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entitled Opinions of Eighteenth-Century English Men of Letters Concerning Scotland.

be accepted as fulfilling this part of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Approved by:

Rudolf B. Gottfried

(read & approved, F. W. Chandler)

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The Opinions of Eighteenth-Century English Men of Letters Concerning Scotland

A dissertation submitted to the
Graduate School of the University of Cincinnati
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1939

by

James Douglas Robertson

Ed.M. University of Cincinnati, 1934
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FOREWORD

A question which the writer had to settle in the initial stages of the investigation of the problem in hand was that concerning the limitations of the somewhat elastic expression "English men of letters." In the first place, it was resolved that the term should embrace not only Englishmen proper, but also those of Irish birth, as Oliver Goldsmith, who was unquestionably in the English literary tradition. The opinions, however, of Scottish authors like Tobias Smollett, who with Goldsmith is substantially English in his literary bent, are not used in the body of the thesis but introduced only incidentally in footnote form. In order to furnish a more usable definition of the problem it was decided further to regard as men of letters those minor writers whose reputation as authors rested upon the popularity of even a single volume.

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PREFACE

Before I attempt to investigate the views which English men of letters of the eighteenth century held in regard to Scotland, it will be necessary to give a brief sketch of the relationship existing between the two countries at the opening of the century.

The Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland in 1603 had been merely a nominal, not an organic, union; it was effected only through the person of the ruler. During the seventeenth century all efforts toward actual unification had ended in failure. On four several occasions attempts in this direction had been made by the Commonwealth. Under William III a bill for creating one parliament was introduced by the English Lords only to be defeated by the English Commons. On the eve of the eighteenth century the difficulties that stood in the way of the Union were many. They were not only those peculiar to the period. The two countries had been hereditary enemies, far separated by bitter historical traditions, by diversity of laws, by opposition of church creed, by contrasts in ways of living, tone of thought, and

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mode of speech.

Ignorance of Scotland accounted for much of the prejudice with which England regarded her northern neighbour. Communication between the two countries was rare; for distances were great, roads were execrable, and the cost of travelling and lodging was appalling. As late as 1774 Dr Johnson was nine days in travelling from London to Edinburgh. Even when it is remembered that he did not journey at night and that he spent two days resting at Newcastle, the time taken was excessive. By 1793 it was proudly boasted that one could leave Edinburgh after the Sunday morning service, spend a whole day in London, and be back again by six o'clock on the following Saturday morning.[1] The few Englishmen who visited the North, either from love of adventure or for business reasons, undertook the expedition in the spirit of heroes setting forth to explore a savage land.[2] Defoe writes in the preface to his Tour: "Scotland has been supposed by some to be so contemptible a place as that it would not bear a description."[3] Some years later another writer describes it as if it were a recently discovered South Sea island:

The people in general are naturally inclined to be

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1. Quoted from W. Creech, Letters, by G. B. Hill, In the Footsteps of Doctor Johnson, London, 1890, p. 60.
2. H. G. Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, 1928, p. 2.
3. D. Defoe, Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, London, 1927, III, vii.

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> civil, especially to strangers. They are divided into Highlanders who call themselves the antient Scots, and into Lowlanders who are a mixture.... Buchanan describes the customs of the Highlanders graphically thus: 'In their diet, apparel, and household furniture they follow the parsimony of the antients: they provide their diet by fishing, hunting, and boil their flesh in the paunch or skins of a beast; while they hunt they eat it raw after having squeezed out the blood.'[4]

Smollett complained that the English knew as little of Scotland as they did of Japan; and he has Miss Tabitha Bramble, the sister of a Gloucestershire squire, imagine that she will have to go to Scotland by sea.[5] That the two capitals stood widely apart may be evidenced by the fact that there were men living in 1824 who recollected the time when the London mail came down with only a single letter for Edinburgh.[6]

After travelling in Scotland an Englishman of the eighteenth century summed up his impressions thus: "I passed to English ground and hope I may never go to such a country again. I thank God I never saw such another, and must conclude with the poet Cleveland

> Had Cain been Scot, God had ne'er changed his doom,
> Not made him wander, but confined him home."[7]

It was thus that travellers up to the middle of the century looked upon North Britain. To the English-

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4. Quoted from <u>The Present State of Scotland</u>, 1738, by G. Birbeck Hill, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 37.
5. <u>The Works of Tobias Smollett, M.D.</u>, ed. by J. Moore, M. D., London, 1872, VII, 301.
6. Sir W. Scott, <u>Redgauntlet</u>, London, 1899, p. 443, n. 28.
7. H. G. Graham, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 2.

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man who stayed at home Scotland was a *terra incognita*. English ministers, it was declared, knew little more about Scotland than they did of Tartary. After the tourist had departed and finally reached his English home in safety, he wrote down his adventures as if he had just returned from darkest Africa.[8] Not only, then, were the two peoples widely separated by the strength of their inveterate prejudices; but at the beginning of the century any real union was greatly hindered by this ignorance of the average Englishman in all that related to Scotland.

The North, for her part, besides cherishing a spirit of bitter animosity, had other reasons for opposing the Act of 1707. Union meant that Edinburgh should cease to be a capital; in fact, it was feared that all Scotland would be absorbed into the ocean of London. Scottish members of Parliament realized that they would lose their importance when the capital went south. Among the uneducated the feeling was strong that Scotland would become the servant of England. But the greatest anxiety was aroused on the question of religion. There was danger that English Episcopalianism would supplant Scotch Presbyterianism.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, it was obvious to all thinking men on both sides of the bor-

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8. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

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der that the Scottish people must receive complete independence or be drawn into a closer union with the South. At Westminster it was feared that Scotland might at any moment invite France to her shores, with results that would certainly prove disastrous to England. And as it was imperative that England remove this source of constant danger, it was equally necessary that Scotland gain new avenues of wealth.

In appointing commissioners on behalf of Scotland for a treaty of union, Queen Anne diplomatically chose those who were of the Court interest. Her ministers expressly commissioned Defoe to reside in Edinburgh for the purpose of promoting the work. Among the champions of union outside of Parliament the first place must be accorded to him. Although the treaty drawn up by the commissioners in 1706 met with much opposition in the Scots Parliament, it was firmly maintained and eventually carried in 1707. But the Union of the Parliaments, like the Union of the Crowns, did not at all signify a union of the peoples. This fact is well attested in the literature of the eighteenth century.

During the first half of the century the writers of the South are not in general interested in their poor northern neighbours; they know very little about them, and

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that little is generally prejudiced. The best informed Englishman of the period, Defoe, is disposed to speak well of Scotland because of his political affiliations. But in the third quarter of the century, when Lord Bute is Prime Minister and many of his countrymen are living on his patronage, the Scots become more odious than ever to the English. It is especially during this time that some English men of letters are stirred to violent expressions of antagonism. And it is only in the last quarter of the century, after common participation in foreign wars, after increased facilities for travel, after an increased respect for Scots literature, and after the birth of a new appreciation of nature, that the Englishman is able to forget nationalities and regard more favourably Scotland and Scotsmen.

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I

1700-1750

A. Introduction

Much of English hostility during the first half of the eighteenth century was economic. Scotland's crime was that it was poor. Swift alleged that the Union was a project for which there could not possibly be assigned the least reason or necessity. What could England expect from union with Poverty?[1]

It was the task of Daniel Defoe, in the secret service of the English government, to present an apology for Scotland, _i.e._ to refute the charge of poverty. In so doing the English agent is none too scrupulous.[2]

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1. _The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift, D.D._ ed. by Temple Scott, London, 1897-1908, V, 335.
2. Dottin explains that the English agent was careful to keep under cover from the Scots his real reason for being in Scotland: "He, Defoe had a different story for each group: to the business man he had come to Edinburgh to set up as a shipbuilder; to the lawyers, he was looking for an estate that he might buy and then bring on his family....At Glasgow, he would pass as a fish merchant; at Aberdeen, as a woolen merchant; at Perth, as a linen-draper...always an actor and child-like in his delight in make-believe, he fitted admirably into each role that he created for himself. But while he was talking ships or shops; salt mines or glass-work ...he was casually turning the conversation upon that topic of general interest...the union."--
Paul Dottin, _The Life and Strange and Surprising Adventures of Daniel Defoe_, New York, 1929, pp. 139-140.

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Nevertheless, in spite of his political connexions, Defoe is unusually well-fitted to describe the country, which he visited at various times between the years 1706 and 1712. His Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, published 1724-1725, although built up, not only from memories of his former travels and his recent observations, but also from his readings, does show the drift of his opinion. After his death the Tour was re-edited and augmented by a number of different writers, particularly Samuel Richardson.[3]

But in the period under consideration, apparently few English men of letters besides Defoe crossed the Tweed. In his correspondence Swift refers to his having written to John Gay "while that gentleman was in Scotland";[4] if Gay did travel north, he left no record of his trip. When the poet Aaron Hill suggested to the York Buildings Company a way of increasing the value of the Scotch estates which that organization had purchased after they had been forfeited by the rebels of 1715, he was sent into Scotland to supervise the work. Hill's idea, to export from these estates timber for shipmasts in England, is thought to have secured for him a generous sum. Since it is poli-

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3. It is obvious that the Richardson material in Defoe's Tour cannot be recorded as Richardson's own opinion.
4. H. Williams, Letters and Letter Writers of the Eighteenth Century, London, 1886, p. 219.

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tic for him, as for Defoe, to make Scotland appear well to the company's stockholders, in the little he has to say about the country he is careful to be agreeable. Mr. Edward Burt, who travelled in the Highlands in the service of Marshal Wade, is quite disposed to speak favourably of the land and its people in his Letters from the North of Scotland.[5] These are the only first-hand accounts of the country.

The opinions concerning North Britain of men like Swift, who never went north of England, will of course be of less importance than the testimony of a man like Defoe. It is therefore proposed, in discussing the accounts of Scotland which were given by English men of letters in the first half of the eighteenth century, to place the emphasis on that of Defoe, the man best acquainted with the country.

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5. E. Burt, Letters from the North of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1876.

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B. The Economic Condition and Scenery of Scotland

The bleak, treeless appearance of the country in general was the feature that struck English travellers; and their gibes concerning the lack of timber in Scotland were not mere cockney libels. Except for those forests in the inaccessible highland straths, the ancient woods had disappeared--"wasted by raids, burnt as fuel, destroyed as encumbrances of the ground, or sold by impecunious owners."[6] Defoe diplomatically has little to say of the treeless aspect of the country; wherever he does discover wood, he makes mention of the fact. Journeying through the Lothians, he observes that almost all of the gentlemen's houses are distinguished by groves and walks of fir-trees, which, though young in most places, yet "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."[7] Aaron Hill finds a place for Scottish timber in a poem addressed to Harley:

> Britain no longer shall explore from far,
> The costly magazines of naval war;
> High on the mountains of her northern shore,
> The gummy pine shall shed her pitchy store;
> Tall firs, which, useless, have long ages grown,
> Shall fright the seas, and visit worlds unknown

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6. H. G. Graham, The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, 1928, p. 195.
7. D. Defoe, Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, London, 1927, III, vii., p. 698.

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'Till check'd sons of Norway's timber'd state,
Learn love, by force, while we disarm their hate.[8]

In presenting the North as a land rich in timber, Hill no doubt has in mind the shareholders of the York Buildings Company. For this reason his testimony remains doubtful.

Just as Hill magnifies the possibilities of the timber trade in Scotland, so Defoe seeks to enhance the value of the soil in that country. He asserts that the land is not so naturally barren as some people represent it and as it appears. For instance, the harvest in the vale of Strath-Bogy and in all the country to Inverness, the "capital" of the Highlands, is not only forward and early, as well as rich and strong; but, in his opinion, it is earlier even than in some of the most southern counties of England. He declares that he has seen new wheat of Inverness brought to market at Edinburgh before the wheat in the neighbourhood of that city was fit to be reaped; and yet "the Harvest about Edinburgh is thought to be as forward as in most Parts, even of England itself."[9]

He believes that with application of the right methods the land in general might be made to equal, not England only, but "even the richest, most fruitful, most pleasant, and best improved Part of England."[10] The real difficulty

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8. The Works of the Late Aaron Hill, Esq., London, 1753, III, 413-414.
9. D. Defoe, Tour, p. 816.
10. Ibid., p. 695.

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is that the Scots are not as good husbandmen as the English, and he cites some proof of this fact: at the end of the troublesome days when Cromwell's soldiers were disbanded, some of them settled in Invernesshire and fell to cultivating the land after their own manner; they were instrumental, with the help of a rich and fruitful soil, in bringing that part of the country into such state that it continued to be superior to the rest of Scotland "to this day."[11] Defoe attributes the poverty of the land especially to a want of enclosed pastures, "by means of which the farmers could keep the cattle well foddered in winter, and whose quantity of dung would enrich the soil."[12] He advocates, too, the folding of the sheep, and the ploughing of fallowed land.[13] If the Scotch will but apply themselves to improving their land,

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11. Ibid., p. 818.
12. Graham describes the attitude of the people toward enclosures at this period: "The attempts of enterprising landlords about 1715 to enclose the land encountered determined opposition: the people were indignant at their right of pasturing their cattle on other men's ground being grossly infringed; farmers were suspicious of their rent being raised; labourers were excited at the prospect of their occupation being endangered. Meanwhile alarmists declared that hedges would harbour birds which would utterly devour their grain and that 'they would prevent the circulation of the air necessary to winnow the grain for the harvest.'" --H. G. Graham, op. cit., p. 169.
13. D. Defoe, Tour, p. 699.

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> The barren muirs shall weighty sheaves bestow,
> The Uncultivated vales, rich pastures show.[14]

The force and thoroughness with which Defoe refutes the accusation of poverty against the North shows how important this charge was in moulding the contemporary English attitude toward Scotland.

In writing to Gay after that gentleman had been in North Britain, Swift speaks of the land as being nine times worse than Ireland, especially with reference to the soil, the climate, and the language.[15] During the reign of James I, he says, the Scotch came over to northern Ireland "from their own bleak barren highlands, as it were into a paradise."[16] The same writer, who despised the North, gives a graphic picture of its poverty:

> The Scottish hinds, too poor to house
> In frosty nights their starving cows,
> While not a blade of grass or hay
> Appears from Michaelmas to May,
> Must let their cattle range in vain
> For food along the barren plain:
> Meagre and lank with fasting grown,
> And nothing left but skin and bone;
> Exposed to want, and wind, and weather,
> They just keep life and soul together,
> Till summer showers and evening's dew
> Again the verdant glebe renew;
> And, as the vegetables rise,
> The famished cow her want supplies;
> Without an ounce of last year's flesh.[17]

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14. D. Defoe, _Caledonia, a Poem in Honour of Scotland and the Scots Nation_, Edinburgh, 1706, p. 55.
15. H. Williams, _op. cit._, p. 219.
16. J. Swift, _Prose Works_, III, 254.
17. "A Receipt to restore Stella's Youth," _The Poems of Jonathan Swift_, ed. by H. Williams, Oxford, 1937, II, 759.

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Ned Ward, describing the leanness of a pony "that could have eaten the saddle stuffing for a bait," concludes that Scotland must have been her feeding-place.[18] Burt writes that the extreme poverty of the Highlands is revealed by the fact that women carrying heavy loads would wade over large slippery stones at the hazard of their lives to avoid paying the toll-bridge fee of a bodle.[19] He furnishes a melancholy description of a fair at Inverness, the "capital" of the Highlands. It shows the misery of the country people:

> One has under his arm a small Roll of Linen, another a Piece of Coarse Plaiding: these are considerable Dealers. But the Merchandise of the greatest Part of them is of a most contemptible Value, such as these, viz.--two or three Cheeses, of about three or four Pounds a-piece; a Kid sold for Sixpence or Eight-pence at the most; a small Quantity of Butter, in something that looks like a Bladder, and is sometime set down upon the Dirt in the Street; three or four Goatskins; a Piece of Wood for an Axletree to one of the little Carts, etc. With the Produce of what each of them sells, they generally buy something, viz.--a Horn or Wooden Spoon or two, a Knife, a Wooden Platter, and such-like Necessaries for their Huts, and Carry home with them little or no Money.[20]

In another letter Burt continues his description of the fair:

> If you rightly conceive of it you must imagine you see two or three Hundred half-naked, half-starved Creatures of both Sexes, without so much as a Smile or any Cheerfulness among them, stalling about with Goods such as I have described, up to

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18. Ned Ward, Hudibras Redivivus, London, 1708, p. 24.
19. A copper coin valued at one third of a cent. E. Burt, op. cit., I, 40.
20. Ibid., pp. 83-84.

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> their Ankles in dirt; and at Night Numbers of them lying together in Stables or other Outhouse Hovels that are hardly any Defence against the Weather.[21]

But however barren Scotland might appear to others, to Defoe its mountains were a vast storehouse of undiscovered wealth:

> Here Fruitful Hills and there the Flowery Plain
> Deep undiscovered Funds of Wealth contain.
> The Silver Vein and vast Metallic Store
> Forbid to call her Wildest Mountains poor.
> The mines of Lead, or Copper, and of Coal
> Enrich the several Parts, those Parts the Whole.
> Nothing remains to make her Wealth complete
> But that her Right Hand and her Left may meet.[22]

This author makes the most staggering statement as to the hypothetical wealth of the kingdom:

> Not all the spicy banks of Ganges stream,
> Not fruitful Nile so oft the poet's dream,
> Not lilies of pearl, not rich Pacifick seas,
> Not the more fruitful Caribbees.
>
> Not Africk's wealth or Chilean stores,
> The silver mountains or the Golden shoars
> Could such an unexhausted treasure boast
> A treasure how supinely lost!
>
> What pains has Scotland taken to be poor,
> That has the Indies at her door
> That lets her coursest fate of choice remain
> And sees her Maker bountiful in vain?[23]

One wonders just on what grounds Defoe could make these wild claims. He did hear of copper, lead, and silver mines

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21. Ibid., p. 86.
22. D. Defoe, Caledonia, p. 55.
23. Ibid., pp. 16-17.

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"lately discovered in Fife," but he could not learn that any of them were actually wrought or at work. He thinks it not improbable that there are such mines, "the Country seeming very likely for it by many particular Tokens"; the "two Lomons,...Two remarkable Mountains," seem to promise "Metal in their Bowels if they were thoroughly search'd"; at any rate, he is informed that in Caithness there are lead, copper, and iron, and says he, "I am very much inclined to believe it."[24]

His statement that the lead, coal, and salt exported from Scotland every year more than balanced the country's imports does not accord with that of Wodrow the historian who, writing in 1731, says:

> I find it observed, that very soon Scotland must be drained of money in specie, and really it is a wonder how any almost is left with us. Indeed, except it be for coals (and that is a trifle), linnen cloth and black cattle, which may bring in a little, we have scarcely any other branch of trade that brings in money to us in specie.[25]

Defoe is right, however, in his judgement of the "Bounteous ocean, fraught with the native gold."

> When, Caledonians, when will you be wise
> And search for certain wealth in native seas?
> A wealth by heav'n design'd for none but you,
> A wealth that does your very hands pursue.[26]

At a point off the coasts of Ross he discovered the quantity

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24. D. Defoe, Tour, pp. 802, 821.
25. Robert Wodrow, Analecta, Edinburgh, 1843, IV, 269.
26. D. Defoe, Caledonia, p. 17.

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of herrings to be so prodigious that he ventured to say that the sea was one-third water and two-thirds fish, and that the latter would have taken ten thousand ships to load them.[27] He found not only a great abundance of herrings generally, but also a plentiful supply of different kinds of fish in many parts of the island.

Always willing to make the most of whatever is of value in the North, Defoe repeatedly mentions the numerous residences of the Scottish gentlemen: "But I cannot describe Houses: They come too thick upon me; besides, in a country as this is, full of Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Seats, I should never travel any farther if I did, I mean in this Volume." The seats reached to the "extremest shores" and "indeed they are the chief thing of value that is to be seen."[28]

He cites many cities and towns where trade is thriving. Thus he begins: "Here are several Testimonies of the Goodness of their Trade..."; and "There is a very considerable manufacture at..."[29]; and again, "The chief Business in this Town is in the Linnen Manufacture: and it is so considerable..." Statements such as these might, though true,

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27. D. Defoe, Tour, p. 829.
28. Ibid., pp. 741, 813, 722.
29. Ibid., pp. 801, 756.

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lead one to think that the nation was enjoying an era of prosperity. Such, however, was far from being the case. Elsewhere, the same writer acknowledges that the common people "all over this country" not only are poor, but look poor; "they appear dejected and discouraged, as if they had given over all hopes of ever being otherwise than what they are."[30] He sees the "lab'ring poor" too much subjected to the immoderate powers of petty tyrants. These "little chiefs" suck the life-blood of both tenant and estate, creating needless poverty for both, "and making the poor be very, very poor."[31]

When Swift defies any mortal to name one single advantage England could ever gain from the Union, Defoe does not deny the penury, and his defence is weak: It was England that sought Scotland; Scotland was not so poor but that if England had not courted her, others would; if the Union were now dissolved, England would lose more by it than Scotland; moreover, the Union is a particular security against the Pretender.[32] But when Swift declares that the pensions and employment possessed by Scotchmen in England amount to more than the whole body of their nobility ever spent at home, and that the Scottish nobility is so numer-

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30. Ibid., pp. 796, 734.
31. D. Defoe, Caledonia, p. 23.
32. D. Defoe, The Scots Nation and Union Vindicated, Edinburgh, 1714, pp. 18-19.

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ous that the whole revenues of their country would hardly be able to support them, Defoe retorts that such is far from the truth: The nobles have always had sufficient estate to maintain the honour and dignity of their families, sufficient to care for all the needful expenses of a liberal education suited to men of the first rank. If the facts were known, he declares, the money spent in England by the nobility and gentry of Scotland and the produce of their estates amount to infinitely more than all that they or any of their nation ever received in pensions or employments from England since the Union of the Crowns. In fact, he even accuses England of borrowing money on Scotch lands for the purpose of carrying on her own lawsuits, and of mortgaging Scotch jointures to pay English debts. England is responsible for a "continual consumption, like an inward Bleeding, that has destroyed the vitals of Scotland, exhausted her Wealth, and brought the 'English' court to be the center of all the wealth and Ready-Money of 'Scotland', which should otherwise have circulation in a Home Consumption to the Encouragement of Trade and the enriching their own People."[33] Defoe, it should be added, appears to be inconsistent in regard to the financial status of the Scottish nobles. If, as he has just maintained, these gentry have

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33. Ibid., pp. 21, 23, 18.

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always been able to live comfortably on the income of their own estates, and have spent in the South such great amounts, evidently derived from the same source, why then does he complain in another place that were the nobility of Scotland true patriots, they would spend some of the large sums they get "in England" on the improvement of their country?[34]

On the whole it must be granted that the economic prosperity of Scotland as pictured by Defoe and Hill is exaggerated. They fail in general to furnish the evidence necessary to warrant their making extravagant assertions concerning the wealth of the country. Defoe's long, carefully-worded statements of "probable" natural resources are not at all convincing. On the other hand, although Swift and Ned Ward contemptuously overstate the penury of the North, not only do they approach perhaps nearer the true state of affairs as the impartial Burt finds it in the Highlands, but their attitude is no doubt more typical of that to be found south of the Tweed at this time.

The few Englishmen who write of Scotland during this period are concerned with the economic rather than with

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34. D. Defoe, Union Vindicated, p. 23. Graham writes of the period: "Scotland's members of Parliament could not usually afford to drive to Westminister, for the cost would have hopelessly burdened their sorely wasted lands; they therefore rode their own horses. Even John, Duke of Argyll had to travel in this way." --*Op. cit.*, p. 43.

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the scenic values of that country. Indeed, in English literature of the early eighteenth century an expression of appreciation of Scottish scenery is rarely found. The cultivated Englishman of the day preferred "Rosamond's Pond to any loch, and Primrose Hill to every mountain." In vain did Nature present its finest and grandest aspects to his gaze. Burt, for example, expressed only abhorrence for a Highland landscape:

> The Highlands are, for the greatest Part, composed of Hills, as it were, piled one upon Another, till the Compilation rises and swells to Mountains, of which the Heads are frequently above the Clouds, and near the Summit have vast Hollows filled up with Snow....The Summits of the Highest are mostly destitute of Earth; and the huge naked Rocks, being just above the Heath, produce the disagreeable Appearance of a scabbed Head...[35]

In further describing the mountains he makes use of such unromantic expressions as "monstrous Excrescences," "length and breadth," and "cavities"; and he longs to conclude his discussion of such a disagreeable subject.[36] The wild scenery--the roaring cataract, the towering mountain, the boundless moor clothed with purple heather--possessed for him no beauty or sublimity. Indeed, for that matter, the more magnificent scenes of nature were lost even to the Scottish poets themselves.

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35. E. Burt, op. cit., II, 28-29.
36. Ibid., pp. 30, 31, 32.

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While still considering the Lowlands, Defoe observed that, contrary to what is usual, the farther North he travelled, the better, finer, and richer the country was. Kyle he finds much better inhabited than Carrick, and Carrick better than Galloway. He attributes the greater prosperity in part at least to the fact that the more northern country was "plainer and leveller." The flat land from Dunbar to Edinburgh is as pleasant and agreeable as any in Scotland, "and, indeed, as most in England." "All the country on the West Side of the Spey," he states, "is surprisingly agreeable...the Land rich and fruitful, well peopled, and full of Gentlemen's Seats."[37]

But even the wily political agent, who is disposed to speak favourably of the Scots, must voice this general English concept of the wildness of the country in general:

> A rough, unhewn, uncultivated spot
> Neglected Scotland shows her awful brow.[38]

In the early part of his Tour he sees the town of Drumlanrig environed with mountains of the wildest and most hideous aspect. It is as an "Equestrian Statue set up in a barn."[39] Crossing the bridge over the Ness he enters that which he considers to be really the north of Scotland. This "frightful country" cannot call for a distinct descrip-

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37. D. Defoe, Tour, pp. 739, 699, 815.
38. D. Defoe, Caledonia, p. 2.
39. D. Defoe, Tour, p. 727.

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tion, because "it is all one undistinguished Range of Mountains and Woods, overspread with vast and almost uninhabited Rocks and Steeps." Still, as he reaches Sutherlandshire, Defoe feels that the country is not too impenetrable to be described. He comments on the ignorance of the geographers who, apparently almost as much at a loss to describe this northern part of Scotland as the Romans were to conquer it, feel themselves obliged to cover it with hills and mountains. When the journalist, however, comes to Lochaber in the west, all that land is not only "frightful and hideous in appearance"; it is "unpassable, except to the Highlanders who possess the Precipices." Here the Highland robbers might find "such Retreats as none can ever pretend to follow them into."[40] Even though Defoe takes pains to give a pleasing report of the economic conditions in the North, his taste for natural scenery is too typically that of the Englishman of the first half of the eighteenth century to permit him to show any degree of enthusiasm for the kind of scenery that the Highlands had to offer.

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40. Ibid., pp. 819, 821, 831, 832.

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C. The People of Scotland

While Scotland was despised for its barrenness, its poverty was more immediately brought home to the English by another factor. In the early part of the eighteenth century, because of the extreme scarcity of any decent remunerative employment, many a Scottish lad crossed the Tweed with high hopes of making good in London. It was a saying current with the English that after a Scotchman had left home, he might be willing to die for his country, but he did not care to live in it. It is true that Scots of ambition and genius had no opportunity at home. To England went outstanding physicians like Dr Arbuthnot, Dr Cheyne, the Hunters, and the Fordyces. Distinguished draughtsmen practised in England: James Gibb, who designed Radcliffe Library at Oxford and St. Martin's Church, London, and Robert Mylne, the architect of Blackfriar's Bridge. The artists Aikman, Strange, and Ramsay found their patrons in London. David Hume and Adam Smith secured positions as tutors in the homes of English nobility.[41]

If Scots were found prospering in every kind of occupation in England, their success was attributed largely

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41. H. G. Graham, op. cit., pp. 65, 66.

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to their love of gain. It incurred for them many a jeer from the southerner. A writer in the Gentleman's Magazine complains: "They have pour'd upon us, like swarms of locust, into every scene of life...and where anything is to be got, you may find Scotsmen conven'd, like hounds over a carrion, or flies in the shambles."[42] Tom Brown in his Amusements Serious and Comical speaks of a person who looks as pale as a Scotchman when he offers you his purse.[43] Burt reports it to have been commonly observed with the English that when the Scots were in competition with one another for commercial profit, each spoke to the disadvantage of the other. On one occasion, he relates, an English officer, investigating the fitness of a certain Scotchman to perform a particular task, cried out exasperated, "Every one of these men tells me the others are Rogues"; and he added with an oath, "I believe them all!" On the contrary, Burt says, if business is not involved, the Scot when asked concerning the character of his fellow-tradesman will answer, "There's not an honester lad in all Britain."[44] Pope says of Scoto:

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42. Gentleman's Magazine, 1746, XVI, 633.
43. Tom Brown, Amusements Serious and Comical, New York, 1927, p. 76.
44. E. Burt, op. cit., pp. 102, 103, 104.

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Strike off his pension, by the setting sun,
And Britain, if not Europe, is undone.[45]

It is advocated that the northerners be given no encouragement in the several professions in which they deprive the Englishman of his daily bread; for they must then either remain within their own "barren confines" or wander abroad, which would be immaterial to the English, if but they might be rid of

...a Race
Able to bring the gibbet in disgrace.
I would not quote
The name of Scot, without an antidote.[46]

So odious to the Londoner was anything that savoured of the North that Macklin's comedy, The True Born Scotsman, even though it was most uncomplimentary to the Scotch, had to be re-entitled The Man of the World. Horace Walpole said he heard that there was little merit in the play except the resemblance of Sir Pertinax Macsychophant to twenty thousand Scotchmen. Sir Pertinax, who makes his way by "cunning, cringing, wily persistence," and the contentious Sir Archie Macsarcasm in the same author's Love à la Mode were considered excellent portraits of the typical Scotchman.[47]

Swift describes the Scots as a "poor, fierce, north-

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45. The Works of Alexander Pope, ed. by Rev. W. Elwin and W. I. Courthope, London, 1881, III, 65.
46. The Gentleman's Magazine, XVI, 1746, 634.
47. H. G. Graham, op. cit., p. 67.

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ern people"; and he argues with Lord Marr, a Scotch earl, about the stubbornness and folly of his countrymen.[48] The Dean was especially provoked at the craftiness of the Scots. Writing that a pastor ought to know the depths of Satan, or be "cunninger than the devil," by way of illustration he speaks of a certain Scotch Lord as "of a nation very much distinguished for that quality of cunning." At another time, when Colonel Cleland showed the Dean some kindnesses, hoping thereby to enlist his influence to help him secure the governorship of Barbadoes, that gentleman dubbed him "a true Scotsman." Swift describes the Highlanders as a "company of rogues, thieves, and pickwickets, having no reputation for virtue or honesty"; and this is not to be wondered at, he adds, for scolding and cursing are their common conversation.[49] "Altho' they have cheated King William out of an act of Parliament," says Tom Brown, "I believe they will find it a hard matter, with all their craft and cunning, to cheat heaven."[50] The Gentleman's Magazine in 1746 stigmatizes them with being unbearably insolent in their manners, and much more so when occupying positions of authority; they are also "incurably rebellious" by nature, and no one knows just what to do with

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48. J. Swift, Satires and Personal Writings, ed. by W. Eddy, London, 1932, p. 367.
49. J. Swift, Prose Works, IV, 156; II, 449; VII, 97.
50. Tom Brown, op. cit., pp. 140-141.

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then. To extirpate a whole nation would be most drastic. To transport them to the West Indies would be no punishment:

> A land where one may pray with curst intent
> O, May they never suffer banishment!

Furthermore, they are a stiff-necked people:

> Nor gold, nor acts of grace, 'tis steel alone
> can tame
> The stubborn Scot.[51]

But Scotland is not without a champion. Just as Defoe commends the economic richness of the North, he praises the character of the people. It is true that prior to his official trips to Scotland, he had spoken of the Scots as a treacherous people ruled by fraud.[52] But that was in 1701 when Defoe was "satirically out-of-sorts" with all nations. In 1706, when he was delegated to Edinburgh as secret agent of the English government to help bring about the Union, he published his Caledonia, a fragment which eulogizes North Britain. It would be difficult to determine to what extent politics dominate the spirit of the poem, which praises lavishly the nation, "rich in virtue" and "poor only in vice":

> Fiercely tenacious of determin'd truth
> Dreadful to error, vigilant of both.

His picture of Scottish character here is in keeping

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51. The Gentleman's Magazine, 1746, XVI, 633, 634.
52. D. Defoe, Journal of the Plague Year and Other Pieces, ed. by A. W. Secord, New York, 1935, p. 276.

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with the ruggedness of the country:

> A manly surliness with temper mix'd,
> Is on their meanest countenances fix'd,
> An awful frown sits on their threatning brow;
> And yet the soul's all smooth, and calm below
> Thinking in temper, rather grave than gay
> Fitted to govern, able to obey
> Nor are their spirits very soon explain'd
> And if provok'd not very soon reclaim'd
> Fierce when resolv'd and fix'd as bars of brass
> And conquest through their blood can only pass.[53]

However the conversation of the Highlanders seemed to men like Swift, who had never visited their country, the conduct of the Scots in general made a favourable impression on Defoe, who had travelled extensively in the Highlands. To him the Scottish people are serious-minded, sober in conversation, and polite in manners. He cheerfully crossed the river Tay, "trusting very much to the natural, known Civility, which the Scots, in the remotest Parts always show to Strangers."[54] His testimony in this respect accords with that of Burt, who speaks most commendably of the hospitality of the Highland gentlemen.[55] In considering the southwestern part of the country, Defoe says that people there speak with propriety; one never hears an oath or a profane word in the streets. Indeed, in Scotland, should a gentleman hear a street urchin swearing, he would cane him; whereas in England it is common to hear the "most horrid Oaths and Blas-

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53. D. Defoe, Caledonia, pp. 25, 22.
54. D. Defoe, Tour, p. 805.
55. E. Burt, op. cit., I. 135.

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phemies in the open street," and coming too from children who scarcely know what an oath means. "But this we cannot cure,...and in Scotland, you have none of it to cure."[56]

But the uncleanness of the common people provoked considerable comment from Englishmen during the century. Burt tells that on his first night in Edinburgh, as he was enjoying himself with a merry company in a tavern, the signal for the scavenger was given with the beating of the city-drum at ten o'clock. The company at once began to fumigate the room by lighting pieces of paper and throwing them on the table, and he was directed to his lodgings by a guide who went before him, crying out all the way, "hud your Haunde." But too often, he says, the shout was unheard or too late, and a drenched periwig and besmirched three-cornered hat were borne home dripping and ill-scented.[57] "When their servants wash a room," writes this Englishman, with a touch of sarcasm, "which the English Lodgers require to be sometimes done, they..do it with their feet."[58] He furnishes a description of a house near the capital, which has just been vacated by a woman of distinction:

The Floor of the Room where she saw Company was

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56. D. Defoe, Tour, pp. 734, 735.
57. E. Burt, op. cit., I, 21.
58. Ibid., p. 91.

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> clean, being rubbed every morning according to custom; but the Inside of the Corner-cupboards, and every other part out of sight, were in a dirty Condition; but, when he came to the Kitchen, he was not only disgusted at the sight of it but sick with the Smell, which was intolerable; he could not so much as guess whether the floor was Wood or Stone, it was covered so deep with accumulated Grease and Dirt, mingled together. The Drawers under the table looked as if they were almost transparent with Grease; the walls near the Servant's Table, which had been white, were almost covered with Snuff spit against it; and bones of Sheeps Heads lay scattered under the Dresser.[59]

Though Burt does not deny the dirt, he makes apology for the natives:

> Let those who deride the Dirtiness or Idleness of these poor Creatures, which my Countrymen are too apt to do,...consider what Inclination they have to recommend themselves? What contentment can there proceed from mere Despair? Cleanliness is too expensive for their small wages; and what Inducement can they have, in such a Station to be diligent and obliging to those who use them more like Negroes than natives of Britain?[60]

But the satire of Swift is doubly poignant in describing the sanitary conditions of North Britain: "She [Scotland] hath a stinking breath and twenty ill smells besides, which are yet more insufferable than her natural sluttishness; for she is always lousy, and never without the itch."[61] The author of Gulliver's Travels takes it for granted that "lice are brethren to a Scot"; and he likens

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59. Ibid., pp. 149-150.
60. Ibid., p. 94.
61. J. Swift, Prose Works, VII, 97.

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some critics to a man walking through Edinburgh streets, who is careful "to spy our the filth" in hope of coming out as clean as possible. The cabins of the Scots in Ulster he finds as dirty and miserable as those of the wildest Irish.[62]

Defoe seeks to exculpate the citizens of the Scottish metropolis from the charge of uncleanness on the ground that the city is under the most scandalous inconveniences; and he adds, "as if the People were not as willing to live sweet and clean as other nations, but delighted in Stench and Nastiness..." Because of the difficulty of carrying water to the uppermost lodgings of the high-storey buildings and because of congested living conditions, he would exonerare the people of the capital from blame: "In no City in the World do so many People live in so little Room as at Edinburgh."[63] One may say in passing that the Reformation in Scotland with its opposition to the beautiful in life was probably in part responsible for this general neglect of the decencies of life; a people who, as a protest

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62. Ibid., IV, 264; VII, 97, 122.
63. D. Defoe, _Tour_, p. 710. The following is a list of the inhabitants of a house in the High Street--First door upstairs, Mr. Stirling, fishmonger. Second door, Mrs. Slaquhart, who keeps a lodging-house of good repute. Third flat, the Dowager Countess of Balcarris. Fourth flat, Mrs. Buchan of Kelly. Fifth flat, the Misses Elliots. Garrets, a great variety of tailors, tradesmen, and others. Quoted from R. Chambers, _Reekiana_, in G. B. Hill. _op. cit._ pp. 45-46.

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against popery thought dirt and cobwebs essential to the house of God, were not likely to regard cleanliness as next to godliness in their homes.[64]

From Swift, who knew directly only those northerners who entered into England or crossed over to Ireland, there is exacted at least one agreeable comment on the North. He observes "the Scots in our northern parts to be brave, industrious people," glad to exchange their barren confines for the fruitful vales of Down and Antrim. Partly because of their "extreme parsimony" and partly because of their "wonderful dexterity in dealing" they soon grow rich from the smallest beginnings; for instance, there was little value to the land, mostly woody, in northern Ireland till the Scotch colonies went over; before long the glebes "which could not yield two pence an acre "were "equal to the best."[65]

But if the Scot abroad established a record for industry, his brother at home earned quite another reputation. Policy compels even Defoe to declare that the poverty of Scotland is due neither to the climate nor to the soil. He will attribute the cause of it to a lack of industry in the people:

> 'Tis blasphemy to say the climate's curst
> Nature will ne'er be fruitful till she's forced;
> 'Twas made her duty from her first decay,

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64. G. Birbeck Hill, op. cit., p. 43.
65. J. Swift, Prose Works, IV, 12. 13; III, 254.

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> The sweating brow alone and laboring hard t'obey,
> And these she never does nor dares deny.
> Wake Scotland, from thy Lethargick dream,
> Seem what thou art, and be what thou shalt seem;
> Shake off the poverty, the sloth will die,
> Success alone can quicken industry.[66]

As Defoe and Swift express themselves differently with regard to the industry of the North Britons, so are they at variance in discussing the religion of that people. The Dean of St. Patrick's thought more highly of the former than of the latter. He writes that although the Scotch are extremely devoted to their form of worship, it is a religion "of the most rank and virulent kind"; he avers that the Scotch Presbyterians are equally hostile toward both Episcopalians and Roman Catholics and that the Scotch in Ireland regard the Episcopal Church as "at least three degrees worse than popery."[67] Since to Swift, however, Presbyterianism was a part of the political machinery of the times, one must guard against being too credulous in accepting his statements on Scotch religion. It is to be remembered, too, that especially during this first half of the century an incessant war of religious pamphlets was being waged. One writer says of the period, "So charged with venom, so abounding in evident misrepresentations, are the accusations of Presbyterian and Episcopalian alike that it is well-nigh impossible to clear the way to truth, amid the jungle of

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66. D. Defoe, Caledonia, p. 53.
67. J. Swift, Prose Works, VII, 98; IV, 13.

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reproaches, recriminations, charges, and counter charges."[68]

In making allowance for different geographical regions, Defoe, on the other hand, is generally favourable in his opinion of the religion of the North. While considering Edinburgh, he commends the strict religious habits of its citizens. On the Sabbath the people do not wander about as they do in England; custom causes even those "who may have no more religion than enough" to attend the kirk. In this sacred place the congregation is so worshipful that no one notices a late-comer; whereas in England "we make our Bows and our Cringes in the Middle of our very Prayer." In Dumfriesshire, in southern Scotland, the jouralist is amazed at the size of the audience attending a "Field Meeting." The congregation on this occasion numbered almost 7000, many of the poor people coming on foot for sixteen miles to hear the minister who, except for a brief intermission, preached for almost seven hours. Defoe adds that if the English were as zealous in worship as the Scots, their churches would be more thronged and their ale-houses less crowded on the Sabbath day.[69]

At Tain, a town in northeastern Scotland, this Englishman notices, however, a totally different religious situation from that which he had found in the south. "You

68. H. G. Graham, op. cit., p. 277.
69. D. Defoe, Tour, pp. 718, 730.

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would hardly believe that in a Christian Island...there should be People found who know so little of Religion." He complains that in this region they do not know a Sunday from a working day or the worship of God from an ordinary meeting; and he hopes that his Majesty's gift of a thousand pounds annually for the propagation of Christian knowledge in the Highlands will be so used that it may break in upon "this horrible ignorance."[70]

The enthusiasm which the Scots as a people generally show in their religion appears in the martial spirit of the Scottish soldiers. The bravery of these men was proverbial in the eighteenth century. The poet Aaron Hill acknowledges their courage:

> Brave and long-fam'd in arms, her warlike race
> Have trod the fields of death with dauntless grace
> Fierce and untir'd in blood, have nobly dar'd,
> And every toil and every danger shar'd.[71]

In an issue of the Gentleman's Magazine for the year 1747, the writer states that the North Britons swarm in English regiments because of their martial spirit; "their courage, conduct, and politeness" have always reflected honour upon English armies; "court-martials by sea or land are unheard of among them."[72]

In his Memoirs of a Cavalier Defoe gives, on the

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70. Ibid., p. 830.
71. Aaron Hill, op. cit., IV, 45.
72. The Gentleman's Magazine, 1747, XVII, 59.

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whole, a description of the Highland soldiers that should make them an honourable addition to any nation. His sketch of their appearance, however, is not at all flattering:

> Generally tall, swinging fellows, swords extravagantly broad, carried great wooden targets, large enough to cover the upper parts of their bodies, cap on their heads, called by them a bonnet, long hanging sleeves behind, and their doublet, breeches, and stockings of a stuff they call plaid, striped across red and yellow, with short cloaks of the same.[73]

Though they look like a regiment of merry-andrews ready for a Bartholomew fair, "they are proud enough to be kings." In spite of the fact that they cut one another's throats for the most trifling affront, Defoe confesses them to be most obliging and loyal to their clans. If their skill and discipline were in proportion to their courage, power of endurance, and swiftness of foot, he believes that they would make the bravest soldiers in the world; "if they conquer, no enemy can escape them, and if they run, even the horse can hardly overtake them."[74] In the Scots Nation and Union Vindicated Defoe asks Swift to point to any country in the world in which so many soldiers have raised themselves to the highest dignities and offices through sheer merit and gallantry in military affairs as have the Scots.[75] In his Tour the same writer

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73. Defoe's Works, Bohn's Libraries, London, 1906, II, 112.
74. Ibid., II, 113. In the same book some English soldiers, hearing the Scotch speak contemptuously of the English army, are only too conscious that "what they said of our men was true."
75. D. Defoe, Union Vindicated, p. 24.

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never wearies of paying tribute to their heroism. "We must always blush when we pretend to say the Scots ever wanted Courage in the Field, let the Cause, or the Time, or the Government be what, when, and how they will."[76] In Caledonia it was no exaggeration for him to relate

> And their strong legions breath in every air:
> They taught the very "Swedes" themselves to fight,
> And spight of Dulness, arm the Muscovite:
> The sordid Russ to discipline they train
> And fain would teach the Poles, but that's in vain.
>
> . . .
>
> Not Europe ventures to commence a war
> But Caledonia's blood demands her share
> And if'tis bought or sold 'tis always very dear.[77]

Whatever is worthy of the least commendation in Scotland will not escape Defoe. He has no intention of neglecting the Scottish nobility:

> The Antiquity of their families, their personal Gallantry, the merit of their Ancestors, as well as the honor of their country, makes them known and universally esteem'd thro' the whole World. No men are more acceptable abroad in the world, none more esteem'd and none owe that esteem more to their own virtue and merit than they do...All the world courts them, are fond of them and value them beyond other nations.[78]

The influence which these landowners have over the people in Scotland renders their dignity, honour, and interest greater than those can be in any nation; their credit is good anywhere.[77] The gentlemen in the section of Aberdeen have the "politest and

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76. D. Defoe, Tour, p. 107.
77. D. Defoe, Caledonia, pp. 26-27.
78. D. Defoe, Union Vindicated, pp. 19-20, 21.

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brightest Education and Genius of any People so far North, perhaps in the world, being always bred in Travel Abroad and in the Universities at Home."[79] In the Compleat English Gentleman (1729) Defoe, contrasting learning in England with that in Scotland, says that the poverty of education among English gentlemen of extraordinary quality is deplorable; whereas in the North no ignorance is found among the higher ranks. There education extends even to the servants: "Nay you cannot ordinarily find a servant in Scotland but he can read and write."[80] Swift, for all his hatred of the Scots, did agree with Burnet, the Scottish historian, that the lairds gave their sons more sound book-learning than did the wealthier and idler English.[81] Defoe reproaches the Scottish nobility, however, with indolence. The Highland gentleman when reduced to poverty rarely demeaned himself by turning his hand to business. "They had rather see their Sons made Foot Soldiers (than which as Officers treat them now there is not a more abject Thing of Earth), than see them apply to Trade, nay to Merchandize, or to the Sea, because those Things are not (forsooth) fit for Gentlemen."[82]

Defoe claims for the Scottish nobility descent

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79. D. Defoe, Tour, p. 813.
80. D. Defoe, Compleat English Gentleman, London, 1890, p. 117.
81. W. E. H. Lecky, England in the Eighteenth Century, New York, 1892, II, p. 285, n. 1.
82. D. Defoe, Tour, pp. 735, 734.

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from a more ancient family than the English could boast of. Furthermore, they are nobler than the English, for they are more nearly allied to the Crown.[83] Aaron Hill addresses the North thus: "Albania! nurse of kings!"[84] But Swift gives Ireland credit for making Scotland:

> From thee, with pride, the Caledonians trace
> The glorious founder of their kingly race;
> Thy martial sons, whom now they dare despise
> Did once their land subdue and civilize;
> Their dress, their language, and the Scottish name,
> Confess the soil from whence the victors came.
> Well may they boast that ancient blood which runs
> Within their veins, who are thy younger sons.
> A conquest and a colony from thee,
> The mother-kingdom left her children free;
> From thee no mark of slavery they felt:[85]

In concluding the discussion of this period we may therefore say that though England and Scotland effected a Union in 1707, even by 1750 they had not acquired a unity of temper. English literature of the first half-century reflects in a measure the hostility of the South, which is due not only to long-standing prejudice, but also in part to ignorance of the North and in part to the economic condition of that country. If it behooves men like Defoe and Hill, who knew the country at first hand, to speak well of Scotland, their political and business affiliations prevent us from considering their favourable attitude as typical.

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83. D. Defoe, Union Vindicated, pp. 16-17.
84. Aaron Hill, op. cit., III, 369.
85. "On the Sudden Drying up of St. Patrick's Well," Poems of Swift, III, 125-126.

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Burt is generally sympathetic; but he too had lived for some time in the country. Yet Swift, although he did not visit North Britain, perhaps for this very reason, shows forth more truly the English attitude toward the Scots. Hereafter, in considering the third quarter of the century, it will be seen how this attitude is modified by new factors and ultimately gives way to a spirit of harmony between the two peoples.

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II

1750-1775

A. Introduction

Until almost the middle of the eighteenth century the Highlands of Scotland had been inaccessible. Each clan had been in reality a petty kingdom ruled by tribal law. Thomas Pennant expresses astonishment, however, at the sudden change in the morals of those parts of the Highlands which he visited in 1771: "Security and civilization possess every part; yet thirty years have not elapsed since the whole was a den of thieves, of the most extraordinary kind."[1] Samuel Johnson writes in a similar strain in 1775: "Thirty years ago no herd had ever been conducted through the mountains without paying tribute in the night to some of the clans." But he adds, "cattle are now driven, and passengers travel without danger, fear, or molestation."[2] Changes such as these explain a more favourable drift in English opinion.

By the third quarter of the century several factors had been operating or were operating to diminish ill-will between the North and the South. In 1726 General Wade began to build roads which, when completed, opened remote

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1. Thomas Pennant, _A Collection of Voyages and Travels_, ed. by John Pinkerton, Philadelphia, 1811, III, 348.
2. Samuel Johnson, _A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland_, London, 1924, p. 65.

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parts of Scotland to civilizing influences. But the crushing of the Rebellion of 1745 was needed completely to remove some obstacles in the way of progress. It was then that the government at Westminster, determined as it was to quell the spirit of insurrection in Scotland, adopted measures which eventually brought the two countries closer together.

In 1746 all heritable jurisdiction in the Highlands was abolished, and in the same year the Disarming Act became a reality. A real step was made toward moral unity in the policy of Pitt, described by him in 1766 when he declared that merit, so far as he was concerned, should be recognized regardless of whether a man was "rocked in his cradle on this side or that side of the Tweed."[3] English ministers, Pitt in particular, wisely enlisted Highland regiments in British service abroad. The valiant achievements of these soldiers did much to soften English animosity. The war between Great Britain and the American Colonies (1776-1783) strengthened the tie between the North and South Britons; and the state of war between Great Britain and France from 1793 on practically ended any real separation between England and Scotland. Education was gradually extended in the North, improved methods of agriculture were introduced, and trade

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3. Basil Williams, Life of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, London, 1913, II, 189.

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in general was encouraged.[4]

An influential group of writers, to be sure, complained that the Acts of Union were not strictly adhered to, that they were unlawfully made to favour the Scots. Why is it, the anonymous Junius asked, that a multitude of Scotch commoners represent English boroughs in the lower house? and why is it that English peerages are given to ladies, or to the elder sons of Scottish peers?[5] On the other hand, in his Dialogues of the Dead Lyttleton has Argyle picture the North in a most flourishing state as a result of the Union:

> Oh, Douglas--could you revive, and return into Scotland, what a delightful alteration would you see in that country! All those great tracts of land which in your time lay untilled,...you would now behold cultivated, and smiling with plenty. Instead of castles,...your eyes would be charmed with elegant country-houses, adorned with fine plantations, beautiful gardens; while happy villages or gay towns are rising about them, and enlivening the prospect with every image of rural wealth. In our ports and harbours, innumerable merchant ships richly loaded.... But of all improvements the greatest is in the minds of the Scotch. These have profited even more than their lands by the culture which the settled peace and tranquility produced by the Union have happily given to them: and they have discovered such talent in all branches of literature as might render the English jealous of being excelled by their genius, if there could remain competition when there remains no distinction between the two nations.[6]

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4. A. V. Dicey and R. S. Rait, Thoughts on the Union Between England and Scotland, London, 1920, p. 316.
5. Junius: Including Letters by the Same Writer under other Signatures, ed. by John Wade, London, 1850, I, 100.
6. Lord Lyttelton, Dialogues of the Dead, Boston, 1797, II, 330-331.

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Argyle sees the political and civil status of the Scottish baron to be much happier now and much more independent than under the former constitution. "Upon the whole as much as wealth is preferable to poverty, liberty to oppression, and national strength to national weakness; so much has Scotland incontestibly gained by the Union." But unlike Junius, Lyttleton also believes that England has benefited by it. The Scots have contributed, to the benefit of the whole island, their martial spirit, their hardy bodies, their strong, acute mental powers, and their genius for industry.[7]

John Langhorne in "Genius and Valour," a poem written out of sympathy for Scotland and against the scurrilous attacks of Churchill, also sees Scottish trade flourishing as a result of the Union:

> Then, shepherds, did your wondering fires behold
> A form divine....
> From east to west his mighty arms he strain'd
> A rooted olive in one hand he bore
> In one a globe, inscrib'd with sea and shore
> From Tame's banks to Tweed, to Tay he came,
> Wealth in his rear, and Commerce was his name.
>
> . . .
>
> But chief, Columbus, of thy various coast,
> Child of the union, commerce bears his boast.
> To seek thy new-found worlds, the vent'rous swain,
> His land forsaking, left the lowland plain.
> Aside his crook, his ikle pipe he threw,
> And bade to music and to love adieu.
> Hence, Glasgow fair, thy wealth-diffusing hand,

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7. *Ibid*., II, 335.

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> Thy groves of vessels, and thy crowded strand
> Hence, round his folds the moorland shepherd spies
> New social towns and happy hamlets rise.[8]

Burke agrees with Goldsmith that even though England had been united with Poverty, the Union was necessary, if only to remove jealousy and the possibility of future rupture. The Irish statesman was convinced that it had proved of mutual advantage to both countries. England, he felt, had gained morally and physically by the hearty co-operation of an active, intelligent people; she had more than doubled her external trade, and her internal trade had been augmented at least fourfold.[9]

And there can be no question that those English writers are correct who agree that the Act of Union was a highly beneficial piece of legislation. But the progress toward a really friendly relationship between England and Scotland was very greatly hindered by one man, John Stuart, Earl of Bute.

In the early days of the Union it has been seen how Londoners abused the Scotchmen who crowded in upon the capital in search of fortune. But during the first half of the century this hatred had never been so keen as it became in 1761 when Lord Bute was appointed prime minister under George III. Bute was the object of numerous

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8. The Complete Works of the British Poets, London, 1795, XI, 220.
9. Edmund Burke, Letters, Speeches, and Tracts on Irish Affairs, London, 1881, p. 104.

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scurrilous attacks and lampoons. Horace Walpole writes:

> So great was public indignation in England that Bute could not appear alone or undisguised in the streets, and he was compelled to have in attendance a body guard of butchers and boxers for his protection. In certain counties, a crowned ass was led about by a man dressed in a Scotch plaid and decorated with a blue ribbon.[10]

His character, although not altogether unimpeachable, was by no means the cause of the overwhelming display of hostility against him. The fact that the man in the chief seat of government in Westminster was a Scot naturally infuriated Englishmen against both Bute and his countrymen.[11] In addition to his Scothood, his mismanagement of governmental affairs made him unpopular. It was known, too, that he was the Tory favourite of George III, and he was suspected of having power with the King's mother, the Princess Dowager. But it is generally conceded now that Bute was used by George III as his instrument for the destruction of the Whig party.[12]

The influence of the Bute ministry upon English attitude to Scotsmen may be illustrated by comparing the reference to Scotland made by Horace Walpole before and after 1760.[13] In his Royal and Noble Authors, published in 1758, Walpole describes the Scots as the most accom-

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10. Quoted from W. E. H. Lecky, A History of England in the Eighteenth Century, New York, 1892, III, 216.
11. A. V. Dicey and R. S. Rait, op. cit., p. 308.
12. C. E. Villiamy, Royal George, New York, 1937, p. 81.
13. A. V. Dicey and R. S. Rait, op. cit., p. 307, footnote.

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plished nation in Europe, the nation to which,"if any one country were endowed with a superior partition of sense," he should be inclined to give the preference.[14] Similar sentiments are expressed in his letters to Principal Robertson (January 18, 1759) and to Sir David Dalrymple (March 25, 1759), although, as Dicey and Rait point out, Scottish members of Parliament played a part in the defeat of his father, whom he worshipped, and although as Walpole himself remarked, he had "no reason to be partial" to Scotland.[15]

But after 1760 Walpole's comments grow bitter, and the bitterness increases with the years. He had a Scotch gardener for whom he had little use but whom he was reluctant to dismiss from service because he was an old servant; he resolved that he would not permit his own bias to interfere with duty and decided to retain the old man in spite of the fact that he belonged to "that odious nation," which he would have been grateful if Providence had placed "a hundred thousand miles off." In 1777, writing to Mason of the rebellious Americans, he said, "If they burn Edinburgh, I shall not cry fire."[17] Addressing a certain writer, he remarked, "Your writings will outlive the laws of England

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14. H. Walpole, Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, London, 1806, II, 201.
15. The Letters of Horace Walpole, ed. by P. Toynbee, Oxford, 1905, IV, 228-229, 252-254.
16. Ibid., XI, 128.
17. Ibid., X, 89.

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--I scorn to say Britain since it implies Scotland."[18]

Walpole's correspondence also indicates the sentiment of other Englishmen against their neighbours. In 1779, when Lord Stormart was under consideration for promotion as Secretary for the Southern Province, Walpole in a letter to Sir Horace Mann surmises the one objection to him: "He is a Scot, and Lord Mansfield's nephew, which the people mind more than his character." The same letter-writer records: "My father was not more abused after twenty years than Lord Bute is in twenty days. Weekly papers swarm and like other swarms of insects, sting. The cry you may be sure is on his Scothood."[19]

During Bute's term of office the Whigs were fighting a desperate battle with the King, who desired to increase his personal power and who turned to Scotsmen for assistance. They therefore felt that both the King and the Scots were traitors to the principles which the Whigs thought the House of Hanover should stand for. Junius, one of their leading writers, shows how they frowned on the employment of Scotsmen:

> Are you a prince of the house of Hanover, and do you exclude all the leading Whig families from your councils? Do you profess to govern according to law, and is it consistent with that profession to impart your confidence and affection to those men only who, though now perhaps detached from the desperate cause of the pretender, are marked in

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18. Ibid., VIII, 244.
19. Ibid., XI, 44; V, 213.

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> this country by an hereditary attachment to high and arbitrary principles of government? Are you so infatuated as to take the sense of your people from the representations of ministry or from the shouts of a mob notoriously hired to surround your coach, as stationed at a theatre....You have no enemies, sir, but those who persuade you to aim at power without right, and who think it flattery to tell you that the character of a king dissolves the natural relation between guilt and punishment.[20]

But nowhere during this third quarter of the century does hatred for Scotland find more violent expression than in John Wilkes, profligate Whig politician and essayist. On becoming first Lord of the Treasury, Bute established a weekly paper for the defense of his government; the Scotchman, Tobias Smollett, was chosen editor of the publication, which went by the name of the Briton. The challenge to meet the apologists of the Government in weekly combat was not to be refused by a man of Wilkes's temperament; and he immediately launched a rival paper, which in derision he christened the North Briton. Its editor was supposed to be a Scot, gloating over the fortunes of his countrymen and very ingenuous in reciting the complaints of the Englishmen whom the Scots had ousted from their positions. The sole aim of the paper was to ridicule the Bute administration. It won popularity in England because it was filled with violent abuse of the ministry and with unreasoning general assaults

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20. Junius Letters, pp. 101-102.

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upon the Scotch nation; its appeal to national prejudice was strong. Wilkes wrote most of the articles himself, but occasionally he obtained the help of his friends, Charles Churchill and Robert Lloyd. The first number opened in a typically Wilkesian manner: "The liberty of the press is the birthright of a Briton, and is justly esteemed the firmest bulwark of the liberties of this country"; and the freedom of the press forms the theme of a vigorous article, full of irony, directed against the unpopular minister and his Scottish nationality. His partiality to Scotsmen is forcibly attacked: "The Earl of Bute (with triumph be it spoken) is now at the head of affairs, and there is nothing which we may not, which we ought not, to hope for from the favour and patronage of our worthy Countryman."[21]

It was inevitable that many of those Scotchmen who had been bosom friends of Wilkes should break with him. Among the first was Smollett, the editor, stung by references in the North Briton to his literary style and by the continual affronts to his national pride. Dr. Armstrong, who for many years had fondly looked after the health of little Polly Wilkes, sent him a curt letter saying: "I cannot with honour or decency associate with one who has distinguished himself by abusing my country"; but some believed

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21. North Briton, London, 1772, I, 27.

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that the physician's resentment was the result of Wilkes's unauthorized publication of one of Armstrong's poems. These objections, however, did not in the least induce the editor of the North Briton to modify his attacks, and because of his campaign against the North he soon came to be regarded as a national hero.[22]

Wilkes's friend, the poet Charles Churchill, was likewise a powerful exponent of English scorn for the whole Scottish nation. Rejoicing at the success of his satirical poem against Bute, "The Prophecy of Famine," he dressed his son in a Scotch plaid, like a little Highlander, and carried him wherever he went in that garb, thinking to plague the Scots.[23] The fact that the author's mother came from the North did not deter him from voicing his perfectly sincere prejudice against his northern kinsfolk. His close friendship with Wilkes, who hated the Scotch, probably was responsible for much of the expression of his disgust.

Only one Englishman of the period deplores the current practice of holding the North Britons deserving of every reproach and of loading them with every possible invective for no better reason than that they are Scotsmen. Edward Topham in his Letters from Edinburgh denounces the idea that

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22. The Correspondence of the Late John Wilkes, ed. by J. Almon, London, 1805, pp. 72, 73.
23. Charles Churchill, British Poets, Boston, 1854, I, 174.

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Lord Bute was the "fountain of all this evil" merely because the prime minister probably thought it necessary to take some notice of his friends in their adversity. Since the name of Scotsman is in disrepute in England, surely, he says, a man from the North must have some merit of his own to recomment him; whereas an Englishman has often been taken notice of merely for being such.[24]

The "rage" against the Scots continued for years after Bute's retirement from office; his secret "influence" was still suspected.[25] Hume wrote from Paris, 23 August, 1765, "I have a reluctance to think of living among the factious barbarians of London; who will hate me because I am a Scotsman...The cry is loud against the Scots, and the present ministry [Rockingham's] are unwilling to support any of their countrymen, lest they bear the reproach of being connected with Lord Bute."[26] In 1769 Garrick, who was producing the tragedy Douglas by the Scot, John Home, justly alarmed at the jealousy prevailing against Lord Bute and his countrymen, advised the author to change the title and remain concealed till the play had its run. Though the drama did survive its nine nights, the attendance evidently slackened after its authorship became known.[27]

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24. E. Topham, Letters from Edinburgh, London, 1776, pp. 167, 168.
25. A. Carlyle, Autobiography, Edinburgh, 1860, p. 509.
26. J. H. Birton, Life of David Hume, Edinburgh, 1846, p. 290.
27. A. Carlyle, op. cit., p. 509.

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But in spite of the temporary outburst against the Scots occasioned by the brief Bute régime, the foundations of a lasting union between the two countries were gradually being laid. It is reasonable to conclude that, by 1775, thinking people north and south of the Tweed no longer questioned the wisdom or necessity of the Act of 1707.

We have seen how in the third quarter of the eighteenth century the general attitude of English men of letters was affected by the presence of Lord Bute at Westminster; it is now proposed to enquire into their opinions on specific aspects of Scotland; the people, the economic conditions, and the scenery of that country. The first of these is most directly connected with the problems already discussed.

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B. The People of Scotland

During the period under consideration the opinion of English men of letters concerning the character of the Scotch is quite mixed. Broadly speaking, one group is composed of those whose strong political persuasions led them to consider Lord Bute and the North Britons, to borrow the language of Swift, "the most pernicious race of little odious vermin that Nature ever suffered to crawl upon the face of the earth."[28] The attack of these writers is not directed primarily at the poverty of Scotland, as it was the case during the first half of the century; their wrath vents itself on the Scot himself. And Lord Bute's advancement to the leadership of the British government is largely responsible for the shift of attack. As Horace Walpole said, "The cry is on his Scothood." Bute's not unimpeachable character, as well as his governmental policies, of course coloured the character of the entire Scottish nation in the eyes of the English.

Another group of English authors writing at this time about the North is composed of such men as John Wesley, Goldsmith, and Topham, who are not essentially interested in matters of government. Their attitude toward the Scotch is generally more tolerant and friendly. But the opinions of the writers who were subject to political influence will be first considered.

As it has been pointed out, Horace Walpole's pronounced dislike of the Scotch had its inception in the advance-

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28. J. Swift, Prose Works, VIII, 136.

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ment of Lord Bute. From then on his view of the people of the North is blurred by his aversion for the Prime Minister, whom he regarded as a scheming, unprincipled, political climber, selfishly zealous for his own interests and those of his own countrymen. To Walpole the Scots turned out to be a nation of liars. He has Lord Bute in mind when he writes, "With all my pretences there is no more veracity in me than in a Scotch runner for the ministry."[29] His attitude at this time is an illustration of the sudden changes that may take place in national judgements. As one historian points out, among the good qualities of the Scots, there is probably none which a modern observer would regard as so conspicuous as their truthfulness.[30]

"But what a nation is Scotland," Walpole exclaims, "in every reign engendering traitors to the state, and false and pernicious to the kings that favor it most!" National prejudices, he admits in half-apologetic fashion for this sudden outburst, are vulgar; but, he asks, can one do other than dislike the land that produces such characteristics?[31]

The craftiness of the Scot was an abomination in his eyes. Old Lord Stair he finds practicing a little "Scotch art" to prevent General Wade from having an army in Scotland; and to Mason he writes, "As much as you know, and as much as you have lately heard of Scotch finesse, you will yet be star-

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29. Walpole's Letters, XI, 53.
30. W. E. H. Lecky, op. cit., III, 222, n.
31. Walpole's Letters, XI, 222.

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tled at the refinements that nation have made upon their own policy";[32] it is certain that the ministry, "poor souls," could keep no secrets from "these Scots, who intrude themselves into everything." Walpole is delighted that the North Britons are unable to "plunder and disgrace America as their chiefs have done England"; he is relieved that India also is escaping out of the "talons of the Scotch."[33]

This Englishman's poor opinion of the Scotch is, then, the result of political bitterness. The ministerial advancement of a native of the North galled him; such a creature could never have succeeded from personal merit; and so, rightfully or wrongfully, he says that the leading traits of the Scottish people are lying and cunning.

Walpole's aspersions on the Scotch, however, are mild compared with the treatment accorded them in the North Briton. The clever, incisive irony of its pages ascribes to them every vice known to mankind. Sometimes one magnifies and censures most severely in his enemy that moral blemish which actually is the "ruling passion" of his own life. Wilkes, a man who would himself stoop to anything in order to gain his own ends, repeatedly accuses the people north of the Tweed of covetousness. It sounds strange, in the light of his own conduct, that he should accuse the Scotch leaders of wriggling themselves into power "by knavery or cunning." The great and governing

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32. Ibid., XI, 140, 183.
33. Ibid., XI, 72, 423.

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principle of every true Scotchman is, according to Wilkes, the advancement of his own national interest; to a man they all have this aim in view; and there are no measures they have ever "boggled at," no risks ever scrupled to run to realize their goal. A true Scot, he says, never opposes his own interest.[34] If the welfare of his country and countrymen were not a sufficient excuse for "flattery, lying, perjury, perfidy, treason, and rebellion," what must become of every faithful Scot?[35]

It is grown fashionable, says the North Briton, to ask what pretense they can have, who bear no proportion in wealth and power to the English and who by no means bear an equal share of public expense, to grasp at all places of greatest honour and profit in England and to aim at getting every valuable employment into their own hands? The editor states that the Scotch assert their claim to sharing everything in common with the English on the strength of the Union, and that in their endeavour to engross all for their use they are justified by the common principle of prudence, which teaches every man to look out for himself; moreover, he says, whatever inequality there might have been between the two peoples was removed by the Union, which put them all on a level.[36] If the Scots see themselves arrived

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34. The North Briton, I, 175, 26, 108.
35. Ibid., I, 85.
36. Ibid., I, 28.

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at the height of their wishes and consider England as a country intended for their use and refreshment, surely, he continues ironically, the English have themselves to thank; and it is hoped that the Scots will have the resolution to preserve that which they had the address to obtain. As a friend of the paper proudly said to its editor with eagerness and thorough Scottish breeding, "Sir, we have as geud a right to the country as yoursells; and let me tell you, Sir, there is nae such thing as an Englishman, and I hope shortly the very name will be annihilated."[37]

What if this people does stick together and view with contempt the rest of the world? "We confess the charge, and glory in it," says the North Briton, "nor shall we be easily persuaded to dissolve or relax that connection, whilst the advantages arising from it are so many and so great." This allegiance to nationality is that to which "we in some measure owe our present greatness and that visible superiority which we have happily gained over divided, weak, dispirited nations." And the North Briton gloats over the fact that "the management of affairs is now placed where every Scotchman, both for the glory of the nation and his own interest, would wish to have it."[38] The allusion, of course,

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37. Ibid., I, 29; II, 188.
38. Ibid., I, 27.

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is to Lord Bute. Though the English do accuse the Scots of seizing the chief posts in the Government, "we shall surely know our own interests better than to pay any regard to the frantic passion of losing gamesters." The storm of protest will subside, and eventually the English will not only be grateful "to us for taking the trouble of state affairs off their hands" but will "deem the profits and honours we receive inadequate to the fatigue we undergo."[39]

Although it is true that the Scots in England render themselves a real service by the strict caution they have of dealing with none but Scots, nevertheless, urges the same periodical, to complete the happiness of these good people, the money which they receive in England should be spent in Scotland.[40] It is suggested that the King pass the winter months, or longer, in that country, an arrangement which would cause English money to flow into the North. But if it be said that one English king lost his head by placing himself in the hands of the Scots, such objection might be obviated by the fact that the same motive which then made the Scots false, would now make them true.[41]

To the reputation which the Caledonians have for

39. Ibid., I, 31.
40. Ibid., I, 32.
41. Ibid., I, 33. Reference to the Scots' surrender of Charles I to the Parliamentary government.

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courage the North Briton cheerfully suscribes. It would point out, however, that their bravery is of a peculiar kind. They are better called "ces braves impies," for valour is so vitally a part of them that it remains theirs even when Heaven has forsaken them. They possess, indeed, a bravery of the most savage kind. Are not the annals of Scotland already more stained with blood than those of any other country in Europe? and is it not true that horrid butcheries disgrace every page of her history?[42]

In its zeal to show the "true" character of this people the periodical publishes a graphic seventeenth-century account of them, and with apparent relish. This description, the editor states in his prefatory remarks, shows how "unjust" were the people of that century in their censure of the Scots:

> The air might be wholesome but for the stinking people that inhabit; the ground might be fruitful, had they the wit to manure it.
>
> Their beasts be generally small, women only excepted, of which sort there are none greater in the whole world. There is great store of fowl too, as fowl houses, fowl sheets, fowl linen, fowl dishes, and pots, fowl trenchers and napkins.
>
> They hold their noses if you talk of bear-baiting, and stop their ears if you talk of play; fornication they hold but a pastime, wherein man's ability is approved and a woman's fertility is discovered, at adultery they shake their heads;

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42. Ibid., II, 153.

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> theft they rail at; murder they wink at; they think it impossible to lose their way to heaven, if they can but leave "Rome" behind them.[43]

The Wilkes paper satirizes every expression of Scottish national life, but in its scorn of the writers of the North it only voices the opinion of Englishmen in general. For, about the middle of the century, even men of judgement in England did not appreciate Scottish men of letters. The reason lay for the most part in the fact that northern authors on the whole lacked smoothness. The English believed that the Scot, in Scotland, constantly speaking his vernacular or writing at best a stilted English style, could never hope to succeed as an author. But none were more conscious of this linguistic weakness than the Scots writers themselves, who formed the so-called "Select Society" to promote the right reading and speaking of the English language.

The North Briton sees the Scots authors pouring into England seeking success:

> See how they press to cross the Tweed,
> And strain their limbs with eager speed!
> While Scotland, from her fertile shore,
> Cries, on my sons, return no more.
> Hither they haste with willing mind,
> Nor cast one longing look behind;
> On ten-toe carriage to salute,
> The king, and queen, and earl of Bute.[44]

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43. Ibid., I, 117.
44. Ibid., II, 16. This and the following quotation are probably the work of Robert Lloyd.

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The same paper ironcally praises Scotia's bards, whose songs, it declares, will outlive the English lyrics:

> Hail! Scotland, hail! to thee belong
> All powers, but most the pow'rs of song;
> Whether the rude unpolished Erse
> Stalk in the buckram prose or verse,
> Or bonny Ramsay please the mo',
> Who sang so sweetly aw his woe.
> If ought, and say who knows so well,
> The second-sighted Muse can tell,
> Thy happy lairds shall laugh and sing,
> When England's Genius droops his wing,
> So shall thy soil new wealth disclose,
> So thy own thistle choak the rose.[45]

"Tragedy." says Wilkes elsewhere, "under Malloch and Home, has with the Scots rivalled the Greek model and united the different merits of the great moderns; the fire of Shakespeare and the correctness of Racine have met in their two countrymen."[46]

Like Wilkes, Churchill satirizes Scottish men of letters. He would fain bathe in the "sacred waters" of the Tweed that he too might obtain true poetic genius:

> Waft me, some Muse, to Tweed's inspiring stream,
> Where all the little Loves and Graces dream;
> Where lowly winding, the dull waters creep
> And seem themselves to own the power of sleep;
> Where on the surface lead, like feathers swims:
> There let me bathe my yet unhallow'd limbs.[47]

He is impressed by the Scots poets, Home, Macpherson, and Mallet:

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45. Ibid., II, 17.
46. John Wilkes, Tracts and Papers, etc., London, 1772, p. 64.
47. Charles Churchill, op. cit., I, 188-189.

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These simple bards, by simple prudence taught,
To this wise town by simple patrons brought,
In simple manner utter simple lays,
And take, with simple pensions, simple praise.[48]

Churchill's ridicule of the Scotch poets is mild, however, compared with his fierce denunciation of Scottish character. He sees the northern nation as

A fatal race,
Whom God in wrath continued to place
To scourge our crimes, and gall our pride
A constant thorn in England's side;
Whom first, our greatness to oppose,
He in his vengeance mark'd for foes:
Then, more to serve his wrathful ends,
And more to curse us, marks for friends.[49]

He voices the national feeling in England when he writes:

To that rare soil where virtues clust'ring grow,
What mighty blessings doth not England owe?
What 'waggon-loads' of courage, wealth, and sense
Doth each revolving day import from thence?
To us he gives, disinterested friend,
Faith without fraud, and Stuarts without end.[50]

In a rich ironic vein he alleges that the North Britons are so superior that they have no need of the ethical codes and mean narrow maxims which enslave the rest of mankind. What have they to do with party factions, who neither court the smile nor dread the frown of kings? With these generous and tender souls judgement and candour reign.

The English would never admit that the many Scots

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48. Ibid., I, 188-189.
49. Ibid., II, 337.
50. Ibid., I, 102.

48. Ibid., I, 188-189.
49. Ibid., II, 337.
50. Ibid., I, 102.

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who became prosperous in the South or who rose to position in London did so from actual merits of their own. They said that their sucess was due to greed and cunning. Churchill depicts Scotland as a land where Famine has fixed her chosen throne, where a scanty population, the very refuse of creation, hideous with dirt and the itch, spend their wretched days in brooding over their poverty and in watching with mingled envy and rage the powerful nation that subdued them; until, finally, their lust is gratified through covetousness and fraud:

> Into our places, states, and beds they creep;
> They've sense to get what we want sense to keep.[51]

The same poet commends ironically the Scots for their shrewdness in coming to London to mend their fortunes:

> If by low subtle arts successful grown,
> They sapp'd our vigour to increase their own,
> If mean in want, and insolent in power,
> They only fawn'd more surely to devour,
> Roused by such wrongs should reason take alarm
> And e'en the Muse for public safety arm?[52]

On the other hand, if

> They own ingenuous virtue's sway
> And follow where true honour points the way,
> If they revere the hand by which they're fed,
> And bless the donors for their daily bread,
> Or by vast debts of higher import bound,
> Are always humble, always grateful found:
> If they, directed by Paul's holy pen

51. Ibid., I, 193.
52. Ibid., I, 192.

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Become discreetly all things to all men
That all men may become all things to them
Envy may hate, but justice can't condemn.[53]

The Scots are accused of treacherously selling Charles I, who had claimed their protection:

And if, by some disastrous turn of fate,
Change should ensue, and men seize our state,
Shall we not find, safe in that hallowed ground,
Such refuge as the holy martyrs found?[54]

He cites a letter from a correspondent who claims that the true Scot, "more cunning than wise," would cajole the good people of England with party and falsehood. The North Britons

By lies prophetic heap of riches,
And boast the luxury of breeches.[55]

Churchill, in a moment of "remorse," "repents" the hour in which he ventured "to blaspheme the chosen race"; when he madly "leagued against that sacred earth." To atone for his sin he will "raise new trophies to the Scottish name"; he will make "e'en factious sons her brighter worth adore." But, he asks himself, shall an English Muse, "the meanest of the nine," attempt a theme like this? Would it not be a presumptuous task even for a poet laureate? He would choose some lofty subject in exaltation of Scotland, but discretion bids him select a humbler theme, one not beyond his abilities.

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53. *Ibid.*, I, 192.
54. *Ibid.*, I, 192.
55. *Ibid.*, II, 229.

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He will write a simple pastoral in which the Muse will be

> ....disrobed of all her pride
> And all the glare of verse by truth supplied.[56]

With Wilkes and Churchill we must join another writer in an anti-Scotch triumvirate, the author of the *Junius Letters*, who hated the Scots because he believed them to be treacherous. Their principles infuriated him--"the characteristic prudence, the selfish nationality, the indefatigable smile, the persevering assiduity, the everlasting profession of a discreet and moderate resentment...."[57] He owns that he is not likely to confide in the "professions" of gentlemen from the North; that when they smile, he feels an involuntary inclination to guard himself against mischief.[58] In the conduct of Lord Mansfield he traces the "little, prudential policy of a Scotchman." Here is a man, he says, who, instead of acting that open, generous part which becomes his rank, meanly skulks into a closet and gives his sovereign advice that he himself has not the spirit to avow or defend; who secretly engrosses the power while he declines the title of minister; who dares not be chancellor, yet knows how to secure the emoluments of the office. "When treachery is in question," writes Junius, "I think we should make allowances for a Scotchman."[59] In a letter to Wilkes he writes, "Though

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56. *Ibid*., I, 193-194.
57. *Junius Letters*, I, 99.
58. *Ibid*., I, 307.
59. *Ibid*., I, 315, 331.

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I use the terms of art, do not injure me so much as to suspect I am a lawyer. I had as lief be a Scotchman."[60] "Like most of his countrymen," he says of Lord Cockburn, "he is as abject to those above him as he is insolent to those below him." Another characteristic besides craftiness made the Scots appear odious to Junius--their exclusiveness. Transplanted from their own country, they remained a body distinct and separate from the people who received them. "In other settlements they only love themselves,--in England they cordially love themselves, and as cordially hate their neighbors."[61]

The writings against the Scots of men like Wilkes, Churchill, and Junius did so much to rouse popular hatred of the people in England that it seems as though the drama of the third quarter of the century were fearful of venturing to so much as mention the North Britons even in ridicule. The London audiences generally were in no mood to be entertained even by the foibles and weaknesses of a nation which was fast imposing itself everywhere upon them. They could not endure the name of Scot. It is certain that their hatred at this time was even keener than that hostility which at the earlier period had caused the tragedy *Douglas* by the Scotsman Home to be re-named.

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60. *Ibid.*, II, 91.
61. *Ibid.*, I, 100, 99.

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One or two plays of the third quarter of the century, however, contain brief mention of Scotchmen. Samuel Foote's comedy The Devil upon Two Sticks has a touch of satire on the highly reputed medical training to be received in Scotland: Dr. Last tells of his entrance into the medical profession after the Scots packman, Sawney McGregor, advised him "to get made a doctor at once, and send for a diplummy from Scotland." Whereupon the Devil says, "Why, that was the right road, Master Last."[62]

In the same drama by Foote, Johnny Macpherson is represented as a Scots youth living in London, earning threepence an hour "for larning Latin to a physician in the Ceety."[63] The author is undoubtedly holding up to ridicule the idea of a Scot, with his vulgar accent and poor English, teaching Latin in London. Arthur Murphy's Apprentice has an incident which reflects also on the northern speech and shows the typical English attitude toward it: The "Scotchman" urges Dick to hear him give a specimen of elocution. "What," replies Dick, "With that impediment, sir?"[64]

In Foote's Maid of Bath, the character of a Scotswoman, Lady Catherine Coldstream, admirably fits into the general English concept of the North. Her ladyship, who herself had married "for an establishment," encourages her

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62. British Drama, London, 1804, V. 386.
63. Ibid., p. 387.
64. Ibid., 433.

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protegée, Mrs. Linnet, to "fix her fortune" without loss of time: "Love, miss, is a pastime for boys and grown girls: awful stuff, fit for nathing but novels and romances; there is nathing solid, na stability."[65]

It is a relief to turn away from the bitter satire of those English men of letters whose impressions of the people of Scotland are strongly moulded by political hostility. The casual comments on the Scotch of a literary man like Oliver Goldsmith, who spent two years studying medicine in Edinburgh, are doubly refreshing because they are free from this influence. Most of his opinions of Scottish life are formed from the observations he made while living in the capital. In 1753 he set out on a tour to the North and West Highlands, but when his money failed him he had to cut it short. He was disappointed at not seeing Loch Lomond, and spoke constantly, but in vain, of taking another tour.[66] More memories survive of Goldsmith's social success in the Scottish capital than of his studies at the University there. A man who could afford to pay only twenty-two pounds a year for "diet, washing, and lodging"[67] in that city must not have had much money; but he found his way into the best society in spite of his poverty.

Many a time during his stay in Edinburgh, however,

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65. Ibid., 417-418.
66. J. Forster, The Life and Times of O. Goldsmith, London, 1877, I, 50.
67. The Collected Letters of Oliver Goldsmith, ed. by K. C. Balderstone, Cambridge, 1928, p.3.

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Goldsmith longed for the companionship of his Irish friends and the society "that pleased while it instructed."[68]

He gives a vivid picture of Edinburgh social life of the period. In the dearth of other public pleasures the belles of the capital found relaxation and enjoyment in dancing assemblies and in concerts. The ball-room flourished in spite of the Kirk. The same cannot be said of the theatre, however; for the clergy were absolutely intolerant of that "house of Belial."[69]

If Goldsmith was denied the privilege of the theatre, he compensated himself by attending the dancing assemblies. These he describes as deplorably dull:

> When a stranger enters the dancing-hall he sees one end of the room taken up by the Lady's, who sit dismally in a Groupe by themselves. On the other end stand their pensive partners, that are to be, but no more intercourse between the sexes than there is between two Countrys at war, the Ladies indeed may ogle, and the Gentlemen sigh, but an embargo is laid on any closer commerce; at length, to interrupt hostility's, the Lady directeress or intendant, or what you will pitches on a Gentleman and

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68. Ibid., p. 5.
69. The Englishman, John Jackson, author of The History of the Scottish Stage, who lived at Glasgow for several years directing stage productions, shows clearly that the rooted prejudice of both clergy and laymen against the sons of Thespis was much stronger in Scotland than in England. "For a member of holy orders to be seen within the walls of a play-house was anathematized by their assemblies as a crime of the deepest die." Jackson relates an incident which reveals the sentiment of those days toward the stage. Trying to secure a piece of land from a Mr. Miller, maltman in Glasgow, he demanded to know why he should be charged the extravagant sum of five shillings the square yard. That gentleman replied that inasmuch as the ground was to be

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> Lady to walk a minuet, which they perform with a formality that approaches despondence, after five or six couple have thus walked the Gauntlett, all stand up to country dance's, each gentleman furnished with a partner from the afforesaid Lady directress, so they dance much, say nothing, and thus concludes our assembly.[70]

But, as Graham points out, a very ugly youth with no attraction to speak of and with no friends to speak to and no lady to dance with, even though he was richly clad according to the tailor's ledger still extant, was not likely to enjoy himself heartily at a gathering which was so exclusive that any man who ventured therein without the passport of position or birth was shown by the aristocratic Miss Nicky that his appearance was at least a surprise.[71]

Goldsmith is extravagant in his praise of the ladies of Edinburgh. "I'll insist on it and will give him leave to break any head that deny's it that the scotch ladys are ten thousand times finer and handsomer than the Irish." The men, too, he declared to be equally handsome; but the female speech of the capital calls forth his greatest admiration. "Where will you find a language so prettily become a pretty mouth as the broad scotch, and the women here speak it in its highest purity," and the Irish poet declares that were a lady of his own land to attempt to pronounce the "Whoar

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occupied by a temple of "Belial," it should bring an extraordinary sum. --<u>History of the Scottish Stage</u>, Edinburgh, 1793, pp. 21, 99, 314.

70. <u>Collected Letters of Oliver Goldsmith</u>, p. 11.
71. H. G. Graham, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 100.

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wull I gong?" with a becoming wideness of mouth, she would wound every hearer. Goldsmith, however, believed that the Scotch ladies were envious prudes. He tells of the caustic remarks of three Edinburgh ladies who had just seen pass in her carriage that celebrated beauty of the eighteenth century, Elizabeth, Duchess of Hamilton. One of them saw too much red in her complexion; another, too much white; the third found fault with her ladyship's mouth.[72]

Later, after he had lived for a while as a student at the University, Goldsmith drew an amusing comparison between the Dutch and the Scotch women, and ended by conferring the laurels on a certain type of English beauty. Apparently, in this instance, he is now considering, not the Edinburgh belles, but the women of Scotland in general:

> A dutch woman and scotch will bear an oposition. The one is pale and fat, the other lean and ruddy. The one walks as if she were stradling after a go cart, and the other takes too masculine a stride. I shall not endeavour to deprive either country of its share of beauty; but must say that of objects on this earth an English farmers Daughter is most charming.[73]

He describes the gentlemen of Edinburgh as generally having high cheek bones, as being lean and swarthy, and as being fond of physical activity, particularly of dancing. In his opinion they are much better bred than those of his own country:

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72. Collected Letters of Oliver Goldsmith, pp. 11, 12, 13.
73. Ibid., p. 23.

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> No such character here as a Fox-hunter; and they have expressed great surprize when I informed them that some men of a thousand pound a year in Ireland spend their whole lives in runing after a hare, drinking to be drunk, and geting every Girl with Child, that will let them; and truly if such a being equiped in his hunting dress, came among a circle of scots Gentlemen, they wou'd behold him with the same astonishment that a Country man does King George on horseback.[74]

The necessarily frugal living of the natives of Scotland, he writes, brings several virtues in its train; it gives them fortitude in adversity, for they have from their youth been taught to suffer; they have moderation in prosperity, for they who have been bred economically while young seldom gain later tastes for luxury and refinement.[75]

But the Irish writer thinks that, for all his poverty, the Scotchman is one of the proudest things alive; for even the poor of that country, he declares, have pride ever ready to relieve them; if despised, they are masters of their own admiration, which they can plentifully bestow on themselves.[76] So in Lord Lyttleton's Dialogues of the Dead the trait of pride was to be recognized as one of the northerner's greatest assets; Argyll remarks:

> The Scotch were not made to be subject to the English. Their souls were too great for such a

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74. Ibid., p. 10.
75. Essays by Oliver Goldsmith, collected by R. S. Crane, Chicago, 1927, p. 52.
76. Collected Letters of Oliver Goldsmith, p. 10.

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> timid submission. But they may unite and incorporate with a nation they would not obey. Their scorn of a foreign yoke, their strong and generous love of independence and freedom, make their union more national and more proper.[77]

Goldsmith later shifts his emphasis to the impersonal side of Scotch pride when he speaks of "the pride of England," "the absurdity of Ireland," and "the national partiality of Scotland."[78] In concluding that the Scotch are primarily nationalistic, he states that a "consciousness of power, and a long continued government, always produces a love of one's country."[79]

This Irish author's comments on the North are chiefly concerned with life at the capital. Intoxicated by the beauty of the Edinburgh ladies, he apparently has little time to reflect on serious matters. But his whole attitude, like that of several subsequent writers, is not unkindly.

In 1769, sixteen years after Goldsmith's sojourn in the North, the Welshman, Thomas Pennant, visited Edinburgh and other parts of Scotland. He made a second trip in 1771. In the latter year he published his *Tour in Scotland*, a book which Dr Johnson praised very highly and frequently referred to in writing his *Journey to the Western*

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77. Lord Lyttelton, *op. cit.*, II, 326.
78. O. Goldsmith, *The Citizen of the World*, ed. by A. Dobson, New York, 1934, p. 16.
79. *New Essays of Oliver Goldsmith*, pp. 51, 52.

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Isles.[80] Pennant came north with the reputation of a scientist. His observations are not generally of the critical kind; he deals rather with factual information, with historical and scientific data. His book is by far the most complete account of Scotland from a foreign point of view that the eighteenth century produced. At the capital he was interested in the University, whose chairs of learning he finds "very ably filled." He speaks highly of the work being done by the professors of medicine in that institution, and of the number of "ingenious physicians" there, "who prove the abilities of their master."[81] When he reaches St. Andrews, another of the four university seats in Scotland, he is again roused to favourable comment on the quality of scholarship he finds in the North.

Since Pennant's interests were other than sociological, his reflections on the people of Scotland are few. His main observations on Scottish character are in general accord with those of other English travellers of the period; he finds the people, on the whole, hospitable and indolent. The remarkable hospitality of the old Highlanders is still

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80. Boswell's Life of Samuel Johnson, ed. by G. B. Hill, Oxford, 1887, III, 271. Boswell censures Pennant, however, as a writer who, having traversed the country in haste, could put together only curt fragments of his own supplemented by intelligence from parochial ministers, and who, anxious to ingratiate himself with the Scots, flattered them so inordinately that the judicious and candid among them could not but be disgusted. --Boswell's Johnson, III, 274.
81. Thomas Pennant, op. cit., p. 31.

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preserved, not only in remote districts, but in all parts of the country, even among the most indigent; and it is offered even to those whose character or recommendations claim the most distant pretensions.[82] The Highlanders are "hospitable to the highest degree," are much affected by the civility of strangers, and possess a natural politeness and address, which often flows from the meanest when least expected.[83] In similar strain writes Mrs. Elizabeth Montague, who visited the North in 1771: "I have never seen anything equal to the hospitality of the Scotch." Later she said, "I must do justice to the Scotch nation to say, that they are the most politely hospitable of any people in the world."[84]

Pennant, observing very few beggars in North Britain, is the more surprised at this condition when he remembers that the common people "are but just rouzed from their native indolence."[85] The reason for the scarcity of vagabonds in the country was probably the stringency of the law against this class in particular. In the early part of the century Fletcher of Saltown prescribed slavery as a remedy for ridding the country of the 200,000 sturdy beggars,

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82. Ibid., pp. 256, 384, 94.
83. Ibid., p. 94.
84. John Doran, A Lady of the Last Century, Boston, n. d., pp. 100, 115.
85. Thomas Pennant, op. cit., p. 94.

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who were dangerous to the community. It is a fact that in those days numbers of them were consigned as perpetual servants in the silver mines and pits of Scotland, while others were burnt through the ear with an iron and banished.[86] Unquestionably, the Scots are showing new life by 1771 as a result of the continued increase in trade from the time of the Union; but the slothfulness does not vanish quickly. Pennant expresses his opinion on the manners of the Highlanders in these words: "indolent to a high degree, unless roused to war, or to any animating amusement; or I may say from experience, to lend any disinterested assistance to the distressed traveler...."[87]

The stranger in the Highlands, though sure of any needed assistance, had to be prepared to answer all manner of personal questions, for the people there were excessively inquisitive. Pennant writes that they are most curious after the world of politics and will listen to one who has procured an old newspaper with all the avidity of Shakespeare's blacksmith. They have much pride, are impatient of affronts and revengeful of injuries. But he finds, as do other Englishmen of the period, that the Highlanders are attentive to all the duties of religion and are capable of giving most

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86. H. G. Graham, _op_. _cit_., pp. 490, 491.
87. Thomas Pennant, _op_. _cit_., p. 94.

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distinct reasons for the principles of their faith.[88]

The men of Aberdeenshire he describes as thin but strong; as idle and lazy, except when employed in hunting or in anything that looks like amusement; as content with their hard fare and unwilling to exert themselves further than to get what they think to be the necessities of life. The women of the same country are more industrious than the men; they spin their husbands' clothes and get money by knitting stockings. In appearance they are "most remarkably plain" and soon acquire an old look; and over-exposure to weather produces such a contraction of the facial muscles as heightens greatly their natural hardness of features. Pennant says that he never saw so much plainness among the lower rank of female; "but the 'ne plus ultra' of hard feature is not found till you arrive among the fishwomen of Aberdeen."[89]

The clergy of Scotland favourably impress this traveller: "the most decent and consistent in their conduct of any set of men I have ever met with of their order." They never soil their characters, he says, by midnight brawls or by mixing with the gaming world, but "preserve, with narrow income, a dignity too often lost among their brethren south of the Tweed."[90] This visitor was probably surprised

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88. <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 94, 95.
89. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 58.
90. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 76.

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to observe that the Church of Scotland was no longer the tyrant she had been for decades and that instead of the "cruel discipline of corporal punishments, the ministers used mild methods of persuasion." Regretting the deplorable state of Scottish church properties in general, he remarks that reformation in matters of religion seldom observes mediocrity; and he points to the absurd notion which the Scots used to entertain that neatness savoured of popery.[91]

Pennant finds conditions generally to be improving in the Highlands. In many parts, he says, the character of the people begins to be more faintly marked; as they mix more with the world, they become less attached to their chiefs; the clans begin to disperse themselves through different parts of the country, learning that their industry and good conduct afford them better protection than any their chiefs could grant; and the chiefs themselves reap the sweets of advanced rents and benefits of industry.[92]

The comments of this traveller are those of a broad-minded, intelligent Englishman. His interests in Scotland are more varied than those of Goldsmith. But he travelled more extensively in that country than did the Irish writer. Unmixed with politics or business, his interpretations of

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91. Ibid., p. 239.
92. Ibid., pp. 94, 95.

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northern life are the result of casual, but candid observation; and if he errs at all it is in favour of the North. In his freedom from bias Pennant heralds that somewhat disinterested and wholesome attitude found generally in England at the close of the century.

Shortly after Pennant's visit to the North in 1771, Edward Topham spent much time in the Scottish capital recording his impressions of its citizens and of the natives of Scotland in general. His remards concerning Edinburgh society may be treated first. Like Goldsmith, Topham was carried away with the charm and accomplishments of the Scottish ladies. In one of his Letters from Edinburgh he advises a trip to Scotland for men of his acquaintance who desire to experience the sublime and beautiful in perfection according to Mr. Burke's definition of them. For the beautiful, for the softer and more finished charms, he would show them the ladies there, who, in his "humble opinion," are "the most beautiful objects in the creation." This friendly Englishman thinks that these women dress with more elegance and in a way better accommodated to their persons, size, and shape than do those of most European nations.[93] But he cannot say as much for the men, who, he regrets, do not take so much care of their persons or appearances and who "have not half

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93. E. Topham, Letters from Edinburgh, London, 1776, pp. 322, 198.

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the taste in their dress that the ladies have." Inasmuch as these men have "the finest models in the world," they are to be the more reproached because "their taste of beauty is not very exquisite."[94] Topham wonders why the Scotch youths are pleased most with large women, why it is they pay little regard to a just symmetry of parts, complexion, or colour; the eyes are the charm which attracts them most and whose language they best understand.[95]

Although he cannot say that they dance gracefully, he must confess that for vivacity and agility in dancing, the Scottish ladies are not to be excelled; their execution in reels and country-dances is amazing; and the variety of steps which they introduce and the justness of their ears is beyond description.[96]

Nature, he declares, has also been liberal to them in decorating their internal parts, and as few nations excel them in beauty as in the advantages derived from disposition and education. "No women understand better the rules of decorum, nor are they rivalled by the French in the talent of agreeable conversation." In comparison with the French ladies, in fact, these women are superior in their knowledge of the world and in their acquaintance with books and litera-

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94. Ibid., p. 255.
95. Ibid., p. 256.
96. Ibid., p. 94.

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ture.[97]

Among their accomplishments he mentions the grammatical precision with which they converse in their own language as well as their ability in French, which they speak "with great propriety, fluency, and good accent." He is pleased, too, with the way in which they economize time. No gentlewomen in Scotland, he declares, ever murder the precious moments in what is called "work," which is neither entertainment nor profit, merely because they have the appearance of doing something; they let no minute escape without its respective office; and, after a proper sacrifice to reading and literature, they seek instruction from society and conversation.[98]

Their sociability impressed Topham. He found them free, affable, modest, and polite, fond of admiration, flattery, and pleasure; and in spite of the northern blast "they light up as consuming fires in the hearts of their admirers as do the dames of Italy."[99] They seemed to him to study to oblige and to endeavour to emulate one another in good breeding, which, he thinks, is the art of showing people by external signs the inward regard which one has for them.[100]

The gentlemen were as sociable as the ladies. In fact, this English commentator on Scottish life goes so far as

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97. Ibid., p. 49.
98. Ibid., pp. 95, 92.
99. Ibid., pp. 84, 85.
100. Ibid., p. 48.

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to state, "The gentlemen of this nation (pardon my impartiality) are definitely better calculated for an agreeable society than Englishmen."[101] This he says in spite of the fact that to him their pronunciation and accent were disagreeable: "it gives an air of gravity, sedateness and importance to their words, which...in common conversation seems dull, heavy, stupid and inharmonious. On which account, I scarcely ever heard a Scotchman tell a good story..." But Topham did not dislike the Scots language. In one respect he thought it possessed a beauty lacking in the English: that of diminutives, which the people created at pleasure and expressed in one word as "manny," "doggy," and "catty."[102]

If Goldsmith complains that the fashionable balls at the capital are "deplorably dull," that the couples "dance much and say nothing," the English journalist finds a situation quite the reverse. The probability is that Topham had a warmer reception into Edinburgh society than did Goldsmith. The Englishman reports that at their assemblies the sexes do not appear as if they had never seen each other before or never wished to see each other again; that they do not sit in sullen silence, looking at the ground, hitting their nails, and at a loss what to do with themselves.[103] A Scotchman

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101. Ibid., p. 82.
102. Ibid., p. 54.
103. Ibid., p. 82.

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does not relax himself for amusement, as if to pass away time. Even at the height of his pleasure, he seems busy and intent as if about to gain some advantage; his diversions are not meant to seduce the unwary or recreate the idle, but to unbend the mind without corrupting it. And to Topham the Scot appears as one who, taught to regard learning as his diversion, now in his amusement makes diversions his study.[104]

This visitor was astonished at the high morality of the young people of the Scottish metropolis, especially of the young women. One might imagine from their familiar unguarded manner with the men, he says, that they were least fortified against the assaults of libertinism and licentiousness; it is, however, quite otherwise; so far from exposing them, this free attitude of theirs is in his opinion their strongest defence.[105] Indeed he finds that the word "adultery" is hardly known among the Scots; it is a rara avis, a phoenix which exists only once in a hundred years.[106]

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104. Ibid., p. 90.
105. Ibid., p. 256. General Wolfe, the hero of Quebec, who passed some time in Scotland, expresses the same idea with regard to the morality of the women there: "The women in this country partake very much of society with men, and by that means gain a certain freedom of behavior, uncommon in England, but which is nevertheless of great use to preserve them from the bad consequences of sudden surprise or novelty, and is a real protection to their virtue, though at times one would imagine that their easiness in some particulars lead directly to the contrary." --J. T. Findlay, Wolfe in Scotland in the '45 and from 1749 to 1753, New York, 1928, p. 184.
106. Ibid., p. 256.

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And that "abandoned spirit for intrigue" which is so predominant in his own country is as yet a total stranger to "these northern climes," where "no people are more constant, faithful, and sincere in their amours."[107] The severity of the laws of Scotland with respect to marriage and promises relating to it seems to have been an important factor in protecting the young woman; at least, it probably hindered the young men from taking the most innocent liberties which everywhere else are expected by the ladies. The Scotch lover is the "most ignorant thing imaginable" with respect to "address, compliments, protestantions, and endearments."[108]

From the presentation of Topham's views of the upper classes, it is now proposed to turn to his account of the common people of Scotland in general. This Englishman in discussing the peasant women is obliged to modify his earlier impression of the female beauty of Scotland. No nation, he says, is more beautiful than the Scots during youth, but "the complexion and features of the female sex continue but a short period..." The brief beauty of the country maidens was due largely to the hardness of their lot.[109]

Pennant had made the same observation. The withered appearance of the country women even while young in years

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107. Ibid., p. 255.
108. Ibid., p. 254.
109. Ibid., p. 279.

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startled English travellers of the period. Instead of ruddy cheeks, sprightly countenances, and graceful figures, they would behold haggard looks, poor complexions, and bodies weakened by fatigue.[110] The physical condition of these women is not to be wondered at when Adam Smith could write, "It is not uncommon, I had frequently been told, in the Highlands for a mother to have borne twenty children and not one of them to live."[111] The premature oldness--the brown, wrinkled, parchment countenances--of the women in certain districts in the Highlands was also caused partly by exposure to inclement weather and partly by peat smoke in their rudely-built hovels.

Topham disagrees with those moralists who say that beautiful persons are to be found among peasants rather than in the artificial splendour of the drawing room. He would suggest to them that they visit Scotland, where they must be struck with the extreme ugliness of the common people. Nor would they find the bleak air of the climate in general healthy, though it is said to give to the inhabitants their keen, penetrating look and great bodily activity. This writer declares that he met scarcely one instance of remarkable longevity among all the people that came under his observation, that actually there are few places where one sees more funerals.

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110. Ibid., p. 279.
111. A. Smith, The Wealth of Nations, Oxford, 1923, I, 88.

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Whether the long obituary list is to be attributed entirely to the climate or in some part to the efficient College of Physicians he leaves the curious to determine for themselves.[112]

In spite of the hard lot of the common people of the North, the <u>Letters from Edinburgh</u> depict them as possessing most agreeable and pleasing manners. The society of the capital had no monopoly on politeness, for "the same civil, humanized, and hospitable spirit" runs through the natives generally: they are eager to show repeated civilities; they are happy to explain, to inform the really interested in their country; they extend a general invitation to their houses and insist on one's visiting them familiarly; yet many Englishmen, Topham is ashamed to say, seem to forget all this kindness the moment they reach the south bank of the Tweed.[113] Everyone is ready to serve and assist travellers, "who never receive an impertinent answer." In fact he believed them to excel every other country in Europe in this regard; "both the men and women equally share in it; and indeed vie with each other in showing politeness and humanity to strangers."[114] Instead of that "stubborn rudeness" and "uncouth mind," that "shyness and barbarism" which is cultivated by the English

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112. E. Topham, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 278-279, 275.
113. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 47.
114. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 85.

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peasants, Topham is charmed to find, even in the lowest classes in Scotland, a "compliant obsequiousness" and mildness of temper. In his opinion this desire to be of service distinguishes these natives from the peasantry of almost any other nation. Even in the wild, uncultivated hovel, destitute of all the conveniences of life and exposed to all the inclemencies of weather, the traveller meets with souls, generous and happy, ever ready to respond to the call of man.[115]

Topham found the natives of Scotland to vary greatly in their dispositions from those of the southern parts of Great Britain. The two are for him as unlike in temperament as if they were at the antipodes. He cannot find two other European peoples who differ more in this respect. One would think, in fact, that the distance between North and South Britain was as far as that between heaven and earth.[116] But the author of the Letters from Edinburgh discovers a thousand ways in which the Scotch resemble the French: "That air of mirth and vivacity, that quick and pentrating look, that spirit of gaiety which distinguishes the French, is equally visible in the Scotch. It is the character of the nation, and it is a very happy one, as it makes them disregard even their poverty."[117]

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115. Ibid., pp. 72, 73.
116. Ibid., pp. 71, 72.
117. Ibid., p. 64.

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And the common people surely were destitute. No peasants in the world, according to Topham, underwent greater hardships or lived in a greater degree of wretchedness and poverty than the lower classes in Scotland. But though these were very poor, he believed the nation as a whole to be honest. At least he thinks that any dishonesty with them is not like that found among the common people in England; for the Scots gain their end, not in open and avowed villainy as do the English, but under the "mask of insinuation and hypocrisy."[118] This quality of cunning attributed to them seems to be regarded by Topham as commendable; yet Englishmen like Walpole, Wilkes, and Junius hated the Scots for the same characteristic.

That which merits most observation in the eyes of Topham is the fact that though the Scots dislike work in their own country and are lazy and improvident at home, these very people become most industrious and thrifty abroad, evincing a capacity and an invention worthy of imitation by all nations.[119] The Scotch workmen, he records, are esteemed throughout Europe for their peculiar sobriety and attention; and the military profession grants that no soldiers possess more courage or greater powers of endurance in war, and that

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118. *Ibid.*, pp. 361, 362.
119. *Ibid.*, p. 168.

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none are more obedient in peace.[120] If the histories of Scotland or those of other nations are consulted from earliest times, it will be seen, says the generous Topham, that when uncommon proofs are given of patience or activity, or when new counties are visited and improved, a Scotsman has borne some share in the performance.[121]

In answer to the charge that the Scotchman at home is lazy, Topham would blame the evils of a feudal system. "What argument," he asks, "can persuade a man to be industrious, when he is liable every moment to be deprived of the rewards of it? or what care will he take to improve a possession, the very tenure of which is precarious?"[122] And this same system of government operating to deprive the labourer of all attachment to his native land, causes him to emigrate to foreign parts:

> Wherever he cast his eyes, he saw no works of his hands, no fruits of his industry, no scenes of his own creation, to claim his attention: all was a barren solitude, from which he could never change but for the better. It is from this principle they have become a nation of wanderers by profession. That the lower class of people in the Highlands have no local attachments, the late numerous emigrations to America will sufficiently testify.[123]

Topham observes that the inhabitants of the Lowlands, as well as the Highlands, equally manifest a restless desire

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120. *Ibid.*, pp. 168, 169.
121. *Ibid.*, pp. 166, 167.
122. *Ibid.*, p. 164.
123. *Ibid.*, pp. 165-166.

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of travelling, which a lack of employment at home naturally inspires. "Go into what country you will," he declares, "you will always find Scotchmen."[124]

But if this writer considered the Scot abroad to be frugal, he held no such opinion of the Scot at home. The general opinion which the English entertain, that the natives are economical, seems to be very erroneous, he writes.[125] Through the tradesmen and artisans of Scotland are beginning to find the benefits of industry, he says that in general they live up to their incomes; and he finds that the bankruptcies listed in an Edinburgh newspaper are more numerous in proportion to the population than those in a London gazette.[126]

The English hold another false opinion concerning the Scots which Topham would have corrected. It has to do with the disease known as the itch and with the general cleanliness of that people. In judging this matter of personal decency Topham omits the higher rank of persons, inasmuch as this group is the same in all civilized countries; and he feels that it is unfair for him to condemn the lowest dregs of society for their squalor, since they, accustomed to living in wretchedness, can have no encouragement to cleanliness. His opinion therefore is formed from the middle

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124. Ibid., p. 166.
125. Ibid., p. 42.
126. Ibid., p. 44.

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stratum of society because this represents the greatest part of the nation.

As Defoe had earlier sought to vindicate the Scots from the charge of uncleanliness, Topham now does likewise. On his honour he declares that instances of the itch are so rare, at least in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, that one stands less chance of catching it in that city than in most parts of England.[127] Nor are the Scots neglectful of cleanliness either in their persons or in their houses; the letter-writer alleges that the middle class in Scotland pays much greater attention to neatness than do those of the same class in France, whom "in their resemblance in this particular, they far excel."[128] It has been the misfortune of almost every nation to be prejudiced toward other nations afar off, he says, or for one country to be visited by men whose resolutions are too strong for conviction. Englishmen come north for instance, with a fixed notion that the Scots are a dirty people; and perhaps meeting with some person in Scotland who would be unclean in any country, they hasten to return to give, as they think, the just character of the whole nation.[129] Topham, furthermore, would correct the "very erroneous" opinion of the gentleman who, in his recently published travels through

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127. Ibid., pp. 150-151, 147.
128. Ibid., pp. 150-151,
129. Ibid., pp. 15-16.

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Spain, declares that Madrid, some years ago, might have vied with Edinburgh in filthiness.[130] Like Defoe, this writer attributes any uncleanliness of the Scots to circumstances resulting from the peculiar inconveniences of their buildings, not to the natural disposition of the people, who, he declares, love cleanliness and practise it, and who lament the impropriety of their customs, and join in the laugh at the accidents they occasion.[131]

But however clean the people of Scotland are, the remarks of this sympathetic Englishman are no positive evidence of the fact. He would make no scruple to assert that the citizens of Edinburgh are not, as some of his countrymen please to say, dirty and disagreeable; yet the only reason he advances for this assertion is that the metropolis is "adorned with many elegant and beautiful structures, the seat of several of the most ingenuous men in Europe, and who are an honour to the age they live in, abounding in many of the politer embellishments of life, and well deserving the attention of a traveller."[132] On the other hand, he himself has to admit that certain parts of Edinburgh are polluted with foul odours. In the numerous wynds, or closes, he wonders that the people suffer dirt sometimes to remain two or three days

130. Ibid., p. 14.
131. Ibid., p. 15.
132. Ibid., p. 16.

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without removal--till it becomes offensive to more senses than one. The "concatenation of smells," the "intolerable stench" resulting from the moving of the "tub of nastiness" was sometimes so powerful as to wake him in the night. He congratulates the magistrates, however, who, having provided for the removal of waste at a stated time of the night, try to put a stop to the throwing of anything from windows into the open streets by punishing offenders. But since the alleys are unlighted and removed from public view, he observes that people continue this practice with impunity.[133]

Many English travellers of the period were disgusted with the condition of the inns at Edinburgh. Topham himself deplored the lack of decent quarters for strangers at the capital. When he arrived there in 1774 and was recommended to one of the best inns in the city, he was driven out of it by the dirt and had to seek lodging in a fourth or fifth flat, only slightly less disagreeable. He writes, "There is no inn better than an alehouse, nor any accommodation that is decent, cleanly, or fit to receive a gentleman."[134] The contrast between the accommodation of the Scottish inns and that of the English hostelries was strong. In the South the traveller found everything clean and comfortable; in the North

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133. Ibid., pp. 152, 15.
134. Ibid., p. 18.

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the hostelries afforded more advantages for beast than for man. In Edinburgh they were meant rather for putting up horses than travellers, who were expected to seek lodgings elsewhere. One such place in St. Mary's Wynd had stabling for one hundred horses and a shed for twenty carriages.[135]

Notwithstanding their poverty and dirt Topham finds only a small percentage of illiteracy among the Scots; those who are able spend much of their time in "reading, study, and thinking." There are few places, he thinks, where a polite education--"the knowledge requisite to form a Gentleman, and a man of the world"--can be better acquired than in Edinburgh. Since lectures of the professors there are open to everyone and the expense of attending them is very trifling, it is in the power of any tradesman to furnish his son with the education most adapted to his taste or capacity.[136] For this reason, writes Topham, the Scots middle class in general is not so ignorant as the same class in England and other countries; since, however, the easy access to the lectures encourages attendance at so many of them, the knowledge received by the students must, he thinks, be imperfect and superficial. Although alleging that no men are without learning in Scotland, he grants that in that country "you rarely meet with a great and deep schol-

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135. H. G. Graham, _op. cit._, p. 45.
136. E. Topham, _op. cit._, pp. 218, 209.

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ar."[137]

In another respect Topham sees the Scots dissimilar to their neighbours. "Their gaols," he says, "are a convincing proof that the malefactors are neither so ingenious nor so hardened in villainy as with us."[138] Statements from contemporaries and from contemporary documents support his opinion in this respect. Even in the Highlands crimes were remarkably few; Howard, the prison-reformer, was struck by the small number of persons in the Scots gaols: and even during this third quarter of the eighteenth century an execution was a rare occurrence in Scotland. At Edinburgh, between 1773 and 1776, a period covering Topham's stay in that city, the hangman did not have a single opportunity of practising his art; in the same city, at this time, even a burglary was unheard of.[139] The reasons, some of which seem to have occurred to this astonished visitor, for there being fewer crimes in North than South Britain were probably the infinitely milder penal code of that country and the discretionary powers permitted judges to penalize according to the age, condition, and temptation of the

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137. Ibid., pp. 210, 84.
138. Ibid., p. 363.
139. H. Arnot, History of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, 1818, p. 512. H. G. Graham, op. cit., p. 501.

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prisoner.[140]

Topham is astonished that the leniency of the law in Scotland should produce comparatively fewer villains and robbers there than is the case in other countries where the legal code is more severe. The decency and humaneness of the Scots legal methods call forth his admiration. No person, he finds, is liable for imprisonment without a warrant; and every prisoner committed for trial, except in the case of a capital crime, is entitled to be released on furnishing bail. He considers these procedures to be marks of liberty, justice, and sound reason.[141]

Although the ecclesiastical background of old Scots laws undoubtedly helped to preserve morality and decrease crime, Topham apparently considers the church deserving of little credit for the influence in this direction. Religion as taught and practised in the North in 1774 did not seem to him a very vital factor in leading men to do good. He is of the opinion that their religion consists in a superstitious reliance on the efficacy of constant church attendance. They seemed to him to be forever going to the kirk;

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140. H. G. Graham, op. cit., p. 501. Hume wrote of the legal procedures of his country, "I repeat without fear of contradiction that generally our system is eminently gentle." --Commentaries, Edinburgh, 1844, I, 11.
141. E. Topham, op. cit., pp. 295-296.

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yet, he says, they appeared as sorrowful at the time as if they were going not only to bury their sins but themselves.[142] In spite of this outward show, he believes that, as a nation, the Scots are far from being religious. This judgement he would pronounce on high and low alike. Shocked with the gross absurdities with which their religion is loaded, they pay an obedience to it externally, but treat it with very little ceremony in private.[143] The ministers of the Church of Scotland, he states, assume a virtue, even if they have it not; and in commending them for at least being able to secure the attention of their hearers, he sets them above the English clergymen who, he says, drone out their commonplace precepts of morality with so much coldness and indifference that it is with difficulty one can yawn out a sermon.[144]

As compared with both Goldsmith and Pennant the author of the Letters from Edinburgh shows himself better acquainted with the North. He was more impartially interested in people and that to a greater degree than were either of these other writers. Like Pennant, Topham's disposition toward the Scots is genial and tolerant. His praise is never withheld; his criticism is always sympathetic. Even at the expense of reflecting unfavourably on his own country, he

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142. Ibid., p. 65.
143. Ibid., p. 238.
144. Ibid., pp. 189, 190.

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unhesitatingly draws comparisons between North and South Britain. If it cannot be calculated just to what extent this Englishman's kindly regard for Scotland is typical of the attitude south of the Tweed it may confidently be asserted that it is a further indication of the change taking place in English sentiment for Scotland.

John Wesley, another English observer of this period, agrees with Topham that the Scots place most of the emphasis on church observances. It is his ambition to infuse real spiritual life and power into this outwardly religious nation. The founder of Methodism is anxious to resurrect the souls of the "dead, unfeeling multitudes in Scotland."[145] That which apparently strikes him as the outstanding characteristic of the religion of the people is the perfect complacency with which they listen to his powerful heart-searching sermons. When he considers reasons why the hand of the Lord is almost entirely stayed in the North, he concludes that its inhabitants are "wise in their own eyes," seem to think themselves superior to all others, are immoderately attached to their own opinions and mode of worship, and recognize the worship of God only through men of learning. Wesley found the people "every-

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145. The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, ed. by N. Curnock, London, 1909-1916, IV, 219.

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where immoveable." At Musselburgh "they remained as statues from the beginning of the sermon to the end." He preached in Glasgow to a congregation "the greatest part of whom 'hear' much, 'know' everything, and 'feel' nothing."[146] Of the citizens of Perth he says, "The generality of the people here are so wise that they need no more knowledge, and so good that they need no more religion."[147] Shortly after the close of the period under consideration, he persists in mentioning the stolidity of the Scot's religion: At Dundee he observes that the congregation, though deeply attentive, is most unaffected; he confesses admiration for them--"so decent,... and so perfectly unconcerned."[148] Even when the Methodist preacher spoke roughly to them, using the most cutting words in the most pointed manner, they heard, but felt no more than the seats upon which they sat. Yet he never knew any in Scotland to be offended at his dealing plainly with them. "In this respect, the North Britons are a pattern to all mankind."[149]

The Scots were an example to the world also in their conduct in church. Wesley was much impressed by their so-

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146. Ibid., III, 123; VI, 19.
147. Ibid., VI, 20.
148. Ibid., VI, 234.
149. Ibid., VI, 354, 499; V, 15.

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briety during worship. The serious behaviour of the people at the college church of Glasgow University was beyond anything he ever saw, except in his own congregations. In his Journal he writes, "None bowed or courtesied to each other, either before or after service; from the beginning to the end of which none talked or looked at any but the minister." He preached at Rait to "plain, serious country people"; in the College Close at Aberdeen all were earnestly attentive; at the close of the service at Inverness, neither man, woman, nor child spoke one word all the way down the main street. After preaching in a Glasgow prison he notes that all the felons as well as the debtors behaved with such reverence as he had never seen in any prison in England.[150]

Contrary to Topham's opinion Wesley, in spite of the fact that he seemed to regard them generally, as without feeling, believed that the Scots were naturally a religious people. He regarded Scotland as a more religious country than England. He remarks on the great difference in this respect between South and North Britain; "Everyone here [in Scotland] at least loves to hear the Word of God; and none takes it into his head to speak one uncivil word to any for endeavouring to save their souls."[151] He was much gratified

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150. Ibid., III, 63-64; VI, 21; IV, 451; V, 75; III, 62.
151. Ibid., V, 75.

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that at each inn where he lodged the family always joined him in prayer at night; and he observed that among all the sins which they had imported from England the Scots had not yet learned to scoff at sacred things.[152]

Although natives across the border were sometimes spoken of as a "priest-ridden people," Wesley would probably hold the reverse to be nearer to the truth. As one writer points out, the ministers of the period may rather be called a "people-ridden clergy." It must be remembered that the Scots in many districts were accustomed to preaching that was purely doctrinal. They were also most critical of their minister. Every word he said was noted; every thing he did was scrutinized.[153] The English evangelist was right when he wrote in 1777: "Your Scots are such terrible critics that few of our preachers care to venture among them."[154] The Scotch peasantry was not a class to be domineered over either by Church or by State. "With pugnacious piety," Graham remarks, "they were too independent for that." And he traces their dour temper to the days of the Covenanters.[155]

Wesley's co-labourer for a time, George Whitfield, felt uncommon freedom, however, in his preaching to Scotch

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152. Ibid., V, 77.
153. H. G. Graham, op. cit., p. 367.
154. The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley, ed. by J. Telford, London, 1931, VI, 132.
155. H. G. Graham, op. cit., p. 366.

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congregations. After speaking nearly eighty times in Ireland, "where God seemed to bless his work," he says that Scotland appeared to him a new world. He was greatly encouraged at the sight of the people carrying their Bibles to church and at their turning to every passage he was expounding and hanging upon him to hear every word.[156]

If Wesley said that the Scots were quite unmoved by strong preaching, he had to acknowledge that their condition was not beyond remedy; for during one of his visits to Glasgow he concluded that the Scots, "if you touch the right key, receive as lovely impressions as the English." When he spoke with great plainness to the citizens of Musselburgh, they all "received it in love, so that the prejudice which the devil had been for several years planting was torn up by the roots in one hour."[157]

Although religion seemed to him to enter intimately into almost every event of the lives of the Scots, he observed that it was strikingly absent at funerals. The reason for the apparent harshness and impiety of the conduct of the people on these occasions is probably to be found in their suspicious attitude toward anything that might savour of popery. Funeral services, a student of this century has pointed out,

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156. Memoirs of Rev. George Whitfield, Philadelphia, 1859, p. 148. Matthew Bramble writes of the Scotch peasantry, "All of them read the Bible, and are even qualified to dispute upon the articles of faith." --Works of Tobias Smollett, VII, 379.
157. Wesley's Journal, V, 171; III, 523.

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were treated as civil acts, and no religious service was permitted in Scotland either in Episcopal or in Presbyterian days.[158] Wesley fails to appreciate this historical reason for the difference between the English and the Scotch method of burial. The English, he felt, honoured human nature, even to the poor remains that were once a temple of the Holy Ghost; but he writes, "when I see in Scotland a coffin put into the earth, and covered up without a word spoken, it reminds me of what was spoken concerning Jehoiakim, 'He shall be buried with the burial of an ass.'"[159]

Apart from their religion, the founder of Methodism does not have a great deal to say concerning the inhabitants of Scotland. He does not know why any should complain of shyness of the Scots toward strangers. In 1751 he wrote, "All I spoke with were as free and open with me as the people of Newcastle or Bristol." He disagreed with the "miserable accounts" that passed current in England of the inns in Scotland. Wherever he called in his whole journey he had not only everything he wanted but all was in good order and as clean as even he desired. Almost the only recorded instance of Wesley's finding uncleanness in Scotland concerns the capital. Edinburgh he refers to as the dirtiest city he has ever seen.[159] In 1761 he expresses his astonishment that

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158. H. G. Graham, op. cit., p. 300.
159. Wesley's Journal, VI, 20; III, 523; IV, 61; III, 523.

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all manner of filth should still be thrown continually into the street; he reproaches the magistracy, the gentry, and the nobility of the land with having no concern for the honour of their nation. "Will no lover of his country, or of decency and common sense, find a remedy for this?"[160]

But if Wesley has few comments to make, except on religion, he is at one with the other English writers of this period, whether their interests be political or not, in criticizing Scotland primarily on the character of its people. During the first half of the eighteenth century criticism from beyond the Tweed had dwelt on the poverty of the country; now, as we shall see, only a very secondary emphasis was placed upon the economic condition of Scotland.

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160. Ibid., IV, 452.

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C. The Economic Condition and Scenery of Scotland

About the middle of the eighteenth century trade in Scotland was showing considerable improvement.[161] For this reason, in addition to the stimulus which Bute gave them to assail the Scots character, English writers of the third quarter of the century are less conspicuously abusive of the economic condition of the North than had their brethren of the earlier period.

Old prejudices in Scotland gradually were beginning to lose hold, and time-worn customs were fast dying. Scotsmen became curious concerning the agricultural methods which had brought fertility to the land and prosperity to the people across the border. The writings of every English theorist were devoured by the lairds; noblemen and gentry were anxious to improve their estates; and parish ministers sought to increase their scanty livings by trying new processes on their glebes. By about 1760 the system of land-leasing became common, and the enterprising tenant was encouraged thereby to remain on the soil to carry out intelligent modes of agirculture. The establishment of banks

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161. For instance, it was computed that the aggregate tonnage of Scotch vessels rese between 1735 and 1760 from 12,342 tons to more than 52,000--W. E. H. Lecky, _op. cit._, II, 301.

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in country towns about this time was of great importance to the future prosperity of the country; for through these institutions country gentlemen were enabled on good security to get money which they could use wisely.[162]

But one must guard against exaggerating the extent of this economic gain. Though widespread, it was far from universal. In 1773, in fact, Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu, declaring Ireland to be in a sad condition financially, the poor of that country being "wretched" and "all the people discontented," adds dolefully that the state of Scotland is not much better: "the bankruptcies there are numerous and the manufactories are stopped."[163]

Rapid in some places, in others economic progress was almost imperceptible even at the close of the century. Nor were the laudable efforts of the "improvers" of the land always successful. Their failures greatly rejoiced the despisers of newfangled ways:

> These blunders were a great solace to farmers, who naturally winced when noblemen brought plowmen from Norfolk and Dorset to show them how to do their work, and in broad English dialect ridiculed venerable Scots ways. Nor was there dissatisfaction when veterans observed that while the national thistle disappeared under a cleanly system, foreign docks appeared with rye grain and clover in their stead. Enmity was full in many districts at

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162. W. L. Mathieson, _The Awakening of Scotland_, Glasgow, 1910, pp. 279, 276. H. Graham, _op. cit._, pp. 201, 203, 204, 206.
163. John Doran, _op. cit._, p. 128.

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> the harsh and brusque eviction of many an old tenant family to make way for those who would carry out their lordship's whims.[164]

Not seldom did eager Highland chiefs, hearing of the abundant returns from the fertile plains of the Lowlands, over-rent their lands and overestimate their incomes; this they often did to their ruin.

It may be said, however, that the third quarter of the century witnessed the dawn of a new day for Scotland economically. Even the poorest peasants were to share before long in the general prosperity, for by 1790 their earnings were to be double what they had been in the middle of the century.[165]

In general, English literature of the period fails to reflect the growth of industry across the border. The writers of strong political bias depict Scotland as a veritable land of famine. But no doubt these men would have given a highly distorted picture of the country even if they had known that considerable material progress had been attained by the Scots by 1750. Churchill, for instance, in "The Prophecy of Famine" savagely describes Scotland as a treeless, flowerless, and utterly sterile land formed out of the dregs of the universe. Life in that country is the worst kind of punishment:

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164. W. L. Mathieson, op. cit., pp. 243-245, 253.
H. G. Graham, op. cit., p. 208.
165. Ibid., p. 214.

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May I be scorn'd by every man of earth
Wander, like Cain, a vagabond on earth,
Bearing about a hell in my own mind,
Or be to Scotland for my life confined.[166]

His picture of the mountains among which live the two shepherds of his "Prophecy" suggests only penury and desolation:

Far as the eye could reach, no tree was seen,
Earth, clad in russet, seem'd the lively green:
The plague of locusts they secure defy,
For in their homes a grasshopper must die:
No living thing, what e'er its food, feasts there,
But the cameleon, who can feast on air.
No birds, except as birds of passage, flew:
No bee was known to hum, no dove to coo;
No streams, as amber smooth, as amber clear
Were seen to glide, or heard to warble here:
Rebellious spring, which through the country ran,
Furnish'd, with bitter draughts, the steady clan;
No flowers embalm'd the air, but one white rose,
Which, on the tenth of June, by instinct blows:
By instinct blows at morn, and when the shades
Of drizzly eve prevail, by instinct fades.[167]

The shepherds were

On the same bleak and barren mountain bred
By niggard nature doom'd on the same rocks
To starve themselves....

Soon clad I ween, where nature needs no clothes;
Where from their youth enured to winter skies,
Dress and her vain refinements they despise.[168]

The cave in which they dwell is surrounded by briars and thistles, bloated toads, half-stawed spiders, slugs, and hissing serpents.

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166. Charles Churchill, op. cit., I, 203.
167. Ibid., I, 197-198.
168. Ibid., I, 196.

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And Famine, by her children always known,
As proud as poor, here fin'd her native throne.[169]

The English poet John Langhorne was inspired to defend the country against these attacks in "The Prophecy of Famine." Especially does he attempt to refute Churchill's accusation that the Scot must emigrate to make a living. He has the Lowlands in mind, however, when he writes:

But me not splendour, nor the hopes of gain,
Should ever tempt to quit the peaceful plain,
Shall I, possess'd of all that life requires,
With tutor'd hopes, and limited desires,
Change these sweet fields, these native scenes
of ease,
For climes uncertain, and uncertain seas?[170]

The North Briton seeks to indicate strongly the nature of the country when it scornfully declares that Scotland is petra et praeterea nihil.[171] Lord Bute it depicts as the saviour of his beggarly countrymen:

Hail mighty Thane for Scotland born
To save her almost empty horn.[172]

And the natives who are forced to earn a living elsewhere, it satirizes effectively:

I have never heard of any one of my country-men being attacked with the patrialgia, the maladie du Suisse, (the home-ach, as it has been happily called) and in consequence lan-guishing till he returned to Scotland. This

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169. Ibid., I, 198.
170. The Works of the British Poets, 1795, XI, 220.
171. The North Briton, II, 214.
172. Ibid., II, 18.

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> is an old reproach on us; perhaps as antient as our kingdom itself.[173]

The Wilkes periodical cites instances to illustrate the niggardliness of even the best Scots society. When the King, it says, was once visiting the North, the Scots were pleased with his yeomen of the buttery and the cellar for their reluctance to admit the callers to their quarters--"they will hear twenty knocks before they will answer one"; and they persuaded the King's trumpeters that fasting was highly beneficial for men of their profession because emptiness caused wind, and wind caused a trumpet to sound well.[174] An article in the same paper relates Lord Darnley's "successful" attempt to secure a loan from the city of Edingurgh when, about to wed Mary, Queen of Scots, he applied to that city for financial assistance; it can be made clear by unquestionable authority, the story goes, however incredible it may seem, that the Scottish capital alone agreed to advance and did actually raise at the time the entire sum of twenty pounds! Moreover, "at this day it is known truth, that the kingdom of Scotland alone pays near half as much as the whole county of York."[175]

The North Briton's re-published seventeenth-cen-

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173. Ibid., I, 19.
174. Ibid., I, 113.
175. Ibid., I, 32.

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tury description of Scotland, which, as it has been seen, ridiculed the character of the Scots, likewise satirizes the poverty of the country. The account must have furnished much mirth south of the Tweed:

> The Scots have great store of deer, but they are so far from the place where I have been, that I had rather believe than go to disprove it; I confess all the deer I met withal was dear lodgings, dear horse-meat, and dear tobacco, and English beer.
>
> As for fruit, for their grandsire Adam's sake, they never planted any; and for other trees, had Christ been betrayed in this country (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.[176]

The same article states that the word "hay" is "heathen Greek" to the Caledonians, neither man nor beast knowing what it means;[177] that Saint Andrew, the only Scot in the calendar, received the honour of sainthood by presenting Christ with an oatmeal cake after his forty days' fast; that the Scots argue that he who translated the Bible was the son of a maltster because there is reference to a miracle's being done by barley loaves, which must have been oaten cakes, for no other bread of that quantity could have sufficed for so many thousands.[178]

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176. Ibid., I, 110.
177. Ibid., I, 112.
178. Ibid., I, 116.

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In Foote's comedy, The Devil Upon Two Sticks, Sligo informs Ossofras that botany is a dry subject in Scotland, for, since nothing green grows there, all knowledge of it comes from dried herbs. When Macpherson, the Scot, is indignant at Sligo the latter replies, "You know in your conscience that in your part of the world you get no cabbage but thistles; and those you are obliged to raise upon hotbeds."[179]

As it has previously been mentioned, even to the author of Letters from Edinburgh Scotland in general had the appearance of a poverty-stricken land. The soil, he writes, is not able to produce good apples; therefore the people set anything that has the appearance of fruit before their guests; and he particularly mentions turnips being eaten with avidity for desert.[180] But he is of the opinion that the North is not naturally so barren as some of his fellow-countrymen try to make it appear; ignorance of the art of agriculture, as well as the resigned attitude of the people toward the stubbornness of the soil, is responsible for much of its unproductiveness. Further-

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179. British Drama, V, 383.
180. E. Topham, op. cit., p. 229. Smollett, conscious of the poverty of his countrymen seeks to defend them by saying that turnips make their appearance, not as dessert, but by way of hors d'oeuvres, or whets.--The Works of Tobias Smollett, ed. by J. P. Browne, M. D., London, 1872, VII, p. 314.

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more, he believes that many Scottish gentlemen think the study of agriculture beneath their dignity.[181]

But when John Wesley mentions the condition of the land in North Britain, he invariably speaks well of it. Recording his first-hand impressions of Glasgow and the adjacent country he says, "A more fruitful and better cultivated plain is scarce to be seen in England." He holds that "nothing is wanting but more trade to make a great part of Scotland no way inferior to the best counties in England."[182]

Travelling between Moray and Elgin he is astonished at "the existence of such fertile country one hundred and fifty miles from Edinburgh." Nine years after the close of the period under consideration he could write that the face of the country was being improved by the landowners, and that the wastes and commons were being turned into meadows and fertile fields.[183]

Although he frequently had to stay at the inns both in the Highlands and in the Lowlands, Wesley does not complain, as do other Englishmen of the period, of a scarcity of food. In fact, he declares in 1753 that the entertainment he met with "in every place" was far different

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181. E. Topham, op. cit., pp. 165, 367.
182. Wesley's Journal, III, 217.
183. Ibid., V, 76; VI, 501.

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from common report. All things were good, cheap, in great abundance, and remarkably well dressed. In the "highland steep mountains" between Ballantrae and Stranraer he found as good entertainment of every kind as if he had been in the heart of England.[184] Had John Wesley discovered any serious lack of supplies, he would not have been at all reticent in speaking his mind.

Though the economic value of the country continues to be depreciated by most Englishmen up to 1775, the Scottish landscape fares otherwise. Some English men of letters of the time are beginning to acquire a measure of appreciation for even the wild scenery typical of North Britain.

At the beginning of the third quarter of the century, however, Oliver Goldsmith is still blind to the natural beauties of the North. Writing from Edinburgh in the winter of 1752-1753, he says, "This country has little or nothing which I can give an account of; so instead of a discription of the country you must be content with an account of the manner in which I spend my time."[185] In a letter written in 1753 he describes every part of Scotland as presenting the same dismal landscape; "neither grove nor

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184. *Ibid.*, III, 523; V, 112.
185. *Collected Letters of Oliver Goldsmith*, p. 3.

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brook lends its musick to cheer the stranger, or make the inhabitants forget their poverty." To the author of The Deserted Village Scotland is a land where hills and rocks "intercept every prospect."[186] Horace Walpole held similar notions about northern scenery. He speaks of Pennant's painting in glowing colours Scotland's "dismal Isles and rocks."[187]

Another English visitor, Edward Topham, pictures to himself the terror of the southerner who, after having been brought blindfolded into some rocky hollow in the North, should suddenly have his bandage removed. Such a one, he writes, would be ready to die with fear, as thinking it impossible to get out to return to his native country.[188] But John Wesley was wont to speak favourably of the Scottish landscape in general. He says that from Dumfries to Thornhill he rode through an uncommonly pleasant country, adding, "so widely distant is common report from truth"; he was astonished at the pleasant landscape in Moray and Elgin, and he travelled among "some of the finest mountains in Europe." The great divine preached in the town of Rait, "in the middle of that lovely valley called

186. Ibid., pp. 10, 25.
187. Walpole's Letters, IX, 2.
188. E. Topham, op.cit., II, 13.

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the Carse of Gowrie," which he later describes as "the fruitfullest valley in the kingdom."[189]

Of the 570 folio pages of the Tour of Scotland which record all that Pennant saw and heard in that country, not more than ten have anything to do with the scenery through which he passed. The descriptive passages which do occur usually deal with torrents, rapid, rocky rivers, or the shores of lakes.[190] Although he departs from the earlier eighteenth-century nature tradition in that his scenes are built on actual observation, he is lacking in warmth of appreciation. His pictures, clear but unimaginative, are not merely, however, as Myra Reynolds believes, those of a conscientious note-taker, intellectual but unemotional:[191] the rude grandeur of nature filled him with fear. The pass into the Highlands impressed him as "awfully magnificent....high, craggy, and often naked mountains present themselves to view, approach very near each other, and in many parts are fringed with sood, overhanging and darkening the Bay that rolls with great rapidity beneath."[192] He dislikes " all the possible variety of Alpine scenery" with "all the horror of precipice, broken crag, or overhanging rock or insulated

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189. Wesley's Journals, V, 76; IV, 216; VI, 21, 500.
190. M. Reynolds, The Treatment of Nature in English Poetry, Chicago, 1909, p. 233.
191. Ibid., p. 235.
192. Thomas Pennant, op. cit., p. 41.

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hills." The pass of Killiecrankie, "extremely narrow, between high mountains, with the Gary running beneath in a deep, darksome and rocky channel, over-hung with trees," forms a scene of "horrible grandeur." The whirlpool near the west end of Jura adds to the "horrors of the place," and in storms the rage of the water is "dreadful" and "unspeakable."[193]

So far as rude nature is concerned, the following passage shows Pennant perhaps at his best:

> The southern extremity of the Highlands is pre-eminently magnificent; the mountains form there a vast theatre, the bosom of which is covered with extensive forests of pines: above, the trees grow scarcer and scarcer, and then seem only to sprinkle the surface; after which vegetation ceases, and naked summits of a surprising height succeed, many of them topped with perpetual snow, and, as a fine contrast to the scene, the great cataract of Garval-bourn, which seems at a distance to divide the whole, foams amidst the dark forest, rushing from rock to rock to a vast distance.[194]

Miss Reynolds observes that Pennant never notes any but the permanent details of a scene. "There is not a hint that he saw the varying, evanescent, atmospheric effects, so important an element in the beauty and sublimity of mountain scenery. He does admit that the 'Highlands,

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193. <u>Ibid</u>., pp. 53, 356.
194. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 57.

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like other beauties, have their good and bad days,' but there is nothing in his books to show that he knew them apart."[195]

On the whole Pennant prefers rich, fertile land. On leaving the Highlands he observes:

> The country...continually improves; the mountains sink gradually into small hills; the land is highly cultivated, well planted and well inhabited. I was struck with rapture at a sight so long new to me...Nothing can equal the contrast between the black, barren, dreary glens of the morning ride and the soft scenes of the evening.[196]

But even if Pennant is lacking in warmth of appreciation for Highland scenery, the fact that his instinctive shrinking from wild scenes should have been overcome sufficiently to permit him to penetrate much wilder regions of Scotland than had hitherto been described, is of itself proof of a new impulse in the enjoyment of nature.[197] Although his emotional response was fear and dislike, the fact that he did respond is important.

It remained for Thomas Gray in 1765 to discover beauty in the untamed nature of the Scottish Highlands. As early as 1739 he had expressed his dislike of formal gardens in his sarcastic description of the palace grounds at Versailles.[198] His enthusiasm for the wild grandeur of

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195. M. Reynolds, op. cit., p. 234.
196. Thomas Pennant, op. cit., p. 109.
197. M. Reynolds, op. cit., p. 235.
198. Correspondence of Thomas Gray, ed. by P. Toynbee and L. Whibley, Oxford, 1935, I, 106-107.

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the Scottish mountains is seen in his letter to Mason of November 5, 1765. Part of the value of the description lies in his direct unadorned statement of the beautiful:

> I am returned from Scotland charmed with my expedition: It is of the Highlands I speak; the Lowlands are worth seeing once, but the Mountains are extatic and ought to be visited in pilgrimage once a year. None but those monstrous creatures of God know how to join so much beauty with so much horror. A fig for your Poets, Painters, Gardeners and Clergymen, that have not been among them; their imagination can be made up of nothing but bowling greens, flowering shrubs, horse ponds, Fleet-ditches, shell-grottoes, and Chinee-rails. Then I had so beautiful an autumn: Italy could hardly produce a nobler scene, or a finer season....Oh! you would have blessed yourself. I shall certainly go again. What a pity I can't draw, nor describe, nor ride on horseback.[199]

"In short," Gray says, "Since I saw the Alps, I have seen nothing sublime till now," and "I do not therefore despair of seeing again a country that has given me so much pleasure."[200] Speaking of Palgrave, who had just visited Scotland, he writes, "He is become acquainted with rocks and precipices, and despises the tameness and insipidity of all we call fine in the South."[201]

Another observer of Scottish scenery possesses, for the period, an extraordinary sense of appreciation for wild nature. Macpherson's Erse poetry had prepared her

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199. _Ibid._, II, 899.
200. _Ibid._, II, 894.
201. _Ibid._, III, 156.

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for its enjoyment. Elizabeth Montagu , Queen of the Blue-Stockings, writes of her experiences in the vale of Glencoe, where she stopped to dine "amid the rude magnificence of nature." This cultured Englishwoman stayed there, charmed by the roaring stream, hoping that some ghost would come on the blast of the mountain and show her the three grey stones erected to the memory of Ossian: "I wish Ossian would have come to us and told us tales of other times."[202] While visiting Lord Breadalbane, she describes the scenery of his seat at Taymouth: On one side of the great lake in the valley, mountains "lift their heads or hide them in the clouds"; and she adds, "I passed two days in this fine place."[203] Mrs. Montagu furnishes early evidence that the Highlands might acquire charm through literary associations, a possibility which culminated in Scott and which was to open Scotland to a host of seekers after natural beauty.

It has been seen that especially during the course of the third quarter of the eighteenth century certain factors were already operative which could not do otherwise than produce a real unity between England and Scotland. In spite of the impact of the traditional prejudices which the

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202. J. Doran, op. cit., p. 102.
203. Ibid., p. 114.

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English entertained for the Scotch these factors would probably have prevailed much earlier than they did had Lord Bute remained on his Argyllshire estate, instead of inflaming the South to a greater hatred for his countrymen by assuming the rôle of prime minister of Britain, a part he was ill-fitted to play. It is little wonder that the infuriated Englishman of the period lashes relentlessly not only the character of Bute but also that of his countrymen, many of whom, under the Earl's patronage, had secured positions of importance in London. The bitterness shown by those English men of letters of strong political persuasion is undoubtedly typical of a feeling which was rampant in the English metropolis. The violent anti-Scotch demonstrations in London would at least suggest as much. On the other hand, the fact that another group of Englishmen actually cross the Tweed out of curiosity indicates that animosity is not the only feeling that the English have for their northern neighbours. Furthermore, because they do visit Scotland and because they are little interested in political animosities these men furnish not only a sympathetic but unquestionably a truer picture of Scottish character than do the "political" writ-

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ers, who did not at any time visit North Britain.

While Scotland's poverty is no longer her chief crime, Englishmen generally fail to recognize her increasing prosperity. Even the friendly Topham says little in regard to the growth of industry in the North. But then during most of his stay he lived in Edinburgh, whereas the rapidly developing trade centre was Glasgow.

Even by 1775, to the average stay-at-home Englishman the North was still a land of "dismal Isles and rocks." It would just as readily have occurred to him to visit Iceland for scenic beauty. Yet the frightfulness of the Highlands lured on a few English travellers. Two in particular, Thomas Gray and Mrs. Montagu, were actually charmed in the presence of the austere grandeur and sublimity of the mountains. But the admiration of Englishmen for Scottish landscape is yet almost invariably mixed with a feeling of horror. The economic conditions of Scotland which furnished the basis of the English attack up till about 1750 had given way during the third quarter of the century to abuse of the people. In the last quarter, the newly-awakened interest in Scottish scenery will replace hostility

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for the Scot himself. But before we consider this final period, let us discuss the feelings toward North Britain of a dominant literary personality.

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D. Samuel Johnson on Scotland

In considering the impressions concerning Scotland of those Englishmen who wrote from 1750 to 1775, it has been thought advisable to set apart the opinions of Dr Johnson. Not only does the proverbial attitude toward the Scots of this most famous literary personage of the century, as well as his widely-known journey to North Britain, justify separate treatment; but in Johnson one sees a transition in English thought to an increased respect for Scotland. He is significant both as an individual and as a representative of contemporary tendencies.

Opinion as to whether Samuel Johnson was or was not prejudiced against the Scots in his _Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland_ has varied from the first. Topham, who was in Edinburgh at the time of the appearance of the book, reports the manner of its reception at the northern capital:

> Dr Johnson's account of his tour into Scotland has just made its appearance here; and has put the country into a flame. Everybody finds some reason to be affronted. A thousand people, who know not a single creature in the Western Isles, interest themselves intheir cause, and are offended at the accounts that are given of them....Newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, all teem with abuse of the Doctor.[204]

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204. E. Topham, _op. cit._, p. 137.

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Topham feels that Johnson deserved the treatment he received from the Scots after the publication of the *Journey*. He accuses him of ingratitude: although the Englishman was received with the most flattering marks of civility by everyone and had formed an acquaintance which his most sanguine wishes could scarce have hoped for, everything he says conveys some gross reflection upon the natives.[205] He claims, furthermore, that Johnson repaid their attention to him with ill-breeding; that when in the company of the ablest men in Scotland his whole design was to belittle them. And the journalist cites an instance of these ignoble tactics: during his stay at St. Andrews, when he resided with a learned professor of the University there, a man capable of giving him a wealth of information about the city, Johnson never enquired one word of him concerning this; yet he later wrote a long circumstantial account of St. Andrews "with scarce three words of truth in the whole of it." Johnson's "petty and frivolous detail of trifling circumstances" Topham sees to be tokens of ignorance and inexperience; his observations on men and manners, those of a man totally unacquainted with mankind.[206] Most of the Doctor's

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205. *Ibid*., pp. 138-139.
206. *Ibid*., pp. 139, 141-142, 141.

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information, he says, was received from the meanest and most ignorant of the people:

> Confined to one place, and accustomed to one train of ideas; incapable of acquiescing in all the different tempers he might meet with; and mingling with different societies, he descends from his study, where he spent his whole life to see the world in the Highlands, and Western Isles of Scotland. Behold this extraordinary man on his journey, in quest of barbarism! and at length sitting down, wearied, and discontented, because he has met with some degree of civility in the most desert part; or, to speak more properly because he had found nothing more barbarous than himself.[207]

On the other hand, there are those who assert that the Journey is a faithful representation of what Johnson saw in the North and that it is utterly free from bias. Boswell mentions hearing from a Scotsman named Dempster who assured him of Johnson's honesty in the book. The observations in the volume, this gentleman asserts, would naturally occur to a sensible, thinking Londoner. Knox, another Scot who made the same tour as did Johnson, admired the justness and precision of the Doctor's statements respecting both the country and the people. Mr. Tyller, "a Scot, if ever a Scot there were," the able vindicator of Mary, Queen of Scots, agrees with the accuracy of the Johnsonian descriptions. The English-

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207. Ibid., pp. 140-141.

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man, Joseph Ritson, writes in his letters that the character of Scotchmen given by "old surly Johnson" is, generally speaking, far from unjust.[208]

Boswell does not deny the fact that Johnson did entertain some prejudice against both the country and the people of Scotland, but he asserts that it was a prejudice of the head and not of the heart. "He had no ill-will to the Scotch; for, if he had been conscious of that he would never have thrown himself into the bosom of their country, and trusted to the protection of its remote inhabitants with a fearless confidence." And he points out that Johnson was intimate with many gentlemen of the North; that he employed natives of that country as amanuenses in the compilation of the <u>Dictionary</u>; and that he chiefly contracted with two Scotchmen for his literary labours. Boswell admits that his friend did consider the Scotch, nationally, as crafty, designing self-seekers, apt to ignore the claims of others. But whatever bigoted view Johnson entertained of Scotland was due, declares his biographer, to his having in mind the worst part of the Scottish nation--"the

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208. <u>Boswell's Johnson</u>, II, 303, 304, 305; I,191. And John Wesley writes: "I read over Dr Johnson's <u>Tour to the Western Isles</u>. It is a very curious book, wrote with admirable sense, and, I think, great fidelity; although in some respects he is thought to bear hard on the nation, which I am satisfied he never intended."--<u>Wesley's Journal</u>, VI, 106.

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needy adventurers, many of whom he thought were advanced above their merits by means of which he did not approve."[209] He maintains that Johnson treated Scotland no worse than he did his best friends, "whose characters he used to give as they appeared to him, both in light and shade."[210] Boswell's attitude toward Johnson's relationship with the Scots is conciliatory. He strives to have his hero appear to that people in the most favourable light.

But what does Samuel Johnson himself have to say of his attitude toward the Scots? It is true that especially before his trip to Scotland he made no secret of his dislike of them. It would have been difficult for him to conceal his aversion had he so desired. His caustic remarks about them, however, were never taken too seriously. He had owned his intention of vexing them when, in his Dictionary, published in 1755, he defined oats as "a grain which in England is generally given to horses, but in Scotland supports the people."[211] Fanny Burney said that he was always talking to her of Scotland "out of sport." In 1778, five years after his northern tour, he asked her, "What makes you so fond of the Scotch? I don't like you for that; I hate these Scotch, and so must you."[212] In

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209. Boswell's Johnson, II, 300-301; I, 287; II, 121; IV, 169.
210. Ibid., II, 306.
211. S. Johnson, A Dictionary of the English Language, London, 1819, p. 354.
212. Boswell's Johnson, IV, 211, n. 2.

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1783, however, he cast aside his playing with this prejudice when he admitted to Boswell that he could give no reason for his aversion.[213]

A careful examination of Johnson's remarks on the Scots during and after his visit to their country should be illuminative of his real attitude toward them. It should show whether or not his "aversion" for them seriously affected his judgement. And it should support or weaken Boswell's assertion that his friend's dislike for this people is "of the head," or, in other words, the result of ignorance or misinformation. Do Dr Johnson's prejudices remain unchanged when conditions which should operate to reduce them present themselves to him during his tour? If so, it is reasonable to conclude that they are "of the heart." But if Johnson is willing to change his pre-conceived opinions of the North, it is equally proper to grant that his "aversion" for that country is not altogether "constitutional."

Dr Johnson has said in his _Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland_ that he scarcely remembered how the wish to visit the Hebrides was excited; but Boswell states, "he told me in the summer of 1763 that his father put Martin's account into his hands when he was very young, and

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213. _Boswell's Johnson_, IV, 169.

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that he was much pleased with it."[214] The publication of Thomas Pennant's first Tour in Scotland and the news of his second undoubtedly stimulated Johnson to realize his long-projected jaunt. For ten years Boswell had been urging his friend to visit the country. In 1764 when he mentioned to Voltaire that Johnson and he were planning a trip to the Hebrides, that gentleman looked at him incredulously and said, "You do not insist on my accompanying you?" When Boswell said, "No, Sir!" he returned, "Then I am very willing you should go."[215]

The Doctor was sixty-four years of age in 1773 when, in company with Boswell, he set forth from the Scottish metropolis on his tour of the Highlands and islands. His itinerary took a complete circle round central Scotland. Boswell outlines the whole route in a paragraph:

> He came by way of Berwick-upon-Tweed to Edinburgh, where he remained a few days and then want by St. Andrews, Aberdeen, Inverness, Fort Augustus to the Hebrides, to visit which was the principal object he had in view. He visited the Islands of Skye, Rasay, Col, Mull, Inch Kenneth and Icolmkill. He travelled through Argyleshire by Inverary, and from thence by Loch Lomond and Dunbarton to Glasgow, then by Loudon to Auchinleck in Zyrshire, the seat of my family, and then by Hamilton back to Edinburgh, where he again spent some time. He saw the four Universities of Scotland, its three principal cities, and

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214. Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, ed. by F. A. Pottle and C. H. Bennett, New York, 1936, p. 91, n. 4.
215. Boswell's Johnson, V, 14.

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> as much of the highland and insular life as was sufficient for his philosophical contemplation. I had the pleasure of accompanying him during the whole of his journey. He was respectfully entertained by the great, the learned, and the elegant, wherever he went; nor was he less delighted with the hospitality which he experienced in humbler life.[216]

"From an erroneous apprehension of violence," Johnson had provided himself with pistols, gunpowder, and bullets, but was persuaded by Boswell to leave them in Edinburgh.[217] The truth is that Johnson did not know what to expect in the Highlands and Western Isles. He had come to Scotland out of curiosity to contemplate a people of peculiar appearance and a system of antiquated life and all the circumstances of remote time or place.[218]

At St James Court, Edinburgh, Johnson remained with Boswell for a few days prior to setting out on his tour of exploration. During this time he was led to discuss some of the literary men of the city. A comparison of his opinions concerning the Scots writers before and after his visit to Scotland reveals no remarkable change in his attitude toward them, however his opinion may have changed in other respects.

Before he came North Johnson had commented

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216. Boswell's Johnson, II, 266-267.
217. Ibid., V, 53.
218. S. Johnson, Western Islands, p. 83.

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variously on Scots writers. One of his strongest prejudices was against the author of the Ossianic poems. His disposition toward this Scot was unfavourably influenced by Boswell's first remark to him in 1763, that Macpherson was "an impudent fellow from Scotland, who affected to be a savage, and who railed at all established systems." From this description Johnson decided that Macpherson was the type of person who wanted to make himself conspicuous, who "would tumble in a hogstye as long as you looked at him and called him to come out."[219] Three years before his visit to Scotland Johnson pronounced that poet's Fingal to be a mere unconnected rhapsody, a tiresome repetition of the same images: "In vain shall we look for the lucidus ordo, where there is neither end or object, design or moral, nec certa recurrit imago."[220] The poems of Ossian made part of the Doctor's inquiry during his residence in Scotland and in the Hebrides. When he, after investigating the question of their authenticity, unhesitatingly declared that the work was an imposture, a storm seemed to gather over his head in both England and Scotland; but the cloud passed away without damage.[221] His chief reason for denying the genuineness of the poems was his belief that the

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219. Boswell's Johnson, I, 432.
220. Ibid., II, 126.
221. Ibid., V, 431.

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Erse, in which speech they were supposed to be written, was not formerly a written language. He declares that there is not in the world an Erse manuscript a hundred years old.[222]

But Johnson's aversion before his trip was not confined to a Scottish poet. On one occasion when his prejudice against the North was remarkably strong, Boswell talked to him of Scotland's advancement in literature, to which he replied, "Sir, you have learnt a little from us, and you think yourselves very great men. Hume would never have written history had not Voltaire written it before him. He is an echo of Voltaire." When Boswell said, "We have Lord Kames," the reply was, "You have Lord Kames, ha! ha! ha! We don't envy you him. Do you ever see Dr Robertson?" On Boswell's replying affirmatively, Johnson asked, "Does the dog talk of me?" Boswell: "Indeed, Sir, he does, and loves you." Thinking he had him in a corner, Boswell pressed Johnson for his opinion of Robertson's "History of Scotland; but all that he said was, "Sir, I love Robertson, and I won't talk of his book." Yet Boswell, anxious to do justice to both Johnson and Robertson, adds that though his friend indulged in this sally of wit,

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222. S. Johnson, Western Islands, p. 170.

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he had too much good taste not to be fully sensible of the merits of that admirable work.[223] Later Johnson labelled Robertson's History of Scotland as not a history, but a work of imagination: "Now Robertson might have put twice as much into his book. Robertson is like a man who has packed gold in wool: the wool takes up more room than the gold. No, Sir; I always thought Robertson would be crushed by his own weight,--would be buried under his own ornaments."[224] To establish the fact that his friend really thought very highly of the Scottish historian, Boswell at another time refers to a letter to Drummond, dated 1767, in which Johnson urges that gentleman to consult Dr Robertson on the advisability of publishing a translation of the Erse Bible. The following paragraph from the letter shows, according to Boswell, Johnson's high regard for the celebrated historian, however lightly in a moment of caprice he may have spoken of his works:

> If you can consult Dr Robertson, to whom I am little known, I shall be satisfied about the propriety of whatever he shall direct. If he thinks that it should be printed, I entreat him to revise it; there may, perhaps, be some negligent lines written, and whatever is amiss, he knows very well

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223. Boswell's Johnson, II, 53.
224. Ibid., II, 237.

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how to rectify."[225]

When at Edingurgh in 1773 he actually had engaging conversations with Robertson, he described him as he did Blair, as a good and wise man. Of the latter's Sermons he said, "I admire Blair's Sermons, though the dog is a Scotsman, and a Presbyterian, and all that he ought not to be." Speaking of Beattie's Essay on Truth, he remarked that Doctor Beattie wrote like a man conscious of truth. Dr Blacklock, the blind poet, he received "with a most humane complacency." He later had a good word for the writings and character of Lord Hailes, "whom I love better than any man whom I know so little," and for the poetry of James Thomson, who, although he sometimes used such a cloud of words that the sense could hardly peep through, had, nevertheless, a true poetical genius.[226]

Just as Johnson during his trip did not fail generally to commend real worth in Scottish men of letters whenever he discovered it, so he showed himself appreciative of any service rendered to him. Wherever there is a house, he writes, the stranger finds a welcome.[227] At Aberdeen, the authorities bestowed upon their distinguished visitor the freedom of the city. Marks of attention such

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225. Ibid., II, 30, n. 1.
226. Ibid., IV, 98;V, 29, 47; III, 37.
227. The Works of Samuel Johnson, LL. D., London, 1825, IX, 50.

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as this undoubtedly did much toward reducing Johnson's bias against the North; the honour pleased him much. He wrote of the event to Mrs. Piozzi and added, "Let me pay Scotland one just praise; there was no officer gaping for a fee; this could have been said of no city on the English side of the Tweed."[228] At the home of a professor at St Andrews he was "gratified by every mode of kindness, and entertained with all the elegance of lettered hospitality."[229]

The kindness of the professors in this city, however, did not contribute to abate his uneasy reflection on the declining state of the University there. Had Knox and his followers in the violence of their reformation destroyed this institution as they had the cathedral near it, Johnson would not have regretted the deed. The distance of the calamity from the present time would have precluded his feeling or sympathy. But the lexicographer mourned to see it "pining in decay," yet struggling for existence.[230] Speaking of the dissolution of St Leonard's College, he reproaches the Scots nation for suffering its universities to molder into dust, while its commerce and wealth are hourly increasing, and its merchants and nobles are raising palaces.[231] Indeed, though acknowledging that there was an

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228. Boswell's Johnson, V, 90, n. 2.
229. S. Johnson, Western Islands, p. 6.
230. Ibid., p. 12.
231. Ibid., p. 9.

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abundance of learning in Scotland from about 1550 to 1650, Johnson states that this was lost during the civil wars. Although he declares that the Scots are not a really learned people, he admits, as does Topham, that they are far removed from ignorance. His well-known pronouncement concerning their education is now almost proverbial: "Their learning is like bread in a besieged town: every man gets a little, but no man gets a full meal."[232] He writes that the students enter the universities with little fundamental knowledge, "and therefore the superstructure cannot be lofty"; that men bred in these Scottish institutions of learning, though not often decorated with the splendours of ornamental erudition, nevertheless do obtain a mediocrity of knowledge, between learning and ignorance, adequate to the demands of common life. He thinks the long, unbroken session (from 10 October to 10 June) superior to the English system of terms; but other than this rational distribution of time the northern universities appear to have little else to commend them over the English institutions.[233]

Johnson thought more highly, however, of Scots

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232. Boswell's Johnson, V, 57; II, 363.
233. S. Johnson, Western Islands, p. 196.

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education than of the Scots religion. Although he scorned Presbyterianism, he had the greatest respect for the Roman Catholic faith wherever he found it. The ruins of the ancient Roman Catholic monastery at Aberbrothick so much interested him that these alone, he felt, compensated him for venturing into Scotland.[234] He always observes sorrowfully the remains of the Episcopal or Roman Catholic institutions in that country. They generally afford him proof of the waste of the Reformation. The Anglican mode of worship, with its special days for honouring saints, was deeply rooted in his thinking. He accuses Scotland of being the only country, "Catholick or Protestant," in which the great events of religion are not solemnly commemorated on days set apart for the purpose. The slightest gesture toward Anglicization of the Scotch Kirk would have gratified him immensely.[235] After his visit he was no doubt relieved to write that reason and truth would finally prevail in the western islands, that the most learned Scottish doctors would now gladly admit a form of prayer if the people could but endure it.[236] Even though Johnson had commended the plain familiar style of the Scotch preachers[237] and was deeply impressed with the regularity of their

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234. _Ibid._, p. 15.
235. _Boswell's Johnson_, II, 459.
236. S. Johnson, _Western Islands_, p. 156.
237. _Boswell's Johnson_, I, 460.

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lives, he could not be persuaded to attend a Presbyterian service during his stay in Scotland. Although he acknowledges in his Journey that he saw not one pastor in the islands who was deficient in learning,[238] yet, when Boswell once tactlessly hinted at the superiority of the Scotch over the English clergy, Johnson heatedly broke forth: "I do not believe your people are better instructed than the English. If they are, it is the blind leading the blind; for your clergy are not instructed themselves."[239]

If Johnson never quite succeeded in overcoming his resentment against the Scottish Church, many instances in the course of the journey show that he was generally not unwilling to be corrected in his opinion of the North. Before visiting the Highlands he had said that the wants of the Highlanders were numerous, but that the greatest want was the want of law.[240] After his trip, although he writes that the ancient spirit that appeals only to the sword is still among them and that legal government is yet something of a novelty to which they cannot perfectly conform, he also admits that in all important questions in the Highlands there is now an end to all fear or hope from malice or from favour; that roads are secure, through

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238. S. Johnson, Western Islands, p. 155.
239. Boswell's Johnson, V, 251.
240. Ibid., II, 126.

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which forty years before no traveller could pass without a convoy; that the poor are in as little danger from the powerful in these regions as in other places.[241] He shows concern for the safety of the natives of the western islands, for he censures the government for debarring them from the use of weapons: "These islands might be wasted with fire and sword before their sovereign would know of their distress." It is unfair, he writes, to decree laws that exact obedience and yield no protection.[242]

The fact should not be overlooked that Johnson is conspicuously silent concerning much that must have been most disagreeable to him during his travels. For instance, though some of his contemporaries vehemently accuse the Scots of uncleanness, Johnson rarely mentions the phenomenon. It is no secret that Highland inns generally left much to be desired in this respect; yet he very seldom makes complaint. Writing on the Hebrides, he actually excuses the inhabitants of those islands from the charge of uncleanness. The houses are small, he explains, and by the necessity of accumulating stores, where there are so few opportunities of purchase, the rooms are very heterogeneously filled; "with want of cleanliness it were ingratitude to reproach them." Likewise,

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241. S. Johnson, Western Islands, pp. 157, 138.
242. Ibid., p. 134.

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he would vindicate the servants of the western isles, who "having been bred upon the naked earth, think every floor clean...."[243]

The seeming indolence of the natives of Skye he treats with the same sympathetic understanding:

> Having little work to do they are not willing nor perhaps able to endure a long continuance of manual labour, and are therefore considered as habitually idle.[244]

He admits that the prompt replies of the inhabitants of the islands to his questions silence scepticism, and that the asking of a second question immediately discovers that what was told so confidently at first was told at hazard; nevertheless, instead of charging them with being utterly untruthful Johnson suggests that their fearlessness of assertion was either the sport of negligence or the refuge of ignorance. Because their traditions have been negligently heard and unskillfully related, he will not hold them responsible when they give inconsistent replies to his questions.[245] In cautioning the traveller in the Highlands against being too credulous to the tales of the natives, he does not unnecessarily belittle the people. He will not say that they deliberately speak falsehood or that they study to

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243. *Ibid*., pp. 31, 148-149.
244. *Ibid*., pp. 123-124.
245. *Ibid*., pp. 73, 74.

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deceive; still, knowing the ignorance of all strangers as to their language and antiquities, the Scots are, he mildly says, not too careful about telling them the truth:

> They are not much accustomed to be interrogated by others, and seem never to have thought upon interrogating themselves; so that if they do not know what they tell to be true, they likewise do not distinctly perceive it to be false.[246]

If the carelessness of these people in furnishing the truth is due largely to their being poorly informed, one can readily believe Johnson's assertion that he did not meet with that inquisitiveness of which he had read concerning them. The Doctor suspects the commonly accepted judgement in this respect to have been rashly made, and he takes up the defence of the natives:

> A stranger of curiosity comes into a place where a stranger is seldom seen; he importunes the people with questions...and gazes with surprise on things which they, having had them always before their eyes, do not suspect of anything wonderful. He appears to them like some being of another world, and then thinks it peculiar that they take their turn to inquire whence he comes, and whither he is going.[247]

To Johnson the universal economic distress of the Highlands is another indication of the need of enlightenment in the North. He refuses to allow that the poverty of the

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246. Ibid., p. 173.
247. Ibid., p. 153.

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inhabitants is entirely the fault of the land. He gives an impersonal observation, however, which goes beyond any charge on the Scots alone: they are

> ...an illiterate people, whose whole time is a series of distress; where every morning is labouring with expedients for the evening; and where all mental pains or pleasure arose from the dread of winter, the expectation of spring, the caprices of their chiefs, and the motions of the neighboring clans; where there was neither shame from ignorance, nor pride in knowledge: neither curiosity to inquire, nor vanity to communicate.[248]

In a similarly objective manner Johnson, discussing the size of the natives of Skye, remarks that in regions of barrenness and scarcity the human race is hindered in its growth by the same causes as other animals. Surely none can take offence if he finds, as does Topham, that the Highlands have no great examples of age and health. His philosophical remarks on longevity demonstrate the impartiality of this statement of his with regard to these parts:

> It is generally supposed that life is longer in places where there are few opportunities of luxury; but I found no instance here of extraordinary longevity. A cottager grows old over his oaten cakes, like a citizen at a turtle feast. He is indeed seldom incommoded by corpulence. Poverty preserves him from sinking under the burden of himself, but he escapes no other injury of time.[249]

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248. Ibid., p. 164.
249. Ibid., pp. 123,124.

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Though the ladies of Skye, he observes, possess as much beauty as those of other countries, yet bloom and softness are not to be expected among the lower classes, whose faces are exposed to the rudeness of the climate and whose features are sometimes hardened by blasts and sometimes contracted by want.[250]

But Johnson would not leave the impression that all people in the North are poor! True, if a traveller finds only a cottage while in the western islands, he can expect little more than shelter, for the cottagers have little more for themselves; but if his good fortune bring him to the residence of a gentleman, he will find that neither plenty nor delicacy is wanting. A dinner in the islands differs very little from a dinner in England. Johnson cannot recall having seen a table in the western islands that did not have some kind of wild fowl.

> The moor-game is everywhere to be had. That the sea abounds with fish need not be told, for it supplies a great part of Europe. The Isle of Skye has stags and roebucks, but no hares. They sell very numerous droves of oxen yearly to England, and therefore cannot be supposed to want beef at home. Sheep and goats are in great numbers, and they have the common domestic fowls.[251]

The Scotch breakfast, whether of the Lowlands or mountains, he acknowledges to surpass the English. "If an epicure

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250. *Ibid*., p. 123.
251. *Ibid*., pp. 78, 79.

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could remove by a wish in quest of sensual gratifications, wherever he had supped he would breakfast in Scotland." Their suppers, he writes, are like their dinners, various and plentiful. "The table is always covered with elegant linen....They use silver on all occasions where it is common in England, nor did I ever find the spoon of horn but in one house."[252] Such is the favourable comment concerning entertainment in these more remote parts of Scotland from a man who was always exacting in his eating habits. Not once, in fact, does the author of the Journey to the Western Isles refer unkindly to the fare he received in the North.

Johnson, of course, attributes any progress in Scotland during recent years to the Act of 1707. Until the Union made the Scots acquainted with English manners, he says, not only was the culture of their lands unskillful and their domestic life unformed, but their tables were coarse as the feasts of Esquimaux. Since they have known that their condition was capable of improvement, their progress, he finds, has been rapid and uniform. "What remains to be done they will quickly do, and then wonder, like me, why that which was so necessary and so easy was so long delayed." But, concludes this "true-born English-

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252. Ibid., pp. 81, 82.

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man," they must be forever content to owe to the English that elegance and culture which, if they had been vigilant and active, perhaps the English might have owed to them.[253]

Although Johnson after his journey is generally disposed to be more charitable toward the Scots, he will not sacrifice truth for flattery. Unless the facts be found to warrant it, he will not change his first opinions. For instance, he continues to regard the natives of Scotland as distinctly national. Speaking of their success in London, he imputes it in a considerable degree to their spirit of nationality. The "clannishness" of the Scots abroad irritated him. He speaks of it as a combination so invidious that their friends cannot defend it. Boswell upholds his countrymen by insisting that these "combinations" would not have been formed had they not been necessary for the mutual safety of the Scots, or at least for their success in a country where they were treated as foreigners.[254]

If Johnson considers the people as in the main honest, he is inclined to believe that their extreme nationalism sometimes causes them to distort facts. True, it was during one of his tirades against Macpherson and the Ossianic poems that he

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253. Ibid., pp. 38, 39.
254. Boswell's Johnson, II, 307, n. 3; V, 408, 409.

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declared the Scots to love Scotland better than truth: "all of them--nay not all,--but 'droves' of them would come up, and attest anything for the honour of Scotland." But even in his quieter moments he substantially and persistently continues to maintain this view: "A Scotchman must be a very sturdy moralist who does not love Scotland better than truth; he will always love it better than inquiry; and if falsehood flatters his vanity, will not be very diligent to detect it."[255]

Another characteristic which Johnson after his trip still sees to be typically Scottish is the insinuating manner in which a Scot ingratiates himself into one's favour. A circumstance he mentioned to Boswell exemplifies this trait: A Scotchman, candidate for a certain office, against whom Johnson had voted, came up to him with a civil salutation. "An Englishman would have stomached it, and been sulky, and never have taken any further notice of you," the Doctor writes, "but a Scotchman, Sir, though you vote nineteen times against him, will accost you with equal complaisance after each time, and the twentieth time, Sir, he will get your vote."[256]

Nor did Samuel Johnson find reason to recall the

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255. Ibid., II, 311,311,n. 4.
256. Ibid., IV, 11-12.

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statement, which he had made eleven years prior to his visit, concerning the economic status of the Scots; "But, Sir, let me tell you, the noblest prospect a Scotchman ever sees, is the high road that leads him to England."[257] Indeed, his trip to Scotland confirms his earlier conception of the general poverty of the people. But the comparatively few observations of this penury recorded in his Journey contain no trace of prejudice. In Skye he observes with little comments that even the goats and sheep are milked like cows. The two boarding schools in this large island are operating only during the summer months because winter provisions cannot be gathered for any considerable number in one place. When he reaches the island of Rassay and sees the chapel there unroofed and useless, he declares that with the exception of Skye such is the condition of all the houses of prayer in the islands he has visited. He is but stating fact when he records that excepting in Lewis there is not in any of the western islands a collection of buildings that can make pretension to be called a town. He is not exaggerating conditions when he writes that the proprietors of the Highlands by subdividing their estates might increase their incomes if only there were people enough to occupy the land.[258]

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257. Ibid., I, 425.
258. S. Johnson, Western Islands, pp. 154, 191, 140.

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Finding the population of the Hebrides impoverished, he urges that the grievances of the people there be removed; for the loss of an inhabitant leaves a "lasting vacuity," inasmuch as nobody born in any other part of the world would choose these parts for his residence. He attributes the general spirit of discontent throughout a great part of the Highlands to the happy tales of those who have emigrated to America, and he advises that methods be adopted to stop "this epidemic desire of wandering."[259] The number of beggars in Scotland surprises him. In the country districts he finds them proportionately more numerous than those in like parts in England, but he is pleased to observe that they are neither importunate nor clamorous.[260]

The remarks of Dr Johnson regarding the appearance of Scotland are comparatively fewer than those relating to the people. He had an insatiable social curiosity. His interests were chiefly human; he was always inquiring about social customs and the state of culture.[261] But he also concerns himself with the condition of the land.

Prior to his trip to Scotland, Johnson found diversion not only in scoffing at the poverty of the people, but in ridiculing the barrenness of their country.

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259. Ibid., pp. 142-143.
260. Ibid., p. 16.
261. J. Boswell, The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL. D., p. vi, London, 1928.

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When Boswell once said that he would like to retire to a desert, Johnson replied, "Sir, you have desert enough in Scotland."[262] At one time Johnson asked, "What enemy would invade Scotland where there is nothing to be got?" Boswell took occasion to remind him at another time that England was obliged to Scotland for gardeners, since almost all good gardeners in that country were from the North. To this the Doctor promptly retorted, "Why, Sir, that is because gardening is much more necessary amongst you than with us....It is all gardening with you."[263]

During his visit to the western islands Johnson found little reason to praise the soil for its productiveness:

> Of their gardens I can only judge from their tables. I did not observe that the common greens were wanting, and suppose that by choosing an advantageous exposition, they can raise all the more hardy esculent plants. Of vegetable fragrance or beauty they are not yet studious. Few vows are made to Flora in the Hebrides.[264]

In the Highlands, travelling north from Inverness, he was struck by the sight of a little cornfield which, he declared, served to impress more strongly the general barrenness of the country. "I have seen a horse carrying home the harvest

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262. Boswell's Johnson, II, 75.
263. Ibid., II, 77.
264. S. Johnson, Western Islands, p. 118.

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on a crate," he wrote.[265] In Skye, he observed that the little hay gathered amounted to a mere collection of withered stalks, which in England would be thrown away, but which in Scotland had to be eaten by cattle that had nothing else.[266]

His journey apparently served to confirm too his earlier notions of the treelessness of the land. His remark is not merely a "ponderous pleasantry" when he asserts that "a tree might be a show in Scotland as a horse in Venice."[267] The statement contains a large amount of truth. Beyond question there were forests of great extent in the Highlands, but these were in inaccessible straths so far out of reach as to render them of little value for the common purpose of work; in fact, for house-fitting, for ship-building, for implements, fir and oak were imported from Norway.[268] The Doctor alleged that there was not a tree older than himself between the English border and Edinburgh. Even when he reached Slanes Castle in Aberdeenshire he could write, "I had now travelled two hundred miles in Scotland, and seen only one tree not younger than myself." But Boswell explains that when Johnson talks of trees,

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265. Ibid., pp. 41, 124.
266. Ibid., p. 118.
267. Ibid., p. 223.
268. H. G. Graham, op. cit., p. 195.

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he means those of good size, such as he was accustomed to see in England; and of them Boswell writes that there are certainly very few upon the eastern coast of Scotland.[269]

Johnson's discussion of the methods of tillage used by the inhabitants of Skye is an example of the more objective view-point with which he was wont, especially after his tour, to regard Scotland. "Their corn grounds often lie in such intricacies among the crags, that there is no room for the action of a team and plough." But their primitive implements and methods are also serious handicaps to agricultural progress. Where a plough cannot be used,

> ...the soil is then turned up by manual labour with an instrument called a crooked spade, of a form and weight which to me appeared very incommodious, and would perhaps be soon improved in a country where workmen could be easily found and easily paid. It has a narrow blade of iron fixed to a long and heavy piece of wood, which must have, about a foot and a half above the iron, a knee or flexure with the angle downwards. When the farmer encounters a stone...he drives the blade under it, and bringing the knee or angle to the ground has in the long handle a very forcible lever.[270]

He censures the method employed by the natives in separating the oats from the husk by parching them in the straw.

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269. Boswell's Johnson, II, 311, n. 5; V, 69.
270. S. Johnson, Western Islands, p. 116.

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"Thus, with the genuine improvidence of savages, they destroy that fodder, for want of which their cattle may perish."[271]

It is not surprising that Johnson should see little to appreciate in the landscape of a country which, because of its unproductivity, was intimately tied up with human suffering. The fact that he generally exhibits no real taste for the wild and uncultivated scenery of the North, is, of course, in keeping with typical eighteenth-century disregard for nature. The hills, by hindering the eye from ranging, forced his mind to find entertainment for itself.[272] On his return to the south of Scotland someone asked Johnson how he liked the Highlands. Irritated, he replied, "How, Sir, can you ask me what obliges me to speak unfavourably of a country where I have been hospitably entertained? Who _can_ like the Highlands? I like the inhabitants very well."[273] It is of the Highlands he writes:

> They exhibit very little variety; being almost wholly covered with dark heath, and even that seems to be checked in its growth. What is not heath is nakedness.... An eye accustomed to flowery pastures and waving harvests is astonished and repelled by this wide extent of hopeless sterility. The appearance is that of matter incapable of form or usefulness,

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271. _Ibid._, p. 117.
272. _Ibid._, p. 57.
273. _Boswell's Johnson_, V, 377.

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> dismissed by Nature from her care and disinherited of her favours.[274]

It is to be observed that the larger aspects of untamed nature always produce in Johnson, as in Pennant, a sense of fear. This is true even when they yield him some degree of enjoyment. When he reaches the celebrated Fall of Foyers the country strikes his imagination "with all the gloom and grandeur of Siberian solitude."[275] He sees rocks, "towering in horrid nakedness," and a mountain as a "considerable protuberance."[276] He looks upon the Buller of Buchan as a place of terror and punishment, and defines it as a circular basin of water of unknown depths, enclosed by a natural steep wall rising on every side to a height which produced the idea of insurmountable confinement. As Johnson imagines someone travelling alone at night among the crags and hollows of the western islands, he concludes that the fictions of the Gothic romances were not so remote from credibility as they are now thought to be.[277]

It would not be strictly true to say that Samuel Johnson had no appreciation whatsoever for wildness in nature. From the windows of Slanes Castle, overlooking the sea that separates Scotland from Norway, he imagines himself enjoying the terrific grandeur of the tempestuous

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274. S. Johnson, Western Islands, pp. 55-56.
275. Ibid., p. 46.
276. Ibid., p. 41; Boswell's Johnson, V, 141.
277. S. Johnson, Western Islands, pp. 22, 112, 113.

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ocean. He would not wish for a storm to rise there merely for his own amusement, but should one occur he would willingly witness it.[278] He records that near the close of his peregrinations, as he was travelling one night toward Inverary, the whistle of the blast, the fall of the rain, the rush of the cataracts, and the roar of the torrent made a nobler chorus of the rough music of nature than he had ever before been privileged to hear.[279] Perhaps he would have cultivated more real taste for Highland sights and sounds had he lived longer in these regions.

There can be no question that, from his brief stay in Scotland, many of Samuel Johnson's opinions of that land and its people underwent a change and that his prejudices were much lessened in the course of his tour. He returned to England the wiser for his journey, and with the deepest gratitude for the kindly treatment that he had received in Scotland. In general it was only on those occasions when he felt the spirit of competition that Johnson allowed his prejudice for Scotland to influence his judgement. At other times his pronouncements on the North Britons are sober. After his visit to the North his remarks concerning the country and its inhabitants were generally

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278. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
279. *Ibid.*, pp. 231-232.

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well-tempered with common sense and free from undue bias. He must not be looked upon as an unfriendly critic simply because he refuses to flatter, and describes men and manners as they appear to him. When he learned of the furor his book had created, he expressed his astonishment at the extreme jealousy of the inhabitants and at their resentement at his describing their country as it really appeared to him. That Johnson was anxious to appear well in the eyes of the Scots may be seen in a letter he wrote to Boswell after his return to England:

> Tell them (his friends in the North) how well I speak of Scotch politeness, and Scotch hospitality, and Scotch beauty, and of everything Scotch, but Scotch oat-cakes and Scotch prejudices.[280]

That he was unwilling to make careless mistakes in his book is shown by his eagerness to learn what Boswell thought of his Journey."Let me know, as fast as you read it, how you like it; and let me know if any mistake is committed, or anything important left out."[281] After his tour he could actually write: "the conversation of the Scots grows every day less unpleasing to the English." Had the change taken place in the language or in Doctor Johnson? In the closing paragraph of his Journey Johnson's admission of his inability to judge rightly on national

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280. Boswell's Johnson, II, 380.
281. Ibid., II, 290.

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manners is not the talk of one who is really prejudiced:

> 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.[282]

In Johnson is to be noted rather markedly the change that is taking place in the viewpoint of English men of letters toward Scotland. Prior to his visit to that country, the Doctor's attitude was fairly typical of that prejudice for the North which was fashionable south of the Tweed. Johnson, however, is also representative of his brethren in that, once he is enlightened through actual observation concerning the North, many of his prejudices begin to disappear. The Journey to the Western Islands is not significant for any lavish praise of the Scots, nor for any remarkable confession of erroneous notions its author might earlier have entertained regarding Scotland. It is well to remember, however, that North Britain had aroused the curiosity of the most important literary man of the period, so that, in spite of serious handicaps, he undertook to visit that land. It is still more important to observe that the account of this famous Englishman's ex-

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282. S. Johnson, Western Islands, pp. 237, 240.

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periences there shows real, sympathetic interest in both the land and its people. This new feeling of Johnson after 1773 is symptomatic of the changing disposition of Englishmen toward Scotsmen. Even the Doctor's sense of appreciation for natural scenery seems to have been quickened during his trip so that he actually expressed pleasure in some forms of wild Scottish nature. This much cannot be said for Pennant, whose joy in wild nature is always accompanied with fear. None would have been more astonished than Johnson himself to learn of the complete revolution about to take place in English taste for natural landscape; the pendulum was already set to swing toward enthusiastic appreciation of the kind of scenery which he had found in Scotland.

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III

1775-1800

As the eighteenth century drew near its close English hostility for the North began to disappear. Several factors were responsible for the change. Gradually the means of communication by stage-coach were improved, as by the rise of wealth and improvement of roads the number of travellers increased. Creech mentions as a remarkable fact that in 1782 a person may set out on Sunday afternoon--"after divine services" he adds carefully--from Edinburgh, may remain a whole day in London, and be again in Edinburgh on Saturday at six in the morning.[1] With better facilities for travel between the two countries, the intercourse of the two peoples grew more frequent, and, in the eyes of the South, the provincialism of northern life, dress, and manners diminished. Not the least important factor in producing a spirit of fellowship between England and Scotland was the rapid economic progress of the North; between the beginning and the end of the century the Scotch revenue had multiplied fifty-one times, although the

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1. Quoted from W. Creech, Letters, in G. B. Hill, In the Footsteps of Doctor Johnson, London, 1890, p. 60.

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population had only increased from about 1,100,000 to 1,600,000;[2] such an evidence of industrial activity on the part of the Scots could not but command the respect of England. At the same time the contributions of Scottish men of letters to English literature and thought, contributions which became numerous and excellent especially after the middle of the century, had much to do with reducing the prejudice of the South. It was not that Englishmen were everywhere perfectly reconciled to their union with the Scots; but certainly by 1800 much of the bitterness that had existed between them was removed.

Among the writings of English men of letters of the period under consideration, the spirit of animosity toward the Scot is conspicuously lacking. So far as the literature is concerned, it would seem that the excitement engendered about the time of the Bute ministry had completely subsided by 1775. At any rate, during the last quarter of the century the literary works published by Englishmen who did not at any time visit Scotland reveal almost no interest in the North. The question of the Scotchman's political, economic, or social relationship to England, no longer a major issue, did not particularly affect them.

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2. H. G. Graham, _The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century_, 1928, p. 536.

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Even at the end of the century the southerner had little inducement other than reasons of trade to cross the border. Scotland remained wild and unattractive to him. The natives of that country were themselves by no means generally awakened as yet to the natural beauties surrounding them. Yet English opinions of Scotland in this latter part of the century are to be found almost exclusively in the works of those few men who visited the North out of the new interest in the picturesque as it appeared either in the life of the Scottish people or in the Scottish scenery.

Not all the discussion of this people, to be sure, dealt with them from a romantic point of view. John Lettice, a poet and divine who wrote an account of a short trip he made to Scotland in the autumn of 1792, considers them in a realistic as well as a romantic light. His kindly curiosity absorbed even the commonplace circumstances and events in the life of the Scots.

Entering the country by Annandale, he gives an interesting description of Ecclefechan as it appeared two years before the birth of Carlyle, when the village was

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noted for its horse fairs. He proceeds to Glasgow by Moffat and Hamilton, where the villagers, passing to the kirk with their Bibles under their arms, are to him a most pleasing spectacle.[3]

At Glasgow Lettice admires the appearance of the fine lofty houses, the beauty, splendour, and convenience of the streets with their public and private buildings. Passing under the lofty tower of the Tolbooth and alighting at the Piazza which adjoins it, he enters the Tontine Hotel behind them--"a house of public accommodation, worthy of this magnificent city." Contrary to common report, this traveller states that no country has better or finer inns than Scotland.[4]

He has the highest commendation to bestow on the civility and attention of the Scottish inn-keepers, and on their ambition to give the best entertainment upon very moderate terms. He is of the opinion, too, that they are more intelligent than those of the same order in South Britain. Their houses, everywhere but in the Highlands, he finds equal to the inns in England; and those more recently built, superior both in accommodation and in elegance.[5] By the time he has reached Inverness in his account,

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3. John Lettice, Letters on a Tour Through Various Parts of Scotland, in the Year 1792, London, 1794, pp. 46,47.
4. Ibid., pp. 58,78,235.
5. Ibid., pp. 360, 361.

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he feels it his duty to write in confirmation of his earlier report concerning the Scotch inns:

> That this topic may not be repeated it is thought proper to observe here, that in the remainder of this tour, circuitously made from Inverness to Berwick, we found every reason to confirm that which has already been said in favour of Scottish inns, and of those who keep them.[6]

On the morning following his arrival at the well-patronized Glasgow Tontine Hotel, from the dining-room window Lettice notes a novel sight on the opposite side of the court:

> A grand bow, lighted by five lofty sashes, projects into the court of the hotel; all we could see was a number of figures sitting, standing, or walking about. On entering we found a room of seventy or eighty feet in length, having another vast window on one of its sides.[7]

He was delighted with this apartment, which he discovered to be no other than the great subscription coffee room, supported by more than six hundred of the principal citizens and members of the University. There he was gratified to find newspapers and gazettes from London, Ireland, Holland, and France, besides a number of English magazines and provincial journals. No part of the day passed without some concourse of the subscribers; indeed, Lettice writes, the pleasure most regularly indulged in by the

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6. Ibid., p. 361.
7. Ibid., p. 87.

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business men of the city is their daily call at the Tontine coffee room, where they learn whatever is new or interesting in politics and commerce at home and abroad.[8]

Observing with satisfaction that the citizens of Glasgow manifest little propensity for pleasure or amusement, Lettice is led to expatiate on their ingenuity and habits of industry. Having in mind the revolution in France, he has some misgivings lest a similar disaster come upon Scotland; but he is sure that the people of Glasgow are too enlightened to countenance "that barbarism of our species, which, in one great nation, has blotted out the fairest characters of humanity." He is disappointed to find neglected and forlorn the long, spacious, and handsomely planted public avenues, meant to allow the rich, the young, and the gay to assemble.[9] He is surprised to find Glasgow's only public park so little resorted to: only two ladies, besides himself, had sought the refreshing shade. But it seems that the inhabitants are too busy now for relaxation. "They can scarcely keep open their playhouse during the course of one month in a year; and their dancing assemblies are on foot only in the winter season." He writes that the better ranks of women are seldom seen in the streets, that they are laudably engaged at home in

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8. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 87.
9. <u>Ibid</u>., pp. 82,85,86.

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the education of their children and the economy of their families. One might almost imagine that Glasgow was unfamiliar with even the name of idleness. Every man has an occupation to which he applies himself most industriously. But the apprehensive Lettice dares not think that with the growth of wealth and passion for freedom this happy state of affairs will continue, and, under the influence of a temporary spell of melancholy, he proceeds with a pessimistic political and social forecast.[10]

Yet at other times, when Lettice is free from feelings of uneasiness, he speaks emphatically of the natural soundness of the Scottish intellect. _Mens sana in corpore sano_, he writes, is perhaps nowhere more happily exemplified than in the natives of Scotland. Their buildings, constructed for convenience and duration as well as elegance, not only show good taste but are among the many proofs of that good sense which he had frequent opportunity of considering as characteristics of this people.[11] On reaching Perth he is gratified to learn that luxury in the modes of living or dress had made no remarkable progress among the wealthier inhabitants of that city. Although at Edinburgh he observes that the delicacy and decency of the

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10. _Ibid_., pp. 85, 86.
11. _Ibid_., 23, 25, 413, 453.

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conduct of a former period is giving way to a spirit of looseness and dissipation, he feels that on the whole the people of North Britain will no doubt enjoy the blessings of a sound mind as long as temperance and hardy discipline continue the general character of their schools.[12]

For the Scotchman's eagerness to learn he has high praise. The provision made for the training of youth in almost every town and village, he writes, reflects peculiar credit on the country and may be reckoned the most efficient cause of Scotland's rapid advancement in all the arts and improvements of civil life. He agrees with Johnson when that writer implies that even the inferior order in the North is better educated than is the same class in England. Passing through a mining district in the bosom of the hills in the Lowlands, Lettice admires the natives because, to compensate for their exclusion from society, they have contrived to improve themselves by establishing a circulating library.[13] He speaks of Scotland's "brilliant share" in the advancement of science, and particularly of the "learned seminary" at Glasgow, and of several of its professors who, he observes, hold distinguished rank in the republic of letters.[14]

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12. Ibid., pp. 527, 413.
13. Ibid., pp. 395, 361, 44.
14. Ibid., pp. 61, 62, 461.

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This agreeable commentator would think as highly as possible of the Scotch. He was told, on excellent authority, he reports, that the attachment of the people of Glasgow to the stated duties of the Sabbath was still warm; that their attention to the awful doctrines of religion was serious and devout; that to their ministers they were highly respectful. And he adds, "upon good information," that when the conduct of the Scottish people ever deviates from regularity, it is due to the natural prevalence of passion and to the progressive effect of natural prosperity rather than to any common perversion of religious principle.[15]

It is pertinent to note that Lettice's interest is in Glasgow rather than Edinburgh. This fact is not without significance. The eighteenth-century Englishman, who might be expected to have a good ear for the "sweet-sounding harmonies" of the city rather than the country, would naturally be attracted by the hum of industry at Glasgow, which by 1792 was the new manufacturing and trade centre of Scotland.

But Lettice at the same time shows interest in certain aspects of rural life and scenery. For instance, during his brief stay in Scotland, Lettice, following the Clyde on its landward side, reaches Wemyss Bay, at first christened

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15. Ibid., p. 76.

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New Glasgow, and of quite recent origin. The neat cottages on the shore of this little seacoast village call forth his admiration:

> Here Glasgow merchants have built each a nice white house, one joining the other, and making, in fact, a single villa, spread out before it to the water's edge, adorned with paterres of flowers and backed with wood and winding walks on the rising ground. Hither they retire, with their families, from their city and its busy hum, for the summer season.[16]

He becomes eloquent over the seaward view and the road onward to Largs under a long range of "romantic cliffs," overhung on the left with shrubs and trees, with cascades and fountains trickling down among them, and far to the right the broad expanse of the Clyde. After sailing from Largs for three hours he reached Rothesay, which was later to become the Scottish Brighton. He had just finished an early supper and was thinking of bed, when all notion of sleep was banished by the noises of the cotton-spinners preparing, as was their custom, to spend the evening till eleven o'clock in dancing with their lads, ashore from the herring-boats. He is amazed at their demonstrative reels, and is especially entertained with "a certain rapturous yelp which every now and then escapes the male dancers in the height of their glee, and which seems to give new life

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16. Ibid., p. 92.

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to their movements."[17]

This interest of Lettice in Caledonian folk dances is another sign pointing to the more romantic light in which the South will eventually regard the North. Here is an Englishman who is held by the "charming melancholy" of the Scottish dance music; who professes that of all the guttural accents which he has heard in different parts of Europe the Scottish is the boldest, that it is agreeable in conversation, that the vowel pronunciation of the Lowlanders approaches nearer to that of the ancient Greeks and Romans than the English, and that the northern idiom is more fitted for pleading than either the French or the English.[18]

The emphasis that he places upon the people of Scotland, rather than upon the landscape of that country, shows that Lettice still belongs to the eighteenth century. Yet, as it has been seen, this kindly observer of everyday life of the Scots has gone a step further than most of his predecessors in the field, for his imaginative sensibility is definitely quickened by that which peculiarly belongs to the northern setting.

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17. Ibid., p. 318.
18. J. Lettice, op. cit., pp. 169, 30, 31, 32.

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Not all Lettice's contemporaries were as interested as he was in the people, as opposed to the natural scenery, of the North. William Gilpin, an English curate and miscellaneous writer, engaged as early as 1776, for instance, in the novel diversion of a Highland sketching tour. He travelled in search of the picturesque in nature; and by picturesque beauty he meant beauty capable of being illustrated by painting. On entering Scotland he tells us that he was first impressed with the picturesqueness of the vast tracts of land entirely in a state of nature. It is not that he saw at this time mountains or valleys or any "particular species" of country; he was struck by "those large tracts of every species, which are totally untouched by art." Dr Johnson would have called such a landscape as that which Gilpin first saw in the North a "dismal spectacle." Gilpin felt that Johnson did an injustice to Scottish scenery in the _Journey to the Western Islands_, and he criticizes him for painting the northern landscape with the hand of peevishness, for presenting all its defects and none of its beauties.[19] Although he himself acknowledges that one of the striking characteristics of the land was a want of "objects," particularly of wood, he censures Johnson

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19. W. Gilpin, _Observations Relative to Picturesque Beauty made in the year 1776_, London, 1789, II, 111, 119.

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with being acrimonious on this point. It is true, he concedes, that there are no ancient forests in the North, that one rarely meets with a single oak, elm, or beech of sufficient dignity to adorn a foreground, that even the park scenery so common in England is little known in Scotland.[20] But Gilpin would not leave the impression that Scotland is without wood, and he points to the many fine plantations and to mountains covered with young fir. Discovering spruce, larch, and birch flourishing in some parts, this traveller concluded, as did Topham, that the nakedness of the country was owing more to the inattention of the lords than to the soil itself or the climate.[21] He believes that the addition of such "furniture" as woods and castles would impart beauty to the Scottish scenes; but, he writes, "At present, unadorned grandeur is their characteristic; and the production of sublime ideas, the effect."[22]

In point of all improvements in landscape he observes the Sçots to be very far behind their southern neighbours. He misses in Scotland the lawn, the clump, and the winding walk which leads one to everything worth seeing in the neighbourhood. But were it not for the

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20. Ibid., II, 117, 123.
21. Ibid., II, 124, 125.
22. Ibid., II, 122.

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general deficiency of wood in the country, he says, its landscapes would rival those of Italy: "The grand outlines are all laid in; a little furnishing is all we want." Yet he declares that wood, even if it did exist, could never be the glory of Scotland. Mountains, lakes, and rivers are to him the pride of the North.[23] Like Gray, Gilpin was agreeably struck by the grandeur and magnificence of nature at her wildest, by the prospect of vast and stupendous mountains, which, though completely unadorned, were to him by no means void of beauty.[24] He enjoyed the scenery of the Highlands even though he could not dissociate the bleakness and barrenness, the melancholy air universally connected with them.[25] Gilpin has the artist's sense of form. He is always viewing mountains to see whether they have or have not a good sky-line; to discover whether or not they are grotesque, misshapen, or too regular.[26] His language is often borrowed from the art of painting. He has much to say about foregrounds and backgrounds and perspective and composition. The mountains near Selkirk, he writes, constitute beautiful lines, if they do lack the drapery of a little wood to break the simplicity of their shapes. Near Blair, the mountains, retiring in different distances from the eye,

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23. Ibid., II, 141, 119, 127.
24. Ibid., II, 120; I, 50
25. Ibid., II, 120, 133.
26. M. Reynolds, The Treatment of Nature in English Poetry, Chicago, 1909, p. 236.

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marshall themselves in the most beautiful forms and expand their vast concave bosoms to receive the most enchanting lights.[27] At Ferney he admires a grand scene of mountain perspective. It is not often, he says, that these elevated bodies coincide with the rules of beauty and composition,--less often indeed than any other mode of landscape; whereas in a level country the awkwardness of a line is hid, the mountain, rearing its opaqueness against the sky, shows every fault both in its delineation and combination with great exactness.[28] The Ferney range possesses for him great perfection in the beauties of gradation--gradation in form, in light, and in colour.

The rivers of Scotland are spoken of as being generally very beautiful; their estuaries exceed any that he has seen in England; their stateliness in enhanced by the mountains environing them; not even the Welsh mountains give more grandeur to the Severn. But in Scotland the firths of the Clyde, the Forth, Loch Fyne, Loch Long, and many others display, in his opinion, the noblest and most magnificent scenery.[29] He is charmed by the beauty of the Tweed; and he speaks of the Tay as being uncommonly wild and picturesque. Of the rivers of Scotland in general

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27. W. Gilpin, _op. cit._, I, 50, 146.
28. _Ibid._, I, 51, 52.
29. _Ibid._, II, 130, 132.

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he says, "One genuine Scotch torrent is fairly worth all the serpentine rivers of England."[30] Gilpin is among the first English men of letters to feel real appreciation for rude, untamed nature. And he is inclined to think that no country in the world abounds more in the grand situations, especially in the highland parts of it, than does Scotland. Near the close of his tour he declared that in the whole journey he was greatly pleased with the face of the country. He resented the transforming hand of man in natural scenes; the adornments in private grounds he considered as "expensive deformity." His passages on the picturesqueness of the Highlands are an emphatic indication of the revolution in taste since the days of the formal gardens.[31] Although he was not a poet, Gilpin exerted considerable influence upon the concept of nature in English poetry. Myra Reynolds, discussing his contribution in this connexion, writes:

> Gilpin, if we take the whole extent of his work, represents the new spirit [in nature] more fully than any of the other early travelers. He notes the permanent and the evanescent. He observes color, form, and motion. The technical quality of his descriptions does not seriously interfere with the impression they give of pleasure in free,

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30. Ibid., I, 51,119; II, 141.
31. M. Reynolds, op. cit., p. 238.

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> wild Nature, and he again and again shows himself capable of an imaginative communion with Nature.[32]

Less interested in human than in physical nature, Gilpin, nevertheless, pauses occasionally to reflect on manners and morals. His disposition toward the natives is very friendly; it has no trace of prejudice. He was astonished, as was Johnson, at the sudden change that came over the Highlanders after the sovereignty of the chiefs was abolished by act of Parliament. The whole system of manners he finds changed: "You may travel through any part of Scotland, and rarely hear of an atrocious deed."[33] The fact that the people were quarrelsome and revengeful prior to that time was quite largely due, according to Gilpin, to the clansman's desire to do himself justice and to his anxiety to repair wrongs in a country in which law not only was weakly executed but also gave him no redress. Yet the measure for disarming the clans, wise as it was, would never, in his opinion, have succeeded in reclaiming the manners of the natives, had they not been naturally of a virtuous cast. He believes that the people thieved not so much from lack of principle as through the force of clanship.[34] Notwith-

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32. Ibid., p. 239.
33. W. Gilpin, op. cit., I, 209.
34. Ibid., I, 84, 211, 210.

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standing the continued proneness of the Highlander to acts of revenge and rapine, he is, Gilpin declares, in other respects a splendid character: faithful, hospitable, temperate, and brave; and if he does not forget an injury, he is always grateful for a benefit. As an instance of Highland fidelity he refers to the time when the clans concealed the Pretender even though the reward for his capture was very tempting and the penalty for assisting him severe. To the virtuous disposition of these people Gilpin adds that which, he says, always accompanies it--an independent spirit; if the English peasants often forge excuses for living on the labours of others, the Scotch Highlanders, even when in real distress, submit to any inconvenience before they complain.[35] He was struck by the frequent appearance of the Highlander reading his small Erse Bible. It was common for him to see a native so engaged while tending his cattle or resting by the roadside. Often, upon entering a cottage, he found the children standing around either reading in the Bible or repeating the catechism while the mother spun or knitted. Throughout the whole country he saw not only a serious and religious deportment but a pleasing simplicity and civility of manners among the common people.[36]

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35. Ibid., I, 211, 212, 214.
36. Ibid., I, 213, 214.

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Gilpin was altogether pleased with the North. No other Englishman of the eighteenth century was more generally satisfied with that country and its inhabitants. The account of his trip reveals no trace of national prejudice. It casts no reflection whatsoever upon the Scots. Certainly the spirit of this writer is far removed from that of the majority of his countrymen of the two periods previously considered. In contrast with Lettice, he is occupied with landscape rather than with people. His Wordsworthian enjoyment of Scottish scenery is a major distinction between him and Johnson, who for the most part did not feel completely at home amid the savage beauty of the North. Gilpin saw the sky-lines of the mountains, and revelled in them; it seems never to have occurred to him, as it did to Johnson, that they were the summits of "vast protuberances" serving merely to obstruct his view. If the Highlands appeared barren and dismal to the earlier traveller, to this lover of the picturesque they were rich in scenes of unadorned grandeur. But Gilpin would probably have had less enthusiasm for the Scottish landscape had he, like Johnson, been unable to divorce the thoughts of human suffering from wild, mountainous regions.

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At the close of the century John Stoddart, journalist and political editor of the London Times, appears as another devotee of the new cult of the picturesque in Caledonian scenery. He varied the Scottish journey by sailing from Gravesend in the packet Captain Ord bound for Leith. With him he took an artist friend, who sketched local beauties of rock and waterfall in "den" and "howe." Stoddart's plan was to engage in a walking tour. For one who preferred this mode of travel, Scotland, he felt, had the advantage over most parts of England, where commerce led to the assumption that nothing but necessity could compel a man to walk.

Stoddart's definition of the term "picturesque" is substantially the same as Gilpin's; it applies to that which presents a pleasing picture. The seeker after the picturesque, he states, reviews the scenes of nature and the rules of art with which he is already acquainted and in imagination adapts to a standard derived therefrom the scenery which he expects to behold.[37] In further defining

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37. J. Stoddart, Remarks on Local Scenery and Manners in Scotland during the Years 1799 and 1800, London, 1801, I, 2.

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the term, he writes:

> He is but a young student in the picturesque, who does not know, that mere form is a very subordinate consideration, in the objects of Nature. If she has opportunities of scattering her gay colours, of spreading her aerial veils, of distributing her bold lights and shades; but above all, if she has great magnitude to work upon, there is no asperity of form, no staringness of feature, which she cannot chasten or subdue.[38]

The view of Edinburgh which Stoddart first saw was from the Firth of Forth as the vessel in which he was sailing approached Leith, the port of the capital. It was raining at the time, and the rain allowed this seeker after nature-pictures only an outline--but, he writes, such an outline!

> The city of Edinburgh appears enthroned in a royal seat. Placed on an eminence, and adorned with her castle, she is backed by the noble range of the Pentland mountains; close at hand, she is supported by Arthur's Seat, Salisbury Craigs, and the Calton Hill, descending in three successive steps; and below her, in front, the port of Leith stretches far along the shore, its eastern extremity formed by the smoking glass-houses, and its centre by a pier, crowded with shipping.[39]

The western view of the city pleased him as a picture much more than the eastern. The parts were to him grander, simpler, and more harmonious, with none so marked as to distract or interfere with the general

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38. *Ibid.*, I, 55.
39. *Ibid.*, I, 31-32.

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combination as a whole. The eastern view "could scarcely form a picturesque composition."[40] But it is the Old Town of Edinburgh, he writes, which abounds, perhaps more than any other town in Britain, with singular and picturesque combinations of close scenery:

> The abruptnesses and inequalities of the ground--the antiquity and peculiar style of the dwelling-houses, and public buildings, some of them decaying, some deserted, some renovated--the narrow and winding streets, at one time connected by steep declivities, or flights of steps, at another overlaid by transverse arches--these, and a thousand such circumstances, contribute to form scenes of this kind, well worthy the observation of the true painter.[41]

Nature, he explains, is no less to be studied here than in regions which are more peculiarly her own; for although she lacks the bloom and freshness of beauty, she has "the picturesqueness of decay, the playful intricacies of caprice, the massiveness and gloomy sublimity of ancient grandeur."

With a critical eye for forms Stoddart visits parts of the Scottish Lowlands. Dumbarton rises too abruptly to form an easily combinable part of a picture.[42] The Glasgow Trongate, in which street the Tontine Coffee-house is situated, is rendered picturesque by the public

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40. Ibid., I, 46,47.
41. Ibid., I, 48.
42. Ibid., I, 210.

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buildings breaking its line. A mill, such as the one at the village of Milton, near Glasgow, is a subject most deservedly favoured by painters, for it is capable of affording picturesqueness to the most formal spot.[43]

But Stoddart is not only delighted with scenery he finds in the Lowlands; he is moved by the untamed majesty of the Highlands. If the magnificence of mountain scenery does not yet intoxicate with "aching joys" and "dizzy raptures," the time when it will do so is not far distant.[44] He speaks of the "terrific cliffs" and "savage grandeur" of the Cartline Craigs, of the "savage magnificence" of Glen Coe, and of the "savage" and "at all times romantic" glen of Branahaoun.[45] The darkness and imprisonment of the wild overhanging crags at the Falls of Clyde possesses something "inexpressibly awful" for him; their awfulness is heightened by the kindred impulses around, by the ceaseless toil of the struggling river, by the thundering sound of a thousand echoes, and by the mighty summit of Meal Fourvoirny beyond the lade.[46] Near Dumbarton the entrance of the Highlands is highly attractive; the huge mountain masses, which begin to rear their giant bulk in the

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43. _Ibid._, I. 187, 206.
44. _Ibid._, I. 162, 163.
45. _Ibid._, II, 37.
46. _Ibid._, II, 76, 77.

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distance, inspire him with an eager desire "to explore their scenes of grandeur."[47] After he has toiled to the summit of Ben Lomond, he feels richly repaid for the effort by the beauty of the scene, which, although defying pencil and therefore not picturesque, is nevertheless capable of exciting sensations of true sublimity:

> ....nothing is so stupendous as the vast ocean of mountains, separated by deep glens in every direction, which look like the perturbed waves of a mighty chaos: they have every variety of form and magnitude, and sweep round as far as the eye can reach....To the south-west is seen the wild confusion of sea and mountain which forms the Scotch coast....
>
> In such a situation, the most sublime sensations cannot be felt, unless you are alone. A single insulated being, carrying his view over these vast, inanimate masses, seems to feel himself attached to them, as it were, by a new kind of bond; his spirit dilates with the magnitude, and rejoices in the beauty of the terrestrial objects: and,
>
> "The near heav'ns their own delights impart."[48]

At Glen Coe he discovered "one of the most striking and sublime views in Scotland," which he describes enthusiastically, at the same time showing how it affected him:

> At the sight of the first, I gave an involuntary start of pleasure and surprise; advancing a little further, another gigantic apparition seemed to elevate its wild and fearful height. This was the peak, called, from its

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47. Ibid., II, 211.
48. Ibid., I, 235-236.

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> conical shape, Scurachie: the setting sun had decked it in a most brilliant rose colour; nor was the grandeur of the mass less striking, than the singularity of its form, and colour. The sudden appearance of a great mountain is sublime, and almost terrific. Its vastness, its durable solidity, and the idea of that creative power which framed it, appall the mind; and we shrink into nothingness before the mighty, inscrutable operations of nature.[49]

Stoddart is in the main interested in the scenery and antiquities of Scotland. He does make chance remarks, however, concerning the people. These are always sympathetic. Their national spirit of hospitality very much impressed him. He always observed an anxious desire on their part to recommend their country to the affections of an Englishman by acts of friendly and polite attention.[50] Sometimes he praises the North even at the expense of the South. For instance, he declares that the taste for painting at Edinburgh is superior to that in London; and if it be said that the highest poetical taste and genius is rare in the Scottish capital, he would answer that it is proportionately rarer in London.[51] In discussing the inhabitants of the isles, he will neither rank them as barbarians far removed from the wealth and splendour of a luxurious capital, nor represent them as

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49. Ibid., II, 24-25.
50. Ibid., I, 60, 61.
51. Ibid., II, 208.

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living in an Arcadia well guarded from the contagion of polished vices. These natives he finds similar in most respects to the Highlanders on the mainland. The circumstances in which they differ are generally in favour of the Highlands. In both districts, personal appearance forms a very marked distinction between the various ranks of society. He notes that though the higher classes boast many striking examples of beauty, the lower, as a rule, are anything but handsome.[52]

One feature of northern life that struck his attention was the scarcity of shoes, the women trudging through the streets and entering the houses with bare feet. But he would disabuse the English mind of the idea that such an appearance was associated with lower class poverty and want of cleanliness. Being as bare as the hands, he writes, the feet are washed with ease, and the eye is seldom disgusted by dirtiness in the latter as in the former. He admits, however, that hard labour and exposure to the weather destroy that delicacy of proportion which contributes in no small degree to man's admiration of the softer sex.[53] The peasant women of the Highlands and Isles he describes as short and thick-shaped; their long, black

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52. Ibid., II, 1, 2.
53. Ibid., I, 34, 35, 36.

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hair hanging over the face, their heads generally uncovered, and their features consequently drawn into an habitual frown, which give them altogether a terrific appearance. The men, commonly short, are ill-made. This condition may be due, he says kindly, not merely to their food and labour, but to the change of manners in modern times.[54]

Stoddart treats with consideration, as did Samuel Johnson, the proverbial indolence of the Highlander. It may be, he suggests, a remnant of the old military life, which afforded long intervals of ease. That it does not proceed from dullness of feeling is evident to him from the impassioned strain of the ancient poetry and music which are still preserved.[55] One would not think the Scots very indolent if he should see them dance. The prevalence of so lively an amusement and the peculiar activity of its participants rouses the wonder of this traveller. It appears somewhat contradictory, he writes, that this people, who are remarkable when compared with their southern neighbours for the general gravity of their behaviour and even for austerity in their moral character, should be so distinguished for this kind of diversion.[56]

The journalist's interest in Scotland is genuine

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54. Ibid., II, 3.
55. Ibid., II, 4.
56. Ibid., II, 132.

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and keen. He has an extraordinary understanding of the people of that country. The spirit of sympathy and friendliness reflected by English men of letters who visited the North from the time of Dr Johnson is most pronounced in Stoddart. His journey to Scotland is motivated by the new feeling for nature. Englishmen of the first half of the century would have been astonished at the thought of one of their countrymen's journeying to North Britain in search of "local and obscure beauties." They would have regarded it as inconceivable that anybody should eagerly seek the wild grandeur of the Scottish Highlands. Stoddart is in a sense, however, still one of them; for in his case, unlike Gilpin's, the sensation of fear continues to accompany his experience of the sublime in nature.

The century had just closed when Dorothy Wordsworth, accompanied by her brother William and by Coleridge, made a journey into Scotland. As the condition of things she describes is substantially that of the preceding decade, she may fairly be included among eighteenth century writers.

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Faithfully and with sensitive beauty of language she sets down in Recollections of a Tour made in Scotland her impressions of the country and its people. "On going into a new country," she says, "I seem to myself to waken up, and afterward it surprises me to remember how alive I have been to the distinctions of dress, household arrangements etc. and what a spirit these things give to the wild, barren or ordinary places." Her story is so vivid and minute that it is often spoken of as a diary of the tour. She always insisted on its being a collection of remembrances: "I am writing, not a journal, for we took no notes, but recollections of our Tour--the form of a journal."[57] Not at all antiquarian or historical in her taste, she fully appreciates rural scenery and activity.

The land through which they passed enchanted her. "Scotland," she writes, "is the country above all others that I have seen, in which a man of imagination can carve out his own pleasures....I can always walk over a moor with a light foot. I seem to be drawn more closely to nature in such places than anywhere else, or rather I feel

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57. E. De Selincourt, Dorothy Wordsworth, Oxford, 1933, p. 162. In a letter dated Nov. 13, 1803, Dorothy repeats this idea: "By the bye, its title is not properly a Journal or Tour but Recollections of a Tour." Ibid., p. 162, n. 3.

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more strongly the power of nature over me."[58]

She exulted not only in Scottish moors, but in every variety of northern landscape. "I must say," she writes, "that we hardly ever saw a thoroughly pleasing place in Scotland, which had not something of wildness in its aspect of one sort or other."[59] Her Journal abounds with charming descriptions of the Highland glens, mountain torrents, and sea-views. She had often, in looking over the map of Scotland, followed the intricate windings of the sea-lochs till, pleasing herself with her own imaginations, she had felt a longing, "almost painful," to travel among them. When she did see one, at Arrochar, her first impression was even more delightful than she had expected it to be.[60] She declares that she has tired herself out with describing at Loch Lomond, that if she were to go on writing for evermore she should give but a faint, and very often a false, idea of the different objects and the various combinations of them in that most intricate and luxuriant place. "In a word," she concludes, "the Trossachs beggar all description."[61] She was much affected by the mountains. Of those in the neighbourhood of Glen Coe

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58. Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth, ed. by W. Knight, London, 1925, p. 184.
59. Ibid., p. 302.
60. Ibid., p. 268.
61. Ibid., pp. 250,251.

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she says simply, "I cannot attempt to describe the mountains. I can only say that I thought those on our right....were the grandest I had ever seen."[62] A spot at the foot of Ben Durinish charmed her: "I think I never saw a retirement that would have so completely satisfied me, if I had wanted to be altogether shut out from the world, and at the same time among the grandest of the works of God."[63]

In addition to her natural love of landscape, her literary background in Scottish as well as English authors had prepared Dorothy Wordsworth for a richer appreciation of Caledonian scenery. She speaks of the river Tweed, for instance, as "a name which has been sweet to my ears almost as far back as I can remember anything."[64] At Dumfries she "could think of little else but poor Burns, and his moving about on that unpoetic ground." In northern Argyllshire, mountains, half hidden by clouds, yet showing some of their highest pinnacles, reminded her of Milton's sublime description of Satan;

His stature reached the sky.[65]

At the first Highland hut the little company had occasion to visit, William and Coleridge spent the night on the hay

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62. Ibid., p. 315.
63. Ibid., p. 293.
64. Ibid., p. 380.
65. Ibid., p. 315.

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in the barn. Dorothy was fortunate enough to secure a bed in the hut:

> I went to bed some time before the family. The door was shut between us, and they had a a bright fire, which I could not see; but the light it sent up among the varnished rafters and beams, which crossed each other in almost as intricate and fantastic a manner as I have seen the under-boughs of a large beech-tree withered by the depth of the shade above, produced the most beautiful effect that can be conceived. It was like what I should suppose an underground cave or temple to be, with a dripping or moist roof, and the moonlight entering in upon it by some means or other, and yet the colours were more like melted gems. I lay looking up till the light of the fire faded away....I could hear the waves beat against the shore of the lake; a little "syke" close to the door made a much louder noise; and when I sat up in bed I could see the lake through an open window-place at the bed's head. Add to this, it rained all night. I was less occupied by remembrance of the Trossachs, beautiful as they were, than the vision of the Highland hut, which I could not get out of my head. I thought of the Fairyland of Spenser, and what I had read in romance at other times, and then, what a feast would it be for a London pantomime-maker, could he but transplant it to Drury Lane, with all its beautiful colours![66]

She is of the opinion that the night spent at the Highland hut was her richest experience during the whole tour.

But Dorothy was always happiest when she saw the beauty and grandeur about her as the setting to human activity. Her regret, on their return, was that they had had so few opportunities of intimate friandship with the

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66. Ibid., pp. 254-255.

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people, "especially the peasantry in the lonely places."[67]

Passing along a Highland road, their small party, she records, observed an old man, the first they had seen in a bonnet, walking with a staff at a very slow pace by the edge of one of the moorland corn-fields; he wore a grey plaid; there was a scriptural solemnity in his figure, a sober simplicity which was most impressive. His appearance peculiarly attracted her and caused her to remark concerning the effects of physical environment upon the lives of people.[68] Later they saw a little boy wrapped in a grey plaid; he was probably calling the cattle home for the night in Gaelic. His appearance was in the highest degree moving to the imagination: mists were on the hillsides, darkness shutting in upon the huge avenues of the mountains, torrents roaring, no house in sight to which the child might belong; his dress, cry, and appearance were all different from anything to which they had been accustomed.[69] In another part of the Highlands the sight of a young lad "uncommonly" impressed them; hatless, and with only a grey plaid wrapped about him, he stood in utter quietness on a bare moor alone with his sheep; the solemnity of the scene

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67. E. De Selincourt, _op. cit._, p. 168.
68. _Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth_, p. 184.
69. _Ibid._, p. 264.

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recalled to Dorothy's mind the old man of the corn-field.[70] While walking near Loch Lomond they met two girls, one of whom was very beautiful; the figures of both of them, in grey plaids falling to their feet, with only their faces uncovered, excited the attention of these English visitors; the girls answered questions so sweetly and stared at them with such an innocent look of wonder that the trio was quite delighted. Dorothy writes that she never heard the English language sound more sweet than from the mouth of the elder of these girls as she stood at the gate, her face flushed with the rain, answering their inquiries; her pronounciation was clear and distinct, without difficulty, yet slow, as if English were a foreign language.[71] The incident occasioned Wordsworth's composing the poem, "To A Highland Girl." While still in the Trossachs these distinguished travellers met two well-dressed young women, one of whom said in a friendly voice, "What! You are stepping westward?" This simple expression, "in that remote place, with the western sky in front yet glowing with the departed sun," greatly affected the cultured Englishwoman, and suggested to her brother the poetical fragment "Stepping Westward."[72]

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70. Ibid., p. 186.
71. Ibid., pp. 257-258.
72. Ibid., p. 356.

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Dorothy Wordsworth's capacity for enjoying Scottish scenery surpassed that of her eighteenth-century predecessors. Her observant eye caught the essential features of the ever-varying landscape. No English traveller before her voiced more sheer delight in the wildness of the North. Even Gray, though he found great joy in the Scottish mountains, had written, "None but those monstrous creatures of God knew how to join so much beauty with so much horror."[73] She was like Gilpin in her passionate fondness for free, wild country and in her capacity for imaginative communion with nature. In her is also found, as in Gilpin, an expression of the enthusiastic calm, the visionary joy, with which Wordsworth himself looked on nature. But she was more sensitive to the silences of the magnificent world about her than was Gilpin, who spent much of his time seeking forms and sky-lines.

That which chiefly distinguishes Dorothy Wordsworth from the rest, however, is her treatment of man in connection with nature. The people she pictures seem almost a part of the landscape, an emanation from nature herself. She is repeatedly affected by the appearance of human life in the natural setting. The figure of the woman who asks, "You are stepping westward?" seems a part of the

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73. Correspondence of Thomas Gray, ed. by P. Toynbee and L. Whibley, Oxford, 1935, I, 106-107.

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sunset, so blended is she with the picture. No English tourist ever saw in a more romantic or mystical light the peasant of the Scottish moor or mountain.

From a consideration of the writings concerning Scotland of English men of letters of the last quarter of the century, it has been seen that the emphasis has shifted definitely from man to nature, with man sometimes appearing almost as a part of the scene. The change is due to the new interest in picturesque landscape, which becomes especially pronounced during this period. It happens that those who discuss Scotland at this time are writers who have visited the country, and all, except Lettice, for the purpose of satisfying their longing for the picturesque. It was perhaps inevitable not only that these devotees of the new cult for nature should find real pleasure in the Scottish mountains, but that they should acquire also a genuine appreciation of the people who inhabit them.

Of the four writers who travelled North, John Lettice, in keeping with eighteenth-century tradition, was interested chiefly in people; he was curious concerning the natives of North Britain. But his spirit is kindly. The life of the Scots he found colourful and glamourous. His contemporaries, Gilpin, Stoddart, and Dorothy Wordsworth, on the other hand, sought pri -

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marily the picturesque beauty of the Scottish landscape. They were absorbed in scenery and life, and not only do their writings reflect the more wholesome English attitude developing in the meantime for the Scots, but they are forerunners of the later, more widespread enthusiasm for Scottish scenery.

The eighteenth century, as it has been shown, witnessed the greatest change of mind and heart on the part of Englishmen toward Scotland. The transformation was by no means sudden, nor could one say that it was complete even by the end of the century. But certainly by 1800 North Britain was seen in a new light by her neighbours south of the Tweed. The changing attitude of the Englishman is reflected in the course of literary thought in the century. Until 1750 intercourse between the two countries was slight, and seldom pleasant even to the higher classes, since the Union of 1707, which combined the two governments, had failed to unite the two peoples; it was regarded by Englishmen as a union of wealth with poverty--a necessary evil. Those writers of this earlier period who did not travel to the North were concerned with satirizing the pen-

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ury of the country. During the third quarter of the century the storm aroused by Lord Bute's brief tenure of office as Prime Minister and friend of the king provoked the most virulent attack on the Scottish people, particularly from those writers of strong political connexion. The Bute regîme was also no doubt responsible for stimulating on the part of authors not politically-minded a new interest in Scotland generally. Some of these men out of curiosity took a trip to the North to inquire concerning its inhabitants and to observe its landscapes. It is during this third quarter that a friendly disposition toward the Scotch and their country becomes especially manifested. The wild Highland scenery, which hitherto had either frightened the Englishman or left him completely unmoved, now began to hold a fascination for him--a fascination, however, still linked with horror. Finally, in the course of the last quarter of the century this feeling for Caledonia's savage grandeur becomes more pronounced in English writings; and it is accompanied by a decidedly favourable attitude toward the Scottish people. It is the expression of this new romanticism for Scotland, particularly for its scenery, that primarily occupies the writing of English men of letters on Scotland at the close of the century.

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