[who ascend] to a place called the Chancel…the water is…crossed seven times…If this tremendous cave were properly lighted up, and music placed in different parts, with the witches in Macbeth and their cauldron, and other infernal agents and machines…a more wonderful effect might thereby be produced, than has ever resulted from any mimick or natural scene.[618]

Shakespeare's *Macbeth* was suitably Gothic, its scenery perfectly Picturesque and the play's tragic hero a truly Romantic figure. However, the reality of a historical Macbeth as well as the tangible physicality of Dunsinane and the road to Forres meant that apart from the occasional flight of imagination, like that of Pennant mentioned above, veneration of the Thane of Cawdor was rather limited and proscribed.

The Once and Future King

Another semi-historical monarch, King Arthur, gave tourists a chance to add mythic grandeur to the ruins and hills of Scotland. By the Victorian period Arthur and his knights were more commonly associated with England and Wales, but medieval ballads and traditional poetry featuring the legendary British king were popular in Scotland, and some of the earliest historical evidence for the existence of King Arthur comes from Scottish sources.[619] Campbell, for instance, visited the Castle of Barry-hill near Alyth and reported that "this stronghold is said to have been the place of confinement of the celebrated British Helen, VANORA, by some writers called *Wanor*, and *Guinevar*, the wife of *King Arthur* of fabulous record. A sepulchral monument, supposed to have been that of Vanora, is to be seen in the church-yard of Meigle."[620] Clement Cruttwell expanded this account and included a thorough catalogue of the crimes and moral defects of the Scottish version of Arthur's queen.

> In a battle between [Arthur's army] and the united forces of the Scots and Picts, Vanora was taken prisoner, and carried…into Angus, where she lived some time in miserable captivity on Barry-hill. Such is the doubtful account recorded in the ancient annals of this country. The character of that unfortunate personage has been drawn in the blackest colours; she has been represented as one who led a lascivious life, and held an unlawful correspondence with Mordred, a Pictish king, which provoked the jealousy of her husband, and excited him to take up arms in revenge of the injury. As

[618] William Thomson, *A Tour in England and Scotland, in 1785* (London, 1788), 34-37.
[619] David Laing, ed., *Select Remains of the Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1822), 14; Mary Williams, "King Arthur in History and Legend," *Folklore* Vol. 73, No. 2 (Summer 1962), 73-74. Williams cites the popularity of the name Arthur in Scotland and Wales in the sixth and seventh centuries, including the son (and/or grandson) of Aedan mac Gabráin, a Scoto-Irish king during the sixth century.
[620] Campbell, *Journey from Edinburgh*, 297. Emphasis is Campbell's.

> a punishment of her enormous crimes, it is added, she was torn in pieces by wild beasts. Her body was buried at Meigle, and a monument erected to perpetuate her infamy. Whether this detail be genuine, or arising from the symbolic characters on the stones, it is impossible to determine.[621]

Indeed, Cruttwell's account indicates the problematic element of the British mythic figure in Scotland; that is, regardless of the Romantic or Picturesque elements inherent in the stories of King Arthur, by the eighteenth century his inclusion in the canon of Scottish folklore was at odds with his emerging status as an English hero.[622] In most of the diaries that mention Arthurian sites, the travellers imply that they are doubtful of the authenticity, or accuracy of the local attachment of Arthur's name to a specific location. For instance Arthur's Oven, near Carron is readily dismissed by the few tourists that mention it, despite its apparent popularity, though this may be in part because the Oven was destroyed in 1742.[623] Thomas Pennant, Richard Pococke and William Gilpin made note of the oven but Pennant and Gilpin both doubted that it was Arthurian in origin. Pennant supposed it "to

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[621] Cruttwell, *Tour through…Great Britain*, 375.

[622] Williams, "King Arthur," 84. The origins of the legendary Arthur are decidedly British and most modern scholarship regarding the historic Arthur asserts that the king, if he existed, would have originated in Western Britain. However, at least since the appearance of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Brittaniae* (c.1136) and the reign of Henry II, the myths and legends of King Arthur had been periodically and increasingly appropriated by the English monarchy to assert its legitimacy and control over the island nation. Henry II promoted the association of Glastonbury Abbey with the interment of Arthur because it firmly rooted the king in English soil in two ways. First, it linked Arthur specifically with England rather than more generally with Britain and second, the physical existence of the king's bodily remains deterred from the likelihood of Welsh poetic prophesies that asserted King Arthur would return and liberate the Britons. Similarly, some historians see Henry VII's naming of his first-born son Arthur as an 'invocation' of the Welsh prophesy and a means of neutralising its threat, see Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (Cambridge, 2004), 23-26. Prophesy's associated with Arthurian legend were frequently related to the relationship of England with its British neighbours. *Macfarlane's Geographical Collections* contain a reference to one of the prophesies of Merlin which pertained to the royal union of Scotland and England. The 1649 description written by William Eliot and Walter Scot makes note of "the Town and Church of Drumelzear" in Tweedale where there "is a remarkable place where the Prophet Merlin is said to have been burried…near a Burn called Powsayl….The Tradition is that he walked long up and down this part of Tweed, and many strange stories are reported of him by the Vulgar but the old Prophecy following is most memorable. When Tweed and Pawsayl meet at Merlin's Grave,/Scotland and England shall one Monarch have. Which accordingly fell out: for the same day Queen Elizabeth dyed the River of Tweed did so extraordinarily overflow its accustomed bounds that it meet with the Burn Powsayl at Merlin's Burial place…" See Walter Macfarlane, *Geographical Collections Relating to Scotland* Vol. III, eds. Arthur Mitchell and James Toshach Clark (Edinburgh, 1908), 153-54. Arthur's role in creating and promoting English national identity would not come to a head until the Victorian period. However, since the Tudor period the figure of King Arthur had a conflicted relationship with England, Scotland, Wales and the emerging concept of national identity. James IV and James V also called one of their sons Arthur. See Ross Gossedge and Stephen Knight, "The Arthur of the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Arthurian Legend,* eds. Elizabeth Archibald and Ad Putter (Cambridge, 2009), 103-35; Roger Mason, "Scotland, Elizabethan England and the Idea of Britain," *Transactions of the RHS* Vol. 14 (2004), 282; Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London, 1992), 238.

[623] Walter Macfarlane, *Geographical Collections Relating to Scotland* Vol. I ed. Arthur Mitchell (Edinburgh, 1906), 330. Mr. Johnson's 1723 contribution to the *Geographical Collections* contains a description of the Oven before it was destroyed and offers some speculation as to its purpose: "A mile east from Larbert stands the house of Stenhouse upon the northside of Carron between which and the water of Carron stands an old building in form a sugar loaf built without lime or any other mortar so far as can be discerned commonly called Arthurs Oven: This has probably been some place for worship in the time of Paganism: for the late Sir William Bruce of Stenhouse found in some crivas of the building a finger of one of these Pagods, which at the first appeared to be gold but upon a stricter scrutiny was found to be fine polished brass."

have been a *sacellum,* or little chapel, a repository for the *Roman Insignia*, or standards" and Gilpin, wrote that "the common people called it Arthur's oven: but many antiquarians have supposed it to have been a temple, built for the god Terminus by Agricola."[624] Nevertheless despite dismissing its Arthurian history, Gilpin called Arthur's Oven a "valuable piece of antiquity," Bishop Pococke declared that it was to "the eternal reproach of the owner [that] this noble Remain of antiquity was destroyed," and Pennant gave the site, a thoroughly Romantic vendetta with religious overtones.[625] "[L]ess than a year [after the Oven was demolished], the *Naiades,* in resentment of the sacrilege, came down in a flood and entirely swept [the new mill] away."[626]

Suffice it to say, references to Arthur in late eighteenth-century travel diaries are far less frequent that those to Macbeth, and the most prominent Arthurian site in Scotland, Arthur's Seat in Edinburgh, was not as Picturesque as Dunsinane. John Macky's visit to Edinburgh included a trek up the "high Mountains cover'd with Grass" near Holyrood Palace. Macky reported that the highest of these is "King *Arthur's* Seat" and "they tell you, that *Arthur* the *British* King was here, and used to view the Country from thence, and ever since it's called his Seat."[627] William Thomson offered a bit more detail: "*Arthur's Seat*...[comes from] Arthur, the British prince, who, in the end of the sixth century, defeated the Saxons in the neighbourhood of that conspicuous place."[628] Gilpin was outright dismissive:

> Arthur's seat presents an unpleasing view from every station. Some formal part stares you in the face in every corner of Edinburgh. You rarely meet with a picturesque fragment…This rocky hill was once probably a picturesque scene; for it was once, we were informed, covered with wood.[629]

Eliza Dawson, who spent a considerable amount of time in Edinburgh and visited most of the common tourist destinations, does not mention the hill. Her female contemporary, who visited Edinburgh only four years later, however, wrote that she and her companions "took a walk up to Arthur's Seat" which was "a remarkable High Hill supposed to be a Mile and half from the bottom" and though "it [was] very difficult to [ascend]…when at the top you are amply repaid for your trouble with a very extensive view of the Ocean and the Country."[630]

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[624] Pennant, *Tour in Scotland, 1769*, 262; Gilpin, *Observations, 1776*, 77.
[625] Pennant, *Tour in Scotland, 1769*, 262; Pococke, *Tours in Scotland,* 296, Gilpin, *Observations, 1776*, 77.
[626] Gilpin, *Observations, 1776*, 77. The site had been destroyed in 1742 by "the proprietor , Sir Michael Bruce…[a deed that] raised such indignation in Dr. Stukely [that] he drew Sir Michael carrying off his lap full of stones; and the devil goading him along…"
[627] Macky, *Journey through Scotland*, 62. Macky's emphasis.
[628] Thomson, *Tour*, 290.
[629] Gilpin, *Observations, 1776*, 66.
[630] NLS MS 15905.

The Noble of Elderslie

While Arthur's seat is the most famous of Arthurian sites in Scotland, traditions surrounding the fabled king place many of his battles in and around the borderlands of Scotland. These sites, however, seem to have held little interest for late eighteenth-century tourists. Instead, travellers who visited battlefields in the late eighteenth century were more interested in another celebrated Scottish figure, whose thirteenth-century exploits were historical enough, but whose adventures had become the things of legends. William Wallace's fame would reach its zenith in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but for both proud Scots and curious tourists, the renowned Scottish freedom-fighter was a figure too Romantic to be ignored. Sites associated with Wallace peppered the Highlands and Lowlands and, as Alexander Campbell noted, "there is hardly a cave in Scotland that this illustrious hero did not occupy in his wanderings, if we believe the fables of old women."[631] By the late eighteenth century, the historical Wallace had been thoroughly disseminated and his status as a folk hero had "so mingled the marvellous with the real transactions of his life that an air of the ludicrous hangs over the whole of that portion of [Scottish] national history in which he makes a distinguished figure."[632] It is not surprising then to find that he and the stories associated with his military campaign, became central features on late eighteenth-century tours. The historical context of Wallace, as well as the relatively recent political and social parallels, added an extra dimension to the Wallace legacy in Scotland and those tourists who focused on sites related to him tended to find more than just Romantic inspiration.

For Scottish travellers like Alexander Campbell, Wallace's story served as an example of his nation's spirit of independence and tied Wallace's cause with that of the late eighteenth-century's revolutionary spirit. Campbell drew parallels between Wallace's military exploits and those of "the late patriot Washington."[633] For Campbell, Wallace was, an

> instance of those latent virtues and military talents which burst forth on some casual exigence, when public spirit and national independence seem prostrate, and almost extinct. That high degree of disinterested patriotism, magnanimity, and virtue, displayed in the conduct of Wallace, might be claimed with pride by any nation. His actions are worthy of remembrance; for he nobly fought for the liberties of his devoted country, and perished in the attempt to re-establish its independence.[634]

For Patrick Walker, the heroic and patriotic spirit embodied in the legacy of William Wallace nearly drove him to distraction during his visit to Falkirk where he recalled the battle in which Edward I and his army "were by their numbers victorious over the poor but Patriotic Defenders of their country."[635]

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[631] Campbell, *Journey from Edinburgh*, 352. See Eriksonas, *National Heroes*, 91-93. Bishop Pococke was shown one such cave, called "Wallace's den" near Newbrough (Pococke, *Tours in Scotland*, 264).
[632] Campbell, *Journey from Edinburgh*, 352.
[633] Ibid, 377.
[634] Ibid, 33.
[635] Walker, *Journals of a Tour*, 9.

> No, no, Edward, had you yourself felt as a Patriot, you would have known as Scotsmen shew'd you to your cost, that Patriotism lived in the breasts of Scotsmen firm and indelible while life remained, and which they were ever ready to protect. Your armies had no such motives they knew no feelings but to murder those unfortunates who acted honourably. I say murder, for when an unjust attack is made, and the death of the innocent party follows, I must, I will call it murder and I add on Edwards part, most dastardly Murder; his conduct towards Scotland shewed that he did not possess humanity, honour or the smallest spark of any generous Sentiment; but he saw what love of Country could do! Ay, he saw it at the gates of his own Palace, when his thousands and his hundred thousands fled before…hundreds of half disciplined and half armed Patriots; but need we wonder at this, they wielded them in a country's cause, while the other only in obedience to a tyrants will. By superiority of Power and Numbers Scotland was beat but never conquered, and it cost England dear. The Spirit of Patriotism suffered only a momentary calm and only was hushed to break again out with double or treble violence, according to the increase of oppression and the danger opposed. A Patriot may be beat but never conquered, the Patriotic Spirit will increase with danger and will endure to the last breath.[636]

The battlefield at Sterling did not rouse William Gilpin to such emotional contemplations, but even in his sober account fragments of the passions surrounding Wallace's history remain. According to Gilpin, the battles fought outside the castle's walls were "in support of [England's] tyranny in Scotland," and after Edward "first broke the power of Scotland" it was the "spirit of Wallace" which "roused the Scotch again to arms."[637] Robert Heron's accounts of Wallace are similarly dispassionate, though he too contends that "Wallace and Bruce… [made] themselves lords of the freedom of Scotland."[638] Clement Cruttwell's overview of the history of Scotland, which he presents in the middle of his description of Falkirk and Carron, fits Wallace (whom he names "brave Wallace" four additional times in his Tour) neatly into the tumultuous narrative and gives him an appropriately valiant origin-story.[639]

> In this season of national dejection and dismay appeared William Wallace…He lifted up the standard of liberty, and many flocked around the signal; but still there were not a few who, through envy or fear would not join the patriots: but Wallace and his adherents prevailed. They fought and were successful.[640]

James Brome calls him simply "the Renowned Champion of Scotland" but declares that he was "Traiterously Betrayed…and delivered up to our King *Edward* the First."[641]

The historical and fantastical figure of William Wallace was, in the eighteenth century, the patron of Scottish independence, patriotism and bravery.[642] Nearly every mention of his battles, particularly

[636] Ibid, 9-11.
[637] Gilpin, *Observations, 1776*, 85.
[638] Heron, *Scotland Described*, 60.
[639] Cruttwell, *Tour through…Great Britain*, 271, 318, 334, & 355.
[640] Ibid, 266.
[641] James Brome, *Travels over England, Scotland and Wales*, 216.
[642] By the nineteenth century, Wallace would be "a restyled hero of national liberation movements" in Europe as well as Scotland (Michael Lynch, "A Nation Born Again? Scottish Identity in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth

those that centered around the Scot's disastrous defeat at Falkirk in 1298, circled round to include some mention of the Jacobite risings. In fact, despite their relative immediacy, most of the travellers describe both the 1298 and 1746 Battles of Falkirk in highly sentimental and heroic terms. Benjamin Silliman wrote that "[a]lmost on the same ground, the English were defeated by the Scotch in the year 1746; this gallant people fought with great bravery in support of the prince commonly called the Pretender, whom they regarded as their lawful sovereign."[643] Campbell proudly declared that:

> From nearly the spot where, towards the end of the thirteenth century, the English army triumphed over the devoted Scots, did the royal army of England, about the middle of the eighteenth century, attack a handful of Highlanders; but with very different fortune; for no sooner had these daring sons of the mountains charged the veteran troops of the Elector of Hanover, than a general rout ensued…[644]

Thomas Pennant noted that the church-yard at Falkirk contained an "epitaph on *John de Graham*, styled the right hand of the gallant *Wallace*, killed at the battle of Falkirk in 1298," and that near Graham's epitaph was another "occasioned by a second battle of *Falkirk*, as disgraceful to the *English* as the other was fatal to the Scots."[645] It is obvious that for Patrick Walker, Wallace and the 1298 Battle of Falkirk were the truly diverting aspects of Falkirk. After devoting nearly seven pages of his diary to a passionate, and partisan, retelling of Wallace's deeds, Walker simply notes that "[t]he English Army fled from this [place] under General Hawley, panic struck at the sight of Prince Charles at the head of a few Highlanders on the 18 January 1746."[646]

Nevertheless it would seem that the link between Wallace and the 1745-46 rising, which formed a very satisfying narrative structure, was a deciding factor in the establishment of Wallace as a Romantic figure whose battlegrounds and hiding places were worthy of inclusion on tourists' itineraries. Prior to this third major and fifth Jacobite Rising, Wallace held little to no appeal for tourists, though his story written by the poet, 'blind Harry' in the late fifteenth century was "a fundamental text for Scottish heroic traditions" and had been one of the most popular printed books in Scotland with numerous editions and versions printed and published between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.[647] Daniel Defoe, who travelled before the 1745-6 rising wrote of Falkirk that there was "nothing in it remarkable" and neither Joseph Taylor nor Celia Fiennes bothered to stop at the town or mention Wallace, but by the late eighteenth century, Wallace embodied the spirit of the

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Centuries," in *Image and Identity: the Making and Re-Making of Scotland Through the Ages* eds. Dauvit Broun, R.J. Finlay and Michael Lynch [Edinburgh, 1998], 82.)

[643] Silliman, *Journal of Travels*, 358.

[644] Campbell, *Journey from Edinburgh*, 31.

[645] Pennant, *Tour in Scotland, 1769*, 259-60.

[646] Walker, *Journals of a Tour*, 13.

[647] John Jamieson, "Preliminary Remarks, Chiefly Regarding the Life of the Author and Character of the Work," in *Wallace; or the Life and Acts of Sir William Wallace of Ellerslie* by Henry the Minstrel (Glasgow, 1869), viii-x; Eriksonas, *National Heroes and National Identities*, 23.

brave and patriotic Highlander, a figure that was becoming increasingly popular and romanticized.[648] In the early part of the century, writers like Daniel Defoe had been highly critical of the Highlands but by the end of the century, travellers were beginning to view the Highlands as an example of idyllic primitivism. Additionally, travellers and nationalists alike had embraced a spirit of nostalgia that extolled the virtues not only of the extant examples of pastoralism in Highland culture, but on the now lost and golden past of heroic virtues, of which the present day Scottish Highlands was only a remnant.[649] John Lane Buchanan quoted a John Williams (aka Captain John Newte), who lamented that modern developments had created "flagrant oppressions" of the Highland people, and hearkened back to the days when "the glory of the chief was the glory of all his kindred and name…in those times, the Highlanders were better fed, and in general, finer men than they are at present."[650] Buchanan concurred with Williams:

> When the great land-holders lived among the husbandmen, who were for the most part allied to them by blood, or at least the sameness of name, the people loved their chiefs: and each laird and lord was accounted rich or poor according to the number of tenants that possessed their lands. But now, in the absence of the great proprietors, the power and influence of the laird is transferred to a few tackmen; who, in some instances, of late, squeeze them without mercy.[651]

These later eighteenth-century depictions of Scottish Highlanders gives the reader the sense that travellers were at pains to re-evaluate earlier assessments of the north's native people.[652] Thomson, for instance, includes a long, translated passage from Sir Alexander Cunningham's early eighteenth-century *History of Great Britain from the Revolution in 1688 to the Accession of George the First*. Though Thomson does not wish to "disfigure [the] picture [of the Highlander's], drawn from the life by so great a master," Cunningham's depiction of the Highlanders as a "race of warriors, who fight by instinct..[who] are utterly unacquainted with arts and discipline…are much addicted to pillaging and hunting…are not at all moved by the fear of God…[and] are greatly addicted to lying," seems to Thomson to be lacking any "mention of their passionate love and genius for music, as well as the kindred strains of moving, though simple poetry…Highlanders are…as fond of poetry and music as the antient Arcadians." Scottish music and poetry were of great interest to visitors to the north in the second half of the eighteenth century. Indeed perhaps they were the most important feature of Scottish Highland culture for tourists of the Romantic and Picturesque, and the sounds, style and

[648] Defoe, *Tour thro'…Great Britain*.
[649] Eriksonas, *National Heroes and National Identities*, 29-31.
[650] John Lane Buchanan, *Travels in the Western Hebrides: from 1782 to 1790* (London, 1793), 47-48.
[651] Buchanan, *Travels in the Western Hebrides*, 49.
[652] See William M. Aird, "'Sweet Civility and Barbarous Rudeness': a View from the Frontier. Abbot Ailred of Rievaulx and the Scots," in Steven G. Ellis and Lud'a Klusáková eds., *Imagining Frontiers, Contesting Identities* (Pisa, 2007), 59-76; Alison Cathcart, *Kinship and Clientage: Highland Clanship 1451-1609* (Leiden, 2006), 32-39; Colin Kidd, *British Identities Before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World 1600-1800* (Cambridge, 2004), 123-145.

subjects of traditional Scottish folk music were to shape the northern itineraries far more than the tales of kings and conquerors could.

Bagpipes and Ballads

Folk music and traditional verse were aspects of Highland popular culture which in the eighteenth century "became a subject of interest to European intellectuals" and a driving force behind Picturesque tourism.[653] As Peter Burke explains, eighteenth-century travellers "went in search not so much of ancient ruins as of manners and customs, the simpler and wilder the better."[654] Indeed as previously argued in this chapter, the main appeal of ruins for tourists to Scotland (apart from their appropriateness as subjects of paintings) was their association with the country's historical and mythic past, and their ability to conjure up romantic and sublime feelings in travellers. Traditional music and poetry were equally evocative and their "aesthetic appeal" was their "wild, unclassical…and 'primitive'" nature, and ballads have been called the "truest and most immediate indicators of which way the cultural wind blows."[655] Thomas Pennant noted the ancient history of the Scottish bagpipe and referred to "a most beautiful *Bas-relievo* [in Rome]…of a bagpiper playing on his instrument, exactly like a modern highlander."[656] He added, "[t]radition says, that the [bagpipes] played on by the mouth was introduced by the *Danes*," and that "the genuine highland pipe [is] suited well to the warlike genius of the people" who played their "wild and tempestuous" tunes as they marched into battle against rival clans.[657] Thomson called the music of the Highlanders "antient" and speculated that their attachment to the harp was "in all probability of Druidical origin."[658] William Gilpin wrote that

> It is no little recommendation of the rivers [in Scotland], that almost every one of them is the subject of some pleasing Scotch ditty; which the scene raises to the memory of those, who are versed in the lyrics of the country. The elegant simplicity of the verse, and the soothing melody of the music, in almost all the Scotch songs, is universally acknowledged.[659]

Thomas Thornton declared he "[preferred…the pipes playing old English music, Scotch and Irish reels] to any other instrument…[or] species of music" despite the "present connoisseurs" disdain for "such Gothic taste."[660] Benjamin Silliman was greatly pleased with both the music and dancing of the Scots. "[T]heir music is of a kind which fits peculiarly to be accompanied by dancing…they appear

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[653] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 1978), 3.
[654] Ibid, 7.
[655] Patricia Fumerton and Anita Guerrini, "Introduction: Straws in the Wind," in *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500-1800* eds. Patricia Fumerton, et. al., (Farnham, 2010), 1. See also Edward J. Cowan, *The Ballad in Scottish History* (East Linton, 2000); Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2010); Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1650* (Cambridge, 1991).
[656] Pennant, *Tour in Scotland, 1772*, 348.
[657] Ibid, 349 & 348.
[658] Thomson, *Tour in England and Scotland*, 229 & 228.
[659] Gilpin, *Observations, 1776*, 52.
[660] Thornton, *Sporting Tour*, 266.

to be natural dancers, and even the most polished among them are less distinguished by an adherence to the rules of art, than by a certain native ease, gracefulness and spirit."[661] Buchanan declared that the Highlanders had "a fine vein for poetry and music…and had the language been so generally understood, the Gâlic music would have been introduced, with admiration and delight, on every stage on which taste and elegance prevailed."[662]

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was a language barrier between north and south. Visitors like Joseph Taylor made note of being "entertain'd [with] the Scotch songs…but when one of the Ladyes sung an English Song of Purcell's, with a Scotch Tone and Pronunciation, [he] had much ado to forbear laughing."[663] His diary even contains the notation of one "Highland Ballad, in great esteem among [the Scots]," and he included a transcription of the verses because "[the ballad contain[ed] most of [the Scot's] hard words."[664] Travellers frequently made note of the Gaelic or Erse language spoken in the Highlands and Islands. The songs of the Highlands were filled with myths, legends and folklore and were practically designed for Romantic tourists but, as Campbell asserted, for "those who do not understand the Gaelic language" the songs and poetry of the Highlanders would "have but little weight…but, to such as are possessed of an ear for music, and who may be content with the specimens of the poetry of the Highlanders, preserved in translations already at the hands of the public" there was much to be enjoyed.[665] In the second half of the eighteenth century these "specimens" not only came to "the hands of the public," but filled them, and their publication is credited, not only with making the oral traditions of the Gaelic Highlands accessible but, in a sense, creating Scotland. In 1760 James Macpherson published what he titled *Fragments of Ancient Poetry Collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Galic or Erse Language* and nearly overnight, Scotland ceased to be in any manner, a *terra incognita*.

The Blind Bard

Macpherson's 'discovery' and subsequent publication of the *Fragments*, as well as the two follow-up epics *Fingal* (1761) and *Temora* (1763), were literary sensations. Their publication, as Linda Andersson Burnett and Allan Burnett assert, was an "instant success," and the 'translations' inspired numerous musical, poetical and literary tributes.[666] Indeed, the "fever" for Ossianic texts was so great that in the years following Macpherson's initial translations, the poems were subsequently translated from English into nearly every European language and so widely disseminated that they inspired more

[661] Silliman, *Journal of Travels*, 296.
[662] Buchanan, *Travels in the Western Hebrides*, 80-81.
[663] Joseph Taylor, *A Journey to Edenborough in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1903), 132.
[664] Ibid, 138-144.
[665] Campbell, *Journey from Edinburgh*, 175.
[666] Linda Andersson Burnett and Allan Burnett, "The Poems of Ossian – A Controversial Legacy," in *Blind Ossian's Fingal: Fragments and Controversy* (Edinburgh 2011), 25; John Daverio, "Schumman's Ossianic Manner," *19th Century Music* Vol. 21, No. 3 (Spring 1998), 248.

than two-hundred musical compositions.[667] The extreme popularity of Macpherson's Ossian has been thoroughly examined in scholarly works of history, literature, music, poetry and culture and need not be repeated here.[668] Likewise, the controversy surrounding the translations regarding their authenticity and origins has been similarly surveyed, but deserves some brief examination for two reasons.

First, the controversy reinforces the importance of the concept of authenticity in relation to the experiences of travellers in the late eighteenth century. Doctor Johnson was notoriously suspicious of Macpherson's claims. His main argument against Macpherson's claims was that Erse or Scottish Gaelic was "the rude speech of a barbarous people, who had few thoughts to express, and were content…to be grossly understood," and that "the *Earse* never was a written language…that the sounds of the Highlanders were never expressed by letters." He went on to assert "there cannot be recovered, in the whole *Earse* language, five hundred lines of which there is any evidence to prove them a hundred years old."[669] Johnson was concerned that a traveller "with a mind naturally acquiescent, and a credulity eager for wonders" might be taken in by the native Highlanders who were all too eager (in Johnson's opinion) to embrace the spurious Ossianic heritage proffered by Macpherson.[670] While the general consensus regarding Macpherson's translations is that his claims of "two chests more of ancient poetry" were fabricated, there is little doubt that he worked from manuscript collections considerably older than a hundred years, and that the oral traditions he recorded are likely to have been older still.[671] Eliza Dawson reported in her memoirs that her husband, Archibald Fletcher, who grew up in Perthshire remembered hearing Ossianic ballads in his youth.

> The party from Scotland arrived some time in April 1787. Mr. Fletcher was then about forty-three…I remember that the conversation turned much on Ossian's Poems. He was a great admirer of the works ascribed to the Celtic bard, and, to a certain extent, a believer in their authenticity, having heard several of them (or poems of the same description) recited in his youth, before Macpherson translated and gave them to the world in their present form.[672]

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[667] Daverio, "Schumman's Ossianic Manner," 248.
[668] See Burnett and Burnett, *Blind Ossian's Fingal*; Thomas M. Curley, *Samuel Johnson, the* Ossian *Fraud, and the Celtic Revival in Great Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2009); Howard Gaskill, ed., *The Reception of Ossian in Europe* (London, 2004); Dafydd Moore, *Enlightenment and Romance in James Macpherson's* The Poems of Ossian (Aldershot, 2003); Fiona J. Stafford, *The Sublime Savage: A Study of James Macpherson and the Poems of Ossian* (Edinburgh, 1988).
[669] Johnson, *Journey to the Western Islands*, 267-271.
[670] Ibid, 272.
[671] Ibid, 271, Burke, *Popular Culture*, 17; Burnett and Burnett, *Blind Ossian's Fingal*, 26.
[672] Eliza Dawson Fletcher & Lady Mary Fletcher Richardson, *Autobiography of Mrs. Fletcher: With Letters and Other Family Memorials*, (Cambridge, 2010), 34. Incidentally, the Macpherson's *Ossian* played an important role in the courtship of the young Dawson and Mr Fletcher. Though Eliza did not "remember any impression of what is called love at first sight" after the couple's first meeting, Mr Fletcher apparently "could think and talk of nothing but Miss Dawson" and sent her "a handsome copy of Ossian's Poems…with a letter containing some critical remarks upon them, and a request that [Dawson] would honour him with a letter to say how [she] liked the work."

Similarly, Pennant recorded that he was told during his 1769 visit to the Highlands that the local people "still have fragments of the story of *Fingal* and others, which they carrol as they go along; these vocal traditions are the foundation of the works of *Ossian*."[673]

Second, the controversy is clearly indicative of the link between Scottish identity and the figures that represented and developed that identity. Macbeth, King Arthur, William Wallace, and in particular, the characters from the Ossianic fragments helped to create a definition of what was Scottish. In the eighteenth century, Scotland struggled beneath two disparate perceptions. The northern reaches of Britain were seen either as barbaric and backwards, where civilization had floundered in its earliest manifestations, or as a bastion of idyllic primitivism and noble savagery. And, as Johnson's comments suggests, there was a sense that the two were mutually exclusive: until Ossian. Unlike the other literary figures who could only be applied singularly, Ossian and his heroes were multifaceted and able to rectify the two perceptions into one Romantic (and nationalistic) whole. As Burnett and Burnett explain, the themes embodied in Macpherson's translations suggest that "the emerging mid-18th century fashion for politeness, gentility and sentiment was prefigured by Ossian and the Scottish Gaelic past."[674] Likewise the belief in the existence of a heroic Gaelic culture in Scotland's early history gave validity to its remnants. As Harry Liebersohn explains, "indigenous peoples could embody qualities of warrior valor, independence, and honor that were in danger of disappearing within Europe itself" and in the Highlands of Scotland those qualities were still evident.[675] Indeed, one of the underlying themes of the Ossianic *Fragments* was the necessity of maintaining and encouraging the remains of Highland culture, a sentiment which was favourable both to Scottish nationalism and eighteenth-century Romanticism.[676] Alexander Campbell's argument regarding the merits of "fabulous, ancient and modern" histories and the role of oral history demonstrates this most aptly.

> Where oral recitation convey moral instruction, as well as celebrate the actions of heroes, they ought ever to be regarded as the only mode of authentic information that a rude, unlettered people have of preserving an account of themselves to their posterity. This, then, is their history; and, as history is 'philosophy teaching by example,' so, in like manner, oral tradition is calculated to raise in the mind a generous ambition to imitate the heroic deeds, and imbibe the noble glow of sentiment thereby celebrated.[677]

Whether Macpherson worked from authentic fragments, played the ethnographer and collected oral traditions, or fabricated the entire collection is of little importance here. What is important is that the publication of the poems of Ossian created or, as Daverio suggests, resuscitated a Gaelic heritage and

[673] Pennant, *Tour in Scotland, 1769*, 215.
[674] Burnett and Burnett, *Blind Ossian's Fingal*, 30.
[675] Harry Liebersohn, "Discovering Indigenous Nobility: Tocqueville, Chamisso, and Romantic Travel Writing," *The American Historical Review* Vol. 99, No. 3 (Jun. 1994), 748.
[676] Burnett and Burnett, *Blind Ossian's Fingal*, 33; Daverio, "Schumman's Ossianic Manner," 248.
[677] Campbell, *Journey from Edinburgh*, 161.

culture for Scotland that supported a national identity and imparted meaning to the vast wilderness that had formerly deterred visitors.[678]

Conclusion

This development is also a conclusive link between the late medieval pilgrimages in northern Britain and the development of tourism in the late eighteenth century. As Ian Campbell asserts, late-medieval Scotland was particularly "concerned with defining national identity," and one of the key factors indicating this Scottish self-confidence was expressed through "the patterns of pilgrimages in Scotland, [which reflected] increasing devotion to Scottish saints" in the late fifteenth century.[679] Scottish and Celtic saints played a vital role in defining northern identity, and the persistence of devotion to these figures has already been examined. By the end of the eighteenth century, tourist records of overt devotion to Catholic saints, Celtic or otherwise, had almost entirely been replaced by descriptions of scenic and pseudo-historical sites. Many of these sites were associated with figures from myths and legends and their stories and deeds were instrumental in defining northern culture and character. Like the Scottish saints of the late medieval period, the Scottish mythic heroes can be seen as an expression of Scottish national identity of which Ossian might be called the patron. More importantly, the sites devoted to these figures were described and experienced in a manner very like traditional religious pilgrimage shrines. The orientation, decoration and presentation of tourist attractions associated with the literary and mythic history of Scotland mimicked the experience and language of medieval pilgrimage and late eighteenth-century tourists unabashedly utilised such religious terminology in their descriptions of sites both mythic and pagan. While this is, in part, purely stylistic, it also indicates a decisive shift in the concepts of religion and spirituality at the end of the early modern period. The impact and significance of this transition will be discussed in the final chapter.

[678] Daverio, "Schumman's Ossianic Manner," 248.
[679] Ian Campbell, "A Romanesque Revival and the Early Renaissance in Scotland, c, 1380-1513" *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* Vol. 54, No. 3 (Sep. 1995), 303.

Chapter V: Superstition, Savagery and Standing Stones

Introduction

The end of the eighteenth century saw an explosion of interest in the culture and heritage of the Scottish Highlands. This interest was promoted by the publication of James Macpherson's translations of Ossian's poems, and even the controversy surrounding their authenticity served to further their discussion in popular and intellectual circles. However, Macpherson's publications did not appear in a vacuum, nor was interest in the pseudo-historical Celtic Britain indebted only to the poems of Ossian. Indeed, Macpherson and the Romantic movement of the late eighteenth century can be seen as the culmination of nearly two centuries of philosophical and theological debate.[680] By examining the literary and cultural phenomenon that surrounded Macpherson's publications, with particular regard to its manifestation in travel and tourism, one can see the deep-seated impact not only on the social function of religion in post-Reformation Britain, but also its thoroughly spiritual effects. In this way, the purpose of this study – to determine the Reformation's impact on travel in northern Britain – has not only come full circle, but has actually revealed a far more comprehensive pattern. This final chapter will consider how some of the primary aims of the reformation in Britain – particularly the discouragement of veneration and pilgrimage – were not only unsuccessful, but actually allowed pre-Reformation belief patterns to become even more deeply (and irreligiously) ingrained in the act of travel.

To return very briefly to the foundation of this study, historical examinations of medieval pilgrimage have shown that while pilgrimage shrines were not exclusively linked to pre-Christian sites, holy wells, springs and stones were frequently adopted by early British Christians and

[680] For contemporary scholarship and debate on the *Fragments* see: Hugh Blair, *A Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian, Son of Fingal* (London, 1763); James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D., Comprehending an account of his studies and numerous works, in chronological order* (London, 1799); Patrick Graham, *Essay on the Authenticity of the* Poems of Ossian *in which the Objections of Malcolm Laing, Esq. are particularly considered and refuted* (Edinburgh, 1807); Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (London, 1775); Malcolm Laing, *The History of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1802); Malcolm Laing, *The Poems of Ossian, etc.* (Edinburgh, 1805); Henry MacKenzie, *Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland, appointed to inquire into the nature and authenticity of the* Poems of Ossian (Edinburgh, 1805); James Macpherson, *Fragments of Ancient Poetry Collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and Translated from the Gaelic or Erse Language* (Edinburgh, 1760); For modern scholarship on Macpherson, the *Fragments* and the controversy, see: Allan Burnett and Linda Andersson Burnett, eds., *Blind Ossian's Fingal: Fragments and Controversy* (Edinburgh, 2011); Thomas M. Curley, *Samuel Johnson and the Age of Travel* (Athens, 1976); Thomas M. Curley, *Samuel Johnson, the* Ossian *Fraud, and the Celtic Revival in Great Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2009); Leith Davis, Ian Duncan and Janet Sorensen, eds., *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism* (Cambridge, 2004); John Daverio, "Schumann's Ossianic Manner," in *19th-Century Music* Vol. 21, No. 3 (Spring 1998), 247-273; Howard Gaskill, ed., *Ossian Revisited* (Edinburgh, 1991); Howard Gaskill, ed., *The Reception of Ossian in Europe* (London, 2004); Dafydd Moore, *Enlightenment and Romance in James Macpherson's* The Poems of Ossian: *Myth, Genre and Cultural Change* (Aldershot, 2003); Kathryn Temple, *Scandal Nation: Law and Authorship in Britain, 1750-1832* (Ithaca, 2003); Adam Potkay, "Virtue and Manners in Macpherson's Poems of Ossian," *PMLA* Vol. 107, No. 1 (Jan. 1992), 120-130. For Scotland and romanticism, see: David Duff and Catherine Jones, eds., *Scotland, Ireland, and the romantic aesthetic* (Lewisburg, 2007); John Glendening, *The High Road: Romantic Tourism, Scotland, and Literature, 1720-1820* (London, 1997); Nicola Watson, *The Literary Tourist: readers and places in romantic and Victorian Britain* (Basingstoke, 2006).

reassigned to Christian saints.[681] In much the same way, sites associated with popular medieval saints' cults remained prominent features on post-Reformation travel itineraries, though like their pagan-turned-Christian counterparts in the Middle Ages, the formerly venerated shrines, relics and chapels of the late medieval period were reimagined as historical and sociological curiosities by early modern travellers. Even when active veneration or pilgrimage was perpetuated by recusants, Protestant visitors still frequented such sites and, while accounts from the seventeenth century were generally couched in terms of scorn or derision, by the middle and late eighteenth century remnants of Catholic worship were generally described more curiously than critically. The Reformation, then, was unable to thoroughly eradicate either the history or practice of saintly veneration at a significant number of sites, and participation with the cult (either as religious veneration or tourist diversion) remained particularly active in northern Britain. To elaborate, even when traveller's accounts did not record witness of active religious veneration, early modern travellers in northern Britain frequently participated in secularised or, at least, non-confessional versions of these activities. As has been shown in the preceding chapters, eighteenth-century travellers continued to view the bones and relics of patron saints, to accept tokens associated with the saints, and to drink and bathe in the waters of holy wells and springs. In this way the skeletal itinerary of pilgrimage, if not its religious meaning, was preserved. This first and most simple link between late medieval pilgrimage and early modern tourism is also perhaps the most clear and predictable. Though reformative action in both England and Scotland frequently led to the destruction or desecration of sites associated with pilgrimage and veneration of saints, the historical and architectural significance of those that did survive made them interesting to tourists, and the eighteenth-century obsession with the aesthetic of ruins meant that sites that had been reduced to rubble had the added appeal of the Picturesque.

The eighteenth century in particular, however, demonstrates that despite the active discouragement of pilgrimage throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and despite the general shift in the seventeenth century to an ostensibly, if controversially reformed society, the spiritual impetus of pilgrimage remained imbedded within the psyche of travellers. As was deconstructed in the previous chapter, this impetus manifested itself in the creation of Romantic and Picturesque destinations presided over by literary and historical figures who embodied the sentiments of the period – tragic heroism, patriotism and noble savagery. Visitation and veneration of these figures and the sites associated with them mimicked the patterns and tropes of religious pilgrimage and the travellers used religious and spiritual language to describe the feelings of intellectual and spiritual satisfaction that they gained from their experiences. The literary, intellectual and tourist reaction to the emergence of the poems of Ossian in the second half of the eighteenth century can easily be equated with the discovery of a religious relic of the highest order, and indeed, this study

[681] Diana Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England* (London, 2000), 7-10.

goes so far as to argue that Ossian became, in the late eighteenth century, a *de facto* patron saint of Romantic Scotland. Indeed, the importance and popularity of Ossian's Hall near Dunkeld has already been discussed at length in Chapter IV, but suffice it to say that the eighteenth-century manifestation of the hall was almost satirically reminiscent of a shrine. In the eighteenth century, the Hall, falls and Hermitage at Dunkeld created a complex where travellers could experience the scenes associated with the Celtic Bard and his heroes, with particular emphasis on the emotional and artistic reaction of the travellers to the sublime and terrible falls. More importantly, the Hermitage at Dunkeld was not the only Ossianic site that mimicked the experience of a pilgrimage, and the cult of Ossian and his hero Fingal is particularly indicative of the nature of late eighteenth-century engagement with religion. For instance, it is difficult to assert whether the area surrounding the Hermitage was connected to Ossian before the *Fragments* gained popularity but, after the publication of Macpherson's 'translations,' travel accounts begin to mention sites dedicated to Ossian throughout Scotland. Most of the contemporary accounts of these sites suggest that their association with Ossian was original – that is, these caves, falls and stones were called Ossian's or Fingal's because of some vaguely historical relationship perpetuated by local folklore. Some, like Ossian's Cave near Loch Achtriochtan in Glen Coe, are associated with the life of the poet, much in the same way as the birth places and interments of religious saints. Thomas Pennant noted that the glen was "celebrated for having (as some assert) given birth to *Ossian*; [and] towards the North is *Morven*, the country of [Ossian's] hero *Fingal*."[682] Other sites, like a stone circle on the Isle of Arran, were connected to the myths themselves. Patrick Walker was told that one specific stone in the circle was "that to which Fin-ma-cuil tied his dog Braan" and Thomas Pennant claimed that "here are still traditions of the hero *Fingal*, or *Fin-mac-coul*, who is supposed here to have enjoyed the pleasures of the chace; and many places retain his name."[683] Fingal's Cave off the Hebridean island of Staffa is one of the most evocative Ossianic sites in Scotland. It inspired Felix Mendelssohn's *Die Hebriden* overture and, while it became one of the most visited sites in nineteenth-century Scotland, the cave came to the attention of travelers in the late eighteenth century after the naturalist Sir Joseph Banks described it in 1772.[684] Banks claimed that it was named after the Ossianic hero by "the Highlanders, to whom it is known."[685] However, there is also the sense that after the poems of Ossian gained widespread circulation and popularity, certain sites began to be associated with the poems simply through their ability to evoke the spirit of Ossian

[682] Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland in 1769* (London, 1776), 229. Fingal is the Scottish Highland variation of the Irish 'Fionn mac Cumhaill'. For overviews of the traditions of Fionn mac Cumhaill and Celtic mythology in general, see James MacKillop, *Fionn Mac Cumhaill: Celtic Myth in English Literature* (Syracuse, 1986), 47; James MacKillop, *Myths and Legends of the Celts* (London, 2005); Sharon Paice MacLeod, *Celtic Myth and Religion: A Study of Traditional Belief, with Newly Translated Prayers, Poems and Songs* (Jefferson, 2012).
[683] NLS, Adv. Ms. 20.5.1-3, Patrick Walker, *Journals of Tours through Scotland with notes Descriptive and Historical* (1798), 84; Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland, and Voyage to the Hebrides: 1772* (London, 1776), 196.
[684] Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn: The Hebrides and Other Overtures* (Cambridge, 1993), 29.
[685] Sir Joseph Banks, "Description of the Grand Staffa Cavern; or Fingal's Cave," in *The Cabinet of Curiosities, Or Wonders of the World Displayed* Vol. I (New York, 1840), 171.

and many of the diaries include accounts of places that simply reminded the travellers of bits of Macpherson's translations. Walker wrote that near Killmichael on Arran he

> saw nothing new…but was again charmed by the view of a calm sea and a setting sun, which reflecting on the water presented the finest mirror, tinged with all the colours given to the Clouds in a fine evening by the sun, and when contrasted with the dark shadow of the neighboring Mountain of Goatsfield it presented a Scene more beautiful than language can describe. It reminded [him] of those scenes so beautifully described by the inestimable Osian.[686]

Indeed, it is frequently the language and descriptions employed by travellers that show the full extent of the link to pilgrimage. William Gilpin visited Killin in 1776 and noted that the town was "celebrated for being the receptacle of the bones of Fingal. [He was] shewn the place, where tradition says, they were buried: but the traveller must view his tomb with the eye of faith. Not the least monumental fragment remains."[687] Campbell defended the heroes of Celtic myths and legends and wrote that "respecting the moral sentiments of the more ancient Highlanders, if we credit their own testimony, as delineated in their poetical and traditional tales, we must further acknowledge them to be worthy of the veneration in which they are held."[688] Patrick Walker's account of his visit to pre-historic monuments on Arran is even more direct – he writes that early on the morning of 22 August, he and his companion "set out on our Pilgrimage," which consisted of visiting and assessing some of the many standing stones and circles that stand on the island's moors.[689] These places in particular seemed to elicit a spiritual response from travellers and were often described in terms of the Sublime.

The language used by late eighteenth-century tourists embodies the sense of romanticism that such travellers were seeking. However, romanticism did not spring fully-formed out of the pens of Wordsworth or Scott, nor was Scottish romanticism wholly the result of Macpherson's translations. Rather, as has been shown in Chapter III, appreciation of landscape and primitive cultures developed gradually from the end of the seventeenth century into the eighteenth in part because of the emphasis placed on scientific reasoning and rationale. The eighteenth century saw the continued development of the Enlightenment, disseminated throughout Europe and North America by increased publication and intellectual discourse and this among many other things had a deep and profound impact on the understanding of religion and spirituality in the Western world. The Enlightenment had traditionally been regarded as irreligious and revolutionary, but, recent scholarship, and specifically an examination of the philosophical movement in "national contexts," has revised this view and shown that the understanding of Enlightened philosophy varied within nationalistic and regional

[686] Walker, *Journals of a Tour*, 111.
[687] Gilpin, *Observations, 1776*, 168-69.
[688] Campbell, *Journey from Edinburgh*, 180-81.
[689] Walker, *Journals of a Tour*, 96.

perspectives.[690] In particular, Enlightened thinkers like Immanuel Kant championed the application of reason to all aspects of life, including (and especially in regard to) religion.[691] While a few adherents of the Enlightenment began to reject traditional Judeo-Christian religions, others applied reason and logic in an attempt to rectify the contradictions between faith and science and, as Martin Fitzpatrick asserts, enlightened religious views could be "characterised as rational, tolerant and non-mysterious."[692] One of the results of this, especially in England, was a general shift from established, dogmatic and prescriptive religious worship to a more personally involved and evolved spirituality, at least in the demographic of those who were engaging in leisure travel and tourism during the eighteenth century.[693] The itineraries of late eighteenth-century Romantic travellers are full of religious and spiritual imagery which is tied up in the Sublime and Picturesque, and their accounts make evident this shift which also reinforces the link between late medieval pilgrimage and early modern tourism. Travellers from the late eighteenth century, like their late-medieval pilgrim counterparts, were travelling in search of spiritual fulfilment, but whereas the medieval pilgrims found respite in contact with relics and statues, eighteenth-century travellers on northern British itineraries found theirs in the rocks, trees and scenery of imagined Scotland.

The final link between medieval pilgrimage and early modern tourism is more tenuous. The itineraries of eighteenth century travellers provide a concrete, spatial link between medieval pilgrimage and tourism, and the intellectual and philosophical developments of the same period give insight into how these spaces were experienced and why they were considered worthwhile destinations. This final chapter will examine the intersection of these two elements in the late eighteenth century and consider how the religious reformation that marked the end of the medieval period allowed for the transition to the early modern tourist experience. The examination of this intersection will also demonstrate that the Reformation (or more accurately, the reformations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) was wholly unsuccessful in eliminating or even effectively policing those features of late-medieval religion that applied directly to pilgrimage – namely, the association of spiritual benefit to the act of peregrination, the creation and veneration of iconic figures and the perceived value in acquiring mindful objects associated with the spiritual benefits accrued on the journey. While these were almost certainly subconsciously reimagined, they continued to play an essential role in the impetus to travel. More importantly, this chapter will expand upon the premise

[690] Knud Haakonssen, ed. *Enlightenment and Religion: Rational Dissent in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge, 1996), 2-4.
[691] Roger J. Sullivan, *Immanuel Kant's Moral Theory* (Cambridge, 1989), 261-63.
[692] Harry P. Kroitor, "Coper, Deism, and the Divinization of Nature," *Journal of the History of Ideas* Vol.21 No.4 (Oct.-Dec. 1960), 511-12; Martin Fitzpatrick, "The Enlightenment, politics and providence: some Scottish and English comparisons," in Haakonssen, *Enlightenment and Religion*, 64.
[693] W. M. Jacob, *Lay People and Religion in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1996), 18. For an examination of the class divide between enlightened and conservative religious beliefs in Scotland, see Luke Brekke, "Heretics in the Pulpit, Inquisitors in the Pews: The Long Reformation and the Scottish Enlightenment," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* Vol. 44, No. 1 (Fall 2010), 79-98.

established in the previous chapters – that the association of specific places with fictional characters and the religious overtones of the aesthetic and art coalesced into a 'Romantic Pilgrimage' – and will consider how this can demonstrate the extent of the Reformation's influence on travel in northern Britain.

This examination has been, and will continue to be, based on the first-hand, written accounts of eighteenth-century tourists. This choice of source material has been a conscious effort to approach the issues from a new perspective, as much has been done and surmised from studies of church and parish records, the diaries and letters of religious activists and published materials from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. And while this study does not explicitly embrace a revisionist view of Reformation history, there is a certain element of revisionist methodology herein. Specifically, historians such as Eamon Duffy, Nicholas Tyacke and Jonathan Barry have shown the value in approaching the Reformation from outwith the sixteenth century, and especially from examining the developments of the eighteenth century in the light of earlier religious, social and political interactions. This backward-looking methodology, that is, examining evidence from the eighteenth century to determine the course of the Reformation through the end of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is particularly important to a study of leisure travel. Firstly because the source material for travel (diaries and letters) became far more prevalent and self-reflective in the eighteenth century. This increase in source material also means that the diaries and letters offer a much more detailed cross-section of the population. Secondly, as Barry stated in his case study of Bristol, viewing the Reformation "not as an outcome, but rather as the interplay of a set of issues" can give a sense of how the Reformation interacted with and developed "the identities of communities."[694] In the instance of the study at hand identity plays a central role particularly as it relates to both the experience of and reasons for travelling and the understanding of developing concepts of national, regional and local identity as a result of the developments of the early modern period. This study argues that by examining trends and developments within the activity of leisure travel in the long eighteenth century, one can actually assess the out-workings of the social, political and cultural impact of the Reformation.

This all circles back to the final link between late medieval pilgrimage and early modern tourism. This study has already shown that tourist routes continued to follow former pilgrimage paths and utilise former pilgrimage shrines. It has examined the ways that, in the absence of doctrinal religious impetus for travel, early modern tourists created secular pilgrimage sites and saints and reinforced travel's spiritual elements through the use of both conscious and subconscious religious language and descriptions. In the last chapter specifically, major themes associated with late

[694] Jonathan Barry, "Bristol as a "Reformation City" c. 1640-1780," in Nicholas Tyacke ed., *England's Long Reformation 1500-1800* (Bristol 1998), 261.

eighteenth-century travel were traced to both the Enlightenment and the Romantic movement in art, literature and culture. And while the Romantic movement has traditionally been seen as a reaction to the unflinching logic and rationality of the Enlightenment, this study takes the stance that both were a response to the purported chaos and doctrinal intolerance wrought by the Reformation.[695] Indeed, in the context of developing tourism in Northern Britain the Romantic movement may have rejected much of the rationality of the Enlightenment in favour of sentimentality, but in actual practice the creation of Romantic itineraries by travellers was a means of applying Enlightenment sentiments of self-criticism, exploration and reason to an act which was at heart spiritual and emotional.[696]

Antiquarians and the 'Discovery' of Pre-historic Britain

The final link between late medieval pilgrimage and eighteenth century tourism demonstrates the combination of Enlightenment reasoning with Romantic sentiment. The eighteenth century, and particularly its second half, is for many reasons a very clear marker of the transition towards modernity. While most of the scientific and academic fields that shape the understanding of the modern world would coalesce in the nineteenth century, their roots can be found in the long-eighteenth century passion for defining, understanding and categorising the natural world as was manifest first in the republic of letters as the forerunner of the Enlightenment.[697] This study has already shown how eighteenth-century tourists frequently played ethnographer in their accounts of local people and customs.[698] James Macpherson's likely methodology for the collection of his *Fragments* can be seen as early anthropology and Macpherson was hardly the only interested party. As Peter Burke has outlined in *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, the end of the eighteenth century marked the beginning of formalised interest in and collection of popular or *folk* culture – indeed, Burke terms it the "cult of the people" and cites such figures as Rousseau, Boswell, Johnson and Goethe as proponents of "cultural primitivism."[699] Primitivism has already been discussed in this study in the light of artistic appreciation of ruins and pastoral scenes. However, primitivism

[695] See Whitney R.D. Jones, *The Tree of Commonwealth, 1450-1793* (London, 2000), 173-77; Haakonssen, *Enlightenment and Religion*, 3-4; J.G.A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion: Volume 3, the First Decline and Fall* (Cambridge, 2003), 372-382; J.G.A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion: Volume 5, Religion: The First Triumph* (Cambridge, 2010), 215-22; Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (Yale, 2002).
[696] For English travellers, this balance may still have been essentially an unconscious outworking of a general diffusion of Enlightenment ideas inspired by various social and cultural movements. As Haakonssen has outlined, the English Enlightenment was not nearly as unified as the French, Scottish or German movements (Haakonssen, *Enlightenment and Religion*, 3).
[697] See Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650-1750* (Oxford, 2001); David N. Livingstone and Charles V.J. Withers, eds., *Geography and Enlightenment* (Chicago, 1999); Nathaniel Wolloch, *History and Nature in the Enlightenment: Praise of the Mastery of Nature in Eighteenth-Century Historical Literature* (Farnham, 2011).
[698] See Pennant, *Tour in Scotland 1769*; Richard Pococke, *Tours in Scotland, 1747, 1750, 1760*, ed. Daniel William Kemp (Edinburgh, 1887), 1. Pockocke's tours are filled with antiquarian observations, often at the expense of more pertinent analysis of socio-economic issues though his prejudice against the Scots is quite apparent.
[699] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 1978), 10.

indiscriminately included "the ancient, the distant and the popular," and in the instances of late eighteenth-century tourism, this expanded to include prehistoric monuments as well as medieval ruins, literary scenes and picturesque natives. The late eighteenth-century 'discovery' of prehistoric monuments in Britain marks the final link between pilgrimage and tourism because these sites – standing stones, megaliths, henges, cairns and dolmens – were understood and described by eighteenth-century travellers in a way that combined ideas of reason, Romanticism and emerging national identity.

To say that these prehistoric monuments were discovered in the late eighteenth century is obviously an exaggeration. The earliest known account of Stonehenge, for instance, comes from the twelfth-century *Historia Regum Britanniae* written by Geoffrey of Monmouth who attributed the stone circle's construction to Merlin.[700] Geoffrey of Monmouth's account, which places the circle's origins in Ireland and its construction on Salisbury Plain in the fifth century A.D. is archaeologically unsound. Regardless, Geoffrey's contribution brought the stone circle into prominence (his version of the circle's origins was repeated almost verbatim in most subsequent accounts until the end of the seventeenth century) and was likely influenced by local folklore.[701] This link to folklore is evident in accounts from the eighteenth century. Unlike some of the tourist destinations already mentioned, pre-historic sites like standing stones and cairns were not as frequented as sites like ruined abbeys and cathedrals. They were, and still are, typically more out of the way or required some intrepid exploration. However, a few travellers like Thomas Pennant did make the effort to visit and describe numerous sites and most of the travellers encountered, at one point or another, a pre-historic monument that was fortunate enough to be close to the road. It is precisely these encounters which demonstrate that prehistoric monuments were experienced and understood in a way that bridged the gap between the scientific and the supernatural.

Eliza Dawson passed by the Devil's Arrows near Boroughbridge in North Yorkshire early in her 1786 journey. Dawson's account of her visit to the stones is perfectly indicative of the late eighteenth-century traveller's interaction with pre-historic sites. First, as noted above, tourists rarely 'stumbled upon' megaliths and standing stones and Dawson's comments indicate that she was aware of the stones existence prior to arriving in Boroughbridge. The first thing that Dawson and her companions did in Boroughbridge (after ordering breakfast) was to enquire as to the location of the stones. Dawson's description suggests that her acquaintance with the stones was, at least in part, due to familiarity with William Camden's *Britannia*, though it is unclear whether she was reading a Latin or English translation. Regardless, Dawson's description of the stones echoes Camden's account. Dawson describes them as "great curiosities – there are three almost in a direct line. The first is by far

[700] L.V. Grinsell, "The Legendary History and Folklore of Stonehenge," *Folklore* Vol. 87, No. 1 (1976), 5.
[701] Ibid, 7.

the largest in circumference…The other is considerably higher and of a pyramidical form. The last resembles it, only not quite so high."[702] This is easily compared to Camden's report which noted that:

> [W]ee saw in three divers little fields foure huge stones of pyramidall forme, but very rudely wrought, set as it were in a streight and direct line. The two Pyramides in the middest, whereof the one was lately pulled downe by some that hoped, though in vaine, to finde treasure, did almost touch one another. The uttermore stand not far off, yet almost in equall distance from these on both sides.[703]

The significance of both alluding to and following the travel recommendations of earlier journeys in regards to the concept of authenticity has already been discussed in Chapter IV. In the case of the Devil's Arrows, their mention in Camden provides the travellers with a guide to viewing a unique and curious site, although the travellers experienced the stones directly and applied scientific reasoning to their observations. This scientific approach is the second element to eighteenth-century tourists' interaction with pre-historic sites. Dawson's uncle and cousin took the measurements of the stones (and were accurate within a foot) and Dawson interviewed the waiter at the inn to gather an account of the local stories surrounding the stones. Dawson's transcription of the interview is both enlightening and entertaining:

> I was curious to know what were the ideas of the common people as I suppos'd their conjectures would be nearly as <u>wonderful</u> as the cause which excited them…I ask'd the waiter what was the general Idea of them. Ma'am (replied he making an obsequious bow) <u>They say</u> they were shot from <u>Hamilton Hills</u>. What makes them entertain that notion, said I? Because Ma'am (<u>bowing again</u>) they are the same kind of stone that is found there – this was a more reasonable answer than I expect'd – some of the most superstitious assert that they have been shot by the Devil when he was in a [fit?] with Boroughbridge.[704]

Here one can see that though Dawson had likely read Camden's account of the stones, which discounted the "fables of the common people, who call them the Devills Bolts" and was "of [the] opinion with some that they were monuments of [a] victorie erected by the Romans hard by the high street that went this way," she was anxious to decide for herself based on her own experiences.[705] She had seen the stones and heard the waiter's explanation of their origin, but while she found the waiter's story 'reasonable,' in the end Dawson decided that the "likely conjecture is that they are a composition and have been erected to commemorate the actions of some Great Men."[706] Nevertheless, one gets the sense from reading Dawson's description that she is slightly disappointed in this reasonable explanation and almost hoped that the local explanation would be delightfully supernatural and romantic.

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[702] NLS, Acc. 12017, Eliza Dawson, *A Tour through part of England and Scotland, by Eliza Dawson in the Year 1786*," *(diary of a sixteen-year-old girl),* by permission of Dr. & Mrs. Murphey, 1. Transcribed by author.
[703] William Camden, *Britain, or, a Chorographicall Description of the most flourishing Kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, VBTT*.
[704] Dawson, *Tour*, 1-2. Underlines are Dawson's own.
[705] Camden, *Britain*.
[706] Dawson, *Tour*, 2.

Indeed, where earlier descriptions like those of Camden and John Leland dismissed folklore-based explanations for the origin of standing stones such as the Devil's Arrows or failed to note them altogether, eighteenth-century accounts are more apt to at least acknowledge the local legends and customs surrounding pre-historic remains.[707] Some, like the letter "Antiquities found in Yorkshire," which mentions the Devil's Arrows and was included in the mid-eighteenth century edition of Leland's *Itinerary* asserted that "the Regularity of these Monuments show that they belonged to some polite Nation, which we cannot allow the Britains to be, 'till they became Scholars to the Romans. And of a lower date [than the Roman Occupation] no Antiquary will allow them to be." Indeed, it was difficult for seventeenth and early eighteenth-century antiquarians to comprehend how the pre-Roman inhabitants of the British Isles could have conceived of and constructed the numerous pre-historic monuments that dotted the landscape. Some, like Robertson assumed they had to have been left by Romans. Others attributed them to the Norse invaders or the Picts. But the majority of travelers who encountered pre-historic monuments in northern Britain associated them with those bugbears of the Celtic world – the notorious, ubiquitous and decidedly romantic Druids.

Oak Trees and Mistletoe: Druids in Ancient Britain

The association of pre-historic monuments with Druids was certainly not an eighteenth-century invention and "the British relationship with Druids has been a long and complex one."[708] Ronald Hutton cites the sixteenth century as the beginning of British interest in Druids and William Camden attributed the absence of pre-Roman historical records in Britain to the

> Druidae, who being in olde time the Priests of the Britans and Gaules, were supposed to have knowen all that was past; and the Bardi, that used to resound in song all valorous and noble acts, thought it not lawfull to write and booke any thing…[and had they] recorded ought, in so long continuance of time, in so many and so great turnings and overturnings of States, doubtless the same had been utterly lost, seeing that the very stones, pyramides, obelisks, and other memorable monuments, thought to be more durable than brasse, have yeelded long agoe to the iniquitie of time.[709]

Camden discusses the Druids at length in the first few chapters of his *Britannia*, but he provides little in the way of original research on the subject and confines himself simply to extracting accounts from Roman and Greek sources. He does cite Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of the founding of Britain, whom Camden "would not pronounce in his behalf liable to [the] suspicion" of writing history "after his owne conceit and capacitie."[710] Nevertheless, Camden's account of the priestly class of the pre-Roman inhabitants of Britain was standard medieval fare and did little to dispel the idea that they

[707] Rob. Robertson, "Antiquities found in Yorkshire," in John Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland,* Vol I ed. Thomas Hearne (Oxford 1763), 148.
[708] Ronald Hutton, *Blood and Mistletoe: The History of the Druids in Britain* (New Haven, 2009), x.
[709] Hutton, *Blood and Mistletoe*, 193; Camden, *Britain*.
[710] Ibid. Of course, as Hutton notes, by the fourth century "Druids had achieved the transformation that Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans were to undergo many centuries later: from being regarded as saves and menaces to being viewed as romantic and admirable" (Hutton, *Blood and Mistletoe*, 22).

were unlettered and practiced human sacrifice. Camden was careful, however, to emphasize that the Gauls of France sought learning with the British Druids and that "Britaine was twice Schole-mistres to France, meaning by the Druidae and Alcuinus."[711]

Camden's emphasis here demonstrates the way that heritage and history were and still are used to define identity and bolster national ideologies and that such use, as David C. Harvey argues "should be understood as a *process*, related to human action and agency, and as an instrument of cultural power in whatever period of time one chooses to examine."[712] Indeed, Camden's endorsement of Monmouth implies even in the seventeenth century, scholars were aware that history was frequently requisitioned for political and personal promotion. While histories in general have been used in this way, one particular feature of the historical landscape – ancient, pre-historical sites - is perhaps more vulnerable than others to "a multiplicity of readings" and, as Harvey attests, their interpretation is often most useful in telling us "something about the people who wrote them; their ideas, times and sense of identification."[713] This is most certainly applicable to the emergence of systemized antiquarian study in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and lends vital insight into the late eighteenth-century fascination with Druids.[714]

Antiquarians and the study of antiquity gained scholarly merit in the later seventeenth century, and as Rosemary Sweet states, was "a significant aspect of eighteenth-century culture" that helps to clarify "our understanding of the development of national identities, the creation of a national heritage, and the emergence of the ethos of preservationism."[715] Sweet's article is an attempt to "argue for a more positive evaluation of antiquarian studies in England in the second half of the eighteenth century" in large part because mid twentieth-century historians felt that during the eighteenth century the field had devolved and declined.[716] Though Sweet's argument is aimed at resurrecting the career of the late eighteenth-century antiquarian, Richard Gough (1735-1809), it is also of some consequence to the study at hand, especially in relation to the formulation of "ethnic

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[711] Ibid. Camden is here citing Caesar, who "recorded that the Guals believed that the 'rule of life' of the Druids had first been developed in Britain…[and] that those who wanted to learn most diligently…still went there to study" (Hutton, *Blood and Mistletoe*, 2-3). See also Julius Caesar, "Book VI," *The Gallic War*, ed. T.N.R. Rogers (Mineola, 2006), 103.

[712] David C. Harvey, "'National' Identities and the Politics of Ancient Heritage: Continuity and Change at Ancient Monuments in Britain and Ireland, c. 1675-1850," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, Vol. 28, No. 4 (Dec. 2003), 475.

[713] Ibid.

[714] Incidentally, Hutton notes that many of the ancient accounts like Caesar, Strabo and Pliny were likely written with a specific agenda and may have been distorted or exaggerated for personal or political purposes. Essentially the extant written evidence for Druids, or "Druidry," provides more insight into the civilisations documenting the history of the Druids than it does actual historical evidence for an elite class of Gallo-Brittonic priests (Hutton, *Blood and Mistletoe*, 4-8).

[715] Rosemary Sweet, "Antiquaries and Antiquities in Eighteenth-Century England," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* Vol. 34, No. 2 (Winter 2001), 182.

[716] Ibid, 183.

identity and loyalty [which] were most clearly expressed in cultural matters, above all in history and antiquarianism."[717] Twentieth-century historiography and nineteenth-century caricatures may have dismissed the activities and views of eighteenth-century antiquarians as "conjectural and literary," but that is precisely what made the study of antiquities accessible to eighteenth-century romantic tourists and as Sweet argues, "antiquarianism was a pervasive and essential constituent of the contemporary pursuit of art and literature…[and] the institutionalized study of antiquarianism had always to maintain a delicate balance between scholarship and taste."[718]

Antiquarianism in the second half of the eighteenth century was most definitely tied up with taste, and clearly demonstrated the concerns and trends developing within society. Indeed, as has already been discussed in the context of Macpherson and Ossian, interest in northern Britain's pre-historical past was inherently linked with emerging concepts of national identity and pre-historic monuments played an important role, especially as the diffusion of the Enlightenment into education had encouraged many to take a more scientific approach to "explain their use and function."[719] As this study has already demonstrated, early modern travellers' descriptions of Scottish, and particularly Highland, culture could often be very demeaning and prejudiced; similarly, the 'scientific method' applied to the study of Scotland's ancient pre-history often helped to corroborate xenophobic assumptions and preconceptions of the primitiveness of Highland society. However, interest in northern British antiquity, and specifically those aspects that dealt with pre-Christian Celtic superstitions and beliefs, can also be seen as an outworking of anxieties surrounding the place and function of religion in an increasingly enlightened and religiously tolerant society. Harvey's study has reiterated that "ancient monuments were often recognized and used to convey an unassailable sense of legitimacy and permanence to a range of pre-modern institutions and, particularly, the Church," and that the new 'scientific method' of examining such sites, which was fostered by the Enlightenment could and did use "the vehicle of the nation to account for and categorize ancient sites."[720] To put it more simply, the Enlightenment not only provided justification for the study (both official and amateur) of ancient monuments but gave those studying such sites the license and means of interpreting ancient sites to substantiate their own social, political and religious perceptions. And with the emergence of Romanticism in the second half of the eighteenth century, antiquarianism and the study of primitive (and ancient) cultures provided a counterbalance to the rationale of the scientific

[717] Philip Jenkins, "Seventeenth-century Wales: definition and identity," in Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts eds., *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533-1707* (Cambridge, 1998), 219. Jenkins uses the example of Edward Lhuyd, whose "patriotic agenda" permeated his antiquarian research. See also Tony Claydon and Ian McBride, eds., *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c. 1650-c.1850* (Cambridge, 1998); Eric Hobsbawm and Terrance Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983); Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London, 2004).
[718] Sweet, "Antiquaries and Antiquities," 183.
[719] Harvey, "'National' Identities," 477.
[720] Ibid.

method. Though Hutton asserts that "the Romantic concept of Druidry had little time for the prehistoric remains which were central to the antiquarian one," the diaries examined in this study demonstrate that the itinerary of Romantic tourism gave those inclined the chance to combine a spiritual and intellectual understanding of Britain's pseudo-historic past.[721]

The diaries and journals examined throughout this study are full of amateur (and occasionally accomplished) antiquarianism. Bishop Richard Pococke's epistolary account of his tours in 1747, 1750 and especially 1760 are a veritable catalogue of Scotland's antiquities, including extensive illustrations of the architecture and artifacts the English bishop encountered.[722] Eliza Dawson, who has already been shown to be an enthusiastic archaeologist from her visit to the Devil's Arrows at Boroughbridge, indulged herself in a bit of historical research while at Durham Cathedral. Just before she was shown the casket and relics of St Cuthbert (the discussion of which can be found in Chapter One,) Dawson was given access to "an ancient manuscript…concerning the founding of [Durham Cathedral]" and was given leave to copy a passage from its pages.[723] Dawson copied it "literally" and then proceeded to comment on the "very great contradiction" put forth by the said passage regarding the founding of the cathedral and the succession of its bishops.[724] Here Dawson uses her foray into antiquarianism to demonstrate how she and her companions used reason and intellect to inform their viewing of religious artifacts at the Cathedral. As mentioned in Chapter One Dawson was skeptical of the claims made by the person who showed her and her companions St. Cuthbert's relics. Indeed the group was shown "a shoe and spur…[t]he former measures 14 inches and ¾ in length and is of proportional Breadth" but Dawson's uncle "measured [the shoe] himself otherwise [they] could not have believed it."[725] Sarah Murray completed some similar scholarship on her tour of Scotland and her account mirrors Dawson's in that they both actively participate, but maintain a sense of scepticism in their description of the events. She visited the Lee Place near Lanark and was shown "a curiosity of many virtues," otherwise known as the Lee Penny.[726] The lady of the house allowed Murray to "take a copy of its history," the transcription of which occupied five pages of Murray's diary.[727] After seeing the remarkable stone, Murray and at least one other visitor partook of wine in which the Penny had been dipped three times. But though "the ceremony...was performed with all due solemnity…as neither disease existed, nor faith accompanied the operation, no effect was produced from it."[728] There is the sense that part of the appeal and profusion of amateur antiquarianism that appears in the mid to late-eighteenth century travel accounts is that travellers were unwilling to accept at face-value

[721] Hutton, *Blood and Mistletoe*, 112.
[722] Pococke, *Tours through Scotland*, 11- 350.
[723] Dawson, *Tour*, 5.
[724] Ibid.
[725] Ibid, 6.
[726] Sarah Murray, *A Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland* (London, 1799), 383.
[727] Ibid.
[728] Ibid, 388.

the sites and wonders that were presented to them. While these unabashedly dilettante scholars, by the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, would be overwhelmingly lampooned in popular culture and other travel accounts as "common travelling antiquarians…[concerned with] insects, shells, feathers and druidical remains," their activities reinforce the importance of authenticity, reason and experience within the context of eighteenth-century travel.[729]

Standing Stones and Druid Temples

These forays into antiquarianism by tourists are often clearly demonstrative of late eighteenth-century travellers' interaction with religion and superstition. The examples above show that both Dawson and Murray were perfectly comfortable (and in Dawson's case, rather offhand) about interacting with the remnants of the superstitious that they encountered. This pattern has already been discussed in Chapter III; however, it is interesting to consider the late eighteenth-century tolerance of and interaction with pre-Reformation religious practices and folk superstitions in the light of the appreciation for antiquities and antiquarian study in relation to travel. Not only did antiquities and ancient sites make for picturesque viewing because of the 'roughness' of their appearance, but the emerging fields of archaeology and anthropology drew conclusions that lent deeply Romantic and Gothic elements to such sites. Antiquarian studies of pre-historic monuments in Britain like those of John Aubrey and William Stukeley, in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries erroneously concluded that standing stones, stone circles, cairns and other pre-historic remains had been the work of the pre-Roman inhabitants of the island. Modern archaeology has shown that this technically is true: the people that constructed Stonehenge and the majority of the other megalithic monuments in Britain did pre-date the Romans, but they did so by several millennia, rather than the few hundred years postulated by seventeenth and eighteenth-century antiquarians. Indeed, as noted earlier in this chapter, some antiquarians even doubted that the megaliths could have been constructed by the supposedly primitive people that the Romans encountered and persisted in claiming that the standing stones and circles were the Roman monuments erected in honour of battles or leaders.[730] Nevertheless, by the late-eighteenth century the common consensus was that megalithic monuments were indeed the work of the Druids. Most eighteenth-century accounts of stone circles refer to them as Druidical Temples or druidical remains. *Macfarlane's Geographical Collections* contain at least

[729] John Lane Buchanan, Reverend, *Travels in the Western Hebrides from 1782 to 1790* (London, 1793), 189. Buchanan is here directly criticizing Thomas Pennant, the "certain Welsh traveller" whose attention was "so much attracted" by these "whirligigs of nature."

[730] James Brome, *Travels over England, Scotland, and Wales: giving a true and exact description…Together with Antiquities* (London, 1707), 44-45. James Brome's 1669 account of his tour through England, Scotland and Wales gives a detailed description of Stonehenge and comments on the speculation that stones "were Artificially cemented into that hard and durable Substance from some large Congeries of Sand, and other unctuous Matter mixt together;" likewise, while Brome does not attribute the monument to druids, he does believes they may be "a Trophy of some Memorable Victory thereabouts obtain'd…by *Uter Pendragon*;…or…by *Arthur* the Valient."

five direct references to Druidical remains in relation to standing stones or circles.[731] On Iona Bishop Pococke visits what was said to be "the first buildings St. Columb erected" on the island; however, the bishop contradicts this belief and asserts that they are "the remains of a Druid Temple, and the rather, as [Iona] was anciently called Inish Drunish, or the Isle of the Druids."[732] Benjamin Silliman called Stonehenge "a grand temple of the British Druids."[733] After leaving Keswick Thomas Thornton noted a "Druid Temple, so much celebrated by all our antiquaries; and of which so many descriptions have been published, that [he and his companions] regretted the less [their] want of time to repair to it."[734] This 'Temple' was in fact the impressive and romantic Castlerigg stone circle in Cumbria. Despite its impressive size the circle remained relatively unknown until the eighteenth century when it was surveyed by William Stukeley, likely one of the antiquarians to whom Thornton refers. Samuel Heinrich Spiker also visited Castlerigg during his 1816 journey and while Thornton felt the extant descriptions adequate, Spiker gave his own detailed account of the "Druidical temple":

> It consists in all of thirty-six stones, of different sizes placed at due distances from each other so as to form a perfect circle; and within this circle a square is formed by some other stones, which come in contact with one part of it. All the stones are of the greenish Wacke kind, which is abundant in these parts.[735]

Spiker also visited Stonehenge, the Giant's Grave near Penrith and the megalithic remains outside Cerrig y Druidian in Wales. Spiker's account of this last site is particularly interesting because the area was converted to a reservoir in the early twentieth century and modern guides make no mention of stones or any other pre-historic remains, though Spiker was informed that "several Druidical monuments" were to be found in the area.[736] According to Spiker, he and his companions spoke with the man who "had acted as guide to [Thomas Pennant]" who Spiker calls "the celebrated English topographer."[737] Patrick Walker's visit to Arran in 1798 included a survey of the island's megalithic remains, all of which Walker named 'druidical,' though his visit to the stones located near Torlean

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[731] Walter Macfarlane, *Geographical Collections Relating to Scotland* Vol. I (Edinburgh, 1903), 30, 57, 202-3, 242, 245, 257. Mr. Gordon and Mr. William Robertson reported "several Druids Altars" near Machers haugh in Kildrumie. Aucheries records a stone circle in Rathen that is speculated to have "been a place of worship among the Druids in time of Paganism." Mr. Oliphant, the minister of Week, described several "circular edifices built of dry stone…which are supposed to be idolatrous temples built by the Druids" in Creich. The parish of Belly could boast of at least two sites "reckoned places of worship of the old Druides," while "the standing stones of Newton…[were] suppos'd to be the place of religious worship of Pagan Druides." The *Geographical Collections* also contain numerous references to standing stones, stone circles, cairns, and other ancient monuments "supposed to have been in very ancient times, places of worship."
[732] Pococke, *Tours through Scotland*, 85.
[733] Benjamin Silliman, *A Journal of Travels in England, Holland and Scotland, and of Two Passages over the Atlantic in the Years 1805 and 1806*, Vol. II (New York, 1810), 87.
[734]Thomas Thornton, *A Sporting Tour Through the Northern Parts of England and a Great Part of the Highlands of Scotland* (London, 1804), 284.
[735] Samuel Heinrich Spiker, *Travels through England, Wales, & Scotland, in the year 1816* Vol. I (London, 1820), 266.
[736] Ibid, 43.
[737] Ibid.

(modern: Torlin or Torrylin) demonstrates that the action of antiquarian research allowed Walker to question this categorisation.

> [N]ear the sea shore I saw what I supposed to be remaining stone of some druidical Temple …I was rather at a loss to think what kind of place this could have been as the stones were not placed in a circular form as in druidical relicts: the situation of the places looked more like a place of defense. The stones were of irregular shapes and distances nor were the biggest of them above four feet and a half high. The whole is situated on a little hill…defended by a steep bank and a small river, the rest seemed to have been inclosed with a sod fence beyond the stones…The standing stones are composed of Porphiry. Within the enclosure of stones were several oblong squares cut pretty deep in the earth, having the appearance of burial places, and their sides cased with ruff Blocks of the same kind of Porphiry. I now began to think it some place of burial and that these oblong Squares were the coffins intended to contain the urns with the ashes of the deceased…My conjecture about the first hill being a place of burial at one time or other, were confirmed by what I now found was the name of that range of Hills which were, I think called in Gaelic Kage-ball-e-vouz-nieel which signifies the Burying Hills, but the tradition and reason for calling them so I could not learn. [738]

Walker was very interested in Arran's pre-historic remains and completed a great deal of antiquarian research regarding certain stones and circles that took his fancy. For instance, during one of his bird-hunting expeditions Walker "saw a pretty large Druidical stone [he] had not before observed," and after spending the afternoon preserving the birds he had shot, Walker returned to examine the stone. It was

> placed close by the road in the belting of firs at the entry to Glenclay. It is a large red coloured sandstone which must have been carried from the Brodick shore; it is astonishing how in those days without machinery they have been able to cut, carry and rear on end such vast masses: the idea the natives have of them is ridiculous enough namely that they were all thrown from the summit of Goatfield by a race of Giants who once inhabited this island. [Walker] measured this stone and found it to be above ground 12 feet high, five feet broad, and 22 inches deep or thick, with such dimensions allowing a third to be under ground of its height above the surface, which it will require at the least to support it, its weight must be very great indeed.[739]

Walker's interaction with the standing stones or 'druidical remains,' appears very scientific and academic. His excursion on Arran seems to have been primarily one of leisure – specifically, Walker spent most of his time walking though he did a fair bit of hunting and quite a lot of observation on the natural and cultural attractions of the island. He and his companion even found time to be "insulted and ill used by [the local minister's] Parishioners" which apparently led to a court case in Broderick.[740] Indeed, Walker's journal presents an excellent example of the amateur antiquarian and naturalist on a tour, and demonstrates quite clearly that pre-historic remains were one of the primary interests of such a tourist.

[738] Walker, *Journals of a Tour*, 96-98.
[739] Ibid, 103-105.
[740] Ibid, 34.

Pre-historic megaliths, however, were not only of interest to the casual antiquarian because of their historical merit – indeed, eighteenth-century antiquarianism, particularly that practiced by tourists frequently crossed over into early anthropology and ethnography. Walker's passage above mentions the 'ridiculous ideas' that the local people held regarding the stone's origins and many of the travellers who encounter 'druidical remains' also comment on the monuments' association with superstition and folklore. And while these traditions were often associated with the romantic and picturesque, in some cases they are also particularly revealing of tourists' perceptions of local people and the merits (or lack thereof) of their culture and heritage. One only needs to glance at the Old Statistical Account of Scotland to understand that remnants of the past were considered important aspects both of the landscape and of the local culture. At least half of the parish reports contain a section dedicated to a description (and occasionally historical explanation) of the local 'antiquities,' which ranged from the ruins of pre-Reformation abbeys and chapels to pre-historic sites like Pictish crosses or standing stones. While these descriptions were not specifically intended to guide tourists, they do indicate that these features were considered noteworthy. Likewise, the references within the Statistical Account occasionally make note of travel guides that mention specific sites indicating that there was an awareness that these monuments were of particular interest to non-local visitors. The account for the parish of Chapel of Garioch for instance notes that the Maiden Stone near the church has "several curious hierogryphical figures cut upon it, which are described in Pennant's Tour, and an elegant plate of them given."[741] The Old Statistical Account contains a wealth of information regarding the state of pre-historic monuments at the end of the eighteenth century, but for the present study is mainly useful for confirming (or refuting) travellers' accounts of various sites, and for adding statistical commentary on the social and cultural analysis that tourists often included in their descriptions.[742]

[741]John Shand, Revered, "Parish of Chapel of Garioch," *SAS* Vol. 11, 504.

[742] As noted earlier, tourists travelling after the publication of Samuel Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* were often keen to disprove the esteemed Doctor's claims and the clergy who surveyed the parishes of Scotland for the Sinclair's 1791-99 Statistical Account were no exception. Their contradictions regularly serve to defend and promote the situation and reputation of their respective parishes. Reverend John Johnstone, "Parish of Crossmichael," *SAS* Vol. 1, 180, "flatly [contradicts]" the "high authority" of Johnson regarding the breeding and appearance of cattle in the parish. Reverend Donald McNicol, "United Parishes of Lismore and Appin," *SAS* Vol. 1, 494, ridicules Johnson's 'ridiculous assertion' that the circular tower found in the parishes of Lismore and Appin (a type of tower found throughout the Western Isles) was "erected for preserving the cattle from the depredations of thieves in the night-time" and explains that the tower was "probably intended…for raising beacons or fires…to alarm the coast and country, on the approach of enemies. Reverend Walter Chalmers, "Parish of Deskford," *SAS* Vol. 4, 361", declares that "had the famous Dr Johnson directed his tour through Deskford, and deigned to pull down the blinds of his carriage, he would have seen many trees not unworthy of attention from the most prejudiced English traveller." Reverend James Playfair, "Parish of Bendothy," *SAS* Vol. 19, 349, takes on Johnson's *Dictionary* and notes that "[t]he common people live on oatmeal pottage…it is the most wholesome and palatable of all their food…Such food makes men strong like horses, and purges the brain of pedantry. It produces hardy Highlanders, who by their strength and dress are so formidable to their enemies, that they call them, 'Les diables des Montagnes.'"

Much of this analysis was based on late eighteenth-century perceptions of what Druids were. William Camden provided a lengthy collection of the classical accounts of the British Druids in his *Britannia*, which details most of the main opinions regarding the function and actions of Druids in Britain and many of these are repeated piecemeal throughout the travel diaries. Alexander Campbell offered a footnote in his *Journey* which succinctly outlined general eighteenth-century beliefs.

> The Druids inhabited caves, consecrated trees, and worshipped in groves. They instructed their pupils in the mysteries of the function with all the form of gloomy superstition. The Culdees, the immediate successors of the Druids, living in familiar retirement, the veneration of the multitude for this sacred order was easily transferred from their pagan predecessors; and thus we find one system of pious fraud substituted for the other, which, gradually accumulating through ages, was not finally abolished till the reformed religion obtained in the more enlightened parts of Europe. It is said, that the Druids chose the island of Anglesey (the ancient Mona) for the seat of their establishment. But, respecting their boasted improvements in science, philosophy, discipline and jurisprudence, much, it is feared, rests on mere conjecture.[743]

It was also widely believed that the Druids practiced human sacrifice. Thomas Pennant wrote that

> In all of these druidical circles there was an altar stone at the centre…and near the centre is a hollowed stone, which either was a laver to wash in, or a bason to receive the blood of the sacrifices. Besides circles, there were many *Druidical* cairns in this country, on which at their solemn festivals they offered their sacrifices.[744]

This was a prospect that predictably fascinated travellers with Romantic or Gothic inclinations. Benjamin Silliman for instance stumbled across one of the Druids' "mysterious retreats" near Bristol which was

> believed by many that in this place the Druids put to death their human victims, laying them with awful solemnity in [the] sacred cavity [in the rock]; it [was] supposed that the other cavities in the rock were used to contain consecrated vessels or fluids, or, that they were, in some other manner, auxiliary to the immolation.[745]

Silliman could not resist testing the possibility that this site may have been used as a place of sacrifice and "made the experiment by lying down in the cavity [of the rock], on [his] back…and found that it exactly received [him]."[746] When Silliman encountered Stonehenge during his tour of England he was "filled with awe and astonishment, and when [he] entered the pile, [he] felt the strongest emotions of solemnity."[747]

[743] Campbell, *Journey from Edinburgh*, 192.
[744] Pennant, *Tour in Scotland 1769*, 293.
[745] Silliman, *Journal of Travels in England, Holland and Scotland*, 53-54.
[746] Ibid, 53.
[747] Ibid, 87.

Magic and Mysticism: Pre-historic Religion in the Highlands and Islands

Druids were also frequently equated with magicians or sorcerers and Gilpin's account of Castlerigg Stone Circle near Penrith gives a good sense of how their activities were perceived.[748]

> These structures…are by far the most ancient vestiges of architecture (if we may call them architecture) which we have in England. Their rude workmanship hands down the great barbarity of the times of the Druids: and furnishes strong proof of the savage nature of the religion of these heathen priests. Within these magical circles we may conceive any incantations to have been performed; and any rites of superstition to have been celebrated. It is history, as well as poetry, when Ossian mentions the *circles of stones*, where our ancestors, in their nocturnal orgies, invoked the spirits which rode upon the winds – the awful forms of their deceased forefathers; through which he sublimely tells us, the stars dimly twinkled.[749]

Of course, being that this account is given by Gilpin, the whole thing devolves down into a discussion as to the relative merits of Druids as a subject for paintings, but Gilpin's description highlights several important issues in the discussion of Druids during this period.[750] Specifically, Gilpin calls them "savage" and "heathen," and while he is not directly reflecting these back onto a specific contemporary group, he does acknowledge the idea that these "barbarous priests" could be the ancestors of his present countrymen. Additionally, while Gilpin seems to delight in the awfulness of Druidical superstitions, particularly as they pertain to artistic expression, eighteenth-century descriptions of Druids as primitive, superstitious and barbaric were often thinly veiled criticism of those people who were seen to be most directly linked to the pre-Roman inhabitants of Britain – the Highlanders. Alexander Campbell's exposition on the druidical origins of the Highlanders is not so much a criticism as a lament; however it presents a poignant illustration of the perceived persistence of pre-historic barbarity in Highland culture in the eighteenth century:

> The ancient *Celts* were divided into tribes….or clans, as their descendants are now called. Their business was war, and their religion druidism. To the *Druids* succeeded the *Culdees*; but the patriarchal state was materially altered when the feudal system obtained universally in Europe. These changes wrought many others, inimical to the ancient establishments among the *Celts*; and time and circumstances… hastened their downfall. Retaining their original language, and some of their ancient customs, their morals were corrupted, and they became ferocious freebooters, following their lords

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[748] James Boswell, *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, with Samuel Johnson* (Philadelphia, 1810), 11. Samuel Johnson, on the other hand, was completely nonplussed by the second 'Druid's Temple' he and Boswell encountered on their journey. Near Inverness, Johnson and Boswell "saw, just by the road, a very complete specimen of what is called a Druid's temple. There was a double circle, one of very large, the other of smaller stones. Dr. Johnson justly observed, that "to go and see one druidical temple is only to see that it is nothing, for there is neither art nor power in it; and seeing one is quite enough."

[749] William Gilpin, *Observations, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1772, On Several Parts of England; Particularly the Mountains, and Lakes of Cumberland, and Westmoreland* Vol. II (London, 1792), 28.

[750] Ibid, 30-31. "I know few of the *less animated kind*, which would admit more picturesque embellishment, than a Druid-sacrifice. The peculiar character, and savage features of these barbarous priests – their white, flowing vestments – the branch of mistleto, which they hold – the circular stones (if they could be brought into composition) – the spreading oak – the altar beneath it – and the milk-white steer – might all together form a good picture."

> and masters blindly, either to the chace, or to the field of battle: - Thus we have to deplore the debased state of a fallen race…This frank acknowledgement is due to truth. It is in this humiliating state that we must compare the highlanders of former times with those of the present.[751]

It was the religion and culture of the Druids, or the belief in Druidism's link to surviving pre-Christian superstitions and folklore that most concretely indicated that Highland culture was primitive and a decline or abandonment of such traditions was frequently portrayed as improvement.[752] Campbell was highly critical of surviving 'druidical' superstitions and believed that it was the Reformation which was most influential in obliterating their remains.

> Of late, superstition has evidently declined in the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland. This can be accounted for in many ways, but chiefly by reason of the propagation of the reformed religion, and the constant communication of the low-country with the highland districts. Formerly (and remains are yet observable) the superstitious rites of our highlanders consisted of a strange heterogeneous mixture of pagan, popish, protestant, and even fabulous observances, ludicrous in the extreme.[753]

Superstitions and Second Sight

Thomas Pennant also equated superstition and the ancient culture of pre-Roman Scotland with the Highlanders, but he felt the memory of them worth preserving if only as an example of how not to believe.

> The country [near Carrie] is perfectly highland; and in spite of the intercourse this and the neighboring parts have of late years had with the rest of the world, it still retains some of its antient customs and superstitions: they decline daily, but least their memory should be lost, I shall mention several that are still practised, or but very lately disused in the tract I had passed over. Such a record will have this advantage, when the follies are quite extinct, in teaching the unshackled and enlightened mind the difference between the pure ceremonies of religion, and the wild and anile flights of superstition.[754]

Late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century descriptions of Scotland frequently lamented the persistence of superstitious beliefs in Scotland, but by the late eighteenth century many of the travellers were reporting that the superstitions of the Highlanders were dying out or were no longer

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[751] Campbell, *Journey from Edinburgh*, 263-64.
[752] Martin Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland: Containing a Full Account of their Situation, Extent, Soils, Product, Harbours, Bays, Tides, Anchoring Places, and Fisheries, etc.*, (London, 1703), 105, Preface. Martin makes note of many on-going superstitions in his early eighteenth-century account of the Western Islands. Though he attributes a few, like the lighting of fires at Beltane, to the Druids, he also notes that some people "object that the *Druids* could not be in the Isles, because no Oaks grow there" to which he answers that "in those Days Oaks did grow there," and cites the examples of oaks growing on the Isle of Skye. Nevertheless, most instances of folk traditions encountered by Martin are not attributed to the Druids, but rather to "Instances of Heathenism and Pagan Superstition," though Martin is quick to note that he "would not have the Reader…think those Practices are chargeable upon the generality of the present Inhabitants; since only a few of the Oldest and most Ignorant of the Vulgar are guilty of 'em." Emphasis is Martin's.
[753] Campbell, *Journey from Edinburgh*, 189.
[754] Pennant, *Tour in Scotland, 1769*, 108.

held in high esteem. While in the Western Islands, Johnson and Boswell met a Mr. McQueen, who was minister of the local parish. McQueen informed Boswell that

> Since he came to be minister of the parish where he is now, the belief in witchcraft, or charms, was very common, insomuch that he had many prosecutions before his *session*…against women, for having by these means carried off the milk from people's cows. He disregarded them; and there is now not the least vestige of that superstition. He preached against it; and in order to give a strong proof to the people that there was nothing in it, he said from the pulpit, that every woman in the parish was welcome to take the milk from his cows, provided she did not touch them.[755]

During the same period in the islands, Johnson reported that "the various kinds of superstition which prevailed here, as in all other regions of ignorance, are by the diligence of the Ministers almost extirpated."[756] Johnson also noted that while Lowland Scots declared that "the notion of *Second Sight* is wearing away with other superstitions…the Islanders of all degrees, whether of rank or understanding, universally admit it, except the Ministers, who universally deny it."[757] Clement Cruttwell reviewed Pennant's assessment of the parishes of Glensheil and Kintail in the Highlands which had, according to Pennant changed in sixty years' time from a "den of thieves of the most extraordinary kind" to a region of security and civilization. Cruttwell's account is interesting because it compares the Highlanders to "a set of banditti" who practice superstition and veneration "like the distinct casts of Indians," and whose customs regarding hospitality were "like [those of] the wild Arabs [who] observed the strictest honour towards their guests."[758] Near Dingwall Pennant reported that

> in some parts of the country, is a rural sacrifice…A cross is cut on some sticks, which is dipped in pottage, and the *Thursday* before *Easter*, one of each placed over the sheep-cot, the stable, or the cow-house. On the 1st of *May*, they are carried to the hill where the rites are celebrated all decked with wild flowers, and after the feast is over, re-placed over the spots they were taken from; and this was originally styled *Clou-än-Beltein*, or the split branch of the fire of the rock. These follies are now seldom practiced, and that with the utmost secrecy; for the Clergy are indefatigable in discouraging every species of superstition.[759]

It is interesting to note that Pennant is here referring specifically to "singular customs of the Highlanders."[760] Later in his account Pennant draws distinction between "native Highlanders" and those from parts of the Highlands where "they mix more with the world, and become daily less attached to their chiefs."[761] The whole of Pennant's description of these "native Highlanders" is

[755] Boswell, *Tour to the Hebrides*, 144.
[756] Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (Google Book via Kindle), 120.
[757] Ibid, 123. Martin, *Description of the Western Islands*, 300-35 contains an extensive account and description of the prevalence and practice of second sight in the Islands.
[758] Clement Cruttwell, *Tours Through the Whole Island of Great Britain in Six Volumes* Vol. VI (London, 1806), 280.
[759] Pennant, *Tour in Scotland 1769*, 205.
[760] Ibid.
[761] Ibid, 214.

noteworthy because while he says they are "inclined to superstition" the rest of his assessment of their character is of the highest form of noble savagery. Pennant even declares that he "fears they pity us."[762]

Conclusion

In the end, these and the numerous other travellers' accounts of local folklore, customs, superstitions and pre-historical remains provide a vivid picture not only of the late-eighteenth century Highland landscape and the people that populated it, but also demonstrate the interaction of travellers with these elements. There is a definite sense that tourists conceived of the Highlands as a sort of time-capsule, where pre-historic beliefs and society were preserved for the curious (or critical) observer. While some travellers idealised this or lamented signs of its dispersal, others saw only progress in the dismantling of superstitions and the introduction of more 'civilized' culture. Eliza Dawson visited a Sunday School for the children of the mill workers at Stanley and " was truly sorry to find [that the school was only for the mill-worker's children] as the minds of the lower class are totally ignorant and consequently superstitious, and therefore have much want of the benefits attending that excellent institution."[763] Indeed, Dawson was so pleased with the potential of such a school that she "could not help expressing the joy [she] felt in recollecting the advantages this little group would reap from this humane institution and so great an impression it made upon [her] that [she] invoked the Muses and to give it utterance, this very trifling production so unworthy of the subject which exited it."[764]

Travellers' attention to the pre-history of northern Britain also demonstrates a sense of unease about identity, about nationalism, about boundaries and borders. Pennant declared that the Highlanders "have in themselves a natural politeness and address…Thro' [his] whole tour [he] never met with a single instance of national reflection: their forbearance proves them to be superior to the meanness of retaliation."[765] Highland culture would come to be completely romanticized and regular in the nineteenth century: in the late-eighteenth century, travellers' descriptions of Highlanders, whether first hand or not, were far more indicative of their own insecurities.

Finally, tourists' interaction both with the superstitions of the Highlanders and with pre-historic monuments show that by the late eighteenth century, views about religion, whether Christian or pagan, had begun to lose some of its rigidity. Romantic tourists could idealize cultures that were based on pre-Christian beliefs not only because they were primitive (and therefore more pure) but because the medieval concept of an evil, corrupt and decayed nature had long since vanished. Art, landscape and the divine were intertwined and reason and science trumped superstitions of all sorts.

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[762] Ibid, 218.
[763] Dawson, *Tour*, 30.
[764] Ibid.
[765] Pennant, *Tour in Scotland, 1769*, 213.

Belief in the supernatural was foolish but not evil and, for those of a more imaginative nature could, lead one to contemplations that were beneficial to the mind and spirit. Tourists embarked on journeys that deliberately engaged them with sites and scenes that inspired meditations on the picturesque and the sublime.

Conclusion

The first stories were tales of journeys, of adventures to far off lands and the search for something more. Gilgamesh sought immortality, Odysseus his home. Máel Dúin pursued vengeance, Beowulf hunted glory and Arthur's quest was the Holy Grail. In the medieval West, quest tales and voyage myths worked to transmit cultural ideals and to transpose new traditions and beliefs onto the old. Pilgrimage added another, more tangibly spiritual, dimension to travel, but as Diana Webb reminds her readers, it "did not originate with Christianity… [nor is it] an exclusively or peculiarly Christian phenomenon." Medieval Christian pilgrims were participating in religious behaviour that transcended cultures and confessions.[766] The medieval pilgrim may not have perceived himself as an adventurer or explorer, but his journey was imbued with the same collective impetus, the same energy that made the stories of mythic voyages so magnetic and universal. The medieval pilgrim was an everyman "on his quest for eternal life," for peace and healing, penance and recompense, status and reputation and a chance to come in contact with the divine.[767] These deep-seated concerns did not disappear when doctrine or creeds changed, nor did the desire to seek such spiritual solace cease once the Reformation had rendered the traditional prescriptions inert or altered the ways in which individuals interpreted the divine. Travel, certainly never dependent upon religious confession, persisted, evolved and began to be more concisely defined in relation to the individual.

This dissertation has shown that pilgrimage activity, including veneration at shrines and ritual healing at wells and springs, continued beyond the religious reforms of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, indicating the resilience and importance of such practices within the context of late medieval and early modern English and Scottish society. Chapter I outlined the nature of shrines and wells and showed how they had been active features of the social and cultural landscape in pre-Reformation Britain, often representing persistent pre-Christian elements that had been transposed in the early medieval period. That some survived the Reformation is unsurprising and travel accounts, as well as local geographical surveys, from the period offer a glimpse of the ways in which such sites were actively adapted or reinterpreted, both by locals and visitors. While the widespread application of reformative measures led to a decline in the sanctioned religious veneration of saints and shrines throughout Britain, travel, and eventually leisure tourism, increased and travellers' experiences with former holy sites and the rituals attached to these facilitated discourse about identity and Otherness. Chapter II demonstrated that travellers' accounts from the seventeenth century show identity and alterity to have been predominant concerns for English travellers in northern Britain and, religious as well as cultural, social and economic issues were conspicuous features in travellers' observations. Negative and prejudicial observations were exacerbated by anxieties surrounding the regal and

[766] Diana Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London, 2001), 2.
[767] Nicole Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages* trans. W. Donald Wilson (New York, 2005), 2.

parliamentary unions of 1603 and 1707, but these anxieties also highlight the evolving understanding of identity, particularly with regard to experience and self-reflection. Travel itineraries that included former pilgrimage sites may not have been intentionally religious in nature, but the activities and experiences of travellers reinforced the aspects of early modern society that emerged with the more individual nature of reformed Christianity.

More importantly, this dissertation has explored how sites of religious and cultural significance were appropriated by early modern travellers as a way of imparting meaning and understanding to the growing practice of leisure tourism, as well as nature and art. Chapter III emphasised the importance of the Picturesque as a means of validating leisure travel in the eighteenth century, particularly in regard to ideas about nature, faith and spirituality. Similarly, the intellectual developments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries meant that experience and authenticity became crucial elements to understanding the world while reason and inquiry became prominent and reoccurring themes in travellers' accounts. In the eighteenth century the stoicism of the Enlightenment was challenged by Romanticism but, as has been shown in Chapters VI and V, the artistic appreciation of landscape, history and literature embodied by the Picturesque allowed travellers to engage both rationally and emotionally with their itineraries. Former pilgrimage destinations, pre-Reformation religious sites like ruined cathedrals and abbeys, and pre-historic remains fuelled travellers' imaginations, which were already inspired by the gothic and romantic sentiments popularised in eighteenth-century music, art and literature. Travellers' used pseudo-religious language to describe landscapes and idolised characters from history and fiction, and their itineraries became patchworks of former religious sites, historical relics and newly designated shrines dedicated to the Romantic and Picturesque. The publication of Macpherson's *Fragments of Ancient Poetry*, the polarising popularity of Samuel Johnson's *Journey to the Western Isles* and the emergence of Romanticism brought northern Britain, and Scotland in particular, to the forefront of Europe's imagination. Tourists created itineraries that reflected their artistic and spiritual conceptions of northern Britain, which demonstrates both a conclusive and tangible connection with the patterns and significance of pilgrimage and the ways in which shifting views on religion, culture and identity were defined by the individual.

This dissertation has sought to answer several questions regarding the nature of travel, of religious change and cultural adaptation, of the formation of individual and national identity. The early modern period has provided fascinating insight and answers to these questions in large part because the period marked a significant evolution in the history of travel, particularly for northern Britain. In the course of two hundred years, the region went from relative obscurity to one of the most popular and evocative tourist destinations in Europe. At the end of the eighteenth century, Scotland had become the model for the popularisation of folk culture and the period would see the emergence of some of the nation's most prominent literary heroes, further cementing the region within the sphere

of Romanticism and Picturesque tourism. This move towards popular culture can be seen, as Peter Burke asserts, as an effort to "revive…traditional culture," but in many ways tourists, patriots and poets were also creating a concept that was tied to the innate human desire to seek.[768] Medieval pilgrims were searching for salvation and early modern tourists sought scenery, but they were all finding themselves.

This pattern to and impetus for travel does not seem particularly foreign or radical in the present, nor does the dichotomy of pilgrimage and leisure produce quite the cacophony it may have done half a millennia ago. Medieval pilgrims were scorned and satirised for taking earthly pleasure in their journeys and early modern tourists were at pains to recreate or transport the comforts of home. Though the Reformation in Britain, which effectively curtailed the spiritual motivation behind pilgrimage serves as a clear watershed in the understanding of religion and spirituality in Protestant Britain, the transition from pilgrimage to tourism shows that the religious reformations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries altered much more than the practice of religion – it changed the way the world was perceived and transformed concepts of experience and identity. This dissertation focused on travel diaries from the early modern period because a close examination of the language used and observations recorded by travellers can illuminate this transition; however, the reformation of pilgrimage into tourism not only continued past the end of the eighteenth century, but has come full circle in the modern era. Travel as a search for one's self is hardly an emerging concept, but "[p]ilgrimage is enjoying a huge revival" and travellers are "increasingly on pilgrimage," as a recent article in *The Guardian* declares.[769] While the author speculates on the modern motivations for spiritual travel, he could just as easily be writing about late eighteenth-century tourists.[770] The author speaks of social and cultural anxieties, of "people [thinking] *with* landscape," of pilgrimage as "a kind of wonder-voyage."[771] Similarly, the "General Advice" section on the website of Scotland's Churches Trust includes this striking answer to the question, "Why Pilgrimage?" "[P]ilgrimage may be a more reflective and internalised pastime. The journey seems as important as the destination, and people often undertake [it] as a form of 'time out' or refreshing…[pilgrimage] is a way to explore spiritual values in the context of landscape, heritage, art and devotion."[772]

This association of pilgrimage with heritage is particularly fascinating as it provides both a final link between pilgrimage and the development of tourism in northern Britain and a glimpse at

[768] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 1978), 10-12.
[769] Ian Bradley, *Pilgrimage: A Spiritual and Cultural Journey* (Oxford, 2009), 9; Robert Macfarlane, "Rites of way: behind the pilgrimage revival," *The Guardian*, 9 June 2012, [http://www.theguardian.com/books/2012/jun/15/rites-of-way-pilgrimage-walks, accessed 18/11/13].
[770] Ibid.
[771] Ibid.
[772] Scotland's Churches Trust, "Why Pilgrimage," *Pilgrims Journeys: Exploring Scotland's Sacred Places*, [http://www.scotlandspilgrimjourneys.com/why-pilgrimage, accessed 18/11/13].

how this line of inquiry might continue to reveal historical patterns. This dissertation has considered how the survival of pilgrimage shrines was facilitated by strong local or regional attachment to particular saints or rituals. Likewise the development of Romanticism, the Picturesque and the appreciation for the primitive, which were major components of the emergence of the Romantic Pilgrimage outlined in Chapters IV and V, were part of eighteenth-century efforts to define the many marginal areas of Europe, both by "intellectuals" who "imposed" these concepts on "the 'people'" and "by societies which were under foreign domination."[773] The revival of pilgrimage in modern Europe is quite clearly linked to national identity and heritage and, interestingly, the revival may be more prominent in those countries and regions Burke identified as "the cultural periphery of Europe."[774] Celtic-Christian sites dominate *The Telegraph*'s 2009 list of "Easter 2009: top five pilgrim routes in Britain."[775] Scotland's Churches Trust boasts six active pilgrimage routes, all dedicated to saints associated with Scotland's unique religious identity.[776] Spain, whose enthusiasm for Romanticism and popular culture in the eighteenth century was a "way of expressing opposition to [the dominance of the French]," has revived what was once a major medieval pilgrimage route: the road to Santiago de Compostela.[777] According to *The Guardian* the route has seen an increased footfall of more than one hundred fold since 1985.[778] A 2012 article on the BBC calls Norway's recently reopened St Olav's Way "Europe's new 'pilgrim hotspot,'" and the annual festival at the cathedral in Trondheim features "hundreds of people parading through the city, waving flags, banging drums and wearing Viking-inspired armour."[779] And just as they did in the medieval period, these reinvented pilgrimages also serve as a cross-cultural link between these regions. The Norwegian pilgrimage was completed by two hundred Spanish pilgrims in a single week, and Scotland's St Cuthbert's Way was explored by Norwegian pilgrims interested in "developing a Pilgrimage Way in Selja."[780] While modern pilgrimage and its links to national and cultural identity fall outside the scope of this dissertation, the repetition of such themes both in the literature of the early modern period and in current discussions of pilgrimage and spirituality emphasise that travel remains a constant factor to the way that humans define both their environment and themselves.

[773] Burke, *Popular Culture*, 12.
[774] Ibid, 14.
[775] Jane Alexander, "Easter 2009: top five pilgrimage sites in Britain," *The Telegraph*, 9 April 2009, [http://www.telegraph.co.uk/earth/countryside/5126285/Easter-2009-top-five-pilgrim-routes-in-Britain.html, accessed 18/11/13].
[776] Scotland's Churches Trust, http://www.scotlandspilgrimjourneys.com/pilgrim-journeys.
[777] Burke, *Popular Culture*, 11.
[778] Macfarlane, "Rites of Way."
[779] Maddy Savage, "Norway's Trondheim is Europe's new 'pilgrim hotspot,'" *BBC News*, 30 July 2012, [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-19049130, accessed 18/11/13].
[780] Savage, "Norway's Trondheim"; "Pilgrimage Ways and Tours," *Walking Support*, February 2013, [http://www.walkingsupport.co.uk/pilgrimage.html, accessed 18/11/13].

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