

This item was submitted to Loughborough University as a PhD thesis by the author and is made available in the Institutional Repository (<https://dspace.lboro.ac.uk/>) under the following Creative Commons Licence conditions.



For the full text of this licence, please go to:
<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/2.5/>

BLDSC no:- DX77514

LOUGHBOROUGH
UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY
LIBRARY

AUTHOR/FILING TITLE

PRINGLE, T R

ACCESSION/COPY NO.

03287502

VOL. NO.

CLASS MARK

~~15 JAN 1993~~ LOAN COPY

- 8 MAY 1995

29 1995

- 5 JUN 1998

003 2875 02



THIS BOOK WAS BOUND
BADMINTON PRESS
18 THE HALFCROFT
SYSTON
LEICESTER LE7 8LD
0533 602918 /

PROPHET OF THE HIGHLANDS: SIR EDWIN LANDSEER

AND

THE SCOTTISH HIGHLAND IMAGE

(VOLUMES 1 & 2)

by

TREVOR ROBERT PRINGLE

A Doctoral Thesis Submitted in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy
of the Loughborough University of Technology.

May, 1988

© Trevor Robert Pringle, 1988.

Loughborough University of Technology Library	
Date	Aug 89
Class	
Acc. No	03287502

PROPHET OF THE HIGHLANDS: SIR EDWIN LANDSEER

AND

THE SCOTTISH HIGHLAND IMAGE

VOLUME 1

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

Acknowledgments

List of Figures

List of Tables

Page

INTRODUCTION	1
Art and geography	2
Art as a source material in geographic enquiry	3
Landscape and nature	5
The iconology of landscape	8
The Highland image in Victorian art	11
 CHAPTER ONE	
ART, CULTURE & SOCIETY	25
Views on the nature of art	26
The specificity of art	30
The nature and study of culture	33
Cultural materialism	38
Art, culture and society	39

	<u>Page</u>
CHAPTER TWO	
RURAL IMAGERY OF HIGHLAND SCOTLAND: 1750-1870	52
The Highland region	52
Scottish landscape painting: the historical background	55
From the Picturesque to the Romantic	57
Professors of speculation: The Scottish Historical School	60
Social transformation and the Ossian aesthetic	64
The ideology of Romanticism	69
Romanticism and reaction	70
Landseer and the discovery of Scotland	72
 CHAPTER THREE	
PROPHET OF THE HIGHLANDS: SIR EDWIN LANDSEER, 1802-1873	96
Beginnings	98
Prophet of the Highlands	101
Landseer and the art market	105
New patrons: Landseer and the practical arts	108
A royal painter	113
Twilight years	114

	<u>Page</u>
CHAPTER FOUR	
THE RE-PRESENTATION OF THE SCOTTISH RURAL POOR IN NINETEENTH CENTURY LANDSCAPE ART	130
British images of rural poverty: 1850-1890	132
Unwashed heroes and polite society	137
Ideology and the Hope Beyond	139
The dreary landscape	143
The ambiguity of actuality	146
Landseer and the False Ideal	152
 CHAPTER FIVE	
THE PRIVATION OF HISTORY: LANDSEER, VICTORIA AND THE HIGHLAND MYTH	174
The nature of myth	175
Painting as a language	179
Critics of myth	182
Landseer, Victoria and the Highland myth	185
The privation of history	190
Myth and the privation of geography	191
Propagation of the myth	196
The myth in context	198

	<u>Page</u>
CHAPTER SIX ANIMALS & NATURE IN EARLY & MID- VICTORIAN BRITAIN	214
Animals in western thought: the foundations of change	216
Social transformation and the symbolism of the beast	220
Landseer and the Highland pastoral	221
Ideology and the prevention of cruelty	225
The collapse of human uniqueness	229
Pain and the early & mid-Victorian sensibility to nature	233
Landseer, vivisection & the Victorian sensibility	236
Pain and paradox	239
The Victorian beast within	242
Landseer and the beast within	244
The return of the beast	250
From brute to animal	255
The rise of nature	260
 CHAPTER SEVEN FLOOD IN THE HIGHLANDS: FROM NATURE'S GOD TO NATURE'S WORKS	 278
Image and reality	281
Lauder's account of the Flood	286
Referential symbolism in Landseer's Flood	288
Referential symbolism and attitudes to nature in nineteenth century Morayshire	289
Landseer and the individualistic symbolism of the Flood	297
Conclusion: From Nature's God to Nature's Works	305

	<u>Page</u>
CHAPTER EIGHT REFLECTIONS: THE HIGHLAND IMAGE IN VICTORIAN BRITAIN 1820-1870	322
Early and mid-Victorian reflections on past and present	323
History in Victorian art	324
Private and public history in the art of Landseer	328
Ruralism and the pull of the past	331
The Highland region and the temporalisation of space	334
 POSTSCRIPT	 347
 Notes on Sources	 351
 General Bibliography	 355
 VOLUME 2: PLATES	

ABSTRACT

This thesis thematically examines Sir Edwin Landseer's (1802-73) visual images of the Scottish Highlands. From consideration of Landseer's art and its social context it is argued that it is possible to gain an understanding of changing conceptions of both *landscape* and *nature* and the symbolic role of Highland Scotland in British middle class consciousness over the period 1820-1870. The text is contained in Volume One and all illustrative plates are contained in Volume Two.

In Chapter One recent reformulations of the concept of culture are examined, some approaches to cultural theory reviewed and a cultural materialist framework adopted. The changing nature of Scottish rural imagery over the period 1750 - 1870 is examined in Chapter Two. Chapter Three provides both a brief biographical sketch of Edwin Landseer and a commentary on the nature of the Victorian art market. The *re-presentation* of the Scottish rural poor in nineteenth century landscape art is examined in Chapter Four. In Chapter Five particular attention is given to the ideological nature of Landseer's royal commissions while the changing symbolic role of animals in nineteenth century thought is examined in Chapter Six. Chapter Seven examines Landseer's "Flood in the Highlands" (1845-1860) and argues that this work encapsulates a historical study of human responses to a specific hostile environment. It is further argued that this work represents an essentially Christian analogical view of the relationship between man and the natural world. In conclusion Chapter Eight re-examines the symbolic role of the Highland Image in popular consciousness over the period 1820 - 1870. It is argued that Landseer's Highland works reflect and articulate two central traits in early and mid Victorian thought - the value of the rural and the pull of the past. In a brief postscript it is suggested that the immense popularity of Landseer's Highland image helped prepare Victorian society for a subsequent historicist reaction which illustrated the power of the past in shaping the regional development of the Highlands.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to gratefully acknowledge the assistance given by Mr Tony Dyson, Sir Oliver Millar and the staff of the following institutions during the preparation of this work; Loughborough, Leicester and Edinburgh University Libraries, National Art Library, National Portrait Gallery Archive, National Library of Scotland, National Gallery of Scotland, Scottish Records Office, British Museum, Royal Institution and Courtauld Institute of Art. In addition thanks must also be conveyed to the staff of the following galleries for their generosity and hospitality in helping me to view works not on current public display; Mappin Art Gallery (Sheffield), Sunderland Art Gallery & Museum, Newcastle Art Gallery, Aberdeen Art Gallery, Bury Art Gallery & Museum, Manchester Art Gallery, and Walker Art Gallery (Liverpool).

Particular words of thanks must go to Mr Richard Ormond, Dr Denis Cosgrove, Dr. Steven Daniels and Mr Derek Pratts for their advice, criticism, support and patience. While I gratefully acknowledge receipt of a generous E.S.R.C. studentship I must also thank my mother, father and my wife, Mary, for persevering with me, a word processor and Landseer.

LIST OF FIGURES

		<u>Page</u>
Figure 2.1	The Highland - Lowland Boundary.	53
Figure 2.2	Scottish landscape paintings as a percentage of all British landscape works exhibited at the Royal Academy: 1778-1980.	73
Figure 2.3	The artistic discovery of Scotland: 1769-1799.	74
Figure 2.4	The artistic discovery of Scotland: 1800-1824.	75
Figure 2.5	The artistic discovery of Scotland: 1825-1849.	79
Figure 2.6	The artistic discovery of Scotland: 1850-1874.	80
Figure 2.7	The artistic discovery of Scotland: 1875-1900.	81
Figure 3.1	Landseer's Scotland.	102
Figure 5.1	The nature of myth.	178
Figure 5.2	The Victorian Highland myth.	189
Figure 7.1	Extract from Ordnance Survey map of Elginshire XXIII, 1874.	282
Figure 7.2	Extract from a Plan of the Earl of Seafield's Estates in Elgin & Rothes Districts: 1868.	283

LIST OF TABLES

	<u>Page</u>
Table 5.1 Engraving record of Landseer's royal Highland commissions.	197
Table 6.1 Landseer and the Highland pastoral.	222

INTRODUCTION

Some time ago a reviewer observed traces of "a new beginning" in historical geography ¹. While the leitmotif of this new beginning was a conscious recognition of the role of ideology in both spatial structure and geographical enquiry another aspect of this phenomenon soon became apparent; the adoption of new source materials and the definition of "new" fields of enquiry. With the recognition of humanistic geography as a legitimate sub discipline during the 1970's it became apparent that geographers were increasingly turning to literature and the visual arts as primary source materials ². While many within the discipline (including several self proclaimed "humanists") believed that the use of such source materials marked a radical break with the past nothing was further from the truth. Such approaches represented a renaissance rather than a birth of this distinctive mode of geographical enquiry; the relevance of literature and the visual arts to geographical thought has long been recognised ³.

In examining visual images of the Scottish Highlands propagated by Edwin Landseer (1802-73), the most popular artist in Victorian Britain, this thesis represents a partial return to an older theme in geographic thought; unlike more "traditional" approaches however this study emphasises the *social* nature and role of art rather than any inherent aesthetic value it may possess. From consideration of the changing nature of Landseer's art works and their social context it is argued that it is possible to gain an increased understanding of changing conceptions of both *landscape* and *nature* and the symbolic role of Highland Scotland in British middle class consciousness over the period 1820-1870. As a prelude to the following thematic chapters this introduction briefly reviews past and present relations between geography and art and highlights some of the problems associated with the use of art as a source material in geographic enquiry. No attempt

has been made to document all relevant works, rather this introductory section seeks to indicate broad areas of development and interests. Throughout this thesis the concepts of *landscape*, *nature* and *iconology* are of central importance. For this reason they too are examined briefly below. In conclusion some introductory comments are made on the highland image in Victorian art.

Art and Geography

Visual art was intrinsic to both classical and renaissance geographical thought. In addition the links between the history of cartography and landscape painting have been the subject of discussion by geographers ⁴. Concern with aesthetic aspects of geographical thought and inquiry is deep rooted and enduring. In his eclectic writings the nineteenth century polymath Von Humboldt provided a firm basis for an aesthetic tradition in the discipline ⁵. Years later in a Presidential Address to the Royal Geographical Society in 1920, F. Younghusband reiterated Von Humboldt's concerns in commenting: "What men naturally do, and what I would suggest Geography should deliberately do, is to compare the beauty of one region with the beauty of another" ⁶. Similarly writing in 1942 Mackinder stressed the fact that geography was "a visual way of thinking" ⁷. Given the prominence attached to sight and visual sensibilities it is hardly surprising that John Leighly believed art history provided the largest body of source materials available for the study of cultural landscapes ⁸.

While all of the above individuals were important in formulating geographical opinions with regard to the visual arts the greatest single exponent of aesthetics in geographical enquiry however was Vaughan Cornish (1862 - 1948). Through his Scenery and the Sense of Sight (1935) and countless other writings aesthetic reflections on the environment were popularised ⁹. From the late 1930's to the mid 1950's the Geographical Magazine contained regular articles on the theme of "Art and the Environment" including essays on Canaletto, Constable,

Turner, Poussin and Gauguin ¹⁰. While several of these essays were written by professional art critics they addressed an issue close to the heart of the existing paradigm of regional geography, the relation between the individual imagination and a particular place ¹¹. In doing so they found an appreciative and attentive geographical audience.

Following the decline of the regional paradigm and the rise of spatial science in the early 1960's articles examining the links between "Art and the Environment" became infrequent. With the exception of a few works of lasting importance interest in both the concept of landscape and art as a geographical source waned ¹². When interest in this theme began to revive in the 1970's as a result of several factors, not least a general disillusionment with the results of two decades of barren spatial science, earlier essays and thinkers on this theme were largely forgotten ¹³. Following the publication of key works by R.L. Heathcote and R. Rees the potential of paintings as a source material in the study of regional and national consciousness and changing attitudes to both landscape and nature once again became apparent to both human and historical geographers ¹⁴. Since the publication of these key essays there has been a steady stream of articles addressing the relations between art and the environment as perceived by man ¹⁵. While addressing a variety of issues these works have noted problems inherent in the use of art as a source material in geographic enquiry. These are outlined below.

Art as a source material in geographic enquiry

Any appraisal of art as a source material in geographical enquiry must concentrate on its deficiencies. Paintings can serve as a two fold source for geographers ¹⁶. Firstly, it is argued that they are historical sources capable of furnishing details of both past environments and societies. While in unique instances this may be true this use of art is problematic in the extreme. Only in exceptional circumstances does a landscape painting bear a close topographic resemblance to reality. For this reason Landseer's works

are *not* used in this thesis for topographical purposes ¹⁷. In addition both personal idiosyncrasies and the artistic conventions of a given period influence not only what is painted but how. For these reasons art is generally of limited value as a factual record in the reconstruction of historical landscapes. This is not however to dismiss the importance and *agency* of artistic conventions in shaping attitudes to the environment. For this reason the major artistic conventions relating to the representation and *re-presentation* of Highland Scotland are examined in Chapter Two.

Art and social historians have long recognised that landscape art cannot be interpreted independently of human conceptions of nature ¹⁸. Landscape art reflects changes in man's relation to, and conception of, the natural world. It is this assertion which forms the second rationale for the use of art as a source material in geographical enquiry and it is this contention which informs this thesis, particularly Chapter 6. This use of art as an indicator of changing conceptions of the natural world however is predicated on an assumption that the attitude of an artist towards a subject reflects contemporary perceptions of the environment which are more widely held by society in general. Such an approach demands that art be discussed with regard to the *societal context* in which it was created rather than as a mere seam of thought to be mined exclusively for geographical content.

This approach raises central problems of interpretation and evaluation, problems which have long been recognised by art and literary historians. Key issues have to be considered: For whom was the art work produced? Did the patron have any discernable influence on the subject matter or approach adopted? How was the work received by the press and general public? To what extent do the means of reproduction or publication distort the original image? As recent research has shown the answers to these questions are of crucial importance to a fuller understanding of the meaning of art works and the ideological nature of the landscape idea ¹⁹. In an attempt to ensure that Landseer's art is not discussed out of context

or that modern preoccupations are thrust onto the past, a wide variety of contemporary primary and secondary source materials are cited throughout this thesis.

Despite the existence of the above problems and profound shifts in the perceived role geography should play in contemporary society the aesthetic perception of the environment and its visual representation has remained a persistent geographical theme. The reason for this persistence can be found in the centrality of the ideas of landscape and nature for these concepts lie at the very heart of both classical and modern geographic thought.

Landscape and nature

While the history and use of the term *landscape* can be determined with some accuracy the meaning of the term itself remains problematic ²⁰. Landscape is both an imprecise and ambiguous concept, one which defies attempts to categorise or restrict its meaning. The term incorporates far more than a mere factual account of the functional arrangement of natural and human phenomena. Widely used in art, literature, environmental design, planning and geographical thought, landscape carries with it the idea of multiple layers of meaning. Inherent within the concept lies a dual ambiguity ²¹. Firstly, landscape denotes an external world mediated through subjective human consciousness. A landscape is not merely a factual material account of the world around us "it is a construction, a composition of that world", in essence, "a way of seeing the world" ²². Paradoxically, in a material sense, landscape is also the result of collective human transformation of nature; it is a *social product*. From this dichotomy between personal/ social and subject/ object the idea of landscape is invested with a dialectical tension. It is this tension together with multiple layers of meaning inherent in the landscape idea that demands that greater attention be given to the historically specific meaning and use of the term.

Landscape is a relative term. It is in fact a historically specific process, one in which given social groups experience, reflect upon and structure the world around them. In this broad sense landscape is also an ideological concept for

It represents a way in which certain classes of people have signified themselves and their world through their imagined relationship with nature, and through which they have underlined and communicated their own social role and that of others with respect to external nature ²³.

Traditionally both geographers and art historians have emphasised the subjectivity of the individual or artist at the expense of social context and connotation. As a direct consequence many of the ideological assumptions implicit in the landscape idea remain unexamined ²⁴.

More recently, and concurrent with the revival of geographical interest in the visual arts, several art and literary historians have begun a critical reappraisal of the concept of landscape ²⁵. This reappraisal is related to recent developments in both cultural theory and the sociology of art, aspects which are examined in greater detail in Chapter 1. While retaining a necessary interest in the biography of individual artists and the restraints and possibilities of various mediums and compositional forms, greater attention is now given to the societal context of art (i.e. patronage, display, audience & market) and its ideological meanings. Sociologically orientated examinations have been enormously influential in many disciplines, perhaps no more so than in historical geography. The relationship between the material organisation and symbolic representation of landscape now forms an active area of research and debate in historical geography ²⁶. Although the use of visual source materials in geographical enquiry may not be new, in one sense this growing focus of geographical research does indeed constitute a "new beginning" for, like their colleagues in art and literary history,

historical geographers are now beginning to address the moral and ideological assumptions inherent within the landscape idea ²⁷. These assumptions, while *implicit* in all of the themes examined below, are addressed directly in Chapters 4 and 5 in discussions of representations of the rural poor and images of the royal family in the Scottish Highlands.

Like the term landscape any attempt to define *nature* as a universal concept is fraught with difficulty for it is perhaps one of the most complex words in the English language; the changing meaning of the concept reflects not only semantic change but fundamental shifts in human thought, social relations and environmental use ²⁸. From a wide variety of possible meanings two broad uses of the word can be recognised ²⁹. From classical times to the Enlightenment nature had meaning primarily as a *process*: a norm or principle of development. This process lay at a core of social values which related to social interaction and to the interaction between society and its environment. By 1850 however, in contrast to this view of nature as process, a fundamental change in meaning had occurred. Nature had become a compound of material relations, a *positive conception of a landscape type*, an objective thing to be considered apart from social process. This view of nature as a material thing, while characteristic of the modern age as a whole, was largely a product of the nineteenth century. It is this broad concept of nature as a material object rather than a process that is generally referred to throughout this thesis. While the above definition is followed throughout subsequent chapters it would be incorrect however to assume that during the period under discussion this term had one static meaning. The nineteenth century was marked by a series of profound social changes, perhaps one of the most important of which was the gradual reformulation of the concept of nature. One facet of this changing Victorian conception of nature is examined in Chapter 6.

While landscape and nature are key concepts which have undergone significant changes in meaning they are not the only terms used in this thesis to have done so. Where necessary these terms have been

identified in the text below and some appropriate comment made on their present usage. One concept however merits special attention, that of *iconology*.

The iconology of landscape

In an important methodological essay Erwin Panofsky argued for the clarification and adoption of *iconography* and *iconology* as central concepts in the interpretation of art ³⁰. As Panofsky's concept of *iconology* is adopted in this thesis his framework is outlined below together with some cautionary comments regarding iconographic methodology.

Panofsky proposed three clearly demarcated levels of meaning, *primary, secondary and intrinsic* ³¹. *Primary meaning* is achieved through the simple recognition that pure "forms" (lines and blocks of colour) represent natural objects such as animals or human beings. *Secondary meaning* is apprehended through the realisation that artistic motifs and conventional subject matter are symbolically related to clearly identifiable themes and concepts. For example the image of a pair of scales is frequently assumed to be symbolic of the concept of justice. Panofsky argues that "The identification of such images, stories and allegories is the domain of what is normally referred to as iconography" ³².

In contrast to secondary meaning however *intrinsic meaning* is apprehended:

*by ascertaining those underlying principles which
reveal the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a
class, a religious or philosophical persuasion -
qualified by one personality and condensed into one
work* ³³,

Panofsky considers the discovery of such *intrinsic meaning* to be the aim of *iconology* as opposed to iconography. Iconography he argues is little more than the description and classification of images, a subsidiary study which informs the observer when and where specific themes are visualised by certain specific motifs. While it is invaluable in the establishment of dates and perhaps provenance it simply provides a "necessary basis for further interpretation. It does not however, attempt to work out this interpretation for itself" ³⁴. In iconographic interpretation the interplay between factors such as class, religion and political economy is largely ignored and remains both unrecognised and unresolved.

Panofsky considers *iconology* to be "iconography turned interpretative", further he argues it should be largely the product of synthesis:

we cannot hope to find an individual text which would fit those basic principles . . . we need the mental faculty comparable to that of a diagnostician - a faculty which I cannot describe better than by that discredited term 'synthetic intuition' ³⁵.

It follows from Panofsky's argument outlined above that this present study in what may be called the *iconology of landscape* seeks a synthetic understanding of the meaning and role of the Highland Image in middle class consciousness over the period 1820-1870 ³⁶. This synthetic understanding is attempted through a cultural materialist examination of the interactions between mid-nineteenth century art, society and culture. The framework within which this study is conducted together with its implicit assumptions are examined in Chapter 1. While recognising the value of Panofsky's terminology it is necessary however to draw attention to some of the difficulties implicit in its formulation. As some of these difficulties are

particularly relevant to studies of nineteenth century art they are outlined briefly below.

Iconology rejects the notion that art possesses no meaning at all, further, it fails to highlight the fact that a painting's meaning can often be distinguished from the use to which it may be put to by any particular patron. Despite an explicit aim to "reveal basic attitudes of a period" iconology (with its recourse to standard iconographic themes which persist through time) frequently fails to note both the fallacy of the idea of the disinterested observer and indeed the historicity of many works ³⁷. All iconographical research depends on a prior conviction of what to look for ³⁸. Although Panofsky's work is historical in the sense that it forms and interprets series rather than classes of works, iconology often fails to recognise that meaning is not solely related to the composition of an individual work; meaning is also a product of a work being perceived as a particular type of image ³⁹. Nowhere is this more apparent than in both contemporary favour and modern distaste for Victorian history and genre works. In failing to stress this fact iconology dismisses the potential material effects of ideology in its broadest sense.

While all of the above factors are of central importance to iconological research of particular relevance to this thesis however is the belief that iconology diminishes the perceived importance of "form" in its most basic sense ie, both the physical dimensions and spatial construction of a composition. The physical size of a work of art may contribute just as much to an observer's understanding of the work's meaning as a detailed analysis of its subject matter ⁴⁰. Similarly the spatial composition of a work may be of key importance ⁴¹. In Chapter 7 these factors are explicitly recognised as being of some importance. After noting the above difficulties this study assumes Panofsky's iconological method can be qualified and turned into one of the most "modern and efficacious historiographic methods" ⁴².

The Highland image in Victorian art

While landscape art reflects human attitudes to nature it can also influence perceptions of nature and the environment. Indeed in some circumstances it may be a key determinant in human perception of certain environments ⁴³. The association of a place with a painter or group of painters may be so strong that paintings may determine popular conceptions of both regions and countries. Following on from this point art can serve as both a conscious and unconscious instrument of nationalism ⁴⁴. Central to this thesis is the belief that Landseer's art was instrumental in *helping* to construct a unique highland image, one which consciously and unconsciously affected both contemporary and subsequent perceptions of the region: while helping to define these perceptions of the region the highland image effectively articulated key Victorian ideological, moral and ethical issues. These issues are examined thematically in the chapters that follow. Before turning to these issues and their relationship to the landscape idea however some brief introductory comments must be made on the history of the Highland region itself.

While attempts have been made recently to define the region in terms of adherence to the Gaelic language traditionally the Highlands have been defined in terms of geology, topography, climate and agrarian economy ⁴⁵. By structural definition the Highlands are separated from the Lowlands by the Highland boundary fault which runs from Stonehaven on the east coast to Helensburgh on the west. A large proportion of the land is above 250m and geology and glaciation have prescribed a thin and relatively infertile soil cover. Consequently the region has a cool and wet climate and poor resource base which has traditionally limited land use to rough pasture, subsistence agriculture, forestry and game. The region is not homogenous and since the fourteenth century has contained a marked contrast between commercially orientated farming regions on the eastern seaboard and the crofting Highlands to the west.

Although highly stratified, in simplest terms "traditional" Highland society was structured into a three fold division of chief, tacksman - a middle tenant- and a peasantry. Highland economy was subsistence orientated and relied heavily on the export of black cattle to southern markets to provide for capital and grain imports from the eastern seaboard, Scottish Lowlands and England. In the majority of cases land was held in runrig and tenants worked the land communally ⁴⁶. Land was allocated by the clan system which sustained a patriarchal bond based on military service between chief and tenantry. Innumerable variations to the above occurred depending on a variety of local circumstances such as soil quality and interaction with the Lowland economy.

It is fashionable to trace the collapse of traditional Highland economy to the failure of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745-6, in reality however traditional society was probably already disintegrating and perhaps even moribund prior to this date ⁴⁷. Following Culloden the Highlands were effectively pacified by military power. Large tracts of the country were expropriated from rebellious landowners and administered on commercial principles for the British government. Many individual landowners were gripped by ideas of improvement and the possibility of enhanced rent rolls. Rapidly rising prices for Highland products such as cattle, kelp and wool, particularly during the Napoleonic Wars, encouraged the idea that the region could prosper if directed rationally and supplied with enterprising capital investment. Indeed, there was a concentrated attempt to bring both the necessary infrastructure and economic development to the region ⁴⁸. By 1820 however optimism had turned to pessimism: fledgling industries such as flax, linen, cotton, wool and kelping had collapsed under the impact of Lowland, English and overseas competition, technological change and post war depression. In contrast to popular thought of the previous century contemporaries suddenly realised that a Malthusian spectre of overpopulation haunted the region. Both landlord and tenant sought respite through the processes of migration and emigration ⁴⁹. In essence,

The story of the Highlands after Culloden was, therefore, one of failure. In contrast to the rest of Britain, where industrialisation eventually raised the living standards of a vastly increased population, the Highlands seemed to regress. A region which had once supported practically half the population of Scotland, and had maintained a virtual autonomy of political structure and culture, was reduced by 1840 to a rural slum, frequently unable to feed itself and losing population at a time when growth was occurring elsewhere. In the context of British economic growth, the Highlands became 'the regional problem' par excellence ⁵⁰.

It was against such a background that Edwin Landseer produced his images of Highland life and landscape: the product of an English artist for both a British and European market, Landseer's highland image was of course an external image of Highland Scotland. Despite the fact that many contemporaries recognised the harsh reality of Highland existence, Landseer's images proved eminently acceptable to bourgeois Victorian society. This thesis traces some of the reasons why this should be and examines the moral values inherent in the artist's work and their relationship to changing ideas of landscape and nature in nineteenth century Britain. The symbolic importance of Landseer's art in reflecting and structuring perceptions of Highland Scotland at a time of fundamental social transformation (while clearly recognised by contemporaries) has been largely ignored by both twentieth century historical geographers and art historians. In this sense this thesis while examining one stage in the history and evolution of a unique symbolic landscape also seeks to redress a fundamental imbalance in the study of Victorian art.

As R. Strong has argued, Victorian painting today is discussed in terms of misleading categories created by art historians of past generations. Discussion revolves around notable individuals and so

called "schools" such as Millais, Lord Leighton and the Pre-Raphaelites. Third rate artists are cultivated because their milieu appeals to present day tastes while "beyond them there exists a kind of condescension to the other figures of Victorian painting". This narrow approach has only "succeeded in creating a history of Victorian art as selective and biased as the Victorians' attitudes to their own past" ⁵¹. With regard to Victorian history paintings "art historians have come to regard these creations as dreadful aberrations which ought never to have happened _ _ _ An intensely creative part of British nineteenth century painting has been dismissed as a dead end" ⁵². Like Victorian history painting the art of Edwin Landseer has met with a similar fate.

Critical modern eyes, often informed by materialist theories and tastes, tend to be offended by "homely" Victorian domestic genre scenes which appear shallow, artificial and trivial. Likewise Landseer's art works and prints which once hung in many Victorian parlours have been discarded and their study neglected. Today the most popular artist in Victorian Britain is not even considered to be amongst the makers of nineteenth century culture or even worthy of a mention in an introductory text on Victorian art ⁵³. R. Strong is surely correct to argue "We can no longer afford to accept this distortion", a distortion which arises from our inability to read and understand the meanings of these works in societal context ⁵⁴. Clearly "if we are ever to understand the motivation of art in the Victorian age we must concentrate on one aspect and analyse its iconography with a seriousness which until recently has been totally denied to it" ⁵⁵. Following on from this assertion this thesis thematically examines one aspect of Victorian art, the image of the Scottish Highlands in the work of Sir Edwin Landseer.

Prior to examining this highland image however it is necessary to make clear the theoretical propositions which inform this study and outline some past and present observations on the relations between art, culture and society. This contentious area is examined in Chapter

Introduction

One below while some general introductory comments are made on the rural imagery of Scotland over the period 1750 -1850 in Chapter Two.

Notes to Introduction

1. A.R.H. Baker, "Historical Geography: a new beginning ?", Progress in Human Geography, Vol. 3, 1979, pp.560-571.
2. See Yi Fu Tuan, "Humanistic geography", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 66, 1976, pp.266-76 and the various essays in D. Ley & M. Samuels (eds), Humanistic Geography: Prospects and Problems, London, 1978;

On the introduction of literature and the visual arts see; D.C.D. Pocock, "Place and the novelist", Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, N.S. Vol. 6, No.3, 1981, pp.337-347; D.C.D. Pocock, Humanistic Geography and Literature, London, 1981; R.L. Heathcote, "The Artist as geographer: landscape painting as a source for geographical research", Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society: South Australia Branch, Vol. 73, 1972, pp.1-21; R. Rees, "Geography and landscape painting: an introduction to a neglected field", Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol. 89, 1973, pp.148-57; R. Rees, "Landscape in art", pp.48-68 of K.W. Butzer (ed.), Dimensions of Human Geography: Essays on Some Familiar and Neglected Themes, University of Chicago, Department of Geography Research Paper 186, 1978.

3. S.J. Daniels, "Human Geography and the Art of David Cox", Landscape Research, Vol. 9, No.3, 1984, pp 14-19, 14.
4. R. Rees, "Historical Links between Cartography and Art", The Geographical Review, Vol. 70, No.1, 1980, pp.60-78; D.E Cosgrove, "The Geometry of Landscape: Practical and Speculative Arts in Sixteenth Century Venice" in D.E. Cosgrove & S.J. Daniels (eds), The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments, Cambridge studies in historical geography: 9, Cambridge, 1988, pp.254-276.

5. A. Von Humboldt, Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New World, (London, 7 Vols, 1818-1829); Kosmos: A Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe, (Trans. E.C. Otte. 2 Vols, London, 1844); Aspects of Nature, in Different Lands and Different Climates, (Philadelphia, 1849). For a recent discussion of Humboldt's contribution to this area see, E.V. Bunske, "Humboldt and an Aesthetic Tradition in Geography", Geographical Review, Vol. 71, No.2, 1982, pp.127-46. On Humboldt's simultaneous contribution to the development of geography as a science see D.R. Stoddart, "Humboldt and the emergence of scientific geography" in P. Alter (ed.) Humboldt, London, Heinemann, 1985.
6. Sir Francis Younghusband quoted in V. Cornish, "Harmonies of Scenery. An Outline of Aesthetic Geography", Geography, Vol. 14, Pt 4-5, 1928, pp.275-283, 383-394. Quotation on p.275. Younghusband's address was published as "Natural Beauty and Geographical Science", Geographical Journal, Vol. 56, 1920, pp.1-13. See also, G. Seaver, Francis Younghusband: explorer and mystic, London, John Murray, 1952.
7. H.J. Mackinder, "Geography, an art and a philosophy", Geography, Vol. 27, 1942, pp. 122-130.
8. J. Leighly, "Some Comments on Contemporary Geographic Method", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 27, (3), 1937, pp.125-141.
9. Amongst Cornish's most notable works are, The Poetic Impression of Natural Scenery, London, 1931; The Preservation of Our Scenery. Essays and Addresses, Cambridge, 1937. For an appraisal of Cornish's career and a full bibliography see, A. Goudie, "Vaughan Cornish: geographer", Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, Vol. 55, 1972, pp.1-16.

10. B. Smith, "Art and the environment in Australia", Geographical Magazine, Vol. 19, 1943-44, pp.389-409; For example F.J.B. Watson, "Canaletto and the English Landscape", Geographical Magazine, Vol. 28, 1955-6, pp.603-10.
11. S.J. Daniels, 1984, p.14.
12. D. Lowenthal & H.C. Prince, "The English Landscape", Geographical Review, Vol.54, (3), 1964, pp.309-46; "English Landscape Tastes", Geographical Review, Vol. 55 (2), 1965, pp.186-222.
13. The revival of interest in the visual arts was part of a broader "search for non positive modes of geographic understanding, ones not rooted in phenomenology and existentialism but in the older pre-positivist tradition in which there seemed links between the ways that geographers and landscape painters comprehended and represented the world. In a renewed search for synthetic understanding, human geography was reaffirmed as not just a visual discipline but a pictorial one", S.J. Daniels, 1984, op. cit, p.14.
14. R.L. Heathcote, 1972 & R. Rees, 1973 op cit.
15. For example, R. Rees, "Images of the Prarie", Canadian Geographer, Vol. 20, 1976, pp.259-77; "John Constable and the Art of Geography", Geographical Review, Vol. 66, 1976, pp.59-72; "Constable, Turner, and Views of Nature in the Nineteenth Century", Geographical Review, Vol. 72, No.3, 1982, pp.253-269; J. Zaring, "The Romantic Face of Wales", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 67, 1977, pp.397-418; D.E. Cosgrove, "John Ruskin and the Geographical Imagination", Geographical Review, Vol. 69, 1979 pp.43-62; H. Prince, "Landscape Through Painting", Geography, Vol. 69, 1984, pp.3-18.
16. R.L. Heathcote, 1972; R. Rees, 1973, op cit.

17. Examples of "topographical art" do occur however to a certain extent in the work of John Constable and Pre- Raphaelite artists such as John Brett. See G. Reynolds, Constable: the Natural Painter, St. Albans, 1976 and Brett's "The Stonebreaker" & "The Val d'Aosta" both 1858.
18. Examples of this approach can be found in F. Klingender, Art and the Industrial Revolution, St Albans, Paladin, 1972 (Originally published, 1947) ; K. Clark, Landscape into Art, London, 1949; B. Smith, European vision and the South Pacific 1768-1850: a study in the history of art and ideas, Oxford, 1962.

For a discussion of the changing nature of landscape art ie. from topographic representation to the encapsulation of attitudes towards nature, see G.E. Finley, "Interpretation of Topographical Views by English Artists During the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries", Unpublished Ph.D thesis, John Hopkins University, 1965.

19. For example J. Barrell's, The Dark Side of the Landscape, Cambridge, 1980 where the author examines at length Constable's "naturalness" and the ideological distortion of George Morland's work and its meaning through the process of engraving.
20. J.B. Jackson, "The Meanings of Landscape", Kulturgeografie, 88, 1964, pp.47-51; M.W. Mikesell, "Landscape" in International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 8, 1968, New York, pp.575-80; D.E. Cosgrove, "Prospect, perspective and the evolution of the landscape idea", Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, N.S., Vol. 10, No. 1, 1985, pp.45-62.
21. D.E. Cosgrove, Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape, London, 1984, p.15.

22. D.E. Cosgrove, 1984, p.13; J. Berger, Ways of Seeing, Harmondsworth, 1972.
23. D.E. Cosgrove, 1984, p.15.
24. For example in J. Appleton, The Experience of Landscape, London, 1975 paintings are viewed as symbolic projections of both basic human feelings and emotions. Several humanistic geographers such as E. Relph, Rational Landscapes and Humanistic Geography, London, 1981 argue for a more limited notion of individual subjectivity from both artist and public alike.
25. J. Berger, 1972; About Looking, 1980; R. Williams, The Country and City, 1973; J. Barrell, The Idea of Landscape and the Sense of Place, 1972; The Dark Side of the Landscape, 1980; R. Paulson, Literary Landscapes, 1983; D. Solkin, The Landscape of Reaction, Tate Gallery Exhibition Catalogue, 1982; M. Rosenthal, British Landscape Painting, 1982; Constable: The painter and his Landscape, 1983; "Approaches to Landscape Painting" in Landscape Research, Vol 9., No 3, 1984, pp.2-13; Since the writing of this section A. Bermingham's, Landscape and Ideology: The English rustic tradition 1740 - 1860, London, Thames & Hudson, 1987 has also become available on this theme.
26. D.E. Cosgrove, "Problems of Interpreting the Symbolism of Past Landscapes" in Period and Place, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1982, pp.220-230
27. S.J. Daniels, "Moral Order and the Industrial Environment in the Woollen Textile Districts of West Yorkshire, 1780-1880". Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of London, 1980; "Humphry Repton and the morality of landscape" in J.R. Gold & J. Burgess (eds.), Valued Environments, 1982, pp.124-150; "Ideology and English Landscape Art" pp.6-13 in D.E. Cosgrove (ed.), Geography and the Humanities, Loughborough University of Technology Department of Geography Occasional Paper Number 5,

1982. D. Cosgrove & J. Thornes, "The Truth of Clouds: John Ruskin and the Moral Order in Landscape" in D.C.D. Pocock, 1981, op cit; Cosgrove, 1979, 1984, op cit. In addition see the various contributions in Cosgrove, D & Daniels, S (eds), 1988, op.cit.
28. R. Williams, Keywords, Glasgow, 1976. "Nature", pp.184-89.
29. C.J. Glacken, Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the end of the Eighteenth Century, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1967; K. Olwig, Nature's Ideological Landscape: A Literary and Geographic Perspective on its Development and Preservation on Denmark's Jutland Heath, London, 1984, pp.1-10.
30. E. Panofsky, "Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art" in Meaning in the Visual Arts, Harmondsworth, 1970, pp.51-81; See also Panofsky's, Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance, New York, 1939. For instructive commentaries on Panofsky and his work see: M. Podro, The Critical Historians of Art, Yale University Press, 1982, pp.178-208; M.A. Holly, Panofsky and the foundations of art history, Cornell University Press, 1985.
31. E. Panofsky, 1970, pp.53-55.
32. E. Panofsky, 1970, pp.54-55.
33. E. Panofsky, 1970, p.55.
34. E. Panofsky, 1970, p.57.
35. E. Panofsky, 1970, p.64. Giulio Carlo Argan likens the synthetic task of the iconographer to that of the geographer:

"The iconologist knows he cannot allow himself the luxury of working with selected materials of certified artistic worth. In order to study the genesis of art he must start with something which is not yet (or no longer) artistic. He gathers together the greatest number possible of those documents directly or indirectly related to the imagistic theme which he has decided to consider. He is like a geographer who studies a water course: he must isolate its origin, calculate its path, keep in mind all of its branches, and then describe its behavior which depends upon its tendency to overflow, rush or stagnate". "Ideology and Iconology" In Critical Inquiry, 2, Winter, 1975, pp.297-305, 299.

36. On the potential for studies into the iconology of landscape see G.C. Argan, 1975, p.301.
37. D. Mannings, "Panofsky and the Interpretation of Pictures", in British Journal of Aesthetics, Vol. 13, 1973, pp.146-162, p.151.
38. See E.H. Gombrich, Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance, 1972, p.7, cited in Mannings, 1973, p.151.
39. On the historical nature of Panofsky's work see Argan, 1975, pp.298, 301; on the issue of genre see Mannings, 1973, p.158.
40. D. Mannings, 1973, p.156.
41. G.C. Argan 1975, p.302.
42. G.C. Argan, 1975, p.304.
43. An example of this can be seen in the role played by artistic representations of the Arctic in the nineteenth century. See, C.C. Loomis, "The Arctic Sublime" in Nature and the Victorian Imagination, V.C. Knoepfelmacher & G.B. Tennyson (eds.), Berkeley, University of California Press, 1978, pp.95-112.

44. One example of the conscious use of art in creating a national spirit can be seen in the inter-war Canadian Group of Seven. P. Mellen, The Group of Seven, 1970. See also B. Osborne, "The iconography of nationhood in Canadian art" in Cosgrove, D & Daniels, S. (eds), 1988, pp.162-178.

45. See C.W.J. Withers, "The Geographical Extent of Gaelic in Scotland, 1698-1806", Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol.97, No.3, December, 1981, pp.130-139; "The Scottish Highlands Outlined: Cartographic Evidence for the position of the Highland - Lowland Boundary", Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol.98, No.3, December, 1982, pp.143-157; Gaelic in Scotland 1698-1981, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1984; The Cultural Transformation of Highland Scotland (forthcoming). I am indebted to Dr C. J. Withers for allowing me to read draft chapters from this forthcoming volume.

46. For general discussions of Highland agrarian systems see, M.L. Gray, The Highland Economy 1750-1850, Edinburgh, 1957; J. Handley, Scottish Farming in the Eighteenth Century, London, 1957; A. Fenton, Scottish Country Life, Edinburgh, 1981; E. Richards, A History of the Highland Clearances Vol 1: Agrarian Transformation and the Evictions 1746-1886, Beckenham, Croom Helm, 1982, Chapters 3 & 4; R.A. Doghshon, "The nature and development of infield-outfield in Scotland", Transactions of Institute of British Geographers, 59, 1973, pp.1-23; "The Origins of Traditional Field Systems" in M.L. Parry & T.R. Slater, The Making of the Scottish Countryside, Beckenham, Croom Helm, 1980.

47. E. Richards, 1982, p.6.

48. The story of government and capitalist intervention is told in A.J Youngson, After the Forty Five, Edinburgh, 1973. See also T.C Smout, "The Landowner and the planned village in Scotland 1730-1830", pp.73-106 in N.T. Phillipson & R. Mitchison (eds) Scotland in the Age of Improvement, Edinburgh, 1970; D.G.

Lockhart, "The Planned Villages" pp.249-270 in M.L. Parry & T.R. Slater, 1980 op. cit.

49. Malthus believed that the Highlanders were "probably more redundant" than anywhere else in Europe. An Essay on the Principle of Population, London, 1971 edition, pp.52, 261; M. Flinn, Scottish Population History, Cambridge, 1977; E. Richards, A History of the Highland Clearances Vol 2: Emigration, Protest, Reasons, Beckenham, Croom Helm, 1985, p.241.
50. E. Richards, 1985, p.6.
51. R. Strong, And when did you last see your father? The Victorian Painter and British History, London, 1978, p.12.
52. R. Strong, 1978, p.11.
53. J. Wintle, Makers of Nineteenth Century Culture, 1800-1914, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982; D. Reynold, Cambridge Introduction to the History of Art: The Nineteenth Century, Cambridge, 1985.
54. R. Strong, 1978, p.12.
55. R. Strong, 1978, p.12.

CHAPTER ONE

ART, CULTURE AND SOCIETY

Ideologies structure time and space; studies in historical geography must logically therefore embrace ideologies as well as being themselves explicitly ideological '.

How we choose to approach the art of the past must depend on the ideas of the age in which we ourselves live '.

Ever since its emergence in the eighteenth century traditional aesthetics assumed art to be independent of social context ³. Art was the product of enlightened individualism or inspired movements. More recent sociological studies have however tended to treat art as a manifestation of prevailing social and economic circumstances. As a prelude to this study of Edwin Landseer's Highland Image this chapter provides a theoretical introduction to past and present ideas on the relations between art, culture and society. Both of the above positions are examined and shown to be untenable in their more reductionist forms. In addition recent reformulations of the concept of culture are discussed and some approaches to cultural theory are reviewed.

Central to this study is the premise that no examination of the past can claim to be free of ideological underpinnings. This chapter therefore makes clear the ideological assumptions that inform this thesis. Throughout this study a framework is adopted which highlights the role of art and culture in both producing and re-producing social processes. This framework, or theoretical point of view, may be termed *cultural materialism*. While adopting this approach it is stressed that no preference is given to any single school of thought or thinker, rather various materialist theories are drawn upon for the

insights they provide into the complex cultural symbolism of the early and mid-Victorian Highland image. Before outlining the assumptions inherent in such a framework however it is necessary to examine past ideas on the relations between art, culture and society for cultural materialism can be best understood as a reaction against past ideologies of both art and culture.

Views on the nature of art

The critical difference between traditional art criticism and its recent successor lies in the latter's willingness to recognise the presence of ideological interests in its discourse. Traditional art and literary history presents itself as an "innocent discipline" ⁴. "New" art historians argue that the history of art is inherently ideological in that it originates and is practiced in particular social conditions ⁵. Traditionalists deny the very nature and effect of these factors. To "new" theorists "high art" (as defined by traditional art history) is merely the product of the culminative social history of established institutionalised practices and conventions ⁶. Both the concept of art and the discourse of art criticism are historical and contingent. Further, as P. Bourdieu's work testifies, in sociologically orientated thought art is frequently regarded as being intimately connected with the formulation, modification and articulation of social and cultural relations of power ⁷. In such studies the dominant theories of western art are regarded as the cultural capital of a dominant class which enable it to reinforce and reproduce existing social divisions within society ⁸.

"New" or sociological perspectives on the nature of art can be traced back to the writings of K. Marx and F. Engels ⁹. These perspectives were further developed in the works of George Plekanov, Christopher Caudwell, Max Raphael and the writers of the early Frankfurt school ¹⁰. Although the bulk of these works were economic reductionist in outlook, during the 1940's several sociologists began to argue for a new approach which recognised the importance

of factors other than the economic ¹¹. In doing so these thinkers unconsciously returned to a basic, but largely forgotten theme in Marxist thought. Following the publication of A. Hauser's Social History of Art (1951), the first systematic materialist theory of aesthetic culture, and other key works such as T.J. Clark's Images of the People (1973), a study of G. Courbet, the sociological perspective has been advanced greatly in recent years ¹².

While growing in influence this perspective has however encountered strong resistance from both advocates of more traditional methodologies and more critical Marxist thinkers. Critiques of the sociological perspective rest on two basic propositions. Firstly, the relevance of the approach is quite simply denied. Mainstream art history ignores the possibility of a class-based, gender linked, ideologically produced art. Further, rejection of the sociological perspective is commonly linked to a fundamental misunderstanding of its aims and implications. It is frequently argued that sociological approaches negate completely the role of the individual artist. Such criticism however ignores the fact that recent thinkers frequently study at great length the mediation of social and ideological influences through individuals ¹³.

More appositely traditionalists argue that the theorists of "new" art history totally deny the possibility of any category of the "aesthetic". While there are several kinds of reductionism it is argued that all share a common belief that aesthetic value and worth finally rests in the socio-historical study of the production, reception and assessment of a work of art. Ultimately aesthetic experience is explicable solely in terms of ideology and political values; aesthetic evaluation is nothing but the function of an individual's class interests. The writings of N. Hadjinicolaou are frequently cited and provide one such example of this approach ¹⁴.

Similar arguments have been made against other recent approaches ¹⁵. Traditionalists argue that sociological reductionism can be found in less critical types of reception aesthetics where proponents argue that a "text" (ie a painting or any other cultural product) has no fixed meaning. Meaning is produced anew with each individual act of reception. Viewing is always a fresh interpretation based on the particular ideological background of the individual. Hermeneutics and semiotics are commonly cited examples of this approach ¹⁶. In reception aesthetics value is frequently equated with *quality* of response. As a direct consequence it is argued that all questions of conscious intentionality or possible textual autonomy are ignored and the role of the individual artist downgraded. Since aesthetic value is construed as a historical construction of several successive audiences however it does not lapse into total subjectivism nevertheless, judgement is still relative and reception aesthetics effectively offers an ideologically informed account of aesthetic evaluation.

While fighting off the criticism of the traditionalists, "new" theorists have had to contend to challenges from *within* their own circles. These challenges while asserting the social and ideological nature and construction of art argue that art has both an *agency* of its own and the potential to transcend the material conditions of its production. This argument is not new to Marxist inspired theories of art. Examples of such thinking can be found in the early writings of Christopher Caudwell, Max Raphael, George Lukacs and the later works of H. Marcuse and L. Althusser ¹⁷. In Studies and Further Studies in a Dying Culture (1938) and Illusion and Reality (1947) Christopher Caudwell stressed both the economic and biogenic origins of art but failed to integrate them into a concise coherent argument ¹⁸. Similarly in La Theorie Marxiste de l' Art, one of the most sophisticated Marxist theories of art, Max Raphael warned against assuming simple causal links between art and the economic basis of society. Any materialist theory of art, Caudwell and Raphael argued, had to take into account *all* mediating elements, both ideological and material and their interaction with *each* other ¹⁹.

Central to G. Lukacs's writings was the belief that capitalism entailed a fragmentation of thought and experience ²⁰. Individuals became unable to comprehend the totality of their society or the relations and structure on which it was based. Society's totality, Lukacs argued, could only be grasped through its "mediations" - the processes through which its underlying structures were transformed into categories of thought. Good art, Lukacs argued, was that which portrayed or betrayed the structural reality of society - the social and political forces at work. While proclaiming the ideological nature and role of art, Lukacs failed however to provide a systematic account of the production of art works and their *active* role in historical consciousness. Nowhere in his work is there an account of the specificity of art which justifies the potential political role he proclaims for it. Once again, as in many of the approaches outlined above, ideology was stressed at the expense of aesthetic considerations.

The problem of the *nature* of art and its relation to culture and society is highlighted by the dilemma presented in the writings of H. Marcuse and L. Althusser. The liberating potential of art was stressed by H. Marcuse in his critique of "Marxist orthodoxy" ²¹. Marcuse argued that art served as a potential saviour for a repressed and oppressed consciousness; in a repressive society it alone offered the possibility of freedom. Marcuse's argument encapsulated what was essentially a non materialist, non historicist theory of aesthetic value and experience. For Marcuse art and its aesthetic remained a universal human category.

Marcuse offers no analysis of the production of art as ideology nor a discussion of the transformation of art under different regimes and social formations. In arguing that art is "largely autonomous vis-a-vis the given social relations" Marcuse broke with sociological theories of art and returned to more traditional ways of thinking. While Marcuse recognised in passing the ideological nature of art, L. Althusser retreated altogether from the sociological interpretation of art as ideology ²². In claiming "I do not rank real art among the ideologies" L. Althusser recognised the potential autonomy or

specificity of art but at the same time avoided the implications of this finding.

While in part representing a return to more traditional, essentialist ways of thinking the writings of Marcuse and Althusser highlight an area of common interest between traditional and new sociological approaches; both now stress the *specificity of art*.

The specificity of art

Too often the consideration of art as a manifestation of ideology results in the appearance of art as nothing *but* ideology ²³. There are many reasons why this reductionism will not do ²⁴. Marx himself recognised that considerable problems arise in accounting for the popularity and renaissance of certain styles and works of art ²⁵. While explanations have been made by postulating ideological class similarities between different eras and places such devices necessarily fail to account fully for this phenomenon. In addition, while valuable attempts have been made to trace the history of changing tastes it is manifestly apparent that the present cannot be used as a benchmark for any final assessment of the past ²⁶. In many instances art appears to have its own irreducible autonomy or *specificity*. Many critics now argue that some recognition must be given to factors other than the ideological ²⁷. Indeed it is this issue which was inherent in the works of C. Caudwell, G. Lukacs, H. Marcuse and L. Althusser discussed above.

Recognition of the specificity of art does not imply that the "aesthetic" must be reinstated in a traditional, essentialist form, rather that it be incorporated into some modified materialist framework. Recognition of this problem has led to several different formulations. While this thesis examines the social nature and role of Landseer's Highland image the specific aesthetic of Landseer's art cannot be denied, indeed this specificity assumes some importance in Chapter Seven. For this reason attempts to incorporate this

specificity into a materialist theory of art are reviewed briefly below.

While the notion of specificity is frequently traced to G. Lukacs's Die Eigenart des Asthetischen (1963), there are however several meanings of the term in current usage ²⁸. Firstly, the term is taken to refer to the separation of artistic activity from other areas of social life and the resultant specialisation of aesthetic modes of perception ²⁹. Specificity here relates to the historical emergence of the aesthetic as a distinct category from the practical arts. Secondly, the term is used to refer to the relative autonomy of art from social and economic factors. Here the concept of specificity is central to current critiques of the base-superstructure model - a model that contends that cultural artifacts are mere determinant products of economic processes ³⁰. Art achieves its relative autonomy through specific codes and conventions of artistic representation which mediate and reproduce ideology in aesthetic form. Art is thus a signifying practice with its own internal forms, relations and structuration. Particular attention is paid to the modes and processes of artistic production such as the role of publishers, patrons, distributors, gallery owners and critics ³¹. This historical conception of specificity does not grant art any universalistic or transhistorical features and has been enormously influential in culturalist, structuralist and semiotic thought. The third use of the term refers not to the historical separation of art from practical life or the relative autonomy of artistic codes and conventions but *inherent* specific aesthetic characteristics of art. Several recent critics have attempted to incorporate this third aspect into their sociologically orientated writings on art; for some the specific aesthetic of art is a historical category, for others it is not.

As J. Wolff argues there are three major schools of thought which have attempted to incorporate the above meaning of aesthetic specificity into a materialist framework: *discourse theory*, *philosophical anthropology* and *psychoanalytical theories of art* ³². *Discourse theory*, best characterised by the work of Michel Foucault,

has been increasingly influential in recent cultural studies ³³. Discourse theory relates not only to the written text but all cultural artifacts ³⁴. Meaning, consciousness and even objects of thought are perceived as being constructed through discourse. While avoiding a reductionist sociology of art and helping to posit a relatively autonomous realm of culture, discourse theory has been criticised for its inability to relate discrete discursive formations to one another and fundamental social structures ³⁵. This said however, discourse theory offers the notion of the specificity of the aesthetic in terms of discursive practices and makes possible the relation of aesthetic discourse to non aesthetic factors. In other words discourse theory provides for the possibility of a historicist theory of art which does not reduce aesthetic value to the moral or political; it recognises the contingent nature of discourse.

Those who argue for a *philosophical anthropology* of art postulate that there are certain human universals which find expression or satisfaction in art. Examples of this approach can be found in the recent works of Raymond Williams and Peter Fuller, both of which have been heavily influenced by the work of the Italian Marxist, Sebastiano Timpanaro ³⁶. S. Timpanaro's strict materialist polemics stress that the basic structures of nature and the biological processes condition the social and economic world ³⁷. In marked contrast to G. Plekhanov's assertion that " _ _ biology does not explain to us the origin of our aesthetic tastes", Timpanaro highlights key dimensions of human experience which he recognises as constants; sexual drives, debility produced by old age, fear of death etc ³⁸. While he does not claim an eternal metaphysical status for these constants he argues that they are long lasting and possess greater stability than historical or social institutions. With regard to visual art S. Timpanaro's insights have been reflected in the writings of Peter Fuller. While arguing that the aesthetic constitutes a historically specific structuring of relatively constant elements of affective experience P. Fuller recognises however that the material basis of this specificity is not so easy to determine ³⁹.

In an attempt to determine this materiality and further sociological understanding of the specificity of art several critics have turned to *psychoanalysis*. In his more recent works P. Fuller has turned to post Freudian psychoanalysis where the relatively autonomous aspects of human experience are reshaped into psychological processes founded in biological needs and instincts ⁴⁰. As J. Wolff notes however P. Fuller's aesthetics is subject to all the difficulties of an essentialist psychoanalytic theory as it rests on a belief in an unverifiable process ⁴¹. While P. Fuller stresses that different historical and social conditions will necessarily place emphasis on different psychological factors his methodology is still dogged by the presence of essentialist *a priori* reasoning which assumes the existence of a set of constant psycho-biological factors. The psychoanalytical approach does not allow for the possibility of the social construction and historical variability of primary psychological process or for individual or gender based variations.

While bearing the above comments in mind this thesis adopts a sociologically orientated materialist theory of art and recognises art's potential specificity. In doing so preference is given to no single school of thought, rather the above materialist schools are drawn upon for the insights they provide into the complex cultural symbolism of the early and mid-Victorian Highland image. In adopting a materialist conception of art a particular view of the nature of culture is necessarily adopted. This view of culture and the cultural materialist theory adopted is outlined below.

The nature and study of culture

Like recent developments in art history, during the last two decades materialist theory relating to culture has been extensively reworked. A new culturalism has emerged whose origins has been traced to the publication of Richard Hoggart's *Uses of Literacy*, (1957) and Raymond Williams's *Culture and Society* (1963) ⁴². In

rejecting the long standing notion of "high culture" R. Hoggart's work marked a caesura with the past while R. Williams's Culture and Society provided "a record of a number of important and continuing reactions to _ _ _ changes in our social, economic and political life" ⁴³. Following Culture and Society R. Williams's next work, The Long Revolution (1961), attempted to theorise back on empirical traditions. This approach was reflected and extended in E.P. Thompson's Making of the English Working Class (1963) which, although firmly situated within Marxist historiography, stressed questions of culture, consciousness, experience and perhaps most importantly, human agency. E.P. Thompson's work marked the decisive break with the reductive economism which had characterised earlier materialist studies of culture and social process. As in art history the above writings were complemented in the late 1960's by the translation of continental Marxist and psychoanalytical theory. For Hoggart, Williams, Thompson and other writers of what became known as the "New Left", culture became a site of convergence for questions of historical and contemporary significance ⁴⁴.

Despite the formation of a new consensus regarding the centrality of culture in the study of social process no agreement was reached as to the meaning of the term itself ⁴⁵. Culture today remains a site of convergent interests rather than a clearly clarified idea ⁴⁶. This lack of precision is manifestly apparent in both historical and cultural geography where most practitioners have adopted a laissez faire attitude to the meaning of the term ⁴⁷. The roots of twentieth century cultural and historical geography lie in the late nineteenth century writings of F. Ratzel and other German geographers who were heavily influenced by the work of contemporary social anthropologists such as E.B. Taylor (1832-1903). These anthropologists forwarded ethnographic definitions of culture as a system which embodied a "whole way of life" - an entity irreducible to the actions of individuals yet at the same time possessed by social groups ⁴⁸. Uncritical acceptance of this concept by early twentieth century geographers such as Carl Sauer and naive reliance on it by subsequent generations has inevitably led to

fundamental problems in both contemporary cultural and historical geography.

The idea that culture could only be explained in terms of itself, that it generated its own forms independent of human agency led to the notion that humans were passive agents and that culture was a universally shared attribute. The role of individualism, gender and class together with the results of social interaction in cultural formation, agency and change were effectively denied ⁴⁹. The inadequacies of the conception of culture as a superorganic have recently been recognised and several geographers have called for a more critical cultural and historical geography ⁵⁰. In rejecting what are essentially nineteenth century anthropological concepts of culture many critics have ironically turned to another sage of the last century, Karl Marx and the culturalist interpretations of his writings.

As with the emergent sociological theories of art discussed above varying schools of thought have emerged with regard to the study of culture. These schools have been broadly labelled culturalist and structuralist ⁵¹. Both schools have clearly defined characteristics yet share certain common features; for example, both are uncompromising in their rejection of the base - superstructure model of cultural production. Culturalist thought centres around the writings of Raymond Williams ⁵². In marked contrast structuralism suggests alternative radically opposing ways of conceiving and accounting for the relative autonomy of culture and ideology. Whereas the concept of culture is central to the traditions of culturalism, structuralist approaches are articulated around the concept of ideology. As a cultural materialist framework is adopted in this thesis only the writings of the culturalist school are considered directly in this present chapter ⁵³. These are discussed briefly below and a working definition of cultural materialism given.

In The Long Revolution R. Williams suggested two ways of conceptualising culture. The first of these related culture to the

sum of the available descriptions through which a society made sense of and reflected upon its common experiences. This conceptualisation summarily dismissed Matthew Arnold's nineteenth century elitist notion of culture as the "best" a civilisation could offer ⁵⁴. Art, previously accorded a privileged position, was now considered as being only one specific form of a general social process. Culture was *ordinary* ⁵⁵. If the production of art was only one specific form of a general social process then there was no way in which this aspect could be isolated from the *totality* of historical process. R. Williams second way of conceptualising culture emphasised the role of culture as a facet of *social practice*.

From R. Williams's writings a new consensus has gradually emerged which proposes that:

Culture is not a practice; nor is it simply the descriptive sum of the 'mores and folkways' of societies - as it has tended to become in certain kinds of anthropology. It is threaded through all social practices and is the sum of their interrelationship. The question of what, then, is studied, and how, resolves itself. The 'culture' is those patterns of organisations, those characteristic forms of human energy which can be discovered as revealing themselves - in 'unexpected identities and correspondences' as well as in 'discontinuities of an unexpected kind' - within or underlying all social practices ⁵⁶,

Following this approach the analysis of culture begins with "the discovery of patterns of a characteristic kind" which are not to be found individually in production, politics, art, or the raising of families, but through the study of "a general organisation in a particular example" ⁵⁷. In particular one must study "the

relationships between the patterns" and grasp how the interactions between all these practices and patterns are lived and experienced as a whole or *structure of feeling* in any given period ⁵⁸.

As with the writings of Marcuse and Fuller discussed above, inherent within the new culturalist writing is a conscious distancing from reductionist Marxist theories which declare the domain of ideas and meanings i.e. superstructure to be the determined product of the prevailing mode of production or base. While highlighting the inadequacy of this model R. Williams however effectively skirted the central problem of determinacy by arguing for a radical interactionism, the interaction of all practices in and with one another. He made little distinction between all practices as all were viewed as variant forms of praxis. In 1973 R. Williams reworked the issues of determination and domination via A. Gramsci's concept of *hegemony*. In doing so he elaborated on the question of dominant, residual and emergent cultural practices and returned to the problem of determinacy by recognising the existence of "limits and pressures" ⁵⁹. Despite this reformulation the ideas espoused in R. Williams's earlier writings have recurred time and time again. In Marxism and Literature (1977) and Culture (1981) R. Williams again stressed "constitutive activity" in general and the totality of different practices conceived as a "whole indissoluble practice" ⁶⁰.

Culture then is viewed as a practice which relates interactively with all economic and political processes *shaping and conditioning these as well as being shaped and conditioned by them* ⁶¹. Culture is defined as both the meanings and values which arise amongst distinctive social groups and classes in given historical contexts through which individuals make sense and reflect on their common experiences; it is also defined as the lived traditions and practices through which those understandings are expressed and in which they are embodied. Finally, culture is a material manifestation of a dialectical process between man and nature. The materialist school of thought which adopts the above definition in the study of culture is termed *cultural materialism*.

Cultural materialism

In this thesis a cultural materialist framework is used to interrogate one aspect of the visual art of early and mid-Victorian Britain ⁶². It must be stressed however that, as with the sociological theories of art reviewed above, the above formulations of culture and cultural materialist theory are not adopted uncritically, rather they are used to highlight the *social* nature and role of Landseer's art ⁶³. No attempt is made here to present a new theory of cultural analysis, rather the aim is to achieve a greater understanding of Landseer's Highland images and the *structure of feeling* they both encapsulate and articulate.

Cultural materialism stresses the notion of *human agency*, the activity through which men and women make history. Human agency provides the crucial mediation between the determined conditions of a given cultural practice and the outcome of that practice. Consequently emphasis is placed on the making of culture rather than on the existence of determined conditioning factors. Cultural materialism conceptualizes culture as being interwoven between all social practices. Overall, emphasis is placed on the *action* rather than the determination of culture.

In stressing action rather than determination cultural materialism rethinks the position of culture with regard to economic forces. Culturalism materialism is opposed to the base-superstructure way of thinking and favours a wider formulation, a dialectic between social being and social consciousness with neither being separated into distinct poles. In cultural materialism culture becomes a central *process* rather than a thing. Culture itself is accorded *materiality* and becomes a central part of both the mode and relations of production. In this way aspects of culture such as art themselves become constraining factors in both social life and social productions.

Having indicated some of the problems inherent in both sociological theories of art and culture some comment must be made on the potential limitations of the cultural materialist framework adopted ⁶⁴. Cultural materialism while affirming the materiality and constructedness of cultural practice devalues the determination of the economic in general. Cultural productions are to be thought of as co-determining together with all other economic determinations. This shift in status of culture effectively destroys any base-superstructure dualism, in doing so however it masks what R.S Neale regards as a more fundamental issue.

R.S. Neale argues that R. Williams fails to follow Marx's thought through to its intended conclusion as regards the class based nature and use of culture. Cultural materialism's claim that culture is an aspect of active practical consciousness rooted in production is replete with the imagery of community and wholeness. Cultural materialism is predicated and practiced on the belief that "practical consciousness" is some kind of homogenous phenomenon produced through interaction between equal and classless individuals. This R.S. Neale argues is not so, it is produced within given property relationships in a mode of production which in turn generates class relationships. R.S. Neale suggests that this neglect be overcome by reinstating class as the central concept within a materialist conception of history. Under such a framework culture would be regarded as a class perception of reality shaped by contradictions between the forces and relations of production.

Art, Culture and Society

While R.S. Neale's critique is couched in the very ideological terms that both recent art history and culturalism have been at pains to disassociate themselves from it does however highlight an often neglected issue within culturalist discourse which is of some relevance to this thesis. Despite the term's complex array of meanings and uses, throughout this thesis class is a concept which is never

fully articulated; paradoxically it is one which is never far below the surface ⁶⁵. Rather than attempt any retrospective ideological analysis of class this thesis adopts general categories which would have been recognised by early and mid-Victorians themselves. In particular this study examines the symbolic role of Highland Scotland in middle and upper class consciousness over the period 1820-1870. This is not to deny the importance of studying the culture of the unfortunate and voluminous masses who contemporaries termed the "lower orders" or "working classes" ; rather it is to recognise both the existence of discrete class-based structures of feeling and the self proclaimed importance of one particular ascendent culture in early and mid Victorian Britain.

Much has been written of the way in which culture and its symbolic productions frequently act as hegemonic forces in both stable societies and societies under transition ⁶⁶. Such studies tend to concentrate on institutions as instruments of social control and class based cultural domination; cultural productions are viewed as a means of transmitting and indoctrinating ideological propositions. Although recognising the usefulness of the above studies and the ideological nature of Landseer's Highland image this thesis does not seek to establish direct links between Landseer's art and bourgeois Victorian hegemony ⁶⁷. Such an approach would be to attribute an intentionality to both artist and audience which examination of the historical records could not substantiate. Rather in studying one facet of bourgeois culture this thesis seeks to identify and elucidate upon some of the changing values associated with the concepts of *landscape* and *nature* which both sustained and help *make* the early and mid Victorian middle classes. Such an approach does not of course preclude the possibility that contemporaries consciously and unconsciously reproduced these values in the hope that other "orders" would also adopt them.

In conclusion cultural materialism as a method of analysis has deep ramifications for any historian of culture, for existing interconnections in specific historical situations must be matched by

"a totalising movement in analysis" ⁶⁸. While a cultural materialist framework is adopted here it must be stressed that traditional theories of art are not dismissed simply as false theory and practice. Like their materialist counterparts - and Landseer's Highland images - such theories have an *agency* of their own; they produce material effects which influence both art and social life. In the belief that "ideas are indeed 'real' and have consequences" Chapter Two examines the rural imagery of Highland Scotland over the period 1750-1870 as a necessary prelude to the following thematic study of Landseer's Highland image ⁶⁹.

Notes to Chapter One

1. A.R.H Baker, "Historical geography: a new beginning ?", Progress in Human Geography, Vol. 3, 1979, pp.560-571, 562.
2. M. Pointon, History of Art, Allen & Unwin, Second Edition, London, 1986, p.23.
3. R. Williams, Keywords, Fontana, 1976, pp.27-28; J. Wolff, Aesthetics and the Sociology of Art, Allen & Unwin, London, 1983, p.12.
4. T. Eagleton, Criticism and Ideology, Verso, London, 1976, p.11; J. Berger, Ways of Seeing, Harmondsworth, 1972; P. Fuller, Beyond the Crisis in Art, Writers and Readers Publishing Co-operative, London, 1980; N. Hadjinicolaou, Art History and Class Struggle, Pluto, London, 1978; "Art History and the history of the appreciation of works of art" in Proceedings of the Caucus for Marxism and Art at the College Art Association Convention, January, 1978, Los Angeles, California, pp.9-12; G. Pollock, "Artists, mythologies and media - genius, madness and art history" in Screen, Vol. 21, No. 3, pp.57-96.
5. "Art History is concerned with exploring _ _ _ experiences within history, with analysing them in order to understand how they are composed or constructed and with recognising them as carriers and producers of meanings within society and in relation to other forms of communication". M. Pointon, 1986, op cit, p.1.

For an introduction to the various facets of this new art history see, A.L. Rees & F. Borzello (eds), The New Art History, Camden Press, London, 1986. See also periodicals such as Block (Published, Art History Dept., Middlesex Polytechnic), Representations (University of California Press) and Word & Image (Published, Taylor & Francis Ltd, Basingstoke).

6. J. Wolff , The Social Production of Art, Macmillan, London, 1981.
7. P. Bourdieu, La Distinction: critique sociale du jugement, Editions de Minuit, Paris, 1979; "The aristocracy of culture" in Media, Culture and Society, Vol. 2, No. 3, pp.225-54. See also the earlier writings of E. Fischer, The Necessity of Art, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1963. For a geographical study from this perspective see D.E. Cosgrove, Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape, Croom Helm, Beckenham, 1984.
8. See T. Gretton, "New Lamps for Old" in A.L. Rees & F. Borzello (eds), 1986, op cit, pp.63-74. It has been suggested that P. Bourdieu's conclusions are not necessarily applicable to Britain. See M. Douglas, "High culture and low" in Times Literary Supplement, 13th February, 1981, pp.163-4.
9. See, On Literature and Art, K. Marx & F. Engels, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1976. Despite the title of this work Marx and Engels paid little specific attention to art and aesthetics. Early sociological theories of art dwelt largely upon Marx's claim that:

"In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life processes in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness". Preface to A Critique of Political Economy in K. Marx & F. Engels, Selected Works, Vol 1, Moscow, 1973, p.503.

Little attention was given to F. Engels's necessary elaboration:

" _ According to the materialist conception of history, the ultimately determining element in history is the production and reproduction of real life. More than this neither Marx nor I has ever asserted. Hence if somebody twists this into saying that the economic element is the only determining one he transforms that proposition into a meaningless, abstract, senseless phrase. The economic situation is the basis, *but the various elements of the superstructure _ _ also exercise their influence _ _ and in many cases preponderate in determining their form*".

F. Engels (1890) cited in W. H. Truitt, "Social Theory and the Foundations of Aesthetic Culture: A Critique of and Contribution to the Marxian Theory of Art", Boston Univesity, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 1969, pp.207-208. This emphasis on the agency of superstructural elements has only been fully recognised in recent years.

10. For a critical review of ideas of social evolution and causation in art together with an appraisal of Marxian theories of art and culture see; W.H. Truitt, "Social Theory and the Foundations of Aesthetic Culture: A Critique of and Contribution to the Marxian Theory of Art", Boston Univesity, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 1969, particularly Chapters 3 & 7.

On G. Plekhanov see, L. Baxandall, "Marxism and Aesthetics: A Critique of the Contribution of George Plekhanov", Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol.25, Spring, 1967, pp.267-269.

For a bibliography of early Marxist writings see L. Baxandall, Marxism and Aesthetics: A Selected Annotated Bibliography, Humanities Press, Princeton, 1968.

11. On the early recognition of the social determination of art and the inadequacies of economic reductionism see; J.H. Mueller, "Is art the product of its age?", Social Forces, 1935, Vol.13, pp.367-75;

P. & M. Meadows, "The Social Determination of Art", Sociology and Social Research, March, 1942, Vol. 26, pp.310-313; Radhakamal Mukerjee, "Social Disguise as a Principle of Art", Sociology and Social Research, September - October, 1945-46, Vol.30, pp.3-10; "The Sociological Approach to Art", Sociology and Social Research, September - October, 1945-46, Vol.30, pp.177-184. In the latter Mukerjee prefigures some of the fundamental tenets of present day culturalism:

"The sociology of art should accordingly avoid one-sided interpretations of geographic and economic 'cultural determinism' and the mystery of the 'great man's' unique artistic creation, and consider the give and take between art and its epoch, region, race, or ideology, in order to reveal the higher levels of interrelationship and reciprocal relationship between culture, society, and personality".

12. On A. Hauser see, W.H. Truitt, 1969, pp.92-97. Interestingly, "new" art history fails to recognise early sociological ideas see both, S. Bann, "How Revolutionary is the New Art History?" and J. Bird, "On Newness, Art and History" in A.L. Rees & F. Borzello, 1986, op cit, pp.19-31 & pp.32-40 respectively.
13. J. Wolff, 1982, pp.30-31.
14. " _ _ the pleasure felt by the spectator on viewing a picture, and the correspondence of his aesthetic ideology to the picture's visual ideology, are one and the same thing". N. Hadjinicolaou, Art History and Class Struggle, 1978, p.180. For an interesting example of a recent debate generated between old and new ideas of artistic worth see, N. McWilliam & A. Potts, "The Landscape of Reaction: Richard Wilson (1713?-1782) and His Critics", in A.L. Rees & F. Borzello, 1986, op cit, pp.106-119.
15. T. Eagleton, 1976.

16. On hermeneutic and structural approaches to art see G. DeSchepper, "Seeing art as something and nothing: A comparison of Structuralism and Hermeneutics in relation to selected works of poetry, painting and film". Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Ohio University, 1974, Chapters 1 & 3, pp.1-34 & 78-123.
17. M. Rader, "Marx's interpretation of Art and Aesthetic Value" in The British Journal of Aesthetics, July, 1967, pp.237-249.
18. W.H. Truitt, 1969, pp.221-231.
19. M. Raphael, Proudhon, Marx, Picasso: Trois Etudes sur la Sociologie de l' Art, Editions-Excelsior, Paris, 1933.
20. G. Lukacs, History and Class Consciousness, Merlin Press, London, 1971. (Originally published in 1923)
21. H. Marcuse, The Aesthetic Dimension: Toward a Critique of Marxist Aesthetics, Macmillan, London, 1978.
22. L. Althusser, "A letter on art in reply to Andre Daspre" in Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays, Verso, London, 1971, pp.203-8.
23. M. Pointon, 1986, p.2.
24. W.H. Truitt, 1969, Abstract, p.3; J. Wolff, 1982, p.23.
25. In discussing Greek art Marx was to comment "The difficulty we are confronted with is not, however, that of understanding how Greek art and poetry are associated with certain forms of social development. The difficulty is that they still give us aesthetic pleasure and are in certain respects regarded as a standard and unattainable ideal". On Literature and Art, Moscow, 1976, p.84.

26. F. Haskell, Rediscoveries in Art: Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion and Collecting in England and France, Phaidon, Oxford, 1976.
27. W.H. Truitt, 1969; P. Fuller, Art and Psychoanalysis, 1980, p.13; Seeing Berger: A Revaluation, Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative, 1981; R. Williams, Politics and Letters: Interviews with 'New Left Review', Verso, London, 1979, p.325.
28. J. Wolff, 1982.
29. R. Williams, Culture, Fontana, Glasgow, 1981.
30. J. Wolff, 1981 Chapters 3 & 4; R. Williams, "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory", New Left Review, No. 82, 1973, pp.3-16.
31. R. Williams, 1981.
32. J. Wolfe, 1982, pp.90-104.
33. M. Foucault, The Birth of the Clinic, 1973; Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison, 1977; The History of Sexuality Volume I: An Introduction, 1979. For an introductory commentary on the work of Foucault see, M. Cousins & A. Hussain, Michel Foucault, Macmillan, London, 1984.
34. On painting as a cultural text see Michel Foucault, The Archaeology of Knowledge, 1972, pp.193-4. For an appraisal of the writings of R. Barthes on this subject see Chapter Five below.
35. S. Hall, "Cultural studies and the Centre: some problematics and problems", in Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972-79, S. Hall, D. Hobson, A. Lowe & P. Willis, (eds.), London, 1980, pp.15-47, 37.

36. S. Timpanaro, On Materialism, Verso, London, 1975; R. Williams, Politics and Letters, 1979; P. Fuller, Art and Psychoanalysis, 1980.
37. While this recent emphasis on biological factors is commonly traced to the work of Timpanaro almost all aspects of it have been prefigured in the work of others. See, M. Rader, 1967 & W.H. Truitt, 1969, pp.3, 8, 70. For example:

" _ _ the biogenetic, affective basis of aesthetic culture is part of the material basis of society, part of a natural human drive, part of the substructure not the superstructure". M. Rader, 1967, pp.234.

" _ _ one significant approach which must be taken into account in a genetic approach to the aesthetic is that affective response which is a biological variable that is always present in the emergence and historical growth of aesthetic culture". W.H. Truitt, 1969, p.70.
38. G. Plekhanov, Art and Social Life, London, 1953, p.25.
39. P. Fuller, Seeing Berger, Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative, London, 1980.
40. P. Fuller, Art and Psychoanalysis, 1980.
41. J. Wolff, 1982, p.101.
42. S. Hall, "Cultural Studies: two paradigms" in T. Bennett, G. Martin, C. Mercer & J. Woollacott (eds), Culture, Ideology and Social Process, Batsford Academic Press, London, 1981, pp.19-42, 19. This essay originally appeared in Media, Culture and Society, No.2, 1980, pp.57-72.

43. R. Williams, Culture and Society, 1780-1950, Harmondsworth, 1963, p.16.
44. For a critical appraisal of the nature and aims of the "new left" see G. Watson, "Was the New Left a Success?", Encounter, October, 1975, Vol XLV, No.4, pp.13-24.
45. On the development, meaning and usage of this term see R. Williams, Keywords, 1976, pp.76-82.
46. S. Hall, 1981, p.21.
47. M.W. Mikesell, "Cultural Geography", Progress in Human Geography, Vol. 1, No.3, 1977, p.460.
48. J.S. Duncan, "The superorganic in American cultural geography", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol.70, No.2, 1980, pp.181-198.
49. On this aspect see the various essays in C. MacCormack & M. Strathern (eds.), Nature, Culture and Gender, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1980.
50. J. M. Blaut, "A radical critique of cultural geography", Antipode, 12, 2, 1980, pp.25-29; D. Cosgrove, "Towards a radical cultural geography: problems of theory", Antipode, Vol.15, No.1, 1983, pp.1-11.
51. They are the "names of the game", S. Hall, 1981, p.36.
52. For a discussion of Raymond Williams contribution to cultural studies see, L. Johnson, The Cultural Critics: From Matthew Arnold to Raymond Williams, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979.
53. Some of the implications of the structuralist school of thought are examined in Chapter Five.

54. On Matthew Arnold's notion of "culture" see L. Johnson, 1979, op cit, pp.18-38.
55. R. Williams, "Culture is ordinary" in Conviction, 1958.
56. R. Williams, 1963, p.61.
57. R. Williams, 1963, p.61.
58. R. Williams, 1963.
59. See R. Williams, 1973.
60. S. Hall, 1981, p.24.
61. R. Williams, 1981.
62. This theoretical framework is best developed and illustrated in the works of Raymond Williams (1958, 1963, 1973, 1976, 1977, 1981). See also L. Johnson, 1979; M. Harris, Cultural Materialism, New York, 1979.
63. For a recent critique of cultural materialism see R.S. Neale, "Cultural materialism", Social History, Vol.9, No.2, 1984, pp.199-215.
64. R.S. Neale, 1984.
65. On the nature of "class" see R. Williams, Keywords, 1976, pp.51-59; R.S. Neale, Class in English History 1680-1850, Oxford, 1981.
66. See, G. Nowell-Smith, Antonio Gramsci - Selections from Cultural Writings, London, 1953; M. Berman, Social Change and Scientific Organization: The Royal Institution 1799-1844, Heineman, London, 1978; Bourdieu, 1979, 1980; M. Billinge, "Hegemony, class and power in late Georgian and early Victorian England: towards a

- cultural geography" in A.R.H. Baker & D Gregory (eds), Explorations in historical geography: interpretative essays, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984, pp.28-67; D.E. Cosgrove, 1984; M.J. Heffernan, "The Politics of Literacy: Cultural Change and Political responses in Nineteenth Century Provincial France", unpublished Ph.D thesis, St John's College, Cambridge, 1986; C.W.J. Withers, The Cultural Transformation of Highland Scotland, (Forthcoming).
67. R. Gray, "Bourgeois hegemony in Victorian Britain" in T. Bennett, G. Martin, C. Mercer & J. Woollacott (eds), 1979, pp.235-250.
68. S. Hall, 1981.
69. M. J. Wiener, English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1981, x.

CHAPTER TWO

RURAL IMAGERY OF HIGHLAND SCOTLAND: 1750-1870

*O wad some Power the giftie gie us
To see oursel's as ithers see us !
It wad frae monie a blunder free us,
An' foolish notion,*

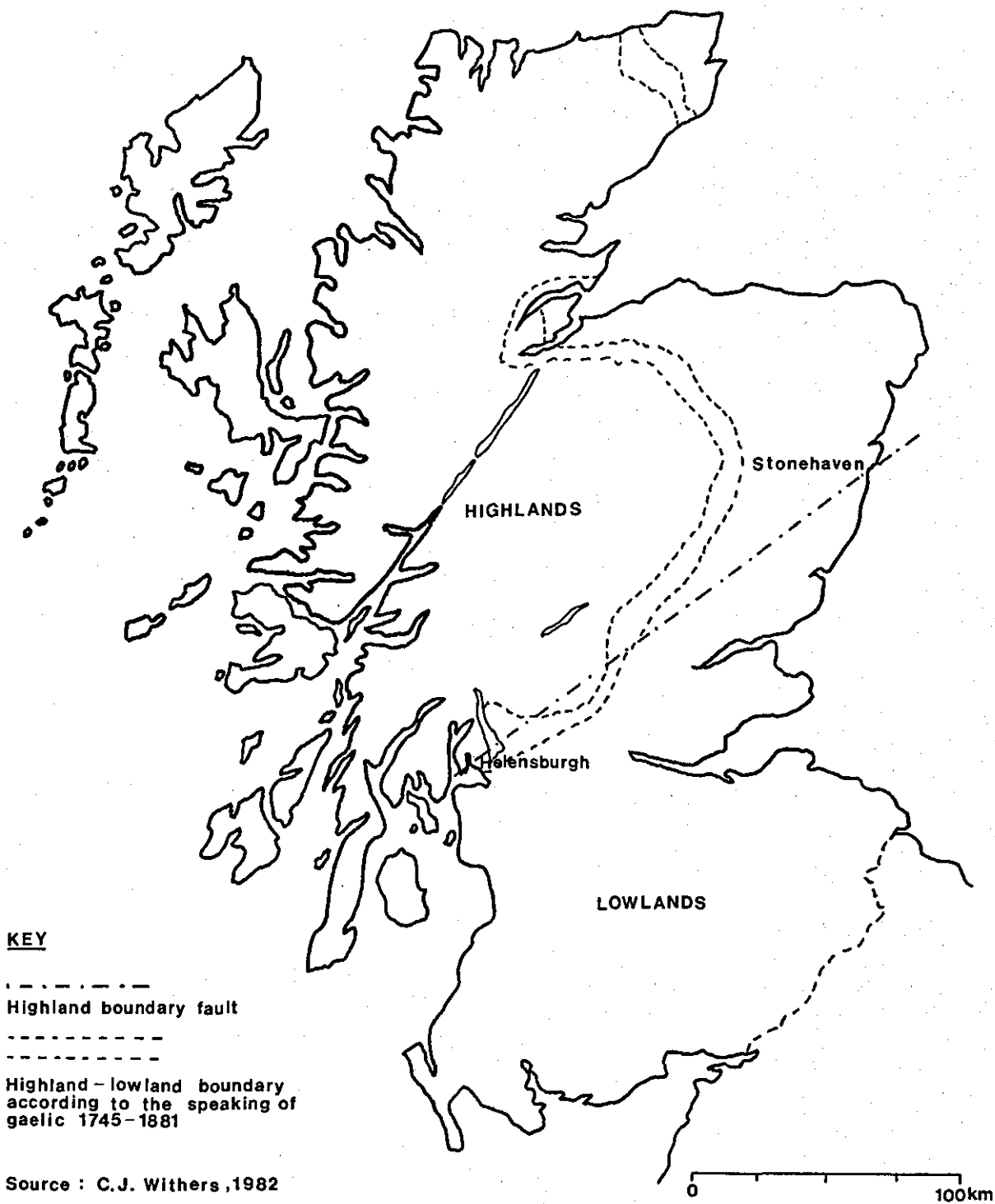
Robert Burns (1759-96) ¹,

Over the period 1750-1870 rural imagery of Highland Scotland encapsulated basic changes in attitude to both landscape and nature ². This chapter reviews the history of these changes, the aesthetic context in which they occurred and the ideological nature of the Romantic movement in Scottish visual art. In conclusion, the artistic discovery of Scotland is summarised briefly in both quantitative and spatial terms and the importance of Edwin Landseer's works in creating and propagating a distinctive Highland image is highlighted.

The Highland region

While the terms *Highland* and *Lowland* had no currency before the fourteenth century by the eighteenth century they were firmly established in the minds of contemporaries. Although the first attempt to depict the Highland - Lowland boundary was not made until 1700 numerous maps were produced during the next two centuries which purported to depict a "Highland Line" between Highland and Lowland Scotland ³. In these maps the speaking of Gaelic was frequently taken to be the criterion of demarcation and, as a consequence, the general position of the line differed little ⁴. Figure 2.1 reproduces C.J. Withers's reconstruction of these maps.

FIGURE 2.1 THE HIGHLAND - LOWLAND BOUNDARY



Rural Imagery of Highland Scotland

As Withers notes this Highland Line was remarkably similar to that found on other contemporary maps based on clan membership.

While many individuals over the period 1750-1870 recognised the speaking of Gaelic as the distinction between Lowland and Highland Scotland others did not. As late as the eighteenth century large tracts of the region remained *terra incognita* to Lowland and English travellers and Gaelic, the original language and symbol of the region, remained an anathema to the English speaking world. For many the distinction between Highland and Lowland Scotland was marked not by adherence to Gaelic but by profound differences in the region's overall life style. Since its emergence the term *Highland* had been associated with certain values which coloured subsequent views of the region. Reflecting in 1903 J.H. Millar noted:

... as far back as the literature of Scotland goes, the Lowlanders regarded the Highlanders with feeling of contempt and dislike which the representative of a higher form of civilisation cherishes toward the representative of a lower ⁸.

These negative attitudes in conjunction with other material factors such as primitive subsistence agrarian systems, surplus population, periodic famine and civil strife affected not only contemporaries perception of Highlanders but artistic representations of the region itself.

After 1746 the Highlands began "to exert a magnetic attraction for crusaders, the curious and the entrepreneurs" ⁹. Although the majority of attempts to introduce industrialism into the Highlands were destined to fail the reflections of contemporary aestheticians, political economists and travellers began to change external perceptions of the region. At the same time the region became increasingly popular with artists. Indeed for many individuals over the period 1750-1870 the Highland region was increasingly defined not

through abstract reflection on the use of Gaelic, or the socio-economic structure of the region, but through literary and visual imagery purveyed by a variety of artists⁷. In many ways Highland Scotland was a *relative* concept, one which varied in both its nature and popularity with changes in aesthetic taste and political economy. These changes in fashion form the subject matter of this chapter. While recognising the importance of Gaelic in helping to define cultural areas no clear definition of the Highland region beyond that given in the above Introduction is offered here: while this is undesirable, in many ways it is necessary. The period 1750-1870 witnessed radical shifts in popular thought with regard to nature and the Scottish landscape and to establish any set definition of Highland Scotland would be to create that which did not exist in the minds of many contemporaries.

Scottish landscape painting: the historical background

Few landscapes were painted in Scotland before 1750 and these were mainly Lowland panoramas or views of individual houses. Prior to this date the Highlands were never painted and where possible they were physically avoided by outsiders⁸. This aversion to mountainous areas was not peculiar to Scotland or indeed Britain but was a longstanding characteristic of western culture⁹. In an age of poor communications areas such as the Highlands were regarded as both dangerous and distasteful and they had come to symbolise a barbaric social order on the fringe of British civilisation¹⁰. This said by 1800 however there were no essential differences between Scottish and English artists in either their styles or the subject matter they depicted¹¹. Profound changes in attitude had occurred; the Highlands had found favour with both the artist and the enlightened traveller and by 1830 their inhabitants were being depicted as model citizens¹². Indeed by 1850 through the images of Edwin Landseer and the landscape art of Horatio McCullough they had come to symbolise Scotland itself¹³.

Far from being confined to Scotland changes in attitude to mountainous areas became common throughout the western world. For the first time in western culture mountain scenery became a dominant interest of many landscape painters, writers and travellers ¹⁴. While the reasons for such changes are a matter for conjecture it has been suggested that advances in religious and scientific thought were in part instrumental ¹⁵. Voyages of exploration and discovery coupled with new conceptions of geology, time and space all expanded human knowledge and understanding and led to the formulation of new ways of contemplating the elemental forces of nature ¹⁶. While advances in religious and scientific thought underpinned new human attitudes to nature, their temporal occurrence and specific form however was determined by a myriad of historical factors peculiar to each region or nation. This chapter examines some of those factors which helped change contemporary perceptions of the Scottish Highlands.

Following the battle of Culloden in 1746 and the collapse of the Jacobite cause an insecure British government began a detailed survey of the Scottish Highlands under Lt. Col. David Watson and his assistant William Roy. Lasting from 1747-1755 the purpose of the survey was to map mainland Scotland. The official draughtsman for this project was a young Englishman, Paul Sandby ¹⁷. Sandby became the first artist known to have travelled throughout the length and breadth of Scotland. From his military tasks he developed a strong interest in castles and ruins and consequently recorded with topographical accuracy many locations which became popular picturesque sites of succeeding generations. Sandby was the first to depict the Falls of the Clyde (Plate 1) and his sketches were later reproduced in Thomas Pennant's influential Tours (1771, 1774-75). It was through the later publication of engravings after Sandby's sketches that many became familiar with the Scotland for the first time ¹⁸.

Despite the existence of several formal planned gardens it was the picturesque which became the dominant way of seeing in eighteenth century Scotland ¹⁹. Initially the term *picturesque* referred to the kind of landscape that resembled the landscape

paintings of the seventeenth century painters Claude Lorrain, Salvator Rosa and Gaspard Poussin ²⁰. However, no single definition can be given for the term meant various things even to William Gilpin (1724-1804), Richard Payne Knight (1750-1824) and Uvedale Price (1747-1829), the chief protagonists of the aesthetic. Gilpin regarded landscapes as picturesque if they were composed of rough and broken objects such as rocks or ruins. In addition to the irregularity of the above Gilpin praised aspects of nature which produced sharp contrasts between light and shade. For Payne Knight picturesque scenes were simply those that reminded a person by association of pictures he had seen and found beautiful. In direct contrast Uvedale Price considered the picturesque to be a third category in relation to Edmund Burke's *sublime* (that which inspired fear and terror) and the *beautiful* (that which was small, smooth, pleasing and delicate) ²¹.

Although picturesque theory had been formulated in England with no intended Scottish application the aesthetic fitted some areas of Scotland perfectly ²². After a period of several decades however the picturesque *way of seeing* was gradually transformed with the advent of the Romantic movement. Paradoxically, the romantic way of seeing, apprehending and understanding the Scottish landscape too underwent a subsequent transformation with the emergence of a new sensibility towards the natural world. This later change in man's attitude to both nature and the landscape idea is discussed in Chapter Six below.

From the Picturesque to the Romantic

Despite the predominance of the picturesque large tracts of Scotland could not be accommodated by it's theory. In his Observations on the Highlands of Scotland (1789) William Gilpin explained why:

In general the mountains formed beautiful lines; but as in early history painting, figures without drapery, and other appendages make an indifferent group; so in

*scenery, naked mountains form a poor composition, . . .
They require the drapery of a little wood to break the
simplicity of their shapes, to produce contrasts, to
connect one part with another and to give that richness
in landscape, which was one of it's greatest
ornaments* ²³,

Thus for practitioners of the picturesque large tracts of Scotland posed aesthetic problems. These problems however were soon to disappear. Their solution emerged from the regions of Scotland which picturesque theory could not accommodate, namely the Borders and Highlands. J. Holloway and L. Errington have suggested that developments "eventually led to the creation of a landscape painting designed to propagate what was uniquely and even aggressively characteristic of Scotland as a place distinct from other places" ²⁴. That aesthetic change did occur there can be no doubt, however to attribute such change to the Scottish environment and the spirit of the age is highly idealist. Such an approach masks fundamental ideological considerations inherent in the origin and nature of Romanticism ²⁵. The origins of these considerations and their ramifications for the rural imagery of Highland Scotland will be examined in greater detail below.

By the late eighteenth century ideas of associating the Scottish landscape with the past were gaining general acceptance. These emergent ideas provided one characteristic of Romanticism. Paradoxically, one of the first writers to document this new belief was William Gilpin. In 1776 Gilpin wrote of the Falls of the Clyde:

*In our travels through Scotland I have mentioned many
scenes, which were enobled by being called the retreats
of Wallace, This was one, Among these wild rocks, and in
the tower, that adorns them, we were told, he lurked,
during a period of distress, These traditional anecdotes,
whether true, or fabled, add grandeur to a scene* ²⁶,

As J. Holloway and L. Errington observe, by 1800 fantasy had overtaken fact, exaggeration and inaccuracy were accepted without qualm. "Naiads were at home on the banks of the Clyde, the spirit of Wallace lived in the caves and castles by its side" ²⁷. The growing popularity of historical association led to a decline in the apprehension of the landscape in terms of *objective* picturesque theory. For example, as W. Gilpin intimated, the Falls of the Clyde, a firm favourite with picturesque adherents such as Jacob More, came rapidly to be thought of as a past retreat of William Wallace.

Ideas of historical association were greatly aided by improved communications and the publication of two guide books namely, Thomas Pennant's Tours (1771, 1774-5) and Francis Grose's Antiquities of Scotland (1797). These volumes reinforced an existing interest in Scottish history, one which had been fired initially by the publication of the works of Ossian in the 1760's. T. Pennant's study was wide ranging and encompassed a broad spectrum from natural history to fine art. Like many travellers of his time however Pennant could not cover the whole country during his visits and relied on correspondence from erudite individuals such as the Rev. Charles Cordiner of Banff. Similarly F. Grose too relied on a group of fellow antiquarians who shared both their knowledge and their drawings. While covering southern Scotland thoroughly Grose saw little of Scotland north of Fife and relied heavily on the writings of Pennant.

Fifty years after Sandby painted the Falls of the Clyde the river's three most impressive features, Bonnington Linn (Plate 1), Cora Linn and Stonebyres Linn were firmly established on the tourist circuit. Indeed, even the Scottish Highlands themselves were experiencing the beginnings of the modern tourist phenomenon ²⁸. The reasons for this change in attitude were many and complex. In addition to the popularity of the picturesque aesthetic and the production of didactic books (such as Pennant's Tours and Grose's Antiquities) European society had expressed great interest in the origins of primitive society and the so called *noble* or *primitive savage* who was to be found ideally in areas of unspoilt wilderness ²⁹. Further, the

discovery of new lands and peoples in the Pacific had created new horizons for educated society's curiosity and had helped it develop a taste for the exotic and the primitive ³⁰. By 1803, the Wordsworths, Coleridge, Farington and Turner had all visited the Falls of the Clyde and been struck by the majesty of the scene ³¹. In Dorothy Wordsworth's opinion the dovecot recorded by Sandby on the rocks above Bonnington Linn had come to resemble "some of the huts in the prints belonging to Captain Cook's voyages" ³². To others however the violence of the water had become a symbol of an untamed nature overwhelming insignificant man.

While all of the above helped to formulate new aesthetic views and attitudes to rural Scotland the romantic movement in Scotland derived its impetus from sources which were essentially *non* artistic in origin. Late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Scotland was one of many countries where historical processes were obscured by romanticism, where contradictions and tensions were obscured by resplendent imagery of insignificant or primitive man, untamed nature and ideas of historical association. The romantic construction of the landscape idea and the new found popularity of Highland Scotland derived as much from a new Enlightenment conception of history and theory of political economy as from the Scottish landscape and artistic tradition ³³. These new theories of history and political economy flourished in the writings of the Scottish Historical School and were popularised in the works of Ossian.

Professors of speculation: The Scottish Historical School

Eighteenth century political economy developed in close association with a more general system of ideas about the structure and development of society frequently referred to today as classical sociology. These ideas were most fully articulated in the thought and writings of the Scottish Historical School ³⁴. The main members of this School were four university professors, Adam Smith (1723-90; Glasgow), Adam Ferguson (1723-1816; Edinburgh), William Robertson

(1721-93; Edinburgh) and John Millar (Glasgow). All were Scots and all, with the exception of Adam Ferguson, were Lowlanders. Less influential intellectuals associated with the School were Hugh Blair, Henry Home (Lord Kames), James Burnett (Lord Monboddo), Gilbert Stuart and James Dunbar.

The members of the School had two basic propositions in common, both of which derived from empirical observation on the course of social development in different periods and countries. First, was the belief that intellectual enquiry should centre on the *mode of subsistence* for, as this varied, so would law and social policy. Second, was the belief that the state of property at any given time reflected the distribution of power in society. Members of the Scottish Historical School attempted to bring to the study of man's relations with one another in society the same scientific attitude which had recently been brought to the study of man's relations to nature ³⁵. The School consciously sought to base its enquiries on the study of historical fact in opposition to abstract speculation and conjecture, particularly with regard to the *state of nature* which had often been employed in the recent past ³⁶. In this sense they practiced *contextual* rather than conjectural history ³⁷. In addition to the above, members of the School held common views on the nature of social development. While all rejected facile explanations of social phenomena in terms of the activities of great men, some such as Smith emphasised the gradual and continuous character of social development. Others such as Adam Ferguson stressed the importance of social conflict and drew attention to revolutionary change in society.

Today, the most commonly cited work of the School is Adam Smith's Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations. Published on the 9th March 1776 in two 500 page volumes, Smith's work attracted little initial attention in its native land. Paradoxically it has never been out of print. The Wealth of Nations was not a book about Scotland (it examined Britain with London as its capital) nor was it merely an economic textbook; it was a book about the age in which the author lived ³⁸. Adam Smith saw Britain as a country poised

to experience revolution in agriculture, industry and society. To Smith, labour was the source of all wealth and society itself was held together by the division of this labour. While individuals constituted society all worked for the common good. Smith foresaw the emergence of a new industrial world characterised by materialism for the masses with enlightened self-interest as its mainspring. In formulating his views Smith was influenced by the French Physiocrats or Economistes who believed in establishing a *laissez faire* system that would function through its own intrinsic harmonies and balances ³⁹. Smith's world was to be regulated by what he called the "invisible hand", the market law of supply and demand.

Despite the reductionist emphasis of two centuries of economic commentary on the Wealth of Nations Smith's work contained not only an economic theory but a general sociological history of society, indeed the volume was intended merely as part of a larger uncompleted thesis. Adam Smith's conception of the history of society was presented in greater detail in his Glasgow Lectures which are representative of the thought of the Scottish Historical School as a whole. It should be noted however that the works of John Millar were often more detailed and radical in their analysis and implications ⁴⁰. Smith defined four main stages in social development - hunting, pasturage, agriculture and commerce which he generally considered to follow each other sequentially. Each of these stages Smith defined in terms of a *mode of subsistence*. In the first stage - hunting - there was no government and virtually no private property. In pasturage an "inequality of fortune" developed due to the emergence of private property in flocks and herds. "Regular government" came into being. In agriculture property received "its greatest extension" as the land itself (which had previously been held in common) became held by individuals. Government is extended further as "the age of commerce naturally succeeds that of agriculture". Men confine themselves to one "species of labour" and rely on the exchange of commodities. Once again law and government undergo corresponding changes. Adam Smith thus outlined a *materialist* conception of history.

While Smith schematically outlined the School's conception of history Adam Ferguson (1723-1816) shifted its members attention to the empirical study of past societies. Of all the members of the School it was apt that Ferguson, the sole Highlander, should turn his attention to the Scottish Highlands. Born in Logierait (near Pitlochry) he had served as a chaplain in the Black Watch (1745-57) and witnessed the destruction of Highland life and culture by direct government action ⁴¹. In response he sought to praise the ancient culture and society of the Highlands. While his contemporary David Hume (1711-76) condemned the clan system Ferguson eulogised its merits. As Professor of Natural Philosophy and later Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh University, he studied Highland society and published his thoughts in his influential Essay on the History of Civil Society (1767), Institution of Moral Philosophy (1769) and Principles of Moral and Political Science (1792).

Adam Ferguson argued that in the clan system there was no gulf between chief and clan and that smaller societies experienced a more stable relationship between the individual and society. A tradition of fighting, Ferguson argued, made for better social cohesion. Ferguson's writings, like those of the other members of the School, were part of a wider search for a rapidly vanishing Scottish national identity in an age of both external and self imposed cultural ethnocide ⁴². While Ferguson highlighted directly many of the failings of contemporary society it was left to John Millar however to comment that in such a society (characterised by laissez faire attitudes) "the pursuit of riches becomes a scramble, in which the hand of every man is against every other" ⁴³. Ferguson's writings were not alone in eulogising the lost values of a bygone age. Paradoxically those writings which reflected and expanded upon Ferguson's concern also effectively served to legitimise the very process noted by Millar.

Social transformation and the Ossian aesthetic

Members of the Scottish Historical School were imbued with the classics and looked for inspiration to the primitive peoples who had inspired Homer, Virgil and Strabo. Men such as Adam Smith and James Burnett (Lord Monboddo) studied the primitive "origin and progress of language" not out of a sentimental desire to return to primitive society but in order to comprehend and contribute to their own society ⁴⁴. The speculations of the Scottish Historical School centred on the primitive origins of art, language and society and the golden age of classical art was accepted as being a record of actual social conditions in the contemporary fringe areas of classical society. From such a premise it was but a short step to the belief that similar cultural conditions might be preserved in the fringe areas of Britain. Lord Monboddo made the transition in commenting that on the fringes of civilisation "this golden age may be said yet to exist" ⁴⁵. Hugh Blair held similar views:

It is a great error to imagine, that Poetry and Music are Arts which belong only to polished nations. They have their foundations in the nature of man, and belong to all nations and to all ages. . . In order to explore the rise of Poetry, we must have recourse to the deserts and the wilds; we must go back to the age of hunters and of shepherds; to the highest antiquity; and to the simplest form of manners amongst mankind ⁴⁶.

Given Ferguson's writings and the close connections between members of the School, their thought, their patriotism it was "natural" that the ideas of the School should find corroboration in the Highlands of Scotland.

The ideas of the School were quickly substantiated by James Macpherson's "discovery" in 1759 of the compositions of Ossian, an ancient Celtic bard ⁴⁷. Macpherson (a protege of Hugh Blair) had returned from the Highlands with verse and ancient poetry supposedly

composed by a blind bard. Macpherson published his first "Fragments" of Ossian's poetry in 1760 in the Gentleman's Magazine under the title "Two Fragments of Ancient Poetry Collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and Translated from the Gaelic or Erse Language". Actively encouraged by Hugh Blair to publish further texts in 1762 Macpherson produced the first Ossian epic, Fingal, An Ancient Epic Poem, In Six Books: Together with Several Other Poems, Composed by Ossian, the Son of Fingal. This was followed in 1763 by another epic work Temora. For Blair and other members of the Scottish Historical School the discovery of Ossian's works provided both a source of national pride and confirmation of their aesthetic theories.

While containing elements of genuine poetry, in reality Ossian was the product of James Macpherson, a fabrication which perfectly corroborated the Edinburgh group's conjectures on the ideal qualities of life in the wild. Within a decade however the "ancient" and entirely fictitious Celtic bard had become fashionable throughout western Europe and the late eighteenth century witnessed a cult of Ossian inspired writings and activities (Plate 2). While these writings lay at the very heart of a cult of the romantic and helped popularise Highland Scotland they reflected more than a taste for wild scenery; they provided a philosophical and ideological basis for the transformation of Highland society and the Scottish landscape itself ⁴⁸.

For Hugh Blair, like other educated individuals, the Ossianic landscape was sublime rather than beautiful. Blair believed it to be:

*... everywhere, the same rude face of nature
appears; a country wholly uncultivated, thinly
inhabited and recently peopled, The grass of the
rock, the flower of the heath, the thistle and its
bur, are the chief ornaments of the landscape. The
desert is enough to me with all the woods and
deer ⁴⁹.*

Ossian's poems were set in a distant age characterised by a society in transition from that of the wilderness hunter to that of pastoralism. Ossian bemoaned the emergence of agriculture and the loss of heroic society which had preceded it. Hugh Blair emphasised this aspect. Paraphrasing Smith he argued:

*There are four great stages through which men
successively pass in the progress of society.
The first and earliest is the life of the
hunters; pasturage succeeds to this, as the
ideas of property begin to take root; next
agriculture; and lastly commerce* ⁵⁰.

The Ossianic emphasis on hunting however created a golden age in a wilderness landscape populated, not by cultivators, but by isolated hunters. To the Ossian aesthetic progressive development in Smith's terms was undesirable; the wild uncultivated landscape was nature's most desirable form. The Ossian aesthetic had profound social implications. Far from being a critique of social development it could effectively serve to legitimise retrogressive development as determined by comparison against Smith's historical model. As K. Olwig has observed "Since the Highlands of Macpherson's time were used for both pasture and for cultivation, and since there was an incipient movement to clear the Highlands of small cultivators _ _ _ and use the cleared areas either for grazing or as deer forests, such an ideal could be used to serve asocial ends" ⁵¹. In other words the Ossian aesthetic *could* effectively serve to legitimate the depopulation of the Scottish Highlands to make room for sheep, deer and hunting forests. Here the aesthetic provided a commentary not on the past, but the reality of eighteenth century social change.

The late eighteenth century offered as its symbolic hero Robinson Crusoe, an isolated economic man in a struggle against nature ⁵². This struggle or law of nature was transformed in the Ossian aesthetic into a sanction for laissez faire capitalism. K. Olwig has suggested that James Macpherson, the perpetrator of the Ossian myth, was one of

the first to clear his Highland estate, Belleville, for sheep in 1785 ⁵³. While this fact is not strictly correct it illustrates the complex and tenuous links between ideology and development for any attempt to establish a direct link between the Ossian aesthetic and the social transformation of the Highlands is fraught with difficulty. It must be emphasised however that the claim by contemporaries that Ossian's works were directly inspired by the experience of wild physical nature effectively occluded their social and economic implications.

Despite the above qualifications the connection between aesthetics, economic thought and social transformation was clear to contemporaries. Sir Walter Scott (Plate 3) lamented:

... in too many instances, the glens of the Highlands have been drained, not of their superfluity of population, but of the whole mass of the inhabitants, dispossessed by an unrelenting avarice, which will one day be found to have been as unwise as it is unjust and selfish, meanwhile the Highlands may become the fairy ground for romance and poetry; the subject of experiment for professors of speculation, political and economical ⁵⁴.

Marx too, with the benefit of hindsight was to comment on the nature of the connection between political economy and the Ossian aesthetic:

The individual and isolated hunter and fisherman, with whom Smith and Ricardo begin ... in no way expresses merely a reaction against the over-sophisticated and a return to the natural life, as cultural historians imagine ... this is the semblance, the merely aesthetic semblance ... It is rather, the anticipation of 'civil society' in preparation since the sixteenth century and making giant strides towards maturity in the eighteenth ⁵⁵.

Rural Imagery of Highland Scotland

The writings of the Scottish Historical School and the observations of Scott and Marx are crucial to an understanding of the subsequent development of nineteenth century rural imagery of Highland Scotland for art and ideology informed each other. This relationship may have become less apparent as the nineteenth century unfolded but it did not diminish in importance indeed it conditioned what was and what was not "acceptable" to an "aesthetically" minded public. The poetry of Ossian inspired few eighteenth century Scottish artists but its popularity helped foster a new acceptable image of the Highlands ⁵⁶. At the same time it helped negate the material consequences of the Highland clearances, a process of profound social transformation.

By 1800 the Highlands had attracted government intervention and investment on a disproportionate scale. Further, the region had been pacified and brought under effective political control. Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations became "a bible to the Highland improvers" and provided an implicit prescription for regional specialisation of production. The region was viewed as one of promise which required only assistance and stimulation to free it from its feudal past ⁵⁷. It was against this positive background that romantic imagery of Highland Scotland flourished. This romanticism popularised the region and prepared the way for the acceptance of Edwin Landseer's Highland images. As noted in the Introduction by 1820 however popular optimism had turned to a deep pessimism as a specialised (but shattered) Highland economy failed to integrate into a national system of production. Throughout the 1820's and 1830's public discussion on Highland issues remained superficial and the relative neglect of the region in both newspapers and Parliament continued until the 1840's. Even then most of the discussion remained apolitical ⁵⁸. In comparison to earlier imagery it was against a background of pessimism, public indifference and profound material change that Landseer's Highland images were produced and popularised. While the reason for the immense popularity of Landseer's images lies largely in

the issues they addressed and the values they articulated, it also lies in part in the ideological nature of Romanticism.

The ideology of Romanticism

By 1800 the meaning of the *romantic sublime* had changed; it could now be found only in wild uncultivated places. It proclaimed a natural and organic value located in the soul of the individual and in the processes and phenomena of the natural world, especially those phenomena which emphasised human insignificance ⁵⁹. It proclaimed against the analytic logic of natural science whose understanding was increasingly underpinning new forces of economic production ⁶⁰. However, while the romantic sublime stressed the continued existence of the divine in nature, in its critique of industrialisation and social change it effectively legitimised the new order by mystifying the nature of the social relations against which it protested.

This process of legitimation occurred in at least two ways. Firstly, romanticism while accepting the detailed observational techniques of emerging natural science employed its findings within a pre-positivist mode of reasoning. An emphasis on *analogical* rather than causal reasoning led to metaphysical rather than materialist explanations. Secondly, like the political economists Smith and Ricardo, romanticism celebrated if not deified the naturalness of the individual. It is here that the link with the Ossian aesthetic discussed above is most readily apparent. Romanticism failed to locate the origin and nature of this emphasis on the individual in the new social relations of production and the ideology of classical economics which supported them. Romantics noted the *alienation* of the individual but failed to recognise it as a product of the social order. While in reality the problem of alienation could only be resolved by coming to terms with the new social order the romantics sought the answer in a new moral order, a moral order which harmonised the individual soul with external nature.

The significance attached to the idea of landscape by romanticism can paradoxically be related ultimately to the changing nature of land under capitalism. Under capitalism the value of land and natural processes underwent a change. Instead of deriving value from productive use value was related to *exchange* in the market; land could now increase in value without a corresponding increase in productive use or potential. This fact was noted by contemporaries and indeed it is this consideration which underlies Scott's comment cited above. The transition to a full capitalist economy has been the subject of fierce debate and no exact chronological dating is attempted here ⁶¹. What is important to note with regard to the ideology of the romantic movement however is the fact that to many contemporaries such as Ruskin the nineteenth century was the period when this transition was completed. This transition and transformation in the nature of land value from productive use to market exchange was paralleled by a changing representation of the landscape idea ⁶². This of course is not to argue that any direct causal relationship existed between these two aspects. The objective criterion of the picturesque was replaced by attitudes founded on individualism and historical association. The emphasis on the individual's experience of nature however denied the ramifications of social transformation just as effectively as historical association stressed the past while denying the reality of the present.

Romanticism and reaction

M. Rosenthal has argued that the 1780's saw a revival of the Georgic ideal in English rural landscape painting which was strongly anti-romantic ⁶³. Central to his argument is the belief that a shared *iconography* which this art expressed led to consensus rather than to individualist viewpoints. On examination the ideology underlying the agricultural art of this period reveals a paradox however, one which indicates the true ideological nature of this "reaction".

At the very moment when interest in the romantic sublime landscape peaked, around 1780-1815, there was a "reaction" or renewed demand for agricultural (ie humanised) landscapes. Rosenthal notes that in the 1780's agricultural landscapes averaged 1.5% of all pictures exhibited at the Royal Academy but that by 1792 (the year of the French Revolution) this figure had risen to 4.23% ⁶⁴. Rosenthal argues that a similar rise occurred during the Napoleonic Wars and suggests that historical circumstances demanded that art respond to and interpret reality. In plain terms there was a demand for art which emphasised tradition, stability, and continuity. Rosenthal suggests that the demand for such representations arose from the need to reassure the landowners of Britain of the legitimacy and success of their established order. This reassurance he argues was necessary to overcome doubts relating to urban change and the fear of a French style revolution in England.

Clearly, if Rosenthal's figures are accepted then at a time when the dominant taste was for wild romantic landscapes productive human landscapes could be acceptable to the art market and patron if they underwrote the idea of a successful, capitalised and profitable agrarian structure ⁶⁵. In Scotland too a similar "reaction" to the romantic movement can be observed in the domestic genre works of Wilkie and more importantly, in the later Highland works of Edwin Landseer. These "homely" works reflected and provided an image of a stable society which both eased and entertained troubled minds. The relationship between nineteenth century rural images of Scotland, contemporary ideology and the landscape idea is examined further in Chapters Four and Five.

The romantic sublime served a similar ideological purpose to the "reactions" discussed above, ie the effective legitimisation of the new social and economic order of Britain, although the manner in which this legitimisation occurred was much less direct. While appearing to criticise industrial capitalism the romantic sublime shared many of its basic tenets. With its emphasis on the individual it reflected rational economic man while its Ossian aesthetic effectively mystified the

implications of social transformation associated with capitalism for land and human life. Paradoxically *romance* and *reaction* were but two sides of the same coin. While mystifying social and economic processes romanticism and its associated reactions succeeded however in placing landscape and nature, and in particular rural imagery of Scotland, at the very heart of cultural discourse in nineteenth century Britain. From the writings of Wordsworth and Sir Walter Scott and through cheap mass produced woodcuts of romantic views, landscape appreciation became an indicator of educated sensibility amongst Britain's growing middle classes.

Landseer and the discovery of Scotland

The above discussion has briefly reviewed changes in attitude to both landscape and nature as exhibited in the visual imagery of Scotland over the period 1750-1815. Little has been said directly of the "discovery of Scotland" in either quantitative or spatial terms or of the relative importance of material circumstances and the role of individual artists in this process ⁶⁶. In this concluding section these issues are addressed and the work of Sir Edwin Landseer in popularising rural images of Scotland is highlighted as a necessary contextual background to the thematic essays which comprise the remainder of this thesis.

Figure 2.2 shows Scottish landscape paintings as a percentage of all apparent British landscape works exhibited at the Royal Academy over the period 1778-1980 ⁶⁷. From the figure it can be seen that over the period 1800-1825 the proportion of Scottish works exhibited increased from slightly over 2% to around 7%. This period was followed by a relative decline to around 3% in 1830 when the proportion in percentage terms began to increase once again. Clearly from the above figure the main period of artistic favour for Scotland began in the 1850's when the country was effectively discovered by British artists ⁶⁸. While this boom lasted until the early twentieth century

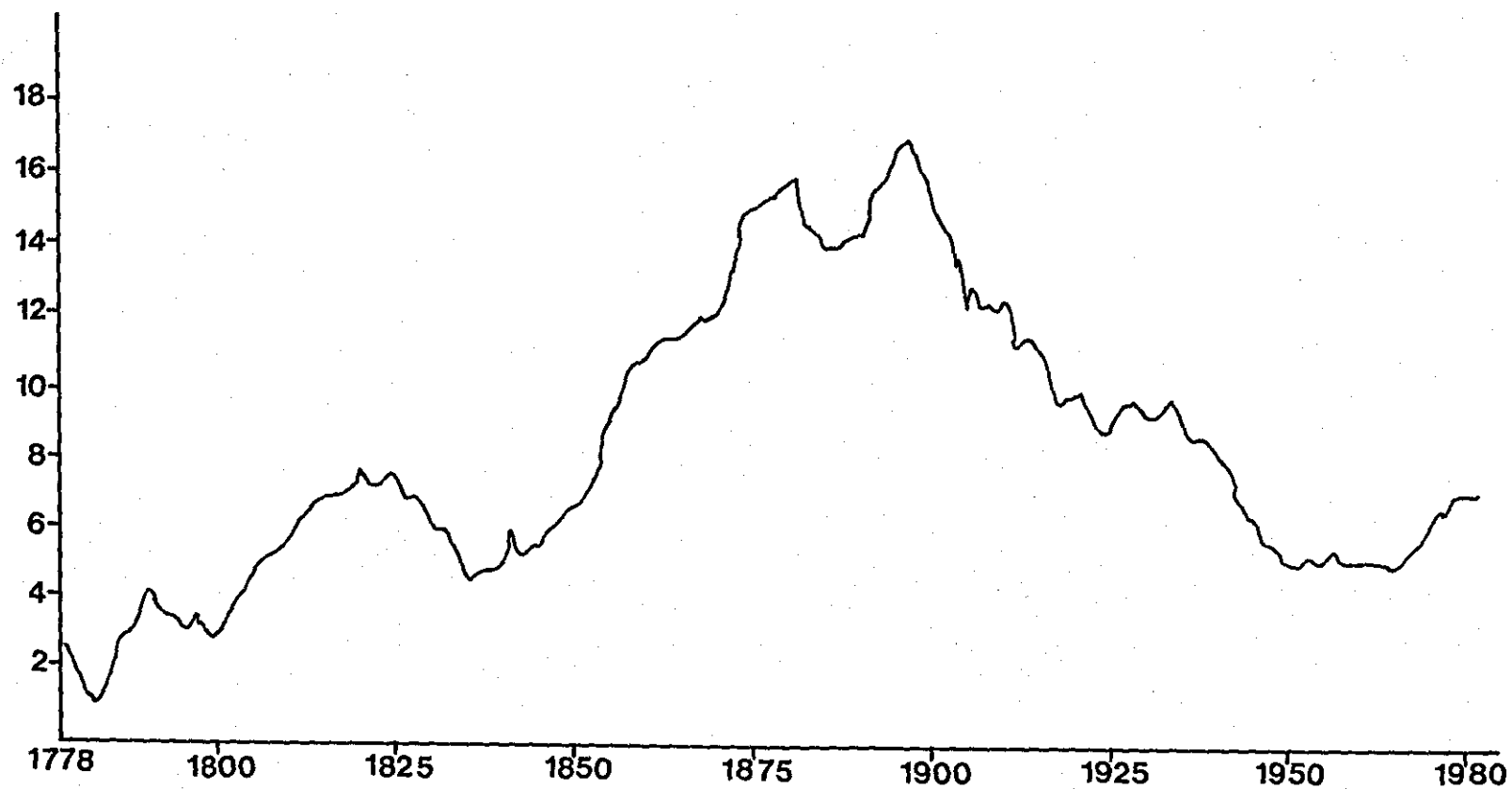
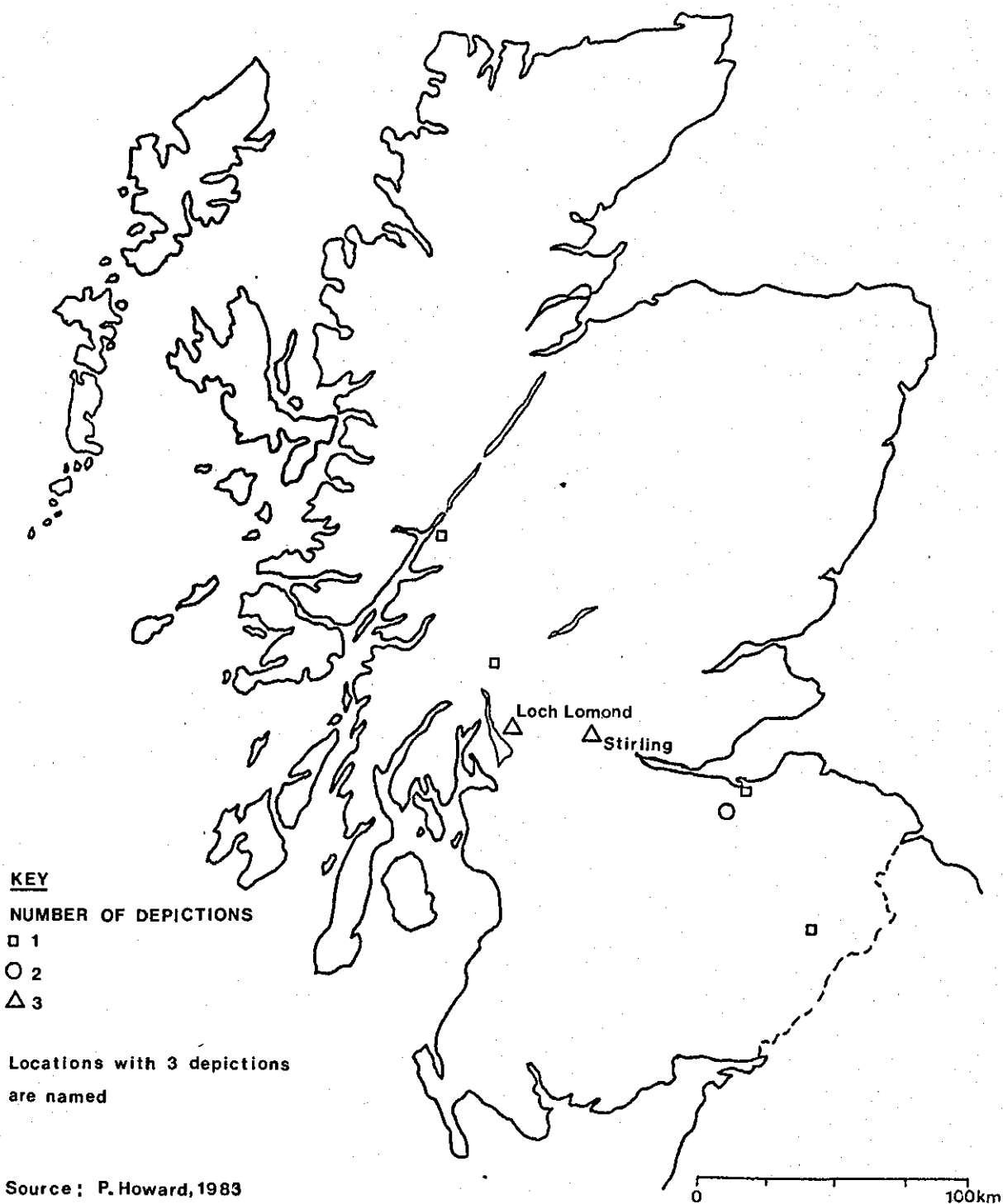


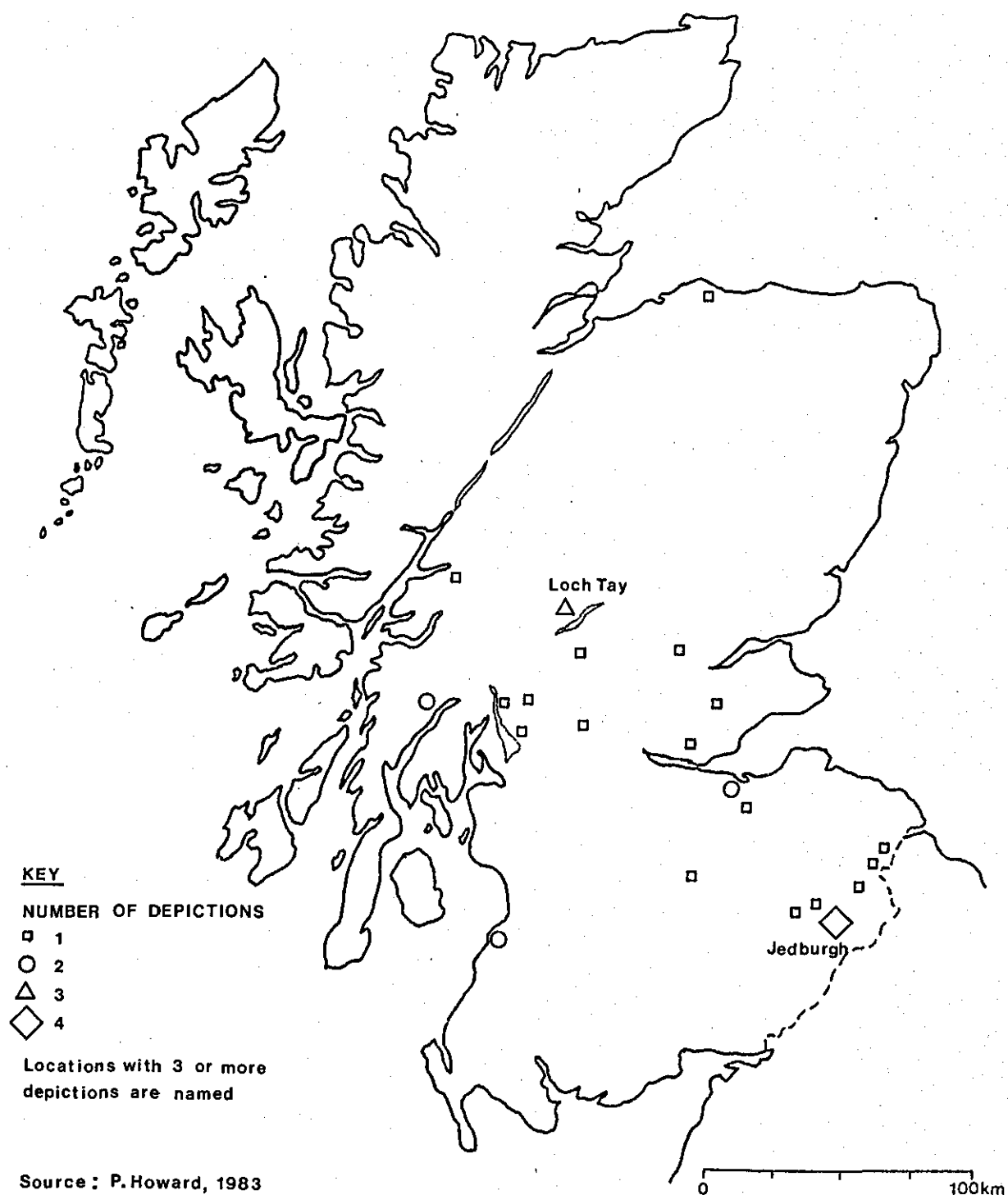
FIGURE 2.2

SCOTTISH LANDSCAPE PAINTINGS AS A PERCENTAGE OF ALL
BRITISH LANDSCAPE WORKS EXHIBITED AT THE ROYAL
ACADEMY: 1778 - 1980

FIGURE 2.3 THE ARTISTIC DISCOVERY OF SCOTLAND:
1769-1799



**FIGURE 2.4 THE ARTISTIC DISCOVERY OF SCOTLAND:
1800-1824**



Source : P.Howard, 1983

it was only in the 1890's that Scottish pictures achieved a peak of over 16% of the total works exhibited. Since then the decline has been almost continuous with the exception of a short period of renewed interest in the 1970's.

Although Scottish artists occasionally exhibited at the Royal Academy they more commonly patronised the Royal Scottish Academy (est. 1826). Thus the overwhelming proportion of the works included in the above figure were painted by English or Welsh artists ⁶⁹. In a more detailed analysis P. Howard has plotted the apparent location of these works ⁷⁰. Examination of P. Howard's findings, while raising some problematic issues, enables the fashion for some places to be dated and traced with some degree of accuracy, it also allows for comment to be made on possible factors which might help account for the popularity of these areas.

As discussed above, Figure 2.3 illustrates that eighteenth century Scotland was relatively unimportant to English artists except for Lowland sites such as Roslin Castle, (Midlothian) where picturesque theory and the combination of wooded ravine, ruined castle and medieval chapel made the area a must for devotees of the picturesque. Elsewhere Stirling Castle, Loch Lomond and other such areas reminded the Rev. Gilpin and artists such as Jacob More, John Clerk, Richard Cooper and Alexander Runciman of the works of Poussin.

After 1800 with the onset of ideas of historical association, picturesque artists such as John Nasmyth waned in popularity and considerable changes in artistic location occurred (Figure 2.4). Scottish subjects gained in overall popularity (Figure 2.2) and now accounted for around 7% of all apparent British landscape works exhibited at the Royal Academy. Both Loch Tay and the Georgian planned new town of Inveraray became vogue while the publication of Walter Scott's The Lady of the Lake (1810) introduced many artists to Highland scenery of the Trossachs around Loch Katrine. The importance of Sir Walter Scott as a major figure of associational attraction in the Tweed Valley is underlined by numerous artistic representations of

Jedburgh, Melrose Abbey, Abbotsford and the Grey Mare's Tail, a waterfall which descended from Loch Skene to Moffat Dale. Despite new romantic tastes considerable interest remained in the Lowlands. Sites such as Culzean Castle (Ayrshire) and the Falls of Clyde became popular while Roslin Glen on the River North Esk retained its popularity, not least because Scott (a resident of nearby Lasswade) had written about it in his Lay of the Last Minstrel.

Scott gave the British artist and public a new way of seeing and evaluating bleak treeless landscapes which for centuries had been the subject of English derision ⁷¹. There is no better testimony to the effect of Scott's writings on contemporary opinion than William Scrope writing in 1843 who recalled:

*My first visit to the Tweed was before the
Minstrel of the Forth had sung those strains
which enchanted the world, and attracted people
of all ranks to this land of romance. The
scenery hitherto at that time, unassisted by
story, lost its chief interest . . . The lore
had not yet spread its witchery over the
scene ⁷².*

Scott practiced his witchery through the techniques of historical association and propagated it through a new literary form, the historical novel ⁷³.

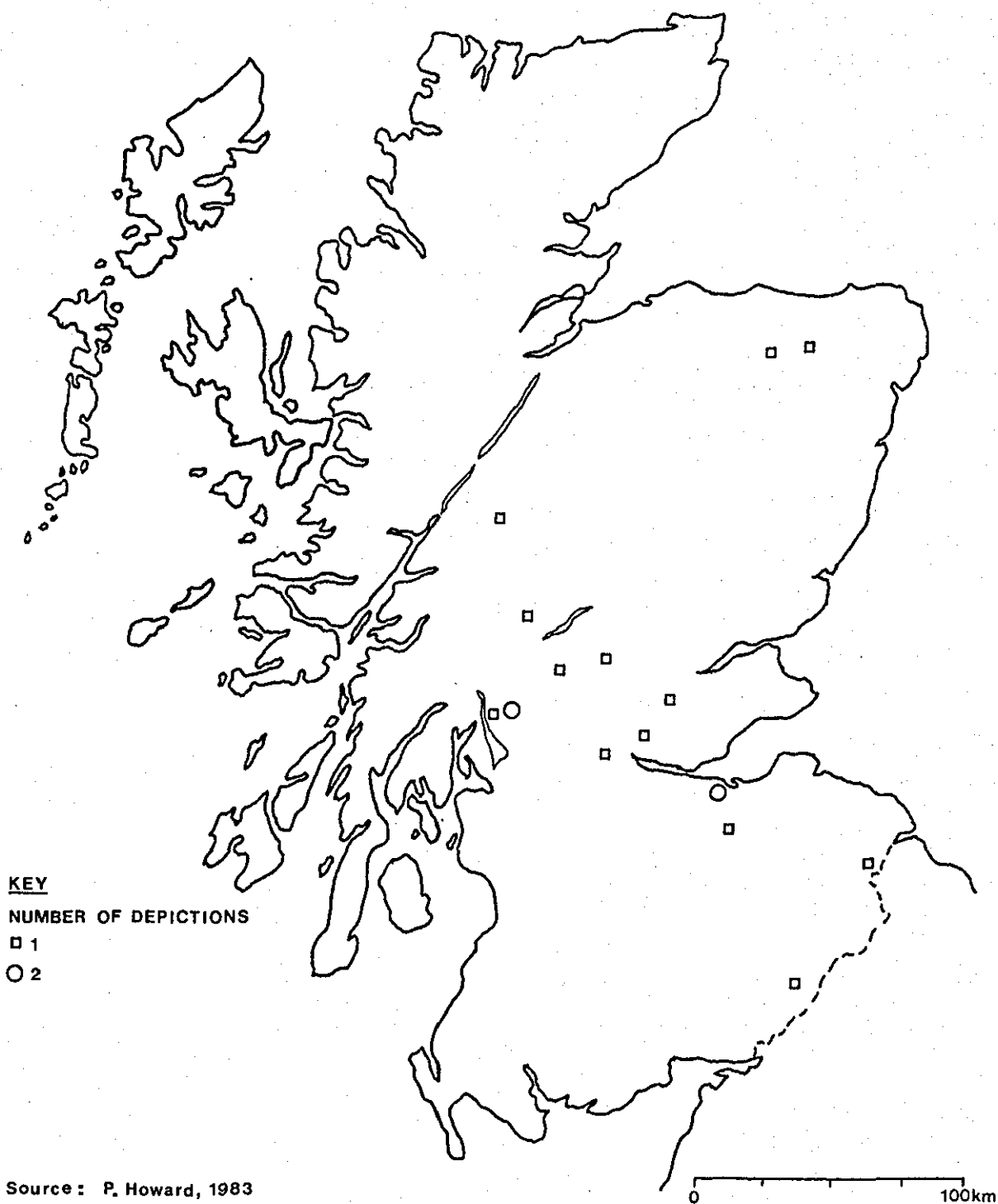
The question as to why late eighteenth century Scotland should have been the *source* of new conceptions of history and political economy together with key romantic themes such as Ossian and the historical novel is problematic. During the 1750's and 1760's Glasgow was booming as a result of the American tobacco trade and Lowland Scotland contained flourishing industrial centres such as the Carron Iron Works at Falkirk. One possible answer may lie in the extremely rapid development of the Lowland economy at this time and the existence of a Highland economic backwater with which contemporaries

could draw speculative comparisons. While other factors such as Scotland's established education system must of course be considered at least one historian believes that this reductionist proposition may contain an element of truth ⁷⁴.

An examination of Figure 2.2 suggests that the period 1825-1849 was one of waning popularity for Scottish landscape representations but that approaches to the Highlands such as Loch Katrine remained in favour together with major Lowland sites such as Edinburgh and Dunbar (Figure 2.5). While the latter part of this conclusion is valid it must be stressed that these figures do not present a complete picture for the period under question for several reasons. Despite the relative decline indicated by Figure 2.2 the period in question was paradoxically one which witnessed a major change in the *nature* of Highland representations and an actual *increase* in the depiction of Highland life, scenery and fauna. From 1827-1860 Sir Edwin Landseer (1802-1873) produced an enormous number of Highland works. Prior to these works representations of Highland life had been largely neglected at the expense of picturesque and romantic landscape views, Landseer's enormous success however ensured that this situation was to be reversed for almost three decades.

The period 1830-40 was the most successful of Landseer's entire career and this success was based largely on representations of Highland life, landscape and fauna ⁷⁵. Landseer was the most popular artist in Victorian Britain and his works and their subsequent engraving were enormously influential in cultivating and propagating a taste for Scottish Highland images. Due to the research design on which Figures 2.2 & 2.5 are based this success however is not fully reflected in these illustrations. To contemporaries what constituted a *landscape* was not as clearly demarcated as it is today. Many of Landseer's most popular domestic genre works were considered by contemporaries to be fine examples of the best in *landscape* art but lacked any indication of place or local in their title ⁷⁶. The figures on which Figure 2.2 & 2.5 are based include only those works with a clearly identifiable landscape or place in their title,

**FIGURE 2.5 THE ARTISTIC DISCOVERY OF SCOTLAND:
1825 - 1849**



Source : P. Howard, 1983

**FIGURE 2.6 THE ARTISTIC DISCOVERY OF SCOTLAND:
1850 - 1874**

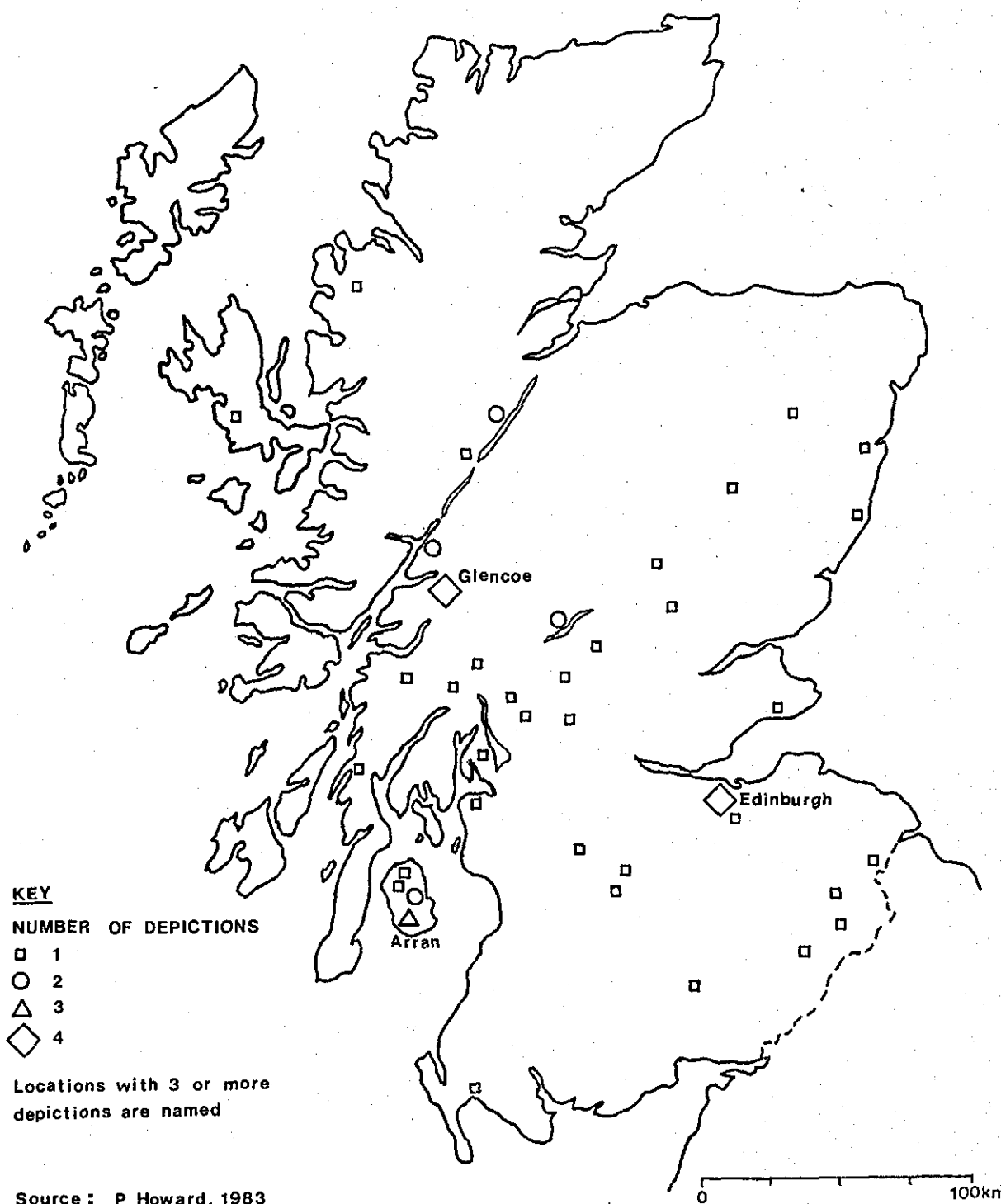
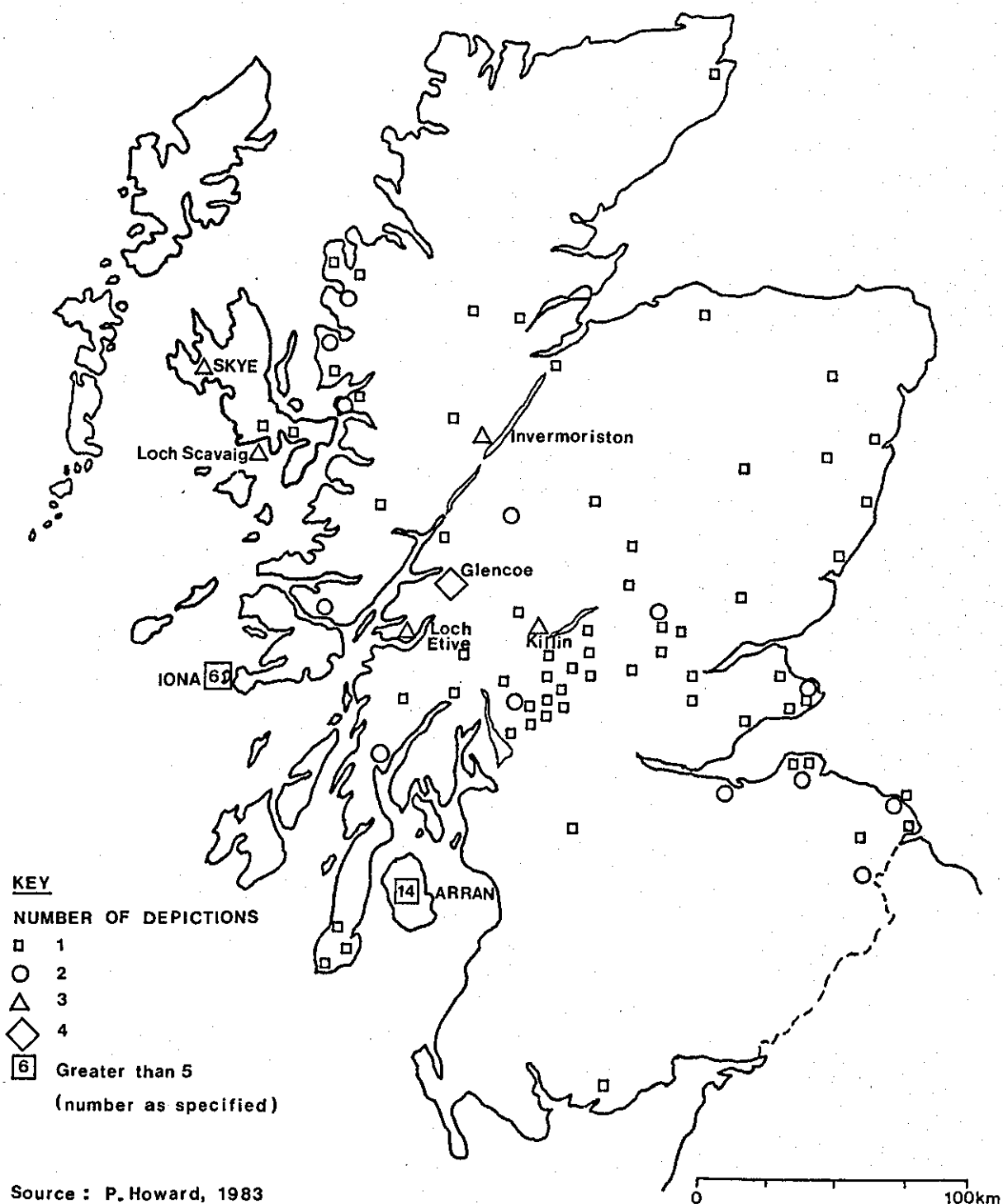


FIGURE 2.7 THE ARTISTIC DISCOVERY OF SCOTLAND:
1875-1900



consequently these illustrations do not include many of Landseer's highly influential Highland works which contemporaries recognised as being part and parcel of contemporary landscape art. Further the above illustrations refer only to those works exhibited at the Royal Academy, several of Landseer's more important works such as "The Stonebreaker" (1830) were exhibited at the British Institution. While failing to enumerate many of Landseer's works and highlight their true importance in the history of Scottish rural imagery P. Howard, (on whose research Figures 2.2 - 2.7 are based) correctly argues that Landseer was highly influential in attracting other artists to the Highlands.

While recognising the enormous importance of Edwin Landseer in popularising a vogue for the Highlands it would be incorrect to attribute this new taste for the region to Landseer alone. From 1850 a number of events occurred which greatly increased the popularity of the region with patrons, artists and public alike. In 1848 Queen Victoria started to visit Balmoral and from the late 1840's several rail and steamship links had begun to open up the region ⁷⁷. Overall since the beginning of the century communications had improved beyond all recognition. Whereas at the start of century there had been no public coaches or horses available by 1843 Lord Cockburn had observed that coach horns could now be heard in Glencoe all summer, "Spirits of Fingal and Rob Roy! What say ye to this ?" ⁷⁸. By 1880 the Highlands had been fully penetrated by the railroads and coaching was a thing of the past ⁷⁹. The effect of these events on the popularity of the Highlands as measured by the exhibition of landscape works at the Royal Academy appears to have been immediate and pronounced and is illustrated in Figures 2.2 & 2.6 ⁸⁰. In the decade to 1850 6.2% of all works exhibited at the Royal Academy depicted Scotland whereas in the period to 1875 the corresponding figure was 15.2%. While "traditional" sites in the Lowlands and along the Tweed were still being visited it was a new found desire for the southern Highlands (as far north as the Great Glen) which was responsible for much of the increase, notably places such as Glencoe (visited by H. McCulloch in 1864), Arran (W. Dyce in 1859), Ben Nevis, Loch Tay and Loch Ness.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century representations of Scotland reached their peak of popularity. This reflected an overall new taste for fell, moorland, heath and marsh throughout Britain ⁸¹. As illustrated in Figure 2.7 Highland interest moved west to the coasts and islands and while Arran remained popular, a new interest emerged in coastal areas and the islands of Iona, Skye and Torridon. Despite these new areas of interest older more established sites such as the Trossachs and Edinburgh remained popular. The last quarter of the century was marked by an abundance of laudatory art literature on Scotland ⁸². Scottish popularity fell dramatically after 1895 and continued to do so right through the first quarter of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, the established geographical pattern outlined above remained with further extension in the north to Lewis, Barra and the north west Highlands.

A revolution in attitude towards the rural imagery of Scotland had occurred within the space of a century. While Horatio McCullough was to be hailed for a brief period as the national painter of Scotland it was Edwin Landseer who was to be remembered by contemporaries as the "prophet and interpreter" of the Highlands ⁸³. The following chapter examines the life of this prophet, his art works, their context in Victorian society and identifies themes for discussion in subsequent chapters.

Notes to Chapter Two

1. Quotation from "To a Louse", in Poems and Songs of Robert Burns, Edited by J.Barke, Collins, London, 1969, p.138.
2. While the period 1750-1870 encompassed changes in modern thought which were instrumental in the conscious reappraisal of the concepts of landscape and nature the exact dates which define this period have been selected for chronological convenience rather than historical significance. After 1850 visual rural imagery of Scotland gradually began to change once again. While the themes examined throughout this thesis retained their popularity they were paralleled by the development in the work of J.E. Millais, W. Dyce and others of a greater attention to detail and finish. Domestic genre scenes were eventually to decline in importance and be replaced by scenes of greater realism. On these developments see, J. Holloway & L. Errington, The Discovery of Scotland: The Appreciation of Scottish Scenery Through Two Centuries of Painting, National Gallery of Scotland Exhibition Catalogue, Edinburgh, 1978, pp.119-166. I have drawn extensively on this excellent work throughout this chapter.
3. See, C.W.J. Withers, "The Scottish Highlands Outlined: Cartographic Evidence for the position of the Highland-Lowland Boundary", Scottish Geographical Magazine, 98, No.3, December 1982, pp.143-157, 143.
4. C.W.J. Withers, 1982, p.156.
5. J.H. Millar, quoted in C.W.J. Withers, The Cultural transformation of Highland Scotland, (Croom Helm, forthcoming). I am indebted to the author for allowing me to read draft chapters from the above volume.

6. E. Richards, A History of the Highland Clearances Volume 2: Emigration, Protest, Reasons, Croom Helm, Beckenham, 1985, p.4.

7. On the imagery of Scotland not addressed in this chapter see; J.H. Patterson, "The novelist and his region: Scotland through the eyes of Sir Walter Scott", Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol. 81, 1965; C.W.J. Withers, "The Image of the Land: Scotland's Geography Through Her Languages and Literature", Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol. 100, No.2, September 1984, pp.81-95. Withers's article examines Scotland's regional novelists and the languages (Scots, Gaelic and English) in which they worked. It seeks essentially to explore the varied images of the land "through the eyes of its former occupants" (p.82). In contrast this thesis seeks to examine the varying visual Highland images of *external* observers and the means through which these came about.

8. J. Holloway & L. Errington, 1978, pp.1-3.

9. See R. Rees, "The Scenery Cult - Changing Landscape Tastes over Three Centuries", Landscape, Volume 19, No.3, 1971, pp.39-44; R. Rees, "The Taste for Mountain Scenery", History Today, Volume 35, No.5, 1975, pp.305-312.

10. E. Richards, A History of the Highland Clearances Volume 1: Agrarian transformation and the Evictions 1746-1886, Croom Helm, Beckenham, 1982, p.41.

11. D. Irwin, Artist and Patron in the North East 1700-1860, Aberdeen Art Gallery Exhibition Catalogue, Aberdeen, 1975, p.3; J. Holloway & L. Errington, 1978, pp.1, 9.

12. For an illuminating study of similar changing attitudes to Welsh mountain landscapes see, J. Zaring, "The Romantic Face of Wales", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Volume 67, No.3, 1977, pp.397-418.

13. "As early as 1847 the Art Union observed that McCullough's subjects were 'purely national'", J. Holloway & L. Errington, 1978, p.109.
14. L. Hawes, Presences of Nature: British Landscape Painting, 1780-1830, Yale University Press, 1982, pp.1-16, 1.
15. M.J. Nicholson, Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: The development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite, Norton & Co., New York, 1963; C. Russell, Science and Social Change, 1700-1900, Macmillan, London, 1983, pp.33-48.
16. P. Shepard has commented on the word "scenery" which first appears around 1784 and argues that its occurrence represents a more detached scientific viewpoint and a profound shift in attitude towards nature. P. Shepard, Man in the Landscape: A Historic View of the Esthetics of Nature, New York, 1967, pp.119-56.
17. On P. Sandby see, P. Oppe, "The Memoir of Paul Sandby by his Son", Burlington Magazine, LXXXVIII, pp.143-7; Paul Sandby 1725-1809, Guildhall Art Gallery, London, 1960; J. Holloway & L. Errington, 1978, Chapter Four, pp.33-46; L. Herrmann, Paul and Thomas Sandby, Batsford, London, 1986.

On the survey see Yolande O'Donoghue, William Roy 1726-1790 Pioneer of the Ordnance Survey, British Library, 1977. For an assessment of the resulting map see, G. Whittington & A.J.S Gibson, The Military Survey of Scotland: A Critique, Historical Geography Research Group, Research paper No.18, July 1986.
18. J. Holloway & L. Errington, 1978, p.42.
19. J. Berger, Ways of Seeing, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1972.

20. C. Hussey, The Picturesque: a study in a point of view, London, 1924.
21. Edmund Burke, Philosophical Enquiry into our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful, 1756. C. Thacker comments, "It is Burke who sorts out the meaning of the 'sublime' for succeeding romantics, and it says much for the firmness of his definition that the meaning has not changed much since". C. Thacker, The Wildness Pleases: the origins of Romanticism, Beckenham, Croom Helm, 1983, p.77.
22. In particular the stretch of the River North Esk in Midlothian between Roslin Castle and Hawthornden became a virtual haven for devotees of the cult. Visitors included cultural leaders such as Robert Burns, Walter Scott, William Wordsworth and Queen Victoria.
23. Rev. William Gilpin, Observations on several parts of Great Britain, particularly the Highlands of Scotland relative chiefly to picturesque beauty made in the year 1776. First Edition, 1789, Vol II, p.50.
24. J. Holloway & L. Errington, 1978, p.79.
25. While Romanticism is a key term in this chapter its definition is problematic in the extreme. Cultural historians differ radically as to how, or indeed *whether*, the term can be satisfactorily defined. As one commentator has remarked "Our period covers 1775 - 1830, but the cultural and intellectual changes covered by Romanticism hardly reveal their full meaning in less than a century". G. Martin in Romanticism, O. Edwards, G. Martin & A. Scharf (eds), Open University Press, Bletchley, 1972, p.5.

Dates of the period vary according to both the writer, the art and the country in question as Romanticism affected different

national cultures in different ways. G. Martin suggests that this diversity makes it necessary to concentrate on particular intellectual and artistic trends. It is this approach which is adopted in this study of Scottish Highland imagery.

While there is a plethora of works on the subject of Romanticism for general introductions see, R. Williams, Keywords, Glasgow, 1976, pp.230-232; O. Edwards, G. Martin & A. Scharf op. cit, particularly pp.9-21 & 47-63; Arts Council of Great Britain, The Romantic Movement, Tate Gallery Exhibition Catalogue, London, 1959; Philadelphia Museum of Art, Romantic Art in Britain, Paintings and drawings 1760-1860, Philadelphia, 1968; W. Vaughan, Romantic Art, Thames & Hudson, London, 1978; H. Honour, Romanticism, Harmondsworth, 1981; R.W. Harris, Romanticism and the Social Order 1780-1830, Blandford Press, 1969;

26. W. Gilpin, Observations, 1789, p.73.
27. J. Holloway & L. Errington, 1978, p.51.
28. In 1773 Lord Breadalbane commented:

"We have had a great deal of company here this summer, sixteen often at the table for several days together; many of them from England, some of whom I knew before, and others recommended to me, being on a tour thro' the Highlands which is becoming Le bon ton, but sometimes a little troublesome. Being always in a crowd is not agreeable". Letter from Lord Breadalbane to his daughter, cited in J. Holloway & L. Errington, 1978, p.63.

For an interesting discussion of the tourist see, T. C. Smout, "Tours in the Scottish Highlands from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries", Northern Scotland, 5, (2), 1983, pp.99-122.

29. While interest in the noble savage had its origins in the distant past it was given intellectual legitimation by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in his opportunist Discourse on the Origins and Foundations of Inequality among Men, (1755). To Rousseau modern man was degenerate in all aspects; the most virtuous individual was primitive man. Rousseau's text had enormous influence throughout the century and his arguments were reflected in the writings of Diderot (Supplement au voyage de Bouganville, 1771-73) and other French thinkers. His essay also fostered great popular interest in the "state of nature".

On the intellectual context and influence of Rousseau's works see Maurice Cranston's introduction to Jean-Jacques Rousseau, A Discourse on Inequality, Harmondsworth, 1984, pp.23-53. Amongst the popular themes related to the noble savage was that of the "wild boy". For a detailed exposition of one notable case see H. Lane, The Wild Boy of Aveyron, London, Paladin, 1979. See also, D.G. Charlton, New Images of the Natural in France, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984.

30. On the relations between the noble savage, the taste for the exotic, Pacific discovery and the importance of Scotland see C. Thacker, 1983, pp.153-180 in particular pp.175-180. See also, B. Smith, European Vision and the South Pacific 1768-1850: a study in the history of art and ideas, Oxford, 1962.
31. On Turner in Scotland see, Aberdeen Art Gallery & Museum, Turner in Scotland, Exhibition Catalogue, 1982.
32. D. Wordsworth, Recollections of a Tour made in Scotland AD 1803, J.C. Shairp (ed), 1874, pp.37-38.
33. On the Scottish Enlightenment see, G. Bryson, Man and Society: the Scottish Inquiry of the Eighteenth Century, Princeton, 1945; A. Chitnis, The Scottish Enlightenment: a Social History, London, 1976; J. Rendall, The Origins of the Scottish Enlightenment

1707-1776, London, 1979; R.H. Campbell & A.S. Skinner (eds) The Origins and Nature of the Scottish Enlightenment, Edinburgh, 1982; C. Camic, Experience and Enlightenment, Edinburgh, 1983; I. Hont & M. Ignatieff (eds), Wealth and Virtue: the Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment, Cambridge, 1983; D.D. McElroy, Scotland's Age of Improvement: A Survey of Eighteenth Century Literary Clubs and Societies, Pullman, Washington, 1969; I.S. Ross, Lord Kames and the Scotland of his day, Oxford, 1972; R. Porter & M. Teich (eds), The Enlightenment in National Context, Cambridge, 1981.

34. R.L. Meek, "The Scottish Contribution to Marxist Sociology" in Economics, Ideology and Other Essays, London, Chapman & Hall, 1967, pp.34-50.
35. D. Daiches, P. Jones & J. Jones, A Hotbed of Genius: the Scottish Enlightenment 1730-1790, Edinburgh, 1986, p.2.
36. See 29. above.
37. The term "conjectural history" derives from Dungald Stewart's "Account of the Life and Writings of Adam Smith" in his edition of Smith's Works, Vol V, 1812, p.450.
38. Adam Smith knew comparatively little about the Highlands and E. Richards has suggested that he probably gained much of his knowledge from the published accounts of Thomas Pennant's Tours of 1769 and 1772. Richards, 1985, p.32. See also, T. Yanaihara, A Full and Detailed Catalogue of Books which Belonged to Adam Smith's Library, Tokyo, 1951, pp.47-48.
39. The Economistes or the Physiocrats were a small group of prominent French thinkers and writers (Quesnay, Mirabeau, Turgot etc.) who were agitating public opinion on economic issues. The Physiocrats followed Rousseau in proclaiming a belief in the natural order of liberty. Their postulates of "Produit net"

(net produce) and "impot unique" (single tax) derived from their endeavour to rehabilitate agriculture and to bring the dissolute classes back to a sense of primitive simplicity. Quesnay formulated a law of industrial society which reflected supposed eternal and immutable truths which man could not or should not tamper with. Quesnay argued that if the "natural" laws of liberty and equality were given free play (*laissez faire*) then prosperity would soon emerge in national life. While Smith was influenced by the Physiocrats many of these ideas were in common circulation in intellectual circles at this time and had their origins in both recent English and French thought.

40. See P. Bowles, "The Origin of Property and the Development of Scottish Historical Science" in Journal of the History of Ideas, Vol XLVI, 1985, pp.197-209.
41. Samuel Johnson observed in 1775 "There was perhaps never any change of national manners so quick, so great, and so general, as that which has operated in the Highlands, by the last conquest, and the subsequent laws". Quotation from "A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland", reprinted in R.W. Chapman (ed), Johnson's Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland and Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D, Oxford, 1979 Edition, p.51. On government and capitalist intervention in Highland society see A.J. Youngson, After the Forty Five, John Donald, Edinburgh, 1973.
42. Many educated Scots sought to purge themselves of the language of their fathers which was not Gaelic but Braid Scots. Professor James Beattie of Aberdeen University found a ready market for his Scotticisms, arranged in Alphabetical Order, designed to correct Improperities of Speech and Writing, 1787.
43. Quotation from J. Millar's, An Historical View of English Government, cited in R.L. Meek, 1967, p.40.

44. Of the Origin and Progress of Language was published as an appendix to the third edition of Adam Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments, 1767.
45. Lord Monboddo quoted in K. Olwig, "The Morphology of a Symbolic Landscape: A Geosophical Case Study of the Transformation of Denmark's Jutland Heath circa 1750-1950", University of Minnesota, Unpublished Ph.D thesis, 1977, p.177.
46. Quotation from Hugh Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, cited in K. Olwig, 1977, pp.177-178.
47. On Ossian see, E.D. Synder, The Celtic Revival in English Literature 1760-1800, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1923; D.S. Thomson, The Gaelic Sources of Macpherson's Ossian, Aberdeen University Studies No.130, Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd, 1951. M. Chapman, The Gaelic Vision in Scottish Culture, London, 1978, pp.29-52; C. Thacker, 1983, pp.103-110; H. Okum, "Ossian in Painting", Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institute, Vol 30, 1967, pp.327-356.
48. K. Olwig, Nature's Ideological Landscape: A Literary and Geographic Perspective on its Development and Preservation on Denmark's Jutland Heath, London, 1984, pp.23-29.
49. Hugh Blair quoted in K. Olwig, 1984, p.28.
50. Hugh Blair quoted in K. Olwig, 1977, p.181.
51. K. Olwig, 1977, p.181.
52. Daniel Defoe, Robinson Crusoe, 1719. For Marx's observations on this novel see Capital, Vol I, Moscow, 1961, pp.76-77.
53. K. Olwig, 1984, p.36.

54. W. Scott, quotation from The Highland Clans (orig. 1816) cited in K. Olwig, 1984, p.29.
55. Karl Marx, Grundrisse quoted in K. Olwig, 1977, p.176.
56. On Ossian in Scottish painting see, D. Macmillan, Painting in Scotland: The Golden Age, Phaidon, Oxford, 1986, pp.43-62.
57. E. Richards, 1985, p.14.
58. E. Richards, 1985, p.62. There were highly articulate condemnations of the social changes sweeping the Highlands but these critiques came largely from radical outsiders such as William Cobbett and French economist Sismondi (1773-1842). As a consequence they were limited in both circulation and audience. For examples see W. Cobbett's speech in Parliament (Hansard, Vol 16, 1st March, 1833) or his Rural Rides.
59. D.E. Cosgrove, Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape, Beckenham, Croom Helm, 1984, p.230.
60. D.E. Cosgrove, 1984, p.231.
61. See the essays in R. Hilton (ed.), Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism, London, Verso, 1978.
62. D.E. Cosgrove, 1984, pp.230-33; the comments of Scott and Marx cited above are particularly relevant here.
63. M. Rosenthal, British Landscape Painting, London, Phaidon, 1982, pp.96-118, 112. The title of this section is taken from Chapter 4 of Rosenthal's work.
64. M. Rosenthal, 1982, p.96. Whether a rise of 2.73% is significant is debatable.

65. M. Rosenthal, 1982, p.108.
66. The phrase "discovery of Scotland" is borrowed here from J. Holloway & L. Errington's, 1978 study.
67. This figure is taken from P. Howard, "Painters preferred places", Journal of Historical Geography, Vol. 11, No. 2, 1985b, pp.138-154, 140.
68. A date also highlighted by J. Holloway & L. Errington, 1978.
69. On Scottish art and artists see, J.L. Caw, Scottish Painting Past and Present 1620-1908, London, 1908; W. Hardie, Scottish Painting 1837-1939, London, 1976; D & F. Irwin, Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad 1700-1900, London, 1975; Master Class: Robert Scott Lauder and his pupils, National Gallery of Scotland Exhibition Catalogue, Edinburgh, 1983; D. Macmillan, 1986, op. cit.
70. P.J. Howard, "Changing taste in landscape art", Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Exeter, 1983. Figures 2.3 - 2.7 are redrawn from manuscript proofs of the above thesis.
71. The harshest of these critics was of course Samuel Johnson. See A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland, 1775. While Johnson mellowed towards the Highland landscape he did not warm to Ossian!
72. William Scrope, Days and Nights of Salmon Fishing in the Tweed, 1843, quoted in J. Holloway & L. Errington, 1978, pp.89-91; On scenic description in the writings of Scott see; M.L. Lafferty, "The Landscape Art of Sir Walter Scott: Scenic Description in selected Waverley Novels", Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1970.
73. G. Lukacs, The Historical Novel, (Originally published 1937), Harmondsworth, 1981, pp.29-69; G.M. Young, "Scott and

- Historians", Sir Walter Scott Lectures, 1940-48, University of Edinburgh Press, Edinburgh, 1949; D. Daiches, "Sir Walter Scott and History", Etudes Anglaises, Vol 24, 1971, pp.458-77.
74. R.L. Meek, 1967, pp.47-48.
75. Dictionary of National Biography, Vol XXXII, 1885, p.67.
76. See for example contemporary opinion as regards "The Drovers Departure", (1835) in The Times, February 1, 1842, p.5f. This work is discussed further in Chapter Four.
77. By 1850 it was possible for the urban populace of Glasgow to escape for a day trip by rail from Bowling to Balloch via steamer to Loch Lomond.
78. Lord Cockburn quoted in J. Holloway & L. Errington, 1978, p.104.
79. On the development of the Highland railways see, H. A. Vallance, The Highland Railway. The History of the Railways of the Scottish Highlands, Volume 2, David St. John Thomas, London, (originally published 1938), 1985 Edition.
80. P.J. Howard, 1983, 1985.
81. P.J. Howard, 1985, p.146.
82. P.J. Howard, 1983.
83. Of Horatio McCulloch contemporaries noted "He is as strictly a national painter as our Constable _ _ _ And in colour and handling he surpasses Constable", L'Inconnu, Landscape and Historical Art in the Royal Scottish Academy of 1862; Landseer however had been the "prophet and interpreter", The Times, October 2, 1873, p.10.

CHAPTER THREE

PROPHET OF THE HIGHLANDS: SIR EDWIN LANDSEER, 1802-1873

Sir Edwin Landseer (Plate 4) was the most popular artist in Victorian Britain yet by 1902 he had "become as vague and shadowy as the ghost of Hamlet's father" ¹. Today, in stark contrast to the nineteenth century, there is a dearth of literature on Landseer and his major works are dismissed as the peripheral relicts of a bygone age ². Unlike other prominent Victorian artists such as J.E. Millais, Holman Hunt and W.M. Rossetti, Edwin Landseer and his works died with the Victorian age. While the technical faults of Landseer's work, in particular his use of colour, detracted from his posthumous reputation, critics have failed to notice that "the public cared for none of these things" ³. The immense popularity of Landseer's works lay not in their aesthetic or technical merit, but in the subject matter and issues they addressed. It is these issues and their relationship to the landscape idea and conception of nature in early and mid Victorian Britain which form the subject matter of this thesis.

Perhaps above all else the Victorian age was an age of doubt where individuals sought reassurance or something they could cling to ⁴. For many Victorians this need was answered through the multitude of articles to be found in the century's 25,000 journals ⁵. While these new journals gave advice on an endless variety of social problems and skills Victorian art offered to the educated public complementary images which both eased and informed the reader's troubled mind ⁶. Writing in 1855 of the periodical press Walter Bagehot commented:

It is indeed a peculiarity of our times, that we must instruct so many persons. On politics, on religion, on all less important topics still more, every one thinks himself confident to

*think, - to the best of our means must be taught
to think, - rightly - - - We must speak to the
many so that they will listen - that they will
like to listen - that they will understand ?*

While the power of the periodical press in the formation and reflection of contemporary opinion has long been recognised the ideological nature of Victorian art has been comparatively neglected ⁹. This neglect is surprising for, as will be discussed in Chapter Four, the ideological nature and function of Victorian art was readily apparent to contemporaries.

Although seldom clearly articulated the role Bagehot proclaimed for the press was one which many contemporary art critics believed to be the proper function of art ⁹. In some instances Victorian artists consciously sought to illustrate and instill "acceptable" values and beliefs, in others they did not. It is not the intention of this discussion to reduce the art works of Edwin Landseer to mere ideological constructions. Such an approach would be irresponsible and historically inaccurate. To deny the possibility however of a deeper *iconological* understanding of these works would be not only an arrogant dismissal of Victorian sensibilities, but a failure to engage with the past. Contemporaries recognised that:

*Under the influence of Landseer's work, painted
or engraved, those who were quite incapable of a
critical judgement on his pictures, and who
technically recognised in them only the Master's
great characteristics of facility and breadth
united in characterisation, were conscious of
feeling better and happier ¹⁰.*

Clearly Landseer's animal and Highland images meant something more to contemporaries than mere "cultural wallpaper" ¹¹. This thesis examines the context within which Landseer's Highland images were painted. It attempts to locate the qualities that made people feel

"better and happier" and seeks to account for the very acceptability and popularity of these images. It examines how Landseer's "singularly pure and inoffensive" art articulated and reinforced values which were acceptable to refined early and mid Victorian society ¹². Above all else however this thesis seeks an understanding of the *iconology* of the Highland image and its relationship and interaction with nature and the landscape idea in early and mid Victorian Britain.

Writing after Landseer's death W.C. Monkhouse commented that "he was not only affected by his personal moods, but by the tastes and habits of those around him, by what is called the 'spirit of the age' and the events of the day" ¹³. Landseer:

was swayed by the tastes of society and by the events of the hour, and although he impressed all his pictures with his own natural genius, he may be said to have been rather guided than a guide ¹⁴.

It is this characteristic of Landseer's work together with his immense popularity that makes his works an ideal subject for enquiry into the *iconology of landscape*, and in particular, the iconology of the Scottish Highland image.

The remainder of this chapter provides a short but necessary biographical sketch of Edwin Landseer, his art works and introduces selected themes for discussion in subsequent chapters.

Beginnings

Edwin Landseer (1802-1873) was one of fourteen children, only seven of which survived to adulthood. Landseer's mother remains something of an enigma for neither her christian name nor date of birth have survived. Edwin was in all probability educated at home by his father, John Landseer (1769-1852), antiquarian and engraver ¹⁵.

The background to Landseer's childhood was that of a confident Regency England, an England of aristocracy, blood sports and "Farmer George" ¹⁶. By 1800 75% of all cultivated land was owned by a few thousand landowners while free holders worked somewhere between 15-20% of the remainder. With the exception of the Celtic fringe areas such as the Scottish Highlands, the small subsistence owner occupier was conspicuous by his absence ¹⁷. Throughout the Napoleonic Wars (1793-1815) Britain's agricultural economy boomed as prices soared. In keeping with the economic bounties to be reaped from the land, in the realm of art and popular consciousness landscape became a major pictorial theme ¹⁸. While undergoing the beginnings of industrial revolution, British society however still owed more to an established eighteenth century order than to nineteenth century change. It was against such a background that the young child artist developed.

Whether young Landseer really showed exceptional talent is debatable for "such infant protegies were grist to the mill of sentimental Victorian biographers" ¹⁹. Contemporary accounts dwelt on Landseer's "youthful genius" and compared his works with those of Lucas Van Leyden. By the age of eleven however he had won the Silver Palette of the Society of Arts for two horse drawings while later, in 1815 he was awarded a silver medal for drawings of a hunter. Landseer was an early contributor to the Royal Academy and 1815 saw the first public exhibition of his works at this institution. Landseer and his brothers, Charles and Thomas, were placed under the care of B.R. Haydon who had resolved to communicate his system of art instruction to young men and "establish a better and more regular system of instruction than even the Academy afforded" ²⁰. Haydon idolised Michaelangelo, Raphael and Fra Angelico and believed that individuals had to learn from dissection and the antique. As a consequence Landseer copied Raphael's cartoons, studied the Elgin Marbles and dissected lions. In addition to instructing Landseer in the highest form of art (then considered to be history painting) Haydon introduced the young and impressionable artist to romantic literatures such as John Keats. Despite these influences however it could be fairly stated on his

death that "Few artists of anything like his eminence, probably, ever knew or cared less about earlier art or literature" ²¹.

In 1816 Landseer entered the Royal Academy school leaving behind an embittered and jealous Haydon. At the Academy Landseer came under the instruction of H. Fuseli and was influenced by James Ward. In addition the young artist attended classes in anatomy run by Sir Charles Bell, one of the most prominent anatomists and surgeons of the day. A good friend of the American artist, C.R. Leslie (1794-1859), Landseer remained in the Academy school for approximately three years. By the end of this time he was a regular contributor to the annual exhibitions of the Royal Academy and the Society of Painters in Oil and Watercolours. Landseer had come of age and his works were soon to be taken up by leading art collectors.

In 1818 Landseer exhibited "Fighting Dogs Getting Wind" at the Society of Painters in Oil and Water Colours. "The picture was purchased by Sir George Beaumont, and this fact was accepted as giving a stamp of the higher order of distinction to the artist, who immediately rose in fame, and became 'the fashion'" ²². The further success of "Alpine Mastiffs Reanimating a Distressed Traveller" in 1820 ensured that Landseer's works were now in vogue. Characteristically, the works that attracted most attention were those of animal violence which matched related themes across the Channel by E. Delacroix and T. Gericault ²³. While it has been suggested that "this wildness and cruelty" was "part and parcel of the Romanticism of the day" it seems likely that these early works reflected not so much a conscious cruelty, but a careless brutality ²⁴. Landseer's animal works reflected and in part structured the development of a new morality and sensibility with regard to the natural world. The development of this sensibility and its reflection in the art of Landseer is traced in Chapter Six. Following on from these early animal works Landseer's art met with continual popular acclaim. By 1821, from the sale of his paintings alone, the artist had already earned in excess of £1,000 ²⁵.

Prophet of the Highlands

While Landseer's original fame had derived solely from his animal representations in 1824 his work took on an entirely new character.

It was in this year that Landseer paid his first visit to the Highlands, - a district of which it may be said with truth that for more than 30 years he was the prophet and interpreter, and from which he drew more subjects than from any other, illustrating its men, its animals and its landscapes, with almost unvaried success ²⁶,

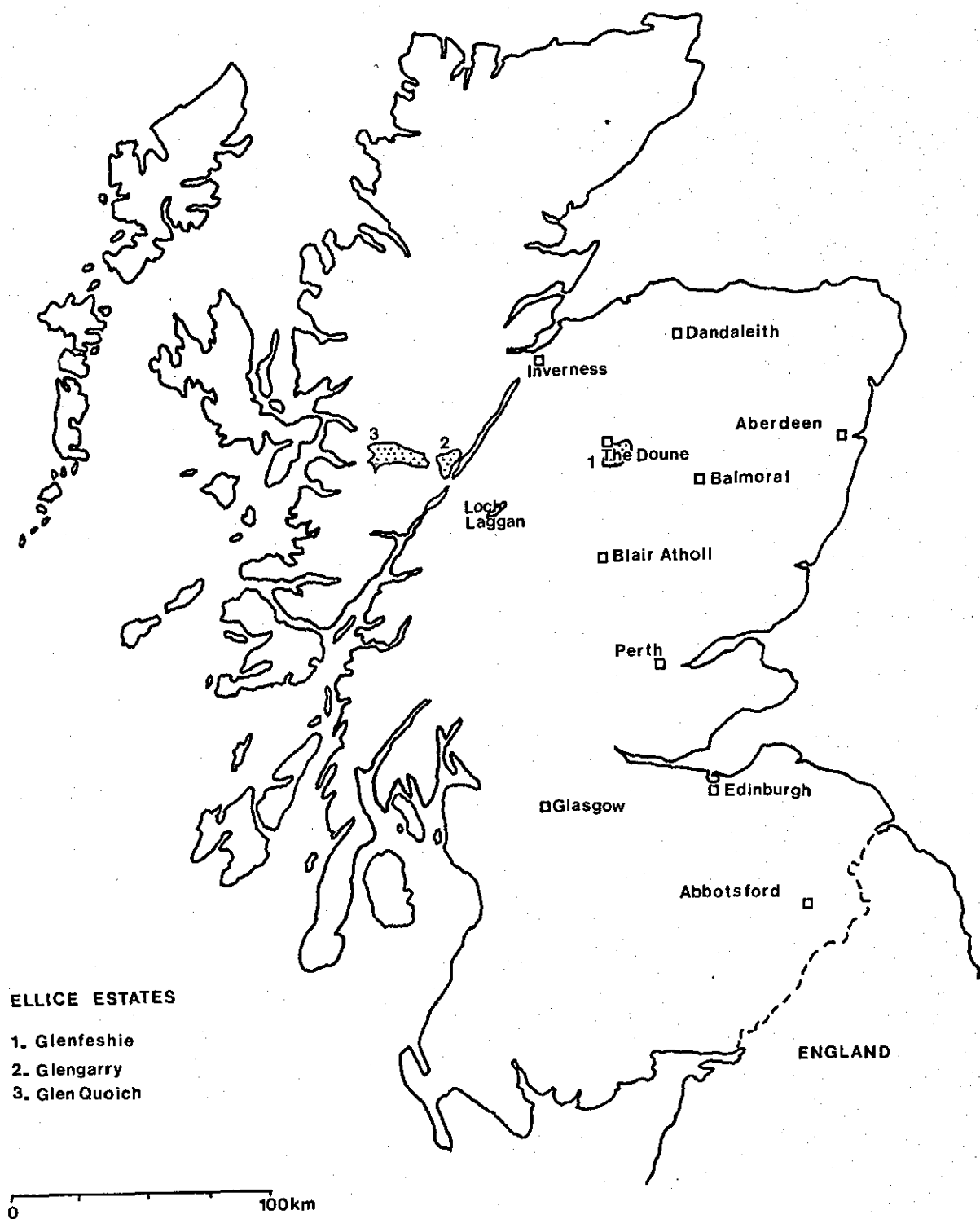
After spending a week in Edinburgh with C.R. Leslie Landseer accompanied him to Abbotsford, the Border home of Sir Walter Scott (Plate 3) where he stayed for ten days. Scott had noticed Landseer's "The Cat's Paw" (1824) (Plate 51) during its exhibition at the British Institution and was keen to meet him. Scott later selected Landseer as one of several illustrators for the 1830 omnibus edition of his "Waverley" novels.

According to many contemporary accounts Scott's influence was a lasting one. Writing after Landseer's death in 1878 Monkhouse commented:

What personal influence the great novelist and poet had upon Sir Edwin we do not know, except from his art which certainly partook something of his spirit from this time ²⁷,

While Scott's romantic vision of Scotland undoubtedly inspired Landseer it is historically inaccurate to over emphasise his influence as some recent writers have done ²⁸. Any understanding of Landseer's Highland images must recognise his own personal experience of Highland life for, as he himself stated, he became "crazy with the beauty of the Highlands" and returned there every autumn ²⁹. The artist paid

FIGURE 3.1 LANDSEER'S SCOTLAND



frequent visits to "The Doune", a hunting lodge near Aviemore leased annually by the 6th Duke of Bedford, and was also a regular guest at the Ellice estates of Glenfeshie and Glengarry (Figure 3.1). Landseer was also a frequent guest of Queen Victoria at Balmoral and his initial Border and Highland journeys secured him the friendship of numerous influential patrons such as the Earl of Tankerville and the Duke of Atholl. Landseer's highly personal experience of the Scottish Highlands and its effect on his Highland image is discussed in Chapter Four.

In 1826 Landseer was elected Associate of the Royal Academy at the youngest possible age of twenty four years. His first Scottish subject however was not representative of the majority of his later Highland images. "The Hunting of Chevy Chase" (1826) (Plate 5) recreated one moment of violent Border history between Scotland and England. The "Ballad of Chevy Chase" was one of the best known of the Border ballads to be published by Thomas Percy in his Reliques of Ancient English Poetry (1765). The ballad recorded a battle between arch enemies, the Scottish Earl Douglas and the English Earl of Northumberland. According to the poem Percy, Earl of Northumberland issued a challenge that he intended to hunt across land claimed by Douglas. Both camps clashed and in the subsequent battle both leaders and most of their men were killed. The scene is not historically specific, rather it is symbolic of the constant state of armed conflict between the two camps which existed at this time. While the monumental composition of the work derived from seventeenth century Flemish art, the subject matter was clearly related to the ethos of the romantic movement and the writings of W. Scott ³⁰. Landseer's decision to paint a historical picture on this scale no doubt reflected the wishes of his patron, the 6th Duke of Bedford. Contemporaries greeted the picture with enthusiasm however the verdict of later critics was more ambivalent ³¹. In one sense these later critics were correct in their appraisal for this work was not representative of Landseer's later Scottish images.

Landseer was one of the first artists to give visual expression to the romantic view of Scotland and the Highlands ³². As discussed in Chapter Two, while it was becoming fashionable for British aristocracy to take sporting lodges in the Highlands the growing popularity of the region derived ultimately from an appreciation of its wild and sublime scenery. This appreciation was, as noted above, related as much to economic as aesthetic theory. The period 1830-40 was the most successful and creative of Landseer's career. This success derived from image after image of Highland life, its people and fauna. In February 1831 Landseer was elected a full Academician and became the most published artist in Britain. Following a letter of introduction to William Wells of Redleaf Park (Kent) from Sir Walter Scott Landseer painted "Highland Interior" (1831) (Plate 6), one of seven such works on this subject. As Landseer painted profound changes were taking place in both Scottish and British society.

In the Scottish glens the paternalistic clan system had long since disintegrated in favour of the cash contract system characteristic of capitalist relations ³³. Since the late 1780's, the practical implementation of Enlightenment thought (discussed in the previous chapter) had begun the gradual process of the tenant displacement, migration and mass emigration. While the effects of this social and economic transformation varied greatly from region to region they were recognised and commented on by contemporaries. Writing as early as 1774 Samuel Johnson had observed:

*We came thither too late to see what we
expected, a people of peculiar appearance, and a
system of antiquated life. The clans retain
little now of their character, their ferocity of
temper is softened, their military ardour is
extinguished, their dignity of independence is
depressed, their contempt of government is
subdued, and the reverence for their chiefs
abated ³⁴.*

True, in the 1830's there were still clans, chieftains, picturesquely dressed ghillies, crofters and the appearance of age old "traditions", but as the educated person readily recognised, these were merely appearances ³⁵. Reared on the novels of Sir Walter Scott (Plate 3) travellers came north looking for the romantic Scottish life they had read about. Few individuals reflected deeply on the reality they encountered. While it was of course still possible to plead ignorance about contemporary conditions, the romantic movement through its emphasis on wild landscape, simple people and its generic link with economic thought actively discouraged such a reflective process.

Domestic scenes of Highland life, as opposed to those of landscapes are relatively rare before Landseer's time ³⁶. Landseer's main precursor was David Wilkie (1785-1841) whose "homely" interiors anticipate those of Edwin Landseer. Why such images should become so popular from the 1830's onwards is problematic. The very period when Landseer's images of rural life became fashionable (1830-1840) was one in which early industrial Britain experienced a social crisis of unparalleled proportions. A wave of social discontent swept across Britain from the end of the Napoleonic Wars to the middle years of the 1840's. "At no other period in modern British history have the common people been so persistently, profoundly, and often desperately dissatisfied" ³⁷. The reasons why Landseer's images of Highland life and fauna should become so popular at this time and their relationships with both the landscape idea and changing conceptions of nature are examined in Chapters Four, Six and Eight.

Landseer and the art market

An examination of the Victorian periodical press quickly reveals that a work of art was not considered primarily as a hallowed object but rather as a source of entertainment and a commodity to be bought and sold ³⁸. Indeed according to the Saturday Review even the exhibition system was tainted by mercantilism:

*Painting is seen here for the most part under
its worst aspects - not as a fine art, ennobling
the artist while it instructs and refines and
delights the spectator but as a mere manufacture
and a dull routine of trade* ³⁹.

In voicing this concern critics echoed the thoughts of Thomas Carlyle who observed that "Philosophy, Science, Art, Literature, all depend on machinery". To Carlyle the Royal Academy of Art was but somewhere where "the languishing spirit of Art may be strengthened, as by the more generous diet of a Public Kitchen" ⁴⁰. The commercialisation of art bothered most critics. As early as 1830 Fraser's Magazine complained that "art has too grovelling and mercantile a spirit; it keeps its ledgers, its debtor and credit account, and smacks of the counting house" ⁴¹. Critics were only too conscious that artists frequently changed their subject matter and style to suit the individual requirements of both exhibiting society and patron. For the early and mid Victorian artist finding the right place to display his wares and await a patron was of prime importance and in countless cases this factor determined individual success or failure. The most advantageous position was to be assured a place "on the line" (eye level) at the Royal Academy exhibition held each May. Such assurances however were limited to only 40 Academicians and 20 Associates ⁴². While the Royal Academy system was open to nepotism and other corrupt practices to have one's work exhibited "on the line" was a guarantee of attention, if not commercial success ⁴³. Edwin Landseer was indeed fortunate in having been an Associate of the Royal Academy since 1826 and a full Academician since 1831.

Landseer's finances were relatively modest and as Ormond indicates his account held and Gosling's Bank may not represent all his sources of income ⁴⁴. In comparison with the earnings of the high Victorian painters such as Lord Leighton and Sir John Millais his income for the greater part of his life was no more than that of a successful man in many other professional occupations. The sale of some of Landseer's later works however resulted in prices that were not to be equalled

until the sale of Millais's "Sir Isumbras at the Ford" in 1913. "Dialogue at Waterloo" (1850) was sold for 800 guineas, "Monarch of the Glen" for £3,000 and the magnificent "Swannery Invaded by Eagles" (1869) for £4,000. Landseer's main source of income (and indeed a large measure his fame) derived however not from the sale of paintings but from copyright fees of engravings after his works. Following his death F.G. Stephens commented:

No artist among Englishmen, not even Turner, Stodhart, Wilkie, or Hogarth himself owed so much of his popular honours to engraving as Edwin Landseer, in Mr Thomas Landseer's hands, and by means of those other skilful engravers, the pictures of the great animal painter attained a popularity which would otherwise be impossible of attainment . . . Not only was the popularity of Sir Edwin extended immensely by engravings, but the greater part of his fortune accrued by means of copyrights and the sale of prints ⁴⁵.

As indicated above the sale of copyright for engraving proved to be a lucrative source of income. The publisher Henry Graves paid £3,000 for the engraving rights of Landseer's "Peace" and "War" (1846) alone. Landseer's income peaked in 1865 when he grossed £17,352. So successful was his endeavours in the print market that it was once thought "Sir Edwin's success would swallow up all other art". Further his works were viewed as being "gravely injurious . . . tending to lock up the capital of publishers of prints" ⁴⁶. More than half Landseer's income came from copyright fees on engravings and no artist made more money from this source than Landseer ⁴⁷. Prior to the advent of photography the major medium for visual mass communication in Victorian Britain was the engraving ⁴⁸. Landseer's command of the engraving market provides a valuable opportunity for an examination of how middle class early and mid Victorians perceived and related to both the landscape idea and nature. For this reason the

engraving history of Landseer's work is discussed at various points throughout this thesis.

Most of Landseer's works were translated into engravings for popular consumption. Indeed, "Few painters have borne translation into black and white so well as Landseer" ⁴⁹. A. Graves lists 434 etchings and engravings made from Landseer's original works by 126 individual engravers ⁵⁰. It was customary for the print publisher to pay the artist half the agreed sum before completion of the picture and the remainder afterwards. The publisher recouped his fees from the sale of prints, the artist's fee however was sometimes paid in instalments. This system of payment ensured the publisher an effective influence over the final form of many paintings. Alterations or simplifications might be suggested to suit the individual requirements and tastes of the engraver or publisher. This was a common occurrence with Landseer's works and his working method became heavily orientated to commercial opportunity: most of Landseer's pictures were painted with an eye to eventual conversion to a black and white etching.

New Patrons: Landseer and the practical arts

Over the period 1840-50 a new source of enormous wealth became increasingly available for the purchase of art works; to many contemporaries during the middle and later part of the century this new market for art works seemed insatiable ⁵¹. The rising middle classes discovered in art an ideal medium for the decoration of their new suburban villas and for the public advertisement of their newly-acquired status. Art critics wrote frequently of this new class of purchasers whose income derived from the commercial and manufacturing worlds. Whereas formerly art had largely been the exclusive province of the aristocracy, the Fortnightly Review could state "it is now the province of the prosperous middle classes" ⁵². Blackwood's Magazine observed that they "had purses that had a pleasure in opening themselves" while The Art Journal commented:

*The principal support of British art proceeds
from wealthy Lancashire . . . works of British
artists are now the luxuries (they have become
almost the necessities) of the rich men of that
county* ⁵³.

Writing in Belgravia R. Folkstone Williams suggested that these new patrons of the arts were motivated by the desire "to display the evidence of great riches by an accumulation of expensive articles of luxury" ⁵⁴.

Whereas aristocratic patrons needed or sought little guidance in their tastes middle class patrons purchasing art (in many cases for the first time) required assistance ⁵⁵. This assistance was most readily accessible in the periodical press. The Athenaeum proclaimed "The Press has a vast power at present in the land it thinks and speaks and criticizes for the multitude" ⁵⁶. A work of art which attracted the attention of several critics generated great enthusiasm amongst those patrons whose source of income derived from the exercise of what contemporaries referred to as the "practical arts". Writing in 1853 Blackwood's Magazine documented the inevitable outcome of this process - that outrageous sums were given for "really unimportant and mediocre works provided they be by certain painters" ⁵⁷. Mediocre art however was not to be decried. As one influential critic, W.M. Thackeray, made clear the "pleasures of mediocrity" were many. It did not inflame the passions and the morality of genre, landscape and narrative paintings was eminently suited to the family parlour and dining room ⁵⁸. As the century progressed critics documented what they viewed as the unfortunate outcome of new middle class tastes and requirements; canvases became smaller and subject matter became limited to landscape and domestic genre scenes. Painting was reduced to mere yards of material bought to decorate the dining rooms and boudoirs of bourgeois homes. The critic of the New Monthly (1854) knew only too well what the bourgeois public wanted - it sought:

*...pleasing views, of no large dimensions, of
its own beautiful country, with its hazy, purple
distances and scudding clouds; a poetical
transcript with which to decorate its rooms* ⁵⁹.

The critic of the Saturday Review (1857) agreed, "pictures are now but a portion of the domestic furniture" and later suggested they be sold not as works of art but as "furniture pieces" and "manufactured goods" ⁶⁰.

From 1840 onwards Landseer's Royal Academy pieces were snapped up by eager new patrons from the aspiring middle classes, manufacturers, inventors and business men ⁶¹. So great was the demand for these works that Fraser's Magazine complained, "No picture of Landseer, or Stanfield, or Copley Fielding ever comes into the general market of art" ⁶². This unfortunate situation led inevitably to impassioned pleas such as that of Joseph Starkey of Huddersfield to Landseer:

*Having five pictures in commission by first
class artists for the next exhibition I was
anxious to have had one from you, in order that
I might consider myself the owner of six gems in
the 1851 exhibition . . . Should any
circumstance occur to prevent any one of your
pictures being taken by the party for whom it
has been painted I should be glad to have the
refusal of it* ⁶³.

For many people the mere possession of a work by Landseer outweighed any consideration of subject matter. Above all new patrons sought through their patronage of the arts to be deemed respectable, refined and domesticated. This said the subject matter of Landseer Highland works was typically domestic and admirably suited to the requirements of the new bourgeoisie ⁶⁴.

In 1861 The Athenaeum listed those individuals whom it regarded as having been the four principal collectors of British art ⁶⁶. These were Robert Vernon, John Sheepshanks, William Wells and Elhanan Bicknell. Many of Landseer's best known works were bought by Robert Vernon (1744-1849) and John Sheepshanks (1787-1863) ⁶⁶. Both were representatives of a new breed of self-made confident capitalists who collected and donated art to show their discerning tastes. Robert Vernon had made his fortune from providing the army with horses during the Napoleonic wars. Over the period 1820-1847, Vernon collected examples of modern British art including eight works by Edwin Landseer ⁶⁷. On his death in 1849 his collection was donated to the nation. While Landseer had every reason to be grateful to Vernon for his patronage he had no doubt as to his benefactors motivation. It was the artist's opinion that:

*People buy pictures _ _ to get themselves a name
as people of taste and refinement _ he said this
most amusingly with clasped hands _ _ Some actor
advised the late Mr Vernon to patronise music
and drama & to buy pictures. He did so, I took
Prince Albert there who stayed two hours,
talking with the old job master, Old Jones used
to kiss his bottom all day & he left him 1200£,
I who had made a swell of him had nothing left _
_ _ His name remains with those pictures but
as it largely represents church dignitaries and
such people lots of Vernons - they get credited
with this bequest & like Chevy Chase poor Vernon
will be made an Arch Bishop of York in time
instead of horse dealer & job master ⁶⁸.*

Although said in a moment of bitter reflection Landseer's comment reveals the true nature of the relationship between many artists and their new patrons from the practical arts.

John Sheepshanks, the son of a wealthy Leeds cloth manufacturer, was a partner in his father's firm of York and Sheepshanks. Like Vernon, J. Sheepshanks donated his collection of 233 oil paintings to the nation on his death. Sheepshanks's collection included sixteen works by Landseer, some of them such as "Highland Breakfast" (1834) (Plate 7), "The Drover's Departure" (1835) (Plate 19) and the "Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner" (1837) (Plate 20) were amongst the most popular of Landseer's works with the Victorian public. As evidenced by his collection of works by Landseer, Sheepshanks's taste for domestic genre pictures was more pronounced than that of Vernon. In his catalogue of the Sheepshanks donation R. Redgrave correctly observed they:

... reflected the life of a people who had long been permitted to dwell safely ... the present collection ... consists of pictures of cabinet proportions illustrative of everyday life and manners amongst us appealing to everyman's observation of nature and to our best feelings and affections without rising to what is known as historic art; as such they are works that all can understand and all more or less appreciate ⁶⁹.

By and large with regard to the new patronage visual arts now had to be edifying. Artists had to present "a clear, accurate and informed statement of what was to them socially valuable or worthy of commeration" ⁷⁰. As Landseer, like other Victorian artists, followed the dictates of the market he was to prove no exception. "Patrons demanded descriptive works telling a moral tale ... this outlook so characteristic of the Victorian mind affected Landseer more than any of his contemporaries" ⁷¹. The nature of Landseer's Highland works and the values they articulate and reinforce are examined further in Chapters Four, Five and Six below.

A royal painter

In addition to the patronage discussed above Landseer was fortunate in finding favour with Queen Victoria. The artist painted a succession of early royal pets and several portraits and taught the young Queen how to etch. In marked contrast to his relationship with the majority of his patrons, Landseer became a trusted friend of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert and both queen and consort visited him occasionally in his studio while riding in nearby Regent's Park. This position in the royal court gave Landseer unparalleled prestige in the eyes of the Victorian public.

Landseer's role as court painter took on a new significance as a consequence of the royal family's infatuation with Scotland. In his Highland subjects they claimed to find a "mirror of their own feelings and ideals about Highland scenery and character" ⁷². Victoria paid her first visit to Scotland in 1842. Six years later she leased Balmoral, a modest estate and depreciating castle, which was later purchased and remodelled. Landseer's first royal Highland commission was that of "Queen Victoria sketching at Loch Laggan" in 1847 (Plate 24), a conversation piece intended as a Christmas present for Prince Albert. At the end of the decade Queen Victoria commissioned two further works from Landseer, "Highland Lassie crossing a Stream" (1850) (Plate 26) and "Highlander with Eagle" (1850) (Plate 25). In addition the Queen also purchased "The Free Kirk" (1850). Landseer paid the first of several visits to Balmoral in 1850 and was knighted later that year. Landseer's initial visit had been occasioned by a recent commission for an ill fated work commonly entitled "Royal Sports on Hill and Loch" (1850-1872) (Plate 27).

Following the death of the Prince Consort Landseer undertook two further works at the Queen's request, "Sunshine" and "Sorrow" (1865-67). "Sunshine" portrayed Prince Albert as a triumphant Highland hunter while "Sorrow" depicted the grief stricken Queen as a lonely widow at Osborne. In describing a small book of "exquisite" Highland sketches by Landseer Victoria recorded in her journal "Now that we have

been in Scotland & the Highlands, we can judge how true are the representations of scenes & scenery there" ⁷³. Chapter Five examines Landseer's royal Highland commissions and suggests that these works helped propagate a Highland myth. This myth altered contemporaries' conception of the Scottish region and landscape and led not only to the privation of history but the privation of geography.

Twilight years

Landseer's professional success was matched by social success and his tastes corresponded to those of the great Whig magnates. These tastes were reflected in the nature of Landseer's earliest patrons such as John Russell, 6th Duke of Bedford ("Hunting of Chevy Chase", 1825-26) and the Duke of Devonshire ("Bolton Abbey", 1834). For many other aristocratic patrons Landseer painted ingratiating child genre portraits such as those for the Duke of Abercorn and the Duke of Sutherland. A regular visitor at Chatsworth, Goodwin and Badmington to contemporaries Landseer was "a dandy and man of the world". The Bohemian and unconventional side to his character is revealed in his correspondence with Lady Blessington's intimate, Count D' Orsay who contemporaries recognised as "the ultra dandy of Paris and London, and as ultra a villain as either city can produce" ⁷⁴. Landseer moved in influential literary circles and counted amongst his friends C. Dickens, W.M. Thackeray and Ainsworth. Both Landseer and his brother Charles were members of "The Portwinners", an artistic group which comprised of Dickens, Thackeray, John Forster, Daniel Maclise and the actor William Macready.

Despite such an active social circle however Landseer's life was not a carefree happy one. He was unreliable with regard to completing commissions and took offense easily. He was vain, insecure, hypersensitive to criticism and quick to detect slights, even where none existed. In 1825 he moved out of his parental home to Number One St. John's Wood Road on the west side of Regent's Park. St. John's Wood was to remain his home until his death, reconstructed in 1830,

1840, 1844, 1850-51 it eventually developed into a substantial villa. However even here the artist was not happy. Despite the fact that his gardens extended around his house on all three sides down to Regent's Canal Landseer became obsessed with a need for privacy. He bought up strips of adjacent land to prevent building, erected walls and planted trees to shut out all his neighbours and generally acted "against any unnecessary additional influence" in the belief that "the more one has the more it takes to keep it in order" ⁷⁵. Perhaps Landseer's eccentric behaviour was fortuitous for his neighbours as his garden housed a changing menagerie.

In January 1840 Landseer's mother died and the following May he suffered what was by all accounts a severe nervous breakdown. The immediate cause of this breakdown remains unclear however it has been suggested that in addition to his mother's death the recently widowed Duchess of Bedford (1839) had refused to marry him ⁷⁶. In August Landseer undertook a continental tour to recuperate under the guidance of his life long confidant and business manager, Jacob Bell (1810-1859), the distinguished research chemist ⁷⁷. Landseer travelled through Belgium, along the Rhine to Cologne, Geneva and home via Paris. Without Bell and his later successor, Thomas Hyde Hills (1851-1891), Landseer would have been lost for he was plagued by bouts of depression, phobias and complexes. In his troubled moments Landseer sought refuge at Redleaf, Kent home of his friend and patron William Wells (1768-1847), ship builder, brewer and art collector.

From 1855 Landseer's health and the quality of his work deteriorated. Under extreme social pressure and with failing eyesight he was accused of lack of power, invention and attention to detail at a time when demand for a Pre-Raphaelite finish was emerging. Landseer fell in love with Louisa Stewart Mackenzie, third daughter of James Stewart Mackenzie. Louisa was a close friend of Ruskin, and Browning had proposed to her. However Landseer was once again not to find happiness for she became engaged to Lord Ashburton. In the 1860's despite treatment by Dr Richard Quain who had treated numerous eminent Victorians, Landseer's physical and mental condition

deteriorated. At various times during the mid and late 1860's his condition became so bad that he had to be confined under the care of Dr. T. Tuke, a leading neurologist.

Lord Frederic Hamilton and artist T.S. Cooper describe Landseer during his final years and imply that he was a hopeless alcoholic and mental wreck ⁷⁸. Landseer at times however showed amazing recuperative powers for he continued to work. A sick lonely man, he inspired loyalty and affection from his lasting friends, the Abercorns, Tankervilles and William Russell. While Landseer became a regular visitor at South Park, Penhurst (Kent), home of Lord Hardinge and at Stoke Park near Slough, home of the financier E.J. Coleman, his most touching friendships were largely with younger artists who he championed such as Frederick Keyl, W.P. Frith and J.E. Millais.

In his final years Landseer's output declined dramatically and during the period 1861-1864 he exhibited no works at all. In 1864 Landseer exhibited "Man Proposes, God Disposes" (Plate 48), a painting inspired by the search for the Franklin expedition. The search and its conclusion, like Landseer's painting, deeply shocked Victorian sensibilities. The reasons for this are discussed in Chapter Six where the relationships between Victorian society and nature are examined through an analysis of Landseer's animal works. Following "Man Proposes, God Disposes" contemporaries could find no continuity in Landseer's work and noted that the tone of his paintings had changed to the pathetic and the tragic. The penultimate chapter of this thesis examines Landseer's later works including his last major Highland work, "Flood in the Highlands" (1845-60) (Plate 55). Chapter Seven concludes that Landseer struggled to realise an essentially Christian, analogical view of the natural world in a period of fundamental social and intellectual transformation.

Between 1860 and his death in 1873 Landseer exhibited 37 works. In these final years the artist's established patrons such as Queen Victoria, Duke of Sutherland and the Earl of Tankerville were joined by new admirers chiefly from the world of high finance such as E.J.

Coleman, Albert Grant and Sir John Pender. In January 1866 the ailing artist declined the Presidency of the Royal Academy. During these twilight years Landseer's largest and most taxing commission was for the four lions which form the base of Nelson's column in Trafalgar Square. Dating from 1857, Landseer's "lionizing" remained uncompleted until January 1867. Doubts were raised as to the anatomical accuracy of Landseer's work and the end product was subjected to severe criticism from both public and press alike. After completing this ill fated commission Landseer travelled again to Scotland and the north of England where, as a guest of the Earl of Tankerville at Chillingham Castle, he painted "Wild Deer" (Plate 50) and "Wild Cattle of Chillingham Park" (1867) (Plate 49). In the same year Landseer produced his magnificent "Swannery Invaded by Eagles".

By 1872 Landseer's mind and behaviour was so erratic that Thomas Hyde Hills and his family had him certified. Landseer's final years were pathetic and "beset by images of his own funeral", so much so that his death on the 1st October 1873 came as "a mericiful release" ⁷⁹. On the 11th October Landseer was publically buried in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral alongside Sir Josha Reynolds and J.M.W. Turner (Plate 8). Despite heavy rain a loyal public lined the London streets. The "world of fashion" however, which had made Landseer its own during his life, was "conspicuous by its absence" ⁸⁰.

Following Landseer's death (as indicated in Chapter Two) images of Highland Scotland became increasingly popular with a discerning public. "Landseer" engravings were continually republished and modestly priced "library editions" of his works were issued. The continued demand for such images reflected not simply a desire for cultural wallpaper - as a reading of contemporary critics might indicate - but the existence of a *social process* through which the early and mid Victorian middle classes could reflect upon a rapidly changing world and in part structure their own responses to societal and scientific change. Landseer's Highland images reflected one nineteenth century *structure of feeling* and both encapsulated and articulated a series of ethical and moral issues. These issues and their relationship with

early and mid Victorian landscape ideas and conceptions of nature are examined thematically below. In examining these issues it is perhaps fitting to begin with an aspect of nineteenth century life which many sought to ignore but few could forget - the rural poor.

Notes to Chapter Three

- 1 Dictionary of National Biography, Vol XXXII, 1885, p.67; J.A. Manson, Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A., London, 1902, vii.

2. There is a plethora of nineteenth century publications on the artist and it is impossible to list all these here (See Bibliography). The main works are; J. Dafforne, Pictures by Sir Edwin Landseer with descriptions, London, 1874; A. Graves, Catalogue of the works of the late Sir Edwin Landseer, London, 1876; W. Cosmos Monkhouse, Pictures by Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A. with descriptions, (London, 1878), The Studies of Sir Edwin Landseer with a history of his Art Life, (London, 1878), later republished under the title "Works", 1881; F.G. Stephens, The Early Works of Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A., (London, 1869), Memoirs of Sir Edwin Landseer, (London, 1874, 1881); Burlington Gallery, Catalogue of an Exhibition of the engraved works of the late Sir Edwin Landseer, London, 1874. The standard texts are Stephens (1874), Graves (1876), and Monkhouse (1881).

In marked contrast to the above it is possible to list all twentieth century works of substance. They are; J. Manson, Sir Edwin Landseer, London, 1902; L. Scott, Sir Edwin Landseer, London, 1902; McDougal Scott, Sir Edwin Landseer, London, 1903; Royal Academy Exhibition Catalogue, Sir Edwin Landseer, London, 1961; J. Hagnal, Landseer and his World, Mappin Art Gallery Exhibition Catalogue, Sheffield, 1972; I. Barras Hill, Landseer: An Illustrated Life, London, Shire, 1973; C. Lennie, Landseer: The Victorian Paragon, London, Hamish Hamilton, 1976; R. Ormond, Sir Edwin Landseer, London, Thames & Hudson, 1981; S. Bann, The Clothing of Clío: A Study of the Representation of History in Nineteenth Century Britain and France, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984, Chapter Three, "Image and letter in the rediscovery of the past: Daguerre, Charles Alfred

Stothard, Landseer, Delaroche", pp.54-76, especially 68-70; K. Bendiner, An Introduction to Victorian Painting, New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 1985, Chapter One, "Edwin Landseer, 1802-1873", pp.7-25.

The majority of the above replicate well rehearsed details of Landseer's life and add little to what contemporaries recorded. While the most accurate and authoritative work is Ormond (1981) both S. Bann (1984) and K. Bendiner (1985) offer interesting insights.

3. The Times, October 11, 1873.
4. W.E. Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1957, pp.1-23.
5. W.E. Houghton, "Periodical literature and the articulate classes" in J. Shattock & M. Wolff, The Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings, Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1982, pp.3-27, 3.
6. This aspect is examined further in Chapter Four. As regards illustration in the periodical press the Illustrated London News (the first newspaper to depend more or less exclusively on its illustrations) believed it had been bequeathed a capacity to inform the minds of men and elevate them through art's universality and truthfulness. The sentiments it espoused were eminently "acceptable". It believed its "real faithful and influential patrons" to be "the respectable families of England" for whom "we have kept the purity of our columns inviolate and supreme", Illustrated London News, July 8, 1843, Preface.

In marked contrast Punch attacked the Art Union for being "a twelve-penny temple, whereto men are invited that they may therein ponder on the beautiful; where there are no politics, no social iniquity, no want, no human suffering to ruffle and

distress the prejudices and sympathies of the reader", Punch, V, 1843, p.49. Periodicals which contained more realistic images such as the True Briton and the Poor Man's Guardian failed due to lack of popular support. See, C. Fox, "The Development of Social Reportage in English Periodical Illustration during the 1840's and early 1850's", Past and Present, 1977, Vol 74, pp.90-111.

7. From the National Review, October, 1855 quoted in W.E. Houghton (1982), p.5.
8. For some contemporary thoughts on the power of the press in the formulation of opinion see, John Ruskin, Fors Clavigera, Vol II, Letter 81 (Sept. 1877) in E.T. Cook & A. Wedderburn (eds), Works, Vol. XXIX, 1907, p.205.
9. See for example reviews of the engraving of Landseer's "Highland Drovers Departure", in The Times, February 1, 1842, p.5f. This aspect is discussed further in Chapter Four.
10. The Times, October 11, 1873.
11. M., Rosenthal, British Landscape Painting, London, 1982, pp.142-144.
12. On the "singularly pure and inoffensive nature" of Landseer's work see, J.A. Hessey, The Artist as a great moral teacher: A sermon delivered in St. Paul's Cathedral on Sunday, October 11, 1873 on the occasion of the Funeral of Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A., London, John Murray, 1873.
13. W.C. Monkhouse, 1878, xi.
14. W.C. Monkhouse, 1878, viii.

15. On John Landseer see, M. Bryan, Dictionary of Painters and Engravers, (Originally published 1816, 2 Vols) Reprinted 1903 in 5 Volumes, 1921 Edition, Volume 3, p.172. J. Greig (ed), The Farington Diary: the diary of Joseph Farington, London, 1922-28.

16. M. Reed, The Georgian Triumph 1700-1830, London, Paladin, 1984; See also, E. Halevy, A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century: Volume I England in 1815, 1964 Edition; A.D. Harvey, Britain in the Early Nineteenth Century, 1978; C. Emsley, British Society and the French Wars 1793-1815, 1979; F.M.L. Thompson, English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century, 1963.

17. E. Hobsbawm, Industry and Empire, London, 1968, pp.97-108.

18. T.S.R. Boase, English Art, 1800-1870, Oxford University Press, 1959, p.16. L. Paris, Landscape in Britain c.1750-1850, Tate Gallery Exhibition Catalogue, London, 1973, pp.11-12; L. Hawes, Presences of Nature: British Landscape Painting, 1780-1830, Yale University Press, 1982.

The previous decade had seen the publication of several influential works namely, Uvedale Price, Essay on the Picturesque, 1794; Richard Payne Knight, The Landscape, 1794; Rev. William Gilpin's series of Observations chiefly relative to Picturesque Beauty, 1782-1802. Artists such as Richard Wilson (1713-82), Thomas Gainsborough (1727-88), John Constable (1776-1837) and J.M.W. Turner (1775-1851) popularised the genre while Humphrey Repton remodelled the landscape itself. See, S.J. Daniels, "Humphrey Repton and the Morality of Landscape", in J. Burgess & J. Gold, Valued Environments, 1982, pp.124-144.

19. J. Hagnal, 1972, p.10.

20. Quoted in C. Lennie, 1976, p.18. On Haydon see, T. Taylor (ed), The Life of Benjamin Robert Haydon, 3 Volumes, London, 1853; B.R. Haydon, Correspondence and Table-Talk, (ed) F.W. Haydon, 2 Vols, London, 1876; C. Olney, Benjamin Robert Haydon, Historical Painter, Athens, Georgia, 1952; W. Bissell Pope (ed), The Diary of Benjamin Robert Haydon, 5 Vols, Cambridge (Mass.), 1960-63; F. Cummings, "B.R. Haydon and his school", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute, XXVI, 1963, pp.367-80; K.C. Kryger, "The Aesthetics of Benjamin Robert Haydon", Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Colorado, 1974.
21. The Times, October 2, 1873, p.10.
22. F.G. Stephens, 1874, p.54.
23. On E. Delacroix see, B.L. Derr, "The Landscapes of Eugene Delacroix", Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Minnesota, 1979.
24. J. Hagnal, 1972, p.10; James Turner, Reckoning with the Beast: Animals, Pain and Humanity in the Victorian Mind, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1980.
25. National Art Library MS, "List of pictures painted up to 1821", 86.RR, Vol 3, f.194.
26. The Times, October 2, 1873, p.10.
27. W.C. Monkhouse, 1878, p.39.
28. For example, J. Hagnal, 1972, p.15:
 "To Scott, Landseer's work was the perfect romanticism - the marriage of nature and art in man. To Landseer, Scott's world was an inspiration - new visions of a romanticism he had only adopted as a fashion until then".

29. "I have not time at the moment to give you my adventures, only that I have been further north this season and I am crazy with the beauty of the Highlands _ _"

Letter from Landseer to Horatio Ross, dated 24th September, 1825, Humanities Research Centre, University of Texas at Austin, quoted in R. Ormond, 1981, p.6.

30. R. Ormond, 1981, pp.65-66.
31. Both W.C. Monkhouse (1878, pp.61-63) and J. Manson (1902, pp.56-57) regarded it as a failure.
32. R. Ormond, 1981, p.60. See also, J. Holloway & L. Errington, "The Discovery of Scotland: The Appreciation of Scottish Scenery Through Two Centuries of Painting", National Gallery of Scotland Exhibition Catalogue, Edinburgh, 1978, pp.87-115.
33. See E. Richards, A History of the Highland Clearances: Volume 1 - Agrarian Transformation and the Evictions 1746-1886, London, 1982, p.6ff.
34. Johnson's Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland and Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D., Ed. R.W Chapman, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1924, p.51.
35. E. Richards (1982, p.7) comments:
"Many newspapers made very loud noises against the clearances, and the House of Commons was the scene of several eloquent denunciations of the Highland lairds". See for example W. Cobbett's denunciation of the monstrous crimes which had been committed in the Highlands, Hansard, Volume 16, 1st March, 1833.
36. R. Ormond, 1981, p.61.

37. E. Hobsbawm, 1968, p.73.
38. For an excellent discussion see, H.E. Roberts, "Exhibition and review: the periodical press and the Victorian art exhibition system" in Shattock, J. & Wolff, M (eds), 1982, pp.79-107, 80.
On the art market in general see, J.M. Gear, "Masters or Servants ? A Study of selected English Painters and their patrons of the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries", Unpublished Ph.D thesis, New York University, 1976; P.L. Gillett, "The Profession of Painting in England: 1850-1890", Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of California, 1979.

For contemporary reflections on the social system under which art was both produced and distributed see John Ruskin's Manchester Lectures, "The Political Economy of Art", in Unto this Last & Other Essays, John Ruskin (edited by E. Rhys), London, John Dent & Son, 1936, pp.1-106. Originally published in 1857 on republication Ruskin changed his title to "A Joy for Ever and its Price in the Market".

39. Saturday Review, XI, 1861, p.447. Quoted in H.E. Roberts, 1982, p.85.
40. Thomas Carlyle, "Signs of the Times" (1829), reprinted in Scottish & Other Miscellanies, (ed) E. Rhys, London, John Dent & Son, Everyman Edition, nd, pp.223-245, 228.
41. Fraser's Magazine, II, 1830, p.96. Quoted in H.E. Roberts, 1982, p.89.
42. H.E. Roberts, 1982, p.90.
43. The Royal Academy and its practices was persistently attacked throughout the century by excluded artists, press and public alike.

44. National Art Library, Transcri., 86.RR.9, ff.135-154.
45. F.G. Stephens, 1874, p.6.
46. F.G. Stephens, 1874, p.145.
47. R. Ormond, 1981, p.12.
48. As M. Pointon notes we must recognise that "now, and at all times in the past, artists and public have encountered works of art primarily through copies or reproductions rather than through an original _ _ _ _ _ For art historians then, the dissemination of imagery through mass reproduction, its transformations and transmutations are as important as paying attention to the original". M. Pointon, History of Art, London, Allen & Unwin, 1986 edition, p.20.
49. J. Manson, 1902, p.186.
50. A. Graves, 1876.
51. This new market did not necessarily imply new subjects for new patrons. Business men were largely following earlier trends established by those with landed interests and more traditional sources of wealth. E.S. Morris, "John Naylor and other collectors of modern painting in the Nineteenth Century Britain", in the Annual Report and Bulletin of the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, V, 1974-75, p.74.
52. Fortnightly Review, LI, 1855, p.708. Quoted in H.E. Roberts, 1982, p.88.
53. Blackwood's Magazine, LXXIV, 1853, p.89; Art Journal, 1861, p.319.
For a study of one such patron and his collection (including works by Landseer) see, E.S. Morris, "John Naylor and other

- collectors of modern painting in the Nineteenth Century Britain", in the Annual Report and Bulletin of the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, V, 1974-75, pp.72-119.
54. Belgravia, II, 1867, p.290.
A. P. Oppe notes "Without any reason of speculation, the chief reason why men purchased pictures was that -- others coveted them. They hung as trophies rather than for decoration". A. Paul Oppe, "Art" in G.M. Young (ed), Early Victorian England, 1830-1865, Vol II, London, Oxford University Press, London, 1951, p.116.
 55. On the issue of patrons and taste see, F. Davis, Victorian Patrons of Art, London, 1963; P. Ferriday, "The Victorian Art Market", Country Life, 139, 1966, 1456-58, 1567-78; J. Gloag, Victorian Taste, London, 1962; J. Steegman, Victorian Taste, Cambridge, Massachusetts, M.I.T. Press, 1971.
 56. The Athenaeum, No.239, 1832, p.340. Quoted in H.E. Roberts, 1982, p.85.
 57. Blackwood's Magazine, LXXIV, 1853, p.103.
 58. J.L. Fisher, "The Aesthetic of the Mediocre: Thackery and the Visual Arts", Victorian Studies, August, 1982, Volume 26, Pt1, pp.65-82. Edwin Landseer was one of Thackery's favourite artists.
 59. New Monthly, c.1854, p.462. Quoted in H.E. Roberts, 1982, p.89.
 60. Saturday Review, XIII, 1857, p.475. Quoted in H.E. Roberts, 1982, p.89.
 61. A. P. Oppe, 1951, p.115.
 62. Frazer's Magazine, XL, 1849, p.74.

63. Letter from Joseph Starkey to Landseer dated December 9, 1850.
National Art Library, Transcl., 86.RR.9, f.310.
64. See J.L. Fisher, 1982, p.79.
65. The Athenaeum, December 7, 1861, p.769.
66. On R. Vernon see, Dictionary of National Biography, Vol LVIII, 1899, pp.281-282. On J. Sheepshanks see, Dictionary of National Biography, Vol LII, 1897, pp.8-9.
67. These works were "Spaniels of King Charles Breed", "Low Life - High Life" (1829), "Highland Music" (1830), "The Hunted Stag" (1833), "Peace", "War" (1846) and "A Dialogue at Waterloo" (1850).
68. Keyl Papers, MSS. with Sir Oliver Millar, Surveyor of the Queen's Pictures, Lord Chamberlain's Office, St. James's Palace. Unpaginated. Entry dated 25th February, 1869. Keyl's personal record of dinner conversations with Landseer.
69. Richard Redgrave, A Catalogue of the Pictures, Drawings, Etchings etc in the British Fine Art Collections being for the most part the gift of John Sheepshanks Esq, 1859.
70. I. Barras Hill, 1973, p.19.
71. I. Barras Hill, 1973, p.19.
72. R. Ormond, 1981, p.15.
73. Quoted in R. Ormond, 1981, p.15.
74. Ascribed to Creevy, quoted in J. Hagnal, 1972, p.13. For a commentary on the dandy see L.F. Culley, "Artists Life Styles in nineteenth century France and England: The Dandy, The Bohemian"

- and The Realist", Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Stanford University, 1975.
75. Letter from Landseer to Jacob Bell, dated 17th September, 1847. National Library of Scotland, 8887, ff.93.
76. C. Lennie, 1976 but see R. Ormond (1981) who more credibly ascribes Landseer's breakdown largely to the death of his mother in January, 1840.
77. On J. Bell see, Dictionary of National Biography, Vol IV, 1885, pp.162-163; L.G. Matthews, "Statesman of Pharmacy. Jacob Bell, 1810-59" in The Chemist and Druggist, June 6, 1959, pp.606-613.
78. Lord Frederick Hamilton, The Days Before Yesterday, London, 1920; T.S. Cooper, My Life, London, 1890.
79. Queen Victoria's Journal, October 1, 1873.
80. Untraced quotation from The Times, cited in J. Manson, 1902, p.174.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE RE-PRESENTATION OF THE SCOTTISH RURAL POOR IN NINETEENTH CENTURY LANDSCAPE ART

*But true wealth I hold, as I have said, in great honour;
and sympathize, for the most part, with that extraordinary
feeling of the present age which publically pays this
honour to riches, I cannot, however, help noticing how
extraordinary it is, and how this epoch of ours differs
from all bygone epochs in having no philosophical nor
religious worshippers of the ragged godship of poverty.*

John Ruskin (1857)'.

In a seminal work on images of the English rural poor over the period 1730-1840 J. Barrell noted that these representations stressed the theme of a stable egalitarian existence ². Barrell "looked below the surface" of these images, not for their intended or explicit meaning, but for that meaning which emerged from consideration of what could *not* be represented. Painting, he argued, was conditioned by a number of unwritten ideological rules, rules which became overt and recognisable only when they were broken. This chapter examines the representation or *re-presentation* of the Scottish rural poor in nineteenth century art in a similar manner. Following Barrell's methodology it is argued that figures are of crucial importance in determining the meaning of landscape and genre paintings for contemporaries. This axiom is supported by the fact that many of Edwin Landseer's domestic genre scenes were considered by contemporaries to be supreme examples of landscape art.

Barrell argued that the eighteenth century saw a radical change in the depiction of rural life with classical pastoral traditions being discarded in favour of a more *actualised* or realistic image of rural life. This actualised image was mediated however by what Barrell euphemistically terms *aesthetic constraints*, constraints which were ultimately social and economic in origin. Actuality involved the need to portray figures at work and not repose. This chapter notes a related, but paradoxical desire for actuality in the representation of the rural poor which occurred around the middle of the nineteenth century. Representations of rural labour and poverty gradually came to express a desire for a didactic moral art which sought to illustrate the fundamental value of life and labour.

This new moral landscape art eventually entailed explicit use of the *dreary landscape* to emphasis and structure its message³. It is argued however that Landseer's Highland images can be considered apart from this dreary landscape and viewed as a remnant of an earlier "homely" domestic genre. This said, Landseer's images highlight a central *ambiguity of actuality* which occurred around the turn of the century. As an increasing number of social critics called for a new didactic moral art the *homely* genre - epitomised by Landseer - experienced perhaps its greatest popularity. It is argued that the form and popularity of Landseer's images derived from the nature of the Victorian art market and in part from what John Ruskin was to call the *false ideal*.

The change in attitude to life, labour and landscape which occurred around the turn of the century was not restricted solely to images of Scotland and for this reason this chapter examines landscape art in a broader British context. In addition, in order to fully understand the ideological nature of Landseer's images preliminary consideration must be given to examples of contemporary art which both transgressed and reinforced those ideological rules which helped shape the aesthetic constraints of the Victorian art market. For this reason this chapter discusses the art of Erskine Nicol and those artists who depicted scenes of emigration. In conclusion it is argued that common ground

can be found with Barrell in that the examination of images of the rural poor enables some clear links to be discerned between ideology and the landscape idea in nineteenth century Britain.

British images of rural poverty: 1850-1890

Realistic scenes of rural poverty were not common before 1850 ⁴. The period 1850-1890 saw the apogee and decline of English anecdotal genre painting. This was concurrent with the development of scenes portraying tragic aspects of both urban and rural life whose popularity peaked in the decades 1870-1890. Change over this period was however gradual. With few exceptions the "hungry forties" was seldom depicted by painters and overall there was a continued popularity of rustic genre scenes in the tradition of D. Wilkie (1785-1841) ⁵. For example the rioting before the passage of the Reform Bill in 1832 was not reflected in William Collins's "Rustic Civility" (1832) (Plate 9) ⁶. As for the representation of people in the landscape, the nineteenth century increasingly favoured Flemish inspired scenes of cottage interiors or works where the landscape element became incidental except as an indication of locale. Examples of this trend can be seen in Landseer's "Highland Interior" (1831) (Plate 6) and Thomas Faed's "Cottars Saturday Night" (1851). Until after 1850 with few exceptions, the artist's view of rural life was a comforting one, pleasant and innocuous, it aroused little passion and was well received. However, during the decades 1840-1850 a gradual change in attitude can be discerned. This change was related to new perceptions of the relationship between land and labour.

From 1850 social critics such as John Ruskin increasingly urged artists to invest the rural genre with social significance. One work which merited particular attention was Henry Wallis's "Stonebreaker" (1858). This work was originally known by the extract which accompanied it, "Thou wert our conscript", a line taken from Carlyle's Sartor Resartus. A potent message was hammered home: Wallis's stonebreaker was dead. J. Ruskin thought it nearly, "the first rate

work of any year" but he disliked what he called its hoary sky and "joyless landscape" ⁷. That Ruskin did not mention the dead figure is indicative of the fact that change was gradual. Few contemporaries however remained undisturbed by the subject matter. The reviewer of the Art Journal was struck by a mournful feeling:

It gives sadness to all who see it. Of the genius of the author there can be no question; but we protest against his continual selection of themes apart from the highest and holiest purpose of art ⁸.

Wallis's stonebreaker lacked the sweet anecdotal elements both public and critic had looked for and had come to expect. It lacked precisely what Landseer's earlier "Stonebreaker" (1830) (Plate 10) had, an image apparently devoid of social content which was commended to contemporaries solely for its "sparkling colour" ⁹. Contemporaries who wished for a return to anecdotal genre were to be disappointed, for H. Wallis's work was an indicator of things to come.

To more astute social commentators the ambiguity between rural reality and its depiction was apparent. Nowhere was this more evident than in the contrast between the reality of Highland existence and the images purveyed. John Ruskin's comments are worth quoting in full.

I was reading but the other day in a book by a zealous, useful, and able Scotch clergyman, one of those rhapsodies, in which he described a scene in the Highlands to show (he said) the goodness of God. In this Highland scene there was nothing but sunshine, and fresh breezes, and bleating lambs, and clean tartans, and all manner of pleasantness

Now a Highland scene is, beyond dispute, pleasant enough in its own way; but looked close at, has its shadows. Here for instance, is the very fact of one, as pretty as I can remember having seen many. It is a little valley of soft

turf, enclosed in its narrow oval by jutting rocks and broad flakes of nodding fern. From one side of it to the other winds, serpentine, a clear brown stream, drooping into quicker ripple as it reaches the end of the oval field, and then, first islanding a purple and white rock with an amber pool, it dashes away into a narrow fall of foam under a thicket of mountain ash and alder.

The autumn sun, low but clear, shines on the scarlet ash-berries and on the golden birch leaves, which, fallen here and there, when the breeze has not caught them, rest quiet in the crannies of the purple rock. Beside the rock, in the hollow under the thicket, the carcass of a ewe, drowned in the last flood, lies nearly bare to the bone, its white ribs protruding to the skin, raven-torn; and the rags of its wool still flickering from the branches that first stayed it as the stream swept it down. A little lower, the current plunges, roaring, into a circular chasm like a well, surrounded on three sides by a chimney-like hollowness of polished rock down on which the foam slips in detached snow-flakes. Round the edges of the pool beneath, the water circles slowly, like black oil; a little butterfly lies on its back, its wings glued to one of the eddies, its limbs feebly quivering; a fish rises, and it is gone. Lower down the stream, I can just see, over a knoll, the green and damp turf roofs of four or five hovels, built at the edge of a morass, which is trodden by the cattle into a black Slough of Despond at their doors, and traversed by a few ill set stepping stones, with here and there a flat slab on the tops, where they have sunk out of sight; and at the turn of the brook I see a man fishing, with a boy and dog - a picturesque and pretty enough group certainly, if they had not been there all day starving. I know them, and I know the dog's ribs also, which are nearly as bare as the ewe's; and the child's

*wasted shoulders, cutting his old tartan jacket through,
so sharp are they*¹⁰.

Later images of rural poverty were, like J. Ruskin's prose, more telling containing not only symbolic value but a literal truth. The emergence of this more symbolic art can be seen in J.E. Millais' "Blind Girl" (1852) (Plate 11). While Ruskin ignored this work in favour of the artist's "Autumn Leaves" other commentators noted that it contained more than a pathetic representation of a blind innocent; it encapsulated the theme of homelessness and vagrancy. Many contemporaries felt ill at ease with both the rapidly changing world around them and the depiction of that world. Of a work entitled "Bird Keeper" (1855) by Richard Redgrave the critic of the Art Journal could state:

*Who is not weary of this simpering rusticity . . . they
[rural genre paintings] are brought forward without
narrative past or prospect, positivism or allusion*¹¹.

The same reviewer went on to complain about "the general *deja vu* of most landscapes and rural views". These comments and many others of a similar nature represent a turning point in British art for, even if they did not express a wish for Ruskin's despondent images, they expressed a demand for a more *actualised* art. It is this wish that lies at the heart of Ruskin's denouncement of bucolic peasant scenes. While a more actualised art did eventually emerge paradoxically, there was a final flourish of older imagery which resulted in the immense popularity of Landseer's Highland pastoral. This central *ambiguity of actuality* is discussed in greater detail below.

The immense popularity of domestic genre scenes (represented perfectly by Landseer) ensured the demise of "high art". To fill the vacuum created by the fall of high art W.M. Rossetti argued that the painter should "deal with passions, multiform character, real business and action"¹². As examples of real action W.M. Rossetti

named the work of Holman Hunt, J.E. Millais and Ford Madox Brown. Ruskin too, in his so called "defence" of the Pre Raphaelite Brotherhood and his subsequent exhibition reviews, urged an end to "commonplace themes" ¹³. To Rossetti and many other artists *not* connected with the Pre Raphaelite school in any way "real business" came increasingly to mean subjects that were pathetic, melodramatic, perhaps even unpleasant, but above all else didactic.

A decade later the subject of the human scarecrow used by R. Redgrave in the "Bird Keeper" was successfully depicted once again by Frederick Shields in "One of Our Breadwatchers" (1866). F. Shields's work was a conscious protest against the cruel conditions farm labourers had to endure. However, even at this late date (1866) most representations of rural poverty still emphasised pathos and lacked intended messages that were explicitly social. In general meaning was not specifically invested by the artist but was constructed by the critics and public within a given social context. Even a didactic work *exposing* conditions in Ireland or the Scottish Highlands could take on a new less purposeful meaning when exhibited in the galleries of Piccadilly.

"Real business and action" found expression in a series of scenes of beggar children and rural vagabonds which appeared during the late 1850's. These scenes provoked admiration or disgust but seldom apathy. That the 1850's should see a discernable shift in artistic emphasis is perhaps related in part to the emergence of a new sensibility towards the natural world. This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Six. The problem of rural vagabonds reflected fundamental shifts in lifestyle produced by the social and industrial transformation of Britain. This process and its consequent upheaval of social relations, although largely ignored by Landseer, did not go unrecorded by other British artists.

Unwashed heroes and polite society

Erskine Nicol was a Scotsman who had spent 1848-50 in Ireland. Little discussed today he was one of the most popular British rural genre painters of the 1850's and 1860's. Nicol rose to prominence in 1862 with the exhibition of his "Notice to Quit" (Plate 12). He was popular with French reviewers for they believed he portrayed "with telling vigour the wretchedness of the Irish peasantry" ¹⁴. L.E. Robinson, the critic of the Art Journal related a French comment that on first sight only the comic aspects of Nicol's pictures was evident, but that on further reflection:

there is only the moral hideousness of a scene, in which the mud besplattered condition of the actors depict their innermost thoughts and feelings ¹⁵.

To contemporaries Nicol's work contained a radical social content, so much so that on exhibition of a further scene entitled "Renewal of the Lease Refused" (1863) (Plate 13), the critic of the Art Journal remained unmoved commenting that the tenant was, in all probability, "a rascal and traitor" ¹⁶.

In 1866 Nicol was made an Associate of the Royal Academy for an Irish scene entitled "Paying the Rent". Such a reward for what many considered "low life" angered critics. The Art Journal commented;

he managed to bring more dirt and rags into the Academy than anyone else. It is the glory of his heroes that they are unwashed. They belong, in fact, to the new class to whom the new Reform Bill transfers the government of the country. They probably, however, will long remain of more value to the exclusively political world, and for the sake of Mr Nicol, we can only hope that their condition of life will never be materially ameliorated ¹⁷.

Similarly, J.B. Atkinson in Blackwood's Magazine lamented the demise of high art in contrast to the health of the peasant genre;

The expressively materialistic, plebian and democratic propensities of the English school here are pushed to an astounding climax. Never has an artist ventured to introduce raganuffins on so large a scale into polite society . . . On the walls of London exhibitions have hung for years, a large unrepresented population. The needy knife grinders, these picturesque pictures out at the elbows will, under the millenium of reform, have something better to do than sit to the artist at a shilling an hour. Mr Nicol had better paint while he can; his models we fear may run off any day to mob Lord Elcho or Mr Love ¹⁸.

Characteristically peasant scenes generated little criticism and such responses noted above were *atypical*. The ferocity of these critics attacks on Nicol's work however clearly illustrate that to contemporaries he depicted values and beliefs that were unacceptable to bourgeois society. In essence E. Nicol had in fact broken an unarticulated ideological rule, the rule of bourgeois norms. The parallels between E. Nicol and George Morland of the previous century are readily apparent ¹⁹. Contemporaries had good reason to fear such breaches of the norm for rioting occurred in Trafalgar Square in June and July of 1866 during agitation for the second Reform Bill. The following year saw troubled times in the heartland of the South East ²⁰.

In marked contrast to the hostile reception given to Nicol's works those images which articulated contemporary middle class thoughts and values were accorded high praise from both art critics and the public alike. Perhaps no better example of this can be cited than the reception given to images depicting Highland emigration.

Ideology and the Hope Beyond

In order to understand the full significance of nineteenth century representations of Highland emigration it is necessary to have some understanding of the social process they depicted.

Seasonal and permanent Highland emigration was well established by the beginning of the eighteenth century. Traditionally emigration was not merely a response to population pressure, landlord pressure or indeed prevailing poverty. A significant factor was the proximity of more prosperous agricultural and industrial areas in Southern Scotland which provided seasonal labour, helped sustain a growing population and offered the prospect of a brighter future. With retrospect it can be stated that that emigration of peasants across the Atlantic was almost certainly quantitatively less than the loss of Highland population to the Scottish Lowlands ²¹. Further, eighteenth century emigrants were frequently relatively middling people in peasant society who could raise the necessary capital to embark for a new country ²². In the last two decades of the eighteenth century Highland landlords laboured under the apprehension that emigration would lead to depopulation and economic collapse. It was not yet clear that the population had grown disproportionately and the demands made by military service, especially in the 1790's made it possible to think in terms of labour shortages. As a consequence emigration was fiercely opposed ²³.

With the end of the Napoleonic War in 1815 however the immense structural and demographic changes which had overtaken the region became apparent. Despite government policies designed to restrict emigration and generate employment the flow of emigrants continued. The region could no longer support its growing population. Alarmist anti-emigration propaganda which had peaked during the years 1801-3 was turned on its head. Although regional policy became an issue for fierce debate an influential body of opinion quickly emerged which advocated emigration as a means through which civilisation could be introduced and the region's problems addressed. Nineteenth century Highland

emigration was primarily a response to expulsive Malthusian pressures. Over the period 1815-55 many small tenants begged their landlords to help them emigrate and many struggled to accommodate their tenants wishes ²⁴. While much emigration was poorly documented or passed unrecorded there is abundant evidence that other landlords rapaciously turned the deteriorating situation to their advantage.

Government intervention in supporting the emigration process was slow to develop and The Report of the Select Committee on Emigration from the United Kingdom (1827) was sceptical of the view that overpopulation could be permanently remedied by emigration ²⁵. Slowness in facing the issue reflected a general ignorance about the numbers and processes involved. During the 1830's the Highland problem began to impinge on the national consciousness. In 1836-37 as a consequence of potato crop failures famine conditions highlighted the vulnerability and squalor of the Scottish Highland peasantry. In response to labour shortages in Australia the British Government subsidised emigration. In October 1837 three shiploads of Highlanders departed for New South Wales. Within a short space of time a further 4,000 emigrants had sailed. Due to continual requests from the region for assistance the scheme operated for a further two years. When the subsistence crisis receded in 1839-40 public pressure for assisted emigration remained. In 1841 The Report of the Select Committee on Emigration (Scotland) recommended that emigration was the only answer to the problem of poor relief in the West Highlands where, it estimated, a surplus population of between 45 - 60,000 existed. Beyond applying colonial land revenues to subsidise emigration to the antipodes however the Government refused to intervene leaving an increasing number of landlords to subsidise the emigration of their tenants.

For several years the Highland region had been supported by external charity. Famine recurred once again between 1846-51 and the region suffered badly as relief funds expired. In January 1851 the Glasgow section of the Highland Destitution Board, which in 1850 had spent £21,000 on relief and employment schemes, withdrew its support

claiming its efforts had made no impact on the problem. After decades of procrastination, the Government was left with no option but to intervene. In 1851 the the Emigration Advances Act was passed which enabled landlords to borrow public funds to help pay emigration costs and the following year the Highland and Islands Emigration Society was formed. A formal structure now existed whereby both landlord and Government could rid themselves of an unproductive and uneconomic tenantry. By the time the Society wound up its operations in 1858 it had dispatched 5,000 Highlanders to the Australian colonies.

It is difficult to estimate the precise scale of Highland emigration during the first half of the nineteenth century however between 1815 - 38 Nova Scotia alone received 22,000 Scots of which the majority were Highlanders. Peaks of emigration appear to have coincided with subsistence crises in 1837-8 and 1847-53 ²⁶. M. Flinn has estimated that the net effect of emigration between 1841-61 was to reduce region's population by approximately a third ²⁷. While the magnitude of nineteenth century emigration remains a matter for conjecture what is clear is that the majority of nineteenth century emigrants were motivated by different factors than their eighteenth century predecessors. Whereas eighteenth century emigrants frequently chose to emigrate, nineteenth century emigrants did so as circumstances had left them with no alternative.

Between the late 1840's and the mid 1880's hardly a year passed without the exhibition of several views of emigrants, many of them Scottish departing for Australia, Canada and the United States. In 1830 the Colonisation Society had been founded to promote the settlement of Canada. In 1842 over 120,000 people emigrated to the new lands and by 1850 the figure had reached 300,000. Overall between 1847-1872 the Government, through the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission helped thousands to find new homes abroad. Emigration diminished during the 1880's and dropped off sharply by 1900 ²⁸. Emigration was publically encouraged by Queen Victoria. It was viewed as a safety valve for the pressure of internal agitation and it strengthened the resources of an emergent British Empire. Emigration as a theme was freely

exploited by both painters and writers and the popularity of this theme coincided with the period of greatest outflow over the decades 1840-1860 ²⁹. Over these twenty years the nature of representations changed little in character. Painters emphasised aspects of physical separation in scenes of pathos which carried no *apparent* social message. Examples can be seen in Frederick Goodall's "The Departure of the Emigrants" (1848) or Jacob Thompson's "The Hope Beyond" (1853) (Plate 14). Thompson's painting depicted Highland emigrants boarding a ship against a backdrop of a symbolic sunrise breaking through stormclouds. On the shore the remaining family weep for their departing relatives as the eldest member of the family blesses those who are departing. While Scotland was frequently the location of such scenes the politically sensitive Irish situation (which produced more emigrants) was seldom painted.

In 1859 the Bentley Quarterly Review asserted that there was no subject in modern life more fruitful for the artist than that of emigration. Richard Redgrave's "Emigrants' last sight of Home" (1859) (Plate 15), a scene which illustrated emigrants leaving their valley home was highly praised. The critic of the Art Journal was impressed by the simplicity of the work and, although it was "very trying as an art theme" could state, "it cannot be too highly eulogized" ³⁰. Other works such as Thomas Faed's "Last of the Clan" (1865) (Plate 16) received similar praise. Other scenes showed backward glances such as J.W Nicol's "Lochaber No More" (1883) or Ford Madox Brown's "Last of England" (1855) (Plate 17). Nicol's work illustrated an old Scottish shepherd on the deck of a departing ship gazing through the mist towards a vanishing Highland shore with his daughter weeping at his feet. In contrast Madox Brown's work showed the disappointment, hope, resignation and anger involved in the departure of a *middle class* family ³¹. W.M Rossetti called it "as complete, deep and moving a piece of real life, properly to be historic as our days have produced" ³².

The vast majority of emigration paintings were favourably received by critics and public alike. Acclaimed by the Sovereign, Government and writers such as Charles Kingsley and Thomas Carlyle emigration was

acknowledged as a panacea for a struggling peasantry and the working classes. More critical works such as Ford Madox Brown's "Last of England" (Plate 17) tended to be overlooked or played down. Bourgeois ideology provided the context in which emigration scenes met critical acclaim. This ideology was national in its form and had profound ramifications for representations of landscape. It mattered little if a landscape could be identified as long as the meaning could be construed. Landscape became a mere *locale* if it figured prominently at all. While carrying no apparent explicit meaning, in the light of the above critical comments there can be little doubt that contemporaries believed such scenes depicted a pathetic but desirable aspect of Victorian social policy. Further, in their uncritical depiction of emigration the majority of emigration works effectively served to legitimise one inevitable consequence of the social and economic transformation of nineteenth century Britain. Far from carrying no explicit social message these works had their origins in, and owed their popularity to, an all pervasive bourgeois ideology.

The dreary landscape

Concurrent with and intrinsically related to the theme of emigration was the plight of the wandering homeless. Emerging in the 1850-1860's this theme underwent change in the 1870's. Initially these scenes like late eighteenth century representations of industry were made more palatable by use of the *picturesque*³³. However, this device was superseded by new aesthetic preferences, preferences informed by social change and the desire for a new moral art. This change can be observed in J.R. Reid's "Homeless and Homeward" (1882) (Plate 18), a work set in a bare gloomy winter landscape. A melancholy family of musicians stand by a river bank receiving little attention from a group of homeward bound school children. It is the weather and the landscape which sets the mood. J.R. Reid's work was an indicator of what was to come³⁴. In an essay on "Current Art" the critic of the Magazine of Art highlighted in Reid's work

*those effects of climate which have not only
little colour, but little latent light* ³⁵.

The critic complained about this view of nature which had become so common that sunsets and blue skies were rarely seen in exhibitions. The critic then discussed recent scenes of poverty in both English and continental art and the problems of showing hunger outside the realms of "high art". Fortunately, it was felt that J.R. Reid's work avoided this aspect of want, "and so has *stayed within due limits*" ³⁶. Like other critics' comments on E. Nicol's "Paying the Rent" and the public reception of the emigration scenes discussed above, this comment once again unwittingly betrays the rule of established set norms and values, a rule of ideology. It is this ideology and what J. Barrell would call its *aesthetic constraints* which places art works in context and evaluates them.

The new somberness in the depiction of social relations and the natural world evoked considerable comment when it first appeared in the late 1860's yet it is seldom discussed this century ³⁷. The significance of this somberness extended beyond the limits of landscape painting for it rapidly became the standard setting for representations of rural poverty. The nineteenth century had found a new aesthetic rule, one which bore a resemblance to that which conditioned the "dark side" of eighteenth century landscape painting ³⁸. Scarcely a British painter of rural poverty after 1870 failed to make use of this new somberness as an evocative reinforcement of the theme of his work. Nineteenth century critics had an apt name for this new somberness, they called it the *dreary landscape* ³⁹.

In the *dreary landscape* the subject was always nature at her barest. The landscape was often laden with snow and the season always appeared to be late winter. Pictorial composition seldom went beyond a few leafless trees and low hills silhouetted against a sunless sky. Picturesque and grand scenes were studiously avoided. Even J.E. Millais's "Chill October" (1871) caught something of this mood. Critics often charged the artist with deliberately seeking the ugly and

formless and this criticism was justified as many artists consciously sought to evoke gloom and melancholy. Even the precision of Millais's "Winter Fuel" (1873) stressed a gloomy landscape littered with dead foliage set against a mountain peak which dwarfed an attendant child.

The climate and terrain of the Scottish Highlands was the scene of many dreary landscapes. Works of the 1880's stressed the contrasts, even confrontations between poverty and wealth. Representations of the landless became markedly grimmer than those of the 1860's and 1870's and were almost unrelated to similar scenes of the 1850's. New depictions of rural poverty scarcely resembled "traditional" depictions of bounteous harvests of ripe yellow grain under an autumn sky by sturdy labourers and apple cheeked girls. There were of course exceptions such as Linnell's "Cornfield in Surrey" (1880) and the pastoral idea could still be found in works such as M.R. Corbet's "Arcadian Shepherd and Flock" (1883) however these representations could no longer pretend to depict even approximations of reality ⁴⁰.

Throughout the century only occasionally did a painting stir critics sufficiently enough for them to make an accusation concerning a painter's politics. However as the above discussion has illustrated their more telling comments reveal the inherently ideological nature of their writings. What J. Barrell termed "aesthetic constraints" seemingly operated much later than 1840 ⁴¹. As the century progressed the *dreary landscape* increasingly questioned the foundations of these "aesthetic constraints". Judging from reviewers' comments it is apparent that by 1870 there was a widespread acceptance by the public of themes of rural poverty as a *moral necessity*. This contrasts with the situation of the previous century where, after careful deliberation J. Barrell could state "there is no clear evidence that at this time the demand for such images was a consciously moral demand" ⁴².

British representations of rural poverty after 1870 grew out of earlier traditions. There was no sudden break with the past, no violent political or social implications to frighten the government, critics or public, yet irrevokable change *was* discernable to contemporaries.

Nevertheless, it is important to remember that during this period however the Pre Raphaelites with their literary and biblical subjects generated more controversy than scenes of rural poverty and this fact itself tells much about the nature of Victorian society ⁴³.

The ambiguity of actuality

Regardless of whether or not a nineteenth century art work was subject to praise or criticism judgement was ultimately informed by ideological considerations. The nations "ragamuffins", the Highland destitute, the despair of emigration and the dreary landscapes examined above do *not* feature in Landseer's Highland images, the vast majority of which were produced between 1825-1840. To the casual observer Landseer's paintings and their associated engravings (produced over the period 1830-1880) are apparently free of ethical and moral considerations. At a time when an increasing number of critics began to call for "past, prospect and allusion" in a more actualised didactic moral art Landseer's quaint Highland images remained enormously popular. This popularity raises several questions and highlights a central ambiguity in mid - Victorian art. Why should these works flourish at a time when art critics expressed common preferences for a more didactic and moral art? Did the Victorian middle classes (who formed the main market for engravings) believe that these images portrayed the reality of Highland existence? Why were these works so enormously popular with the public? The answer to these questions lies largely in the paintings themselves, the aspirations and values of the growing middle classes and the nature of the Victorian art market.

The *dreary landscape* with its explicit moral content emerged during a period of clearly identifiable social and economic change. The 1870's saw the onset of agricultural depression after two decades of relative abundance. As P. Fuller has noted:

*Art came not so much to reflect the consolations
of an idyll, but rather to chronicle the pain of
a spreading alienation* ⁴⁴.

The period immediately after 1870 saw in rural genre painting a new emphasis on poverty and despair. This new emphasis was a reflection of both the above socio-economic factors and a fundamental shift in the Victorian sensibility to the natural world ⁴⁵. The emergence of this new sensibility is traced in Chapter Six. Many of the Landseer engravings issued in the latter part of the century had their origins in paintings of the 1830's and 1840's and closely followed the tradition established early in the century by David Wilkie (1785-1841). Unlike the dreary landscapes produced in the later part of the century these works had been painted in an unstable society characterised by commonplace brutality to man and beast alike. In such a society a genuine fear of the masses forbade public expressions of sympathy for society's unfortunates. The outcome was an idealised *homely* genre. That Landseer's works remained popular at a later date when critics were calling for a more didactic moral art is a telling reflection on the values they embodied for, like their successors the dreary landscapes, Landseer's images too articulated ethical and moral values, albeit different ones.

As indicated above, although seldom the subject of explicit discussion early and mid Victorians were only too aware of what constituted acceptable art. Acceptability was conditioned by aesthetic constraints which reflected bourgeois norms and values which underwrote a hierarchical / patriarchal society and placed a premium on domesticity and respectability. These constraints resulted in an *aesthetic of the market*, an aesthetic which effectively determined the success or failure of individual artists. The enormous popularity of Landseer's domestic and pastoral Highland genres images was in part a consequence of these works reflecting contemporary middle class values and aspirations while meeting the standards set by the aesthetic of the market ⁴⁶. Contemporaries had no doubts at all that works

such as Landseer's "Highland Interior" (Plate 6) were idealised portrayals of reality. Journals such as The Athenaeum proclaimed:

*In Highland Scenes Sir Edwin stands unrivalled,
Wilkie first gave us glimpses of humour in his
Lowland interiors; but Sir Edwin has shown us
Highland cottages, with their inmates more
idealised than Wilkie could have given
them* ⁴⁷.

While the majority of contemporaries found this idealised subject matter "singularly pure and inoffensive" even idealised works such as "The Poacher's Bothy" could disturb critics ⁴⁸. The Examiner commented:

*The poaching subjects are not exactly to our
taste; we prefer the faithful representation of
the weather-beaten old Scotchman and his
picturesque habitation, with all its rude and
nicely painted furniture* ⁴⁹.

Such criticism of Landseer's paintings was rare for his works seldom dealt with "real business and action" and were perceived as being eminently didactic. The above comment does however illustrate once again the idea of the existence of a set of aesthetic norms and values against which an art work's acceptability was determined. Like E. Nicol, Landseer sought to "depict innermost thoughts and feelings". However these were of a radically different nature from those selected by his Scottish counterpart. Unlike Nicol, Landseer's paintings invariably "stayed within due limits", and as a consequence his work proved eminently acceptable ⁵⁰.

The didactic function ascribed by contemporaries to Landseer's art is well illustrated by the public reception of "The Highland Drover's Departure" (1835) (Plate 19). One of his most famous works, The Times went so far as to remark "it may be questioned whether any

landscape by an English artist, delineating scenery peculiar to the British Isles, and portraying on canvas national manners and peculiarities, ever was produced of equal merit" ⁵¹. These comments were echoed by The Art Union who added, "Nothing we repeat, that has ever been done in this particular style of Art, can surpass the interest of the Highland Drovers" ⁵². The Times believed:

A print of this class is a sort of index to the memory, and enables the possessor to find out many things in the store house of his brain which will both amuse and instruct him; and many a man who will not take the trouble to read, or who has not got the time to travel through half-a-dozen volumes of written description, can learn almost at a glance a vast deal that is proper he should know and of which he would nowadays be ashamed to be ignorant. The 'oculis subjecta fibelibus' maxim is applicable to this print; it teaches quickly and agreeably a vast deal in a little time and without trouble. It will not only make the spectator acquainted with national scenery, and characteristics and models, but it will almost imperceptibly make him a judge of what is good and bad in art, and purify or exalt his taste as the circumstances may require" ⁵³.

While instructing the uninitiated in the delights of Scottish geography "The Drovers Departure" taught almost imperceptibly more than an appreciation of national scenery.

As The Art Union pointed out, the first "chapter" of the story was not the departure itself but the concept of home ⁵⁴. "We learn not only about the individuals, but also about the web of feelings, duties and responsibilities that binds them so closely together", the very ties on which the Victorian bourgeois family was founded ⁵⁵. While the

"Drovers Departure" (Plate 19) taught the values of domesticity, other works such as the artist's "Stonebreaker" (1830) (Plate 10), "Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner" (1837) (Plate 20), "Crossing the Bridge" (1837) (Plate 21), "Highland Whisky Still" (1829) and "Highland Interior" (1831) (Plate 6) taught the value of labour, religion, fidelity, and hierarchal / patriarchal society in a rapidly changing world. In doing so these works accurately articulated and reinforced middle class standards and concerns while providing a means of identifying "good and bad in art".

Other works such as "Highland Lassie Herding Sheep" (1832) (Plate 29) or "Highland Lassie Crossing a Stream" (1850) (Plate 26, discussed in Chapters 5 & 6 below), like "The Drovers Departure", effectively helped to propagate a false romantic regional image and denied the operation of processes of structural change within Scottish society. At the time "Highland Drovers" was exhibited (1835) the practice of droving had peaked, its descent was short, sudden and complete ⁵⁶. Unlike Erskine Nicol Landseer never struggled to depict the problems of hunger and total destitution. Indeed the causal observer would be hard pressed to find evidence to suggest that he was even aware of such issues. Edwin Landseer's failure to acknowledge and represent these issues is all the more striking given the fact that he himself must have encountered these circumstances on his numerous holidays in the Highlands.

It was a common complaint that too often Landseer paintings were "copies of animals living a sort of genteel life, and fit society for any drawing room" ⁵⁷. This criticism of found its clearest expression at a sale of C.G. Lewis's entire collection of Landseer engravings in December 1855. The The Athenaeum commented at length:

Another reflection forced upon us, as we gazed around this little room containing the works of a busy life was this; how little patronage does for the elevation of Art, and for the improvements of Nature's endowments, Landseer also shared the fate of many others - Wilkie among the

rest - who, becoming fashionable, has had to pervert his genius to fashionable ways and to tame down his wild, free pencil to suit the atmosphere of the boudoir and the drawing room ⁵⁸.

The journal proceeded to ask the reader to compare Landseer's present works with those of his youth and then:

admit reader ! that Landseer was born the Artist of Nature, - Nature in her wildest grandeur, Nature in her homeliest truthfulest, most humorous mood; and that when he was set down to paint lady's lap dogs and Salins, and feathers; and furbelous, his genius was perverted from its natural course, and his pencil became the slave of other tastes, instead of his own; and that this in the busiest part of his life he has continued to produce small prettiness for golden pay, where but for the fashions patronage he might have produced grand creations of nature's inspirings, for the mere love and glory of his Art ⁵⁹.

That the above comments are applicable not only to Landseer's animal works but his representations of rural life is apparent by comparison of one of his earliest efforts, "The Tired Reaper" (1824) (Plate 22) with "Harvest in the Highlands" (1833) (Plate 23) or any one of the later Highland pastoral works ⁶⁰. "The Tired Reaper" (Plate 22) shows with telling accuracy an exhausted labourer lying face down head in hands, his discarded sickle and drink barrel at his side. Although a few bushels have been cut a field of uncut ripe corn stretches downhill into the distance. In striking contrast "Harvest in the Highlands" (Plate 23, a joint work by Landseer and W. Callcott, R.A.) illustrates against a highly picturesque mountain backdrop a productive field being worked by one female reaper while others repose around a full haycart. In the distance four men return home from hunting with their spoils. That the content and nature of Landseer's work was in many instances determined by the "aesthetic of the market" and the need "to produce

small prettiness for golden pay" is beyond doubt however, the "ambiguity of actuality", the absence of any realistic social content and comment in Landseer's works cannot be attributed solely to the nature of the Victorian art market and the values it demanded ⁶¹.

Landseer and the False Ideal

Ruskin's comments on the Savoyard peasants are helpful in understanding the ambiguity of actuality present in Landseer's images of Highland life. After describing clusters of nut brown cottages nesting among sloping orchards Ruskin comments of the observer:

Here it may well seem to him, if there sometimes be hardship, there must be at least innocence and peace, and fellowship of the human soul with nature. It is not so. The wild goats that leap along those rocks have as much passion of joy in all that fair work of God as men that toil among them. Perhaps more. Enter the street of one of those villages, and you will find it foul with that gloomy foulness that is suffered only by torpor, or by an anguish of the soul. Here it is torpor - not absolute suffering, - not starvation or disease, but the darkness of calm enduring; the spring known only as a time of the sickle, and the sun as the only warmth, the wind as a chill, and the mountains as a danger. They do not understand so much as the name of beauty, or of knowledge. They understand dimly that of virtue, Love, patience, hospitality, faith, - these things they know

For them there is neither hope nor passion of spirit; for them neither advance nor exultation. Black bread, rude roof, dark night, labourious day, weary arm at sunset; and life ebbs away. No books, no thoughts, no attainments, no rest . . .

Do not let this be thought a darkened picture of the life of these mountaineers. It is a literal fact, No contrast can be more painful than that between the dwelling of any well conducted English cottager, and that of the equally honest Savoyard. The one, set in the midst of its dull flat fields and uninteresting hedgerows, shows itself the love of brightness and beauty; its daisy studded garden-beds, its smoothly swept brick path to the threshold, its freshly sanded floor and orderly shelves of household furniture, all testify to energy of the heart, and happiness in the simple possessions of daily life. The other cottage, in the midst of an inconceivable, inexpressable beauty, set on a sloping bank of golden sward, with clear fountains flowing beside it, and wild flowers, and noble trees, and goodly rocks gathered round into a perfection as of Paradise, is itself a dark and plague like stain in the midst of the gentle landscape. Within a certain distance of its threshold the ground is fouled and cattle trampled; its timbers are black with smoke, its gardens choked with weeds and nameless refuse, its chambers empty and joyless, the light and wind gleaning and filtering through the crannies of their stones. All testifies that to its inhabitants the world is labour and vanity; that for him neither flowers bloom, nor birds sing, nor fountains glisten; and that his soul hardly differs from the grey cloud that coils and dies upon his hills, except by having no fold of it touched by the sunbeams ⁶².

Having noted the reality of rural existence Ruskin was to add

Is it not strange to reflect that hardly an evening passes in London or Paris, but one of these cottages is painted for the amusement of the fair and idle, and shaded with the pasteboard pines by the scene shifter; and that good

and kind people, - poetically minded, - delight themselves in imagining the happy life led by peasants who dwell by Alpine fountain, and kneel to crosses upon peaks of rock that we nightly lay down our gold, to fashion forth simulacra of peasants, in gay ribands and white bodices, singing sweet songs, and bowing gracefully to the picturesque crosses; and all the while the veritable peasants are kneeling songlessly, to veritable crosses, in another temper than the kind and fair audiences dream of, and assuredly with another kind of answer than is got out of the opera catastrophe; an answer having reference, it may be in dim futurity, to those very audiences themselves ? ⁶³

Such feelings led Ruskin to outline his notions of the "False" and True Ideals:

If all the gold that has gone to paint the simulacra of the cottages, and to put new songs in the mouths of the simulacra of the peasants, had gone to brighten the existent cottages, and to put new songs in the mouth of existent peasants, it might in the end, perhaps, have turned out better so, not only for the peasant, but even for the audience.

For that form of the False Ideal has also its correspondent True Ideal, - consisting not in the naked beauty of statues, not in the gauze flowers and crackling tinsel of theatres, but in the clothed and fed beauty of living men, and in the lights and laughs of happy homes. Night after night the desire of such an ideal springs up in every human heart; and night after night, as far as idleness can, we can work out this desire in costly lies.

We paint the faded actress, build the lath landscape, feed our benevolence with fallacies of felicity, and satisfy

our righteousness with poetry of justice, The time will come when, as the heavy-folded curtain falls upon our own stage of life, we shall begin to comprehend that the justice we loved was intended to have been done in fact, and not in poetry, and the felicity we sympathised in, to have been bestowed and not feigned. We talk much of money's worth, yet perhaps may one day be surprised to find what the wise and charitable European public give to one night's rehearsal of hypocrisy, - to one hour's pleasant warbling of Linda and Lucia, - would have filled a whole Alpine valley with happiness, and poured waves of harvest over the famine of many a Lammermoor ⁶⁴.

Just as Ruskin could link his discussion of the Savoyard peasants with the rural poor of the Scottish Lammermuirs, his comments on the theatre were equally relevant to the practice of nineteenth landscape painting. It was the *false ideal* as defined by Ruskin that lay behind the "homely" genre painting of the nineteenth century just as it was consideration of the *true ideal* that lay behind the dreary landscape and the gradual change in the re-presentation of the Scottish and British rural poor. While Landseer's representations of the rural poor can be regarded in terms of the *false ideal*, however this statement must be qualified. While it is inconceivable that Landseer did not encounter the squalid conditions that inflamed Ruskin his images were tempered by a highly personal experience of the Highlands and Highland life.

Landseer was an intimate friend of the Ellice family and was a frequent guest at the Ellice estates at Glenfeshie and Glen Quoich (See Figure 3.1, page 102). Both father and son were influential Liberal members of parliament who ultimately held a controlling interest in the Hudson's Bay Fur Trading Company. Edward Ellice Senior's tastes were more Augustian than Romantic. "He was more at home in a world of easy morality, scepticism, tolerance, Classical architecture and improved arable land than in one of religious revival, Baronial castles and romantic deer forests" ⁶⁵. However, it was to Glenfeshie that Landseer

travelled every autumn between 1834-1839 and it was to this estate that Landseer returned in 1841 after his mental breakdown of the previous year ⁶⁶. During the decade 1830-1840 Ellice Senior became a prominent figure in Scottish politics and exercised indirect influence on affairs at Westminster. However he was conscious that real power remained a function of territorial influence ⁶⁷. Glenfeshie, the family's existing estate was not grand enough so in 1842 the Ellice family bought the larger estate of Glen Quoich (34,400 acres) in Invernesshire for £32,000 ⁶⁸. Most of the surrounding estates in south west Invernesshire at this time were owned by heads of clans; the largest estate of the area belonging to Macdonnell who still styled himself with an illegal Jacobite peerage. In keeping with such attitudes the Ellice's became very much bogus highland lairds ⁶⁹.

After the purchase of Glen Quoich entertainment was on a grand scale and Ellice boasted that all his guests came "to stalk deer and be poisoned by the Scotch broth" ⁷⁰. Edward Ellice Senior was optimistic about the future of the lower classes and saw no reason for further legislation to protect them and consistently voted against Shaftsbury's factory acts. While "On the basis of English experience, this optimism was partially justified; in the Highlands it was absurd" ⁷¹. The Ellice estates had problems similar to those in the west of Ireland. In 1846 the fishing failed, the potatoes were blighted and many crofters died from cholera. There were rent strikes on the Glen Quoich estate and the landless talked of their right to the crofts from which their parents were evicted ⁷². To the Ellices it was all reminiscent of troubles on their Beauharnois estate in Canada in the 1830's.

Edward Ellice Junior saw the solution in the reform of the Scottish Poor Law which was less humane than the English system ⁷³. This harsh regime in Argyle, Invernesshire and Ross and Cromarty went unchecked between 1847-1851 as there was no inspection of workhouses. "The system seemed designed to protect the rich at the expense of the poor, the authorities were in the pockets of the landlords" ⁷⁴. While Edward

Re-presentation of the Scottish rural poor

Ellice Junior campaigned actively on behalf of the poor his father however, was less sympathetic;

The difficult point here, and all over the Western islands will be to persuade the savages that it is necessary to work. Their habit is to live in idleness on their fish and potatoes - and even the young men who have found their way south to the railroad in the summer return to spend the 'otium cum dignitate' in winter among their relations. They are like the Irish and will only labour on compulsion - wherefore you must be on your guard against riot and disorder 75.

Unlike his father however Edward Ellice Junior was a romantic. It was difficult to make a profit out of a highland estate when foreign competition from imported wool made tenants incapable of paying their rentals. Since Glen Quoich was not the main source of the Ellice family's capital however they could afford to build model cottages and be good landlords 76.

Such deeds were far from standard practice in the Scottish Highlands especially during the period 1830-1840 when Landseer undertook the majority of his Highland works. Edward Ellice was inclined to lecture other landlords despite the fact that Glen Quoich was the only estate in the parish of Kelmanivaig which stretched for over fifty miles. In September 1846 Edward Ellice warned a meeting of proprietors in Invernesshire that unless they employed the poor voluntarily they would be confronted with Irish style legislation whereby the government found work for the surplus population and compelled landowners to pay. Reluctantly the proprietors agreed to employ their poor at one shilling and sixpence a day 77. From the above it is clear that Landseer's close association with the Ellice family led to a softened view of Highland life. Landseer's mediated experience of Highland existence however, was not confined to the benevolence of the Ellice family.

Re-presentation of the Scottish rural poor

During the period 1820-1840, Landseer was also a frequent visitor to "The Doune", a hunting lodge close to Aviemore leased by the 6th Duke and Duchess of Bedford. In addition to "The Doune" the Bedfords leased from the Ellice family a portion of the Glenfeshie estate further south where they established a small vacation settlement consisting of a few scattered huts. In his correspondence with his sister, Bedford's surgeon, Allan Thomson left a record of two seasons activities. Thomson's account is one versed in the trappings of the romantic movement yet it gives an amusing and highly perceptive account of the Highland pursuits of a leisured class, for this reason it is worth quoting extensively:

We are likely to see some company here now, There are a great many of the nobility, straggling about in the moors throughout the highlands ⁷⁸.

We have now settled in this idle sort of life which is generally led in these parts which consists in being engaged in out of door amusements, or in its higher title of sports of the field, for which the great folks migrate with so much trouble and expense to the north.

Sporting is of course our chief employment and I'm getting gradually initiated into its mysteries. My tartan and my shepherd's plaid will be here tomorrow when I shall be fit for the moors ⁷⁹.

On the side of Loch Inch six miles from the Doune, There is a burying place and monument of the Macpherson that either was or was not Ossian, Ruthern Castle in which the Chevalier took refuge some time after the battle of Culloden is close to Kingussie. The stronghold of the Cumming is a castle in the middle of our Loch an Elan which was a ruin 6000 years ago. The Grant's swear by the hill called Craig Clachie which overhangs the other side of the Spey close by this house and I dare say a more

Re-presentation of the Scottish rural poor

industrious antiquarian than I might tell you many more curious things connected with this neighbourhood ⁶⁰.

From the above quotations it is clear that Thomson was well versed in the historical landscape characteristic of the romantic movement. However, he expanded further on how this landscape was explored and appropriated:

We have had one grand expedition on Wednesday and yesterday to a place which I mentioned last year, Loch Aven (pronounced Avon) on the other side of Cairngorm. This is a most Romantic and wild lake situated in a narrow gully or glen surrounded by precipitous rocks from 500-1000 feet high and accessible only on one side. The only road or way rather, for there is no path to get to Loch Aven is over Cairngorm's very top or the hills which range along it, and strange to say much the easiest way is close to the Cairn on Cairngorm ⁶¹.

On Wednesday the Duchess, Lady Abercorn and Lady Georgina and one of the Miss Balfours, Lords Cosmos and Alexander, Sir Richard King and Capt Sullivan, two military men who are at present being initiated into Highland life, Mr Ellice, Mr Purvis all sallied forth with their cortege consisting of a gillie for each person, a dozen ponies, a gillie for each pony and some servants besides _ _ _ _

They arrived at the Glen in about six and a half hours dined, and passed the night in the hills. A small tent was pitched for the ladies and their maid, and the gentlemen slept in a natural cave a large hole made by an enormous block of granite forming a cube about 30 feet which has fallen amidst a heap of smaller blocks and is supported by them so as to form the roof of a cavern _ _

Re-presentation of the Scottish rural poor

This is a common resort of shepherds and deer poachers and I think the gentlemen were a good deal better off than the ladies ⁶².

Such was the manner in which the leisured class explored the romantic Highlands of Scotland. Thomson in his capacity as a doctor however left a record not only of the romantic life but the social and economic conditions on the surrounding estate:

I have had a considerable number of patients of different kinds. Some cases of chronic internal complaints. Some of these are attributable to the poor living of the common people. I have often heard the Scotch people referred to as proofs of the wholesomeness of vegetable diet alone, but certainly in this neighbourhood we have sufficient reason that something more than one kind of vegetable food is required for the nutrition of the body . . . I think I am justified from these as well as other circumstances in supposing oatmeal is not a wholesome article of food when not combined with something else ⁶³.

Having noted the above Thomson however did not confine his observations to diet alone:

Labour is by no means cheap here, but then it is only for a part of the year that labourers can get employment. They are pent up in their houses for a great part of the winter and unable to do anything.

Neither is fuel cheap, for carriage often costs a good deal and some think it more economical to burn imported coals. The wood is most abundant, but dear also from carriage.

Re-presentation of the Scottish rural poor

A great many of the people necessarily depend for sustenance on their employment by the summer and winter residentees. The Duchess has done an immense deal in this neighbourhood to better the condition of the poor and not greater proof of her tact and knowledge of the world can be given than the judicious way in which she has done so⁸⁴.

The farms are small and even in the lowland of the Strath are chiefly for cattle. The grain is of course chiefly for consumption in the immediate neighbourhood of the place in which it grows . .

The lateness of the season makes the present a bad year, for although the weather is now improving the grain cannot be expected to fill. The farmers are cutting it green in many places, and what adds to the probability of want during the winter is the turnips having failed in many places and the potatoes having been frosted . . .

The other day in one of the country houses I was in I saw a large pot of potatoes going on the fire and I asked how long it would take them. 'Much longer than former years' was the answer 'for they are so bad this year that we can scarcely eat them with relish'. The gaelic language is general here, but most of the men and younger people know a little English. I am obliged to have an interpreter for the greater number of my patients⁸⁵.

Thomson's record tells of the harshness of life on one Highland estate, a harshness which was mitigated only by seasonal employment - the unspecified charity of the Duchess of Bedford. This was the stark reality behind the numerous "Highland Interior" works Landseer produced between 1830 and 1834⁸⁶. While the local population struggled for existence Edward Ellice and Edwin Landseer could, as

witnessed in the Glenfeshie Game Books, kill scores of grouse and collect an abundance of what Landseer later would call "Precious Trophies" (Plate 44) ⁸⁷.

Reflecting in 1884 Donald Cameron believed that the growing popularity of deer forests and the quest for "precious trophies" resulted from "an increasing love of sport and a higher appreciation of wild scenery -- accumulation of wealth among the trading and commercial classes; communications and Sir Edwin Landseer" ⁸⁸. While it would of course be ridiculous to correlate the development of Scottish deer forests with the production and success of Landseer's art it is interesting to note the temporal relationship between the two. While the origins of Scottish deer stalking can be traced into antiquity by 1800 only seven deer forests remained ⁸⁹. After the French War however the Highlands began to attract both English aristocratic and mercantile interests. While development was slow and uncertain by 1833 the region and sport had become "the rage" ⁹⁰. By 1839 at least 28 deer forests had been formed. Following Queen Victoria's visit to Drummond Castle in 1842 and her new found interest in the region expansion continued during the 1840's and at least 14 other forests were formed. This rate of expansion continued into the period 1850-1860 when a further 14 forests were established ⁹¹. Mirroring the rapid formation of Scottish deer forests, the decade 1830-40 was the most creative and successful of Landseer's entire career. This success was based on numerous homely and sporting Highland images. These images however while recording peasant domesticity, the excitement of the chase and the glory of the kill failed to reflect the reality of peasant Highland existence outside the confines of the hunting lodge.

Landseer's works were indeed based on what R. Ormond has called his "close association" with the Highlands, however this association including intimate friendship with the benevolent Duke and Duchess of Bedford, the Ellice family and Queen Victoria led inevitably to a contradiction between the false and true ideal. It is this contradiction in addition to the art market's pressure "to produce small prettiness for golden pay" which underlies the ambiguity of actuality discussed

above 92. That the major works of the "prophet of the Highlands" contain no reference to "real business and action", "the hope beyond" or the didactic morality of the "dreary landscape" seems initially to negate the contention of this chapter that acceptable art in the early and mid nineteenth century was conditioned by aesthetic constraints. However, close inspection has shown Landseer's works to be far from free of ethical and moral considerations. The form and content of Landseer's works both articulated and reinforced middle class standards and values that lay at the heart of bourgeois ideology. By their very popularity with a critically minded Victorian public Landseer's Highland images paradoxically serve (like the hostile reception of E. Nicol's works) to underline the existence of inherently ideological aesthetic constraints. The following chapter "looks below the surface" of Landseer's royal Highland commissions in order to examine further that which lies inherent in the Highland image, the link between landscape and ideology, the link between landscape and culture.

Notes to Chapter Four

1. John Ruskin in "The Political Economy of Art", Lecture 1, in John Ruskin, Unto This Last: and other essays, Everyman Edition, London, John Dent & Sons Limited, 1938, p.1.
2. John Barrell, The Dark Side of the Landscape: the rural poor in English painting 1730-1840, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1980, p.5.
3. H.D. Rodee, "The Dreary Landscape as a Background for Scenes of Rural Poverty in Victorian Paintings", Art Journal, Vol XXXVI, No.4, 1977, pp.307-313; P. Fuller, Images of God, London, Chatto & Windus, 1985, pp.80-81.
4. Howard David Rodee, "Scenes of Rural and Urban Poverty in Victorian Painting and their Development, 1850 to 1890", Columbia University, Ph.D thesis, 1975, ii; See also, Teri Jocelin Edelstein, "But who shall paint the griefs of those oppress'd ? The Social Theme in Victorian Painting", University of Pennsylvania, Ph.D thesis, 1979.
5. On D. Wilkie see, A. Cunningham, The Life of Sir David Wilkie, London, 3 Volumes, 1843; Works of Sir David Wilkie, R.A., Christies, London, 25-30th April 1842, 20-21st June, 1860; Lord Ronald Sutherland Gower, Sir David Wilkie, London, 1902; Paintings and Drawings by Sir David Wilkie, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh/ Royal Academy, London, 1958 Exhibition Catalogue.
6. On English rural disturbances of this period see E.J. Hobsbawm & G. Rude, Captain Swing, Harmondsworth, 1969; For some interesting comments on artistic reactions to such disturbances see M. Rosenthal, British Landscape Painting, Oxford, Phaidon, 1982, p.118

7. John Ruskin, Academy Notes, 1858, p.170.
8. "The Royal Academy Exhibition of 1858", The Art Journal, June, 1858, p.170.
9. The Athenaeum, 1830, Volume 119, February 6, p.76.
10. John Ruskin, Modern Painters, Volume V, Part IX, Chapter 2, in E.T. Cook & Wedderburn (eds), Works, Vol VII, 1905, pp.268-269. It is interesting how Ruskin constructs his image layer by layer creating a landscape painting in words.
11. "The National Institution Exhibition, 1856", Art Journal, April, 1856, pp.121-23.
12. W.M. Rossetti, Fine Art, Chiefly Contemporary, London, Macmillan & Co, 1867, p.7.
13. H.D. Rodee, 1975, p.32.
14. Lionel E. Robinson, "English Art as Seen Through French Spectacles, III, The Modern School", Art Journal, November, 1884, p.343.
15. L.E. Robinson, 1884, p.343.
16. "The Royal Academy", Art Journal, June, 1863, p.112.
17. "The Royal Academy", Art Journal, June, 1866, p.167.
18. J.B. Atkinson, "Art, Politics and Proceedings", Blackwood's Magazine, August, 1866, p.193.
19. J. Barrell, 1980, pp.89-129.

20. John Stevenson, Popular Disturbances in England, 1700-1870, London, Longman, 1979; D. Richter, "The role of the mob riot in Victorian Elections, 1865-85", Victorian Studies, 15, 1971-72; See also, J.P.D. Dunabin, Rural Discontent in Nineteenth Century Britain, London, Faber, 1974.
21. See M. Gray, The Highland Economy 1750-1850, Edinburgh, 1957, p.64. For recent reappraisals of the history of Highland emigration see E. Richards, A History of the Highland Clearances. Volume 2: Emigration, Protest, Reasons, Beckenham, Croom Helm, 1985, pp.177-283, 181; M. Flinn (ed), Scottish Population History, Cambridge, 1977, pp.441-454. On British Emigration in general see H.J.M. Johnson, British Emigration Policy 1815-1830: Shovelling out paupers, Oxford, 1972.
22. See M.I. Adam, "The Highland Emigration of 1770", Scottish Historical Review, Vol. 16, 1919; "The Causes of the Highland Emigrations of 1783-1803", Scottish Historical Review, Vol. 17, 1920; "The Eighteenth Century Highland Landlords and the Poverty Problem", Scottish Historical Review, Vol. 19, 1922. See also J.M. Bumsted, The People's Clearance: Highland Emigration to British North America 1770-1815, Edinburgh, 1982.
23. Following agitation by the Highland Society of Scotland pressure group and disaffected landlords the Government passed the Passenger Vessel act of 1803. This act was a strong deterrent to emigration as it imposed statutory requirements upon emigrant vessels including minimum food requirements. As a consequence passages became more expensive with some fares doubling or even tripling.
24. It is a little noted fact that several landlords including Macleod of Dunvegan and Lord Macdonald bankrupted themselves in an attempt to retain the peasantry on their estates.
25. E. Richards, 1985, p.230.

26. E. Richards, 1985, p.233.
27. M. Flinn (ed), 1977, pp.441-454.
28. D. Thomson, England in the Nineteenth Century, Harmondsworth, 1966, pp.91-96.
29. H.D. Rodee, 1975, p.56.
30. "The Royal Academy Exhibition", The Art Journal, June, 1859, p.165.
31. T. Hilton, The Pre-Raphaelites, London, Thames & Hudson, 1970, pp.151-155.
32. W.M. Rossetti, Fine Art, Chiefly Contemporary, 1867, p.199.
33. F.D. Klingender, Art and the Industrial Revolution, St. Albans, Paladin, 1975, p.74. (Originally published, 1968).
34. H.D. Rodee, 1975, p.90.
35. "Current Art", Magazine of Art, 1882, p.433.
36. "Current Art", Magazine of Art, 1882, p.433.
37. H.D. Rodee, 1975, p.91; See P. Fuller, Images of God: The Consolations of Lost Illusions, London, Chatto & Windus, 1985, p.86.

38. J. Barrell, 1980, p.22. This phrase derives from an unsigned review of Crabbe's "The Village" in The Gentleman's Magazine, December 1783, LIII, pp.1041-2, and reprinted in Crabbe: The Critical Heritage ed. Arthur Pollard, London, 1972, p.44. The reviewer remarked that Crabbe represented "only the dark side of the landscape, the poverty and misery attendant on the peasant".

J. Barrell comments; "There are constraints too on what sort of an image of the poor may be portrayed in the full light of day, and what in darkness. A basic rule of landscape composition in the eighteenth century — exemplified well enough by George Lambert's "Woody Landscape" of 1757 — is that the rich and their habitations must be illuminated, and the poor and theirs be left in the shadows of the 'dark side of the landscape'; or as Crabbe puts it, when satirising the complaints of the radical poor, the 'proud mansion — — keeps the sunshine from the cottage gate'. This division has the advantage of marking the differences in status and fortune between rich and poor, while showing that the unity of the landscape and of the society it can be seen to represent is dependent on the existence of both, which combine in a harmonious whole. *As the landscape could not be structured without the natural contrasts of light and shade, so the society could not survive without social and economic distinctions which are thus also apparently natural*".

39. H.D. Rodee, 1975, p.91.
40. On other nineteenth century rural images see the various essays in G.E Mingay (ed), The Victorian Countryside, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 2 Vols, 1981.
41. J. Barrell, 1980.
42. J. Barrell, 1980. pp.13-14.

43. H.D. Rodee, 1975.
44. P. Fuller, 1985, p.86.
45. This new sensibility towards the natural world amongst other things allowed for greater visible concern over the plight of the poverty stricken masses. This change is reflected in the development of protective legislation and institutions for pastoral care. See, Chapter Six.
46. Their popularity was also related to the symbolic role of animals in Victorian thought. See Chapter Six.
47. The Athenaeum, December, 1855, quoted in C.S. Mann, The Works of Sir Edwin Landseer (4 Volumes), 1874-77, National Art Library MSS, 86.BB.19, p.6.
48. On the "singularly pure and inoffensive" nature of Landseer's art see, J.A., Hessey, "The Artist as a great moral teacher: A sermon delivered in St. Paul's Cathedral on Sunday, October 11, 1873 on the occasion of the Funeral of Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A.", London, John Murray, 1873.
49. The Examiner, Volume 1216, 1831, May 15, p.309.
50. "Current Art", Magazine of Art, 1882, p.433.
51. The Times, February 1, 1842, p.5f.
52. The Art Union, 1841, p.141.
53. The Times, February 1, 1842, p.5f.
54. The Art Union, 1841, p.141.

55. On the Victorian bourgeois family see, J. Weeks, Sex, Politics and Society, London, 1981, pp.24-37. "During the first half of the nineteenth century the domestic ideal and its attendant images became a vital organising factor in the development of middle-classness, and in the creation of a differentiated identity". (Weeks, p.28); See also A.S. Wohl (ed), The Victorian Family: Structure and Stresses, London, 1978 and the relevant discussion in Chapter Six below.
56. A.R.B. Haldane, The Drove Roads of Scotland, London, 1952.
57. The Athenaeum, December, 1855, quoted in C.S. Mann, National Art Library MSS, 86.BB.19, p.3.
58. "The Winter Exhibition. Landseer's Etchings, 12th November, 1855 quoted in C.S. Mann, National Art Library MSS, 86.BB.21, pp.1-2.
59. Ibid., pp.2-4.
60. "The Tired Reaper" (1824). Engraving in the royal collection, lithographed by C. Hague.
- "Harvest Time in the Scottish Highlands" (1833). Joint production of Callcott and Landseer, engraving published by the Art Union of London.
61. "The Winter Exhibition, 12th November, 1855 quoted in C.S. Mann, National Art Library MSS, 86.BB.21, pp.1-2.
62. John Ruskin, Modern Painters, Volume IV, Part V, Chapter XIX, "The Mountain Gloom", in E.T. Cook & A. Wedderburn (eds), Works, Vol.VI, 1904, pp.388-390.
63. Ibid., p.390.
64. Ibid., pp.390-391.

65. J.C. Clarke, "From Business to Politics: The Ellice Family 1760-1860", University of Oxford, D.Phil Thesis, 1973, p.430.
66. Glenfeshie Game Books 1834-1872, National Library of Scotland MSS, 15152-5; Glen Quioch Visitors Book 1846-1863, National Library of Scotland MSS, 15197. Between 1834-1839 Landseer visited Ellice every autumn, over the subsequent period 1842-1872 his visits were irregular.
67. J.C. Clarke, 1973, p.432.
68. W. Orr, Deer Forests, Landlords and Crofters, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1982, p.29.
69. J.C. Clarke, 1973, p.430.
70. Letter from Ellice to Lady Holland, dated 27th August, 1842, British Museum MSS, 51589, f.17.
71. J.C. Clarke, 1973, p.434.
72. Letter from Ellice Snr. to Rutherford, dated 17th September 1846, National Library of Scotland MSS, 9690, f.42.
73. J.C. Clarke, 1973, p.435.
74. Ibid, p.435.
75. Letter from Ellice Snr. to Rutherford, dated 28th September 1846, National Library of Scotland MS, 9690, f.46.
76. J.C. Clarke, 1973, p.435.
77. Ibid, p.436.

78. Letter dated 12th September, 1837. National Library of Scotland MS, 9237, f.91.
79. Letter dated Friday, 1837. National Library of Scotland MSS, 9237, f.94/ f.9.
80. National Library of Scotland MS, 9237, f.17 (1836).
81. National Library of Scotland MS, 9237, f.94, (1837).
82. National Library of Scotland MS, 9237, f.96 (1837).
83. Letter dated 23rd October, 1836. National Library of Scotland MS, 9237, f.15.
84. National Library of Scotland MS, 9237, f.16.
85. National Library of Scotland MS, 9237, f.16.
86. Between 1830 and 1834 Landseer exhibited seven Highland interiors.
87. Glenfeshie Game Books 1834-1872, (N.L.S. MSS, 15152-5); At a sale of the contents of Landseer's home after his death a total of 56 pairs of antlers and stags heads were auctioned. (National Art Library, [Sales 23.XX] "Engraved works, sketches, pictures by Old Masters, furniture and miscellaneous contents of residence". Smith, Son & Oakley, July 28-30, London, 1874).
88. Donald Cameron quoted in W. Orr, 1982, p.40. On Landseer's influence and enjoyment of the sport see D.H. Davies, Monarchs of the Glen: A History of Deer Stalking in the Scottish Highlands, London, 1978, pp.127-138.
89. W. Orr, 1982, p.28; See also D.H. Davies, 1982.

90. Quotation from the Earl of Malmesbury cited in W. Orr, 1982, p.29.
91. W. Orr, 1982, pp.28-37.
92. Quotation from The Athenaeum, "The Winter Exhibition. Landseer's Etchings, 12th November, 1855 cited in C.S. Mann, National Art Library MSS, 86.BB.21, pp.2-4

CHAPTER FIVE

THE PRIVATION OF HISTORY: LANDSEER, VICTORIA AND THE HIGHLAND MYTH

The use of the Queen, in a dignified capacity, is incalculable. Without her in England, the present English Government would fail and pass away. Most people when they read that the Queen walked on the slopes at Windsor - that the Prince of Wales went to the Derby - have imagined that too much thought and prominence were given to little things. But they have been in error; and it is nice to trace how the actions of a retired widow, and an unemployed youth become of such importance.

Walter Bagehot (1867) ¹.

We used a great many words whose derivations we did not know - for instance the word myth - What does it come from - I was not given enough to reply beyond the common place facts about the word.

Frederick Keyl in conversation with Sir Edwin Landseer (1867) ².

In the previous chapter the representation of the rural poor in nineteenth century landscape art was examined and some connections between bourgeois ideology and the landscape idea discerned. This chapter will attempt to discover whether the commissioning and execution of Landseer's royal commissions was governed by similar "aesthetic rules" and ideological considerations. To contemporaries such as Walter Bagehot the significance of seemingly simple pleasures was

not lost for they formed an integral part of the *English Constitution*. Over the last century Queen Victoria's presence at Balmoral in the Scottish Highlands has been called into question. Protagonists argue that her love of the Highlands formed part of a conscious ideological exercise to manufacture and appropriate a royal Highland tradition. This stance will be critically examined below and an alternative view proposed, one which falsifies reductionist claims of ideological manipulation while correcting the common misconception that Victoria's love for the Highlands stemmed solely from the influence of Romanticism.

It is argued that Landseer's royal Highland commissions constitute a Highland myth, one whose ramifications can still be observed today. This Highland myth led not only to the privation of history, but the privation of geography and altered contemporary conceptions of the Scottish landscape and region. The term myth itself came into common English use as late as the early nineteenth century. In perhaps the earliest use of the term, the Westminster Review wrote in 1830 of the "origin of myths" seeking their "cause in the circumstances of fabulous history". However, from the middle of the century myth came to assume another meaning, that of an untrustworthy or even deliberately deceptive invention³. Contemporaries such as Landseer, and his "pupil" Frederick Keyl could debate its meaning. Today, as in the nineteenth century, myth has several, often contradictory meanings. In this chapter the concept of myth referred to is that espoused by the late French literary critic and philosopher, Roland Barthes. This concept is outlined below as a necessary prelude to the examination of the relations between Landseer, Victoria and the Highland myth.

The nature of myth

Roland Barthes (1915-1980) was Professor of the System of Signs at the College de France. In his seminal work Mythologies (1957) Barthes "resented seeing Nature and History confused at every turn"⁴. In

essence Mythologies had a double theoretical framework. Firstly, the work was an explicit ideological critique of the language of mass culture and secondly, it attempted to provide a working methodology within the confines of a new science, *semiology*. In doing so Barthes sought to account for and analyse the transformation of bourgeois culture into nature, that is, the transformation of the historically contingent into the *natural*.

In 1971 Barthes returned again to the concept of myth ⁶. Barthes recognised that semiology had developed further from his initial premises consequently he argued that ideological analysis *ought* to be more sophisticated than his initial outline had suggested. These developments led Barthes to conclude that his concept of myth belonged to the past. However, as A. Lavers has noted, these comments were little more than a qualified endorsement for Barthes never disowned the concept ⁶. For Barthes demystification, or demythication, had become a tired phrase. He was of the opinion that the purpose of inquiry should be less the analysis of the sign than its dislocation, a process he called *semioclasms* ⁷. With the advent of *semioclasms* Barthes argued that the scale of semiological enquiry would know no historical or geographical bounds.

While Mythologies was a *synchronic* study of contemporary France Barthes envisaged the possibility of the *diachronic* study of myth.

One can therefore imagine a diachronic study of myth, whether one submits them to retrospection (which means founding a historical mythology), or whether one follows some of yesterday's myths down to their present forms (which means forming prospective history) ⁸.

In no sense can Barthes's conception of myth be considered ahistorical. In fact Barthes stressed that:

the specific study of forms does not in any way contradict the necessary principles of totality and History. The more a system is specifically defined in terms of its form, the more amenable it is to historical criticism ⁹.

Further, as in Barthes's other works, great importance was attached to history:

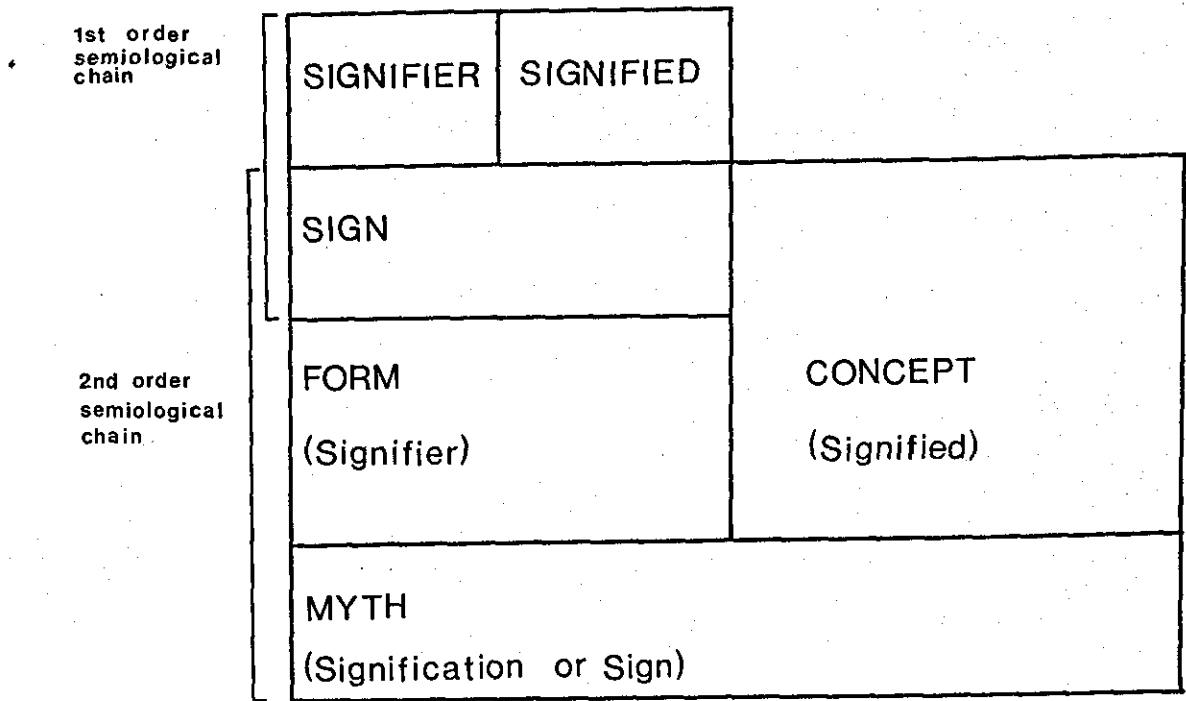
one can conceive of very ancient myths, but there are no eternal ones; for it is human history which converts reality into speech, and it alone rules the life and death of mythical language. Ancient or not, Mythology can only have an historical foundation, for myth is a type of speech chosen by history; it cannot evolve from the 'nature of things' ¹⁰.

there is no fixity in mythological concepts; they can come into being, alter, disintegrate, disappear completely. And it is precisely because they are historical that history can easily suppress them ¹¹.

It is *history* that is of paramount importance to the study of myth, for, myth transforms the historically contingent into the natural.

To Barthes myth is a system of communication, a message, a mode of signification, a form. Examine Figure 5.1. Elementary semiology postulates a relation between two terms, a *signifier* and a *signified*, however there is a third term, the *sign* which is the associative total of the first two terms. In myth the sequence of signifier, signified and sign again appears. Myth is in essence what Barthes calls a second order semiological chain (or *Metalanguage*), and is constructed from the chain which exists before it. That which is a sign in the first system becomes a mere signifier in the second. Barthes calls the sign of the first order semiological system the *meaning*. However, since the sign of the first order system is also the mythical signifier another term is

FIGURE 5.1 THE NATURE OF MYTH



Source: R. Barthes, 1972

required to describe this role. When the sign of the first order system (language) fulfils this function Barthes terms it the *form*. The mythical signified Barthes terms the *concept*. In the second order semiological chain, this sign or signification is the *myth* itself.

In myth the mythical signifier is both full and empty. It is from the *meaning* that myth draws its nourishment. When the first order sign (*meaning*) becomes the mythical signifier (or *form*) its contingency is left behind. When this happens the mythical signifier (*form*) leaves behind a whole system of values, a history, a geography, a morality. Barthes postulates a continuous alteration, a dialectic between *meaning* and *form*. *Meaning* forms a reservoir of history which myth calls upon and dismisses at will ¹². According to Barthes, it is this constant game of hide and seek between *meaning* and *form* which defines myth.

Painting as a language

While Barthes's theory of myth outlined above was specifically formulated to resolve central questions relating to literary culture Barthes argued that it could be used to study other aspects of popular culture. As an introduction to the following analysis of Landseer, Victoria and the Highland myth this section considers Barthes's thoughts on painting as a language. Barthes was of the opinion that :

everything can be a myth provided it can be conveyed by a discourse. Myth is not defined by the object of its message, but by the way in which it utters this message; there are no formal limits to myth, there are no 'substantial' ones. Everything, then, can be a myth ? Yes, I believe this, for the universe is infinitely fertile in suggestions ¹³.

From the above it is clear that Barthes believed that the study and analysis of myth need not be restricted solely to written language. For Barthes myth was a second order semiological system (*metalanguage*). Therefore:

When he reflects on a metalanguage, the semiologist no longer needs to ask himself questions about the composition of the language object, he no longer needs to take into account the details of the linguistic schema; he will only need to know its total term, or global sign, and only inasmuch as this term lends itself to myth. This is why the semiologist is entitled to treat in the same way writing and pictures ¹⁴.

In 1969 Barthes turned his attention to the question of whether painting was a language. Barthes reflected

to ask oneself if painting is a form of language is immediately a moral question which calls for a mitigated reply, a reply which is dead, protecting the rights of the individual creator [the artist] and those of human universality [society] ¹⁵.

Barthes proposed that a painting be read in much the same way as a text, but always with regard to historical context. In doing so however Barthes also argued that the creative actions of the individual should not be denied. Most importantly Barthes argued that examination of a painting should not be limited to a professional critique of form and composition, the traditional preserve of art history:

The painting, whoever writes it, exists only in the narrative I give to it, or still in the number and

organisation of readings that one could do; a painting is never anything but its own plural description ¹⁶.

Barthes argued essentially that any interpretation of a work of art was necessarily subjective, depending on the observer's construction of the work. In one sense a painting is a "setting infinitely open to subjective investment" where:

the image is not the expression of a code, rather it is the variation of a work of codification; it is not a system but a generator of systems ¹⁷.

Barthes commented that semiology has tended to postulate a model against which paintings, myth, narratives etc could be defined in terms of gaps, intervals, disparities and that this approach can become too narrow, dogmatic and constraining. In the above reflections Barthes effectively warns any analyst against this potentially reductionist approach. Despite Barthes's qualifications on the nature of semiological inquiry noted above, clearly he remained of the opinion that painting could be treated as a language because of the nature of myth, ie myth is only interested in the *metalanguage* or the sign of the first order system.

In a sense Barthes once again qualified, but did not retract, his concept of myth. Further Barthes stressed that subjective elements inevitably enter into an analysis through the identification of various signifiers and the naming of the *concept* ¹⁸. For this reason, and for those reasons emphasised in Chapter One, it is necessary for any examiner to adopt a clearly identifiable theoretical framework. This chapter adopts Barthes's concept of myth and incorporates it into an overall cultural materialist framework as outlined in Chapter One. Having made clear the theoretical underpinnings of this present study it is necessary to make some critical comments on Barthes's concept for the move from literature to the analysis of painting is not easily made ¹⁹.

Critics of myth

There are several ways in which Barthes's concept of myth has been criticised. Firstly, Barthes's myth is frequently termed "structuralist" and grouped along with the work of other thinkers such as Claude Levi Strauss ²⁰. As a result it has suffered from the received wisdom surrounding the so called "structuralist school", namely it has been criticised for being atemporal, descriptive rather than explanatory, and for not allowing for the "specificity of art" discussed in Chapter One ²¹. Critics argue that atemporal structuralists either accord priority to innate mental structures or account for historical change in terms of the transformation of successive synchronic structures ²². As the above discussion has shown however these criticisms of Barthes's mythological method are not valid for he does not subscribe to theories of inherent mental structure and accords a primacy to the study of historical change and contingency. It must be stressed that it is Barthes's mythological method which is adopted in this chapter and not the broad approach or received wisdom of the structuralist school.

In general recent studies have sought meaning in visual art in two ways; *syntactical* analysis in which the compositional elements are related to each other and *semantic* analysis where the art work is related to its cultural context. Structural studies of visual art have tended towards semantic analysis ²³. In doing so they have aligned themselves with sociological approach outlined in Chapter One. One reason for this shift in method is the fact that the syntactical study of art, traditionally the preserve of art history, poses central problems, namely an art work must be carved up into discontinuous elements. Additional difficulties arise from the recognition that an accompanying caption may endow an art work with an additional and perhaps contradictory meaning. It is suggested that these problems may be minimised by careful examination of the historical contingency of compositional elements such as flags, dress and artistic technique. While recognising the importance of the above issues this chapter, in

keeping with other recent studies, adopts a largely *semantic* approach. It is this approach however that critics frequently decry as mere description.

Far from being a solely descriptive method Barthes's concept of myth is in one sense analytical; through a reductive process it reconstructs and re-presents one understanding of a work's meaning. It is not a simple matter of enumerating the various compositional elements present; each element's meaning depends upon both its historical contingency and its interconnectedness with other aspects of the work. Indeed it is this process of interconnectedness which endows a work with meaning ²⁴. Barthes's method is perhaps best described as "a useful organizational procedure which depends heavily on efficient research techniques and highly developed powers of observation; in short; it is an approach" ²⁵. While differing in several key respects, not least its clear ideological underpinnings, in many ways Barthes's method follows on from the work of earlier writers such as E. Panofsky and H. Wofflin.

The second major critique of Barthes's concept relates to its ideological nature and intellectual roots. Barthes's concept of myth is derived largely from Karl Marx's writings on demystification. For Marx demystification was the essence of criticism. There is a clear parallel between Barthes's view of myth overturning history into nature and Marx's analogy of the camera obscura to be found in The German Ideology (1848) ²⁶. As A. Lavers has noted, Barthes used Marxism to explain the purpose of myth, but not its structure, that is, in Barthes's analysis Marxism functions as a framework but not an *explicit* model ²⁷. Further, Barthes's consistent attacks on the nature of bourgeois culture has led to comments such as H. Kenner's that his "bubbling point is low" ²⁸. While these criticisms contain elements of undoubted truth Barthes cannot be reduced to mere vulgar Marxism for, as D. Funt has noted and Barthes himself has commented upon, he is more concerned with process rather than the end product ²⁹. It is

particularly important to remember this point given the diverse and often hedonistic nature of Barthes's later writings ³⁰.

Barthes's concept of myth has been termed tautological and has been attacked for what some observers have called the substitution of one truth for another ³¹. It has also been criticised for what some regard as its claim for total interpretation. However, these commentators have overlooked the fact that Barthes made it explicitly clear that the structural study of myth, can yield only half the truth, the other half must of necessity be supplied by empirical means ³². Once again it is of extreme importance to remember Barthes's emphasis on context and the history of the subject. Critics argue Barthes is inconsistent and that observers should judge his work by looking at his actions and not his writings. While there is undoubtedly more than an element of truth in these claims they arise largely from a lack of reflection on Barthes's numerous, fragmentary, and often contradictory writings. A further criticism that has been raised is that of subjectivity. As has been discussed above, the concept of myth does indeed entail clear subjective elements, just as semiological signs have multiple motivations ³³. It must be stressed however that *no* research framework can claim to be free from value judgements. Provided the "mythologist" recognises the concept's ideological bias this problem may be minimised.

Perhaps one of the most apposite criticisms of Barthes came from fellow linguist, Mounin, who claimed that he studied semiology so late in his life that he would never catch up with what it really entailed ³⁴. However, as P. Thody asks, is this really a handicap if Barthes's methodology when put into practice yields interesting insights? ³⁵. Quite correctly Thody, a conservative critic, feels that it would be rash to insist that Mythologies is only really applicable to France of the 1950's. Finally, Barthes's curious mixture of contradictory "abstract scientism" and "aesthetic spiritualism" has

been attacked for representing:

a perfect solution for the needs of a bourgeoisie which at one and the same time worships science and attempts to strip it of its demystification and liberating force ³⁶,

To S. Timpanaro in his polemical works against what he calls the anti-materialist left, Barthes like Foucault, Sarte and Levi Strauss is little more than a "charlatan"!

While it cannot be denied that there is some validity in all the above criticisms, provided one is aware of the ideological underpinnings of Barthes's concept of myth it will be argued that as a methodological tool it offers a means of obtaining a greater understanding of Landseer's royal commissions. This understanding however, as Barthes would stress, must be firmly grounded in historical context.

Landseer, Victoria and the Highland myth

Barthes recognised that:

every myth can have its history and its geography; each is in fact the sign of the other; a myth ripens because it spreads. I have not been able to carry out any real study of the social geography of myths. But it is perfectly possible to draw what linguists would call the isoglosses of a myth, the lines which limit the region where it is spoken. As this region is shifting it would be better to speak of waves of implantation of the myth

The social geography of myths will remain difficult to trace as long as we lack an analytical sociology of the press. But we can say that its place already exists ³⁷.

Barthes's conception of a geography of myth was, of course like the central theme of Mythologies, related to the myth of contemporary France. The above discussion however has shown that Barthes believed the diachronic study of myth to be possible and indeed desirable. It will be argued that the "geography of myth" can be examined in a diachronic manner by replacing the analytical sociology of the press, suggested by Barthes, by a detailed study of a series of paintings and engravings of works by Sir Edwin Landseer. Further, while Barthes confined his comments to the identification and delineation of the region in which a myth exists, it will be argued that under specific historic circumstances myth by its very nature alters contemporary conceptions of the landscape and region within which it finds its nourishment.

The reign of Queen Victoria saw the emergence of a new genre in painting, one which expressed a royal liking for the Highlands of Scotland. Through royal patronage artists such as Carl Haag and John Phillips rose to prominence ³⁰. While many artists worked within the genre one name above all others came to be identified with the image of Queen Victoria and the royal family in the Scottish Highlands: that of Edwin Landseer. Landseer instructed both the Queen and Prince Consort in the art of sketching and was in many ways the last of the court painters.

Landseer's first painting of the royal family in the Scottish Highlands was "Queen Victoria sketching at Loch Laggan" (1847) (Plate 24). In 1849 the Queen purchased Landseer's "The Free Kirk". Although not a royal commission Victoria thought this work symbolised the peacefulness of the Highlands. Subsequently, in 1850 Her Majesty commissioned two Highland subjects from Landseer as Christmas presents for the Prince Consort: "Highlander and Eagle" (Plate 25) and "Highland Lassie crossing a stream" (Plate 26). In 1850 Landseer paid his first visit to Balmoral (leased by the Queen in 1848) and was a guest there the following autumn. It was on this first visit that the Queen discussed the details of what she considered to be the most important of Landseer's royal commissions, "Queen Victoria meeting the Prince

Consort on his return from Deer Stalking in the year 1850". This work was exhibited at the Royal Academy in May 1854 in its unfinished form and received critical reviews ³⁹. Landseer continued working on the painting until 1870 when it was exhibited for a second time at the Royal Academy. As R. Ormond has noted, critics tactfully passed it by ⁴⁰. The painting finally entered the royal collection around 1873 and was engraved by W.H. Simmons in 1874 under the title "Royal Sports on Hill and Loch" (Plate 27). It was subsequently destroyed by order of George V.

From the above paintings it is argued that it is possible to discern the emergence of a Victorian Highland myth, a myth in which the contingent and historical are lost in an image of tranquil natural order. Further, the loss of history in the myth automatically entails the loss of geography for each is intimately connected with the other.

"Royal Sports on Hill and Loch" (Plate 27) was the largest and most important of Landseer's royal commissions. According to Ormond, the picture was intended "to identify the royal family with the spirit of the Highlands and the ennobling pursuit of hunting" ⁴¹. Landseer's sketches for the work were undertaken at Balmoral in 1850 where the Queen discussed the picture at length with Landseer. In doing so Victoria was explicit in her wishes:

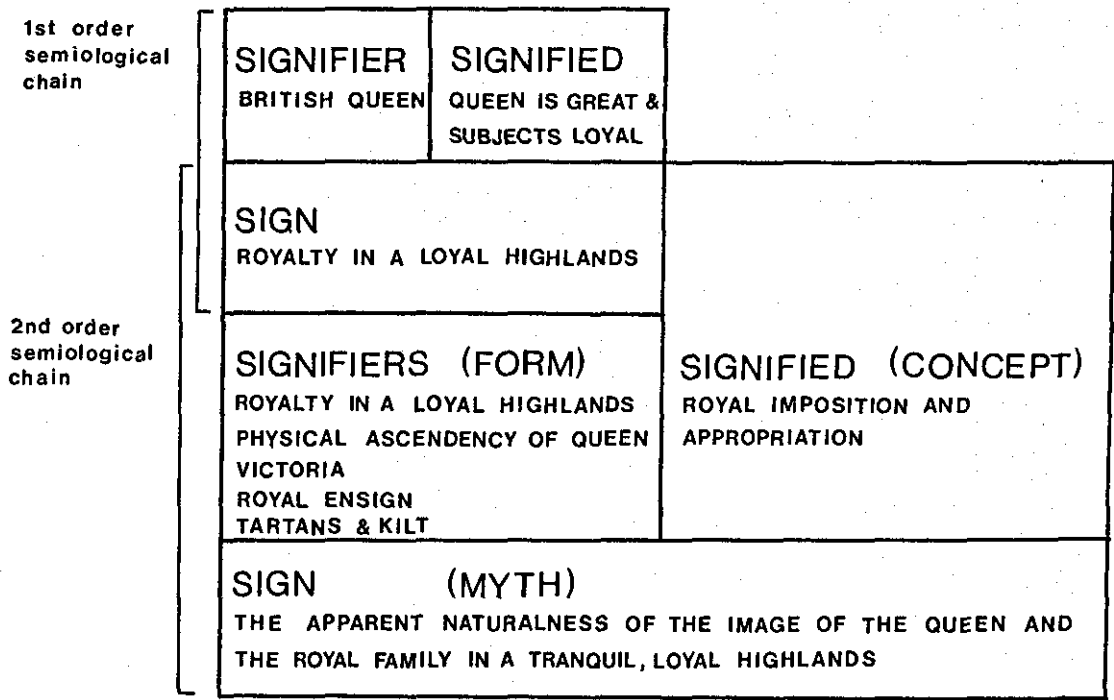
It is to be thus: I, stepping out of the boat at Loch Muich, Albert, in his Highland dress, assisting me out, & I am looking at a stag which he is supposed to have just killed, Bertie is on the deer pony with McDonald (whom Landseer much admires) standing behind, with rifles and plaids on his shoulder. In the water, holding the boat, are several of the men in their kilts, - salmon are also lying on the ground. The picture is intended to represent me meeting Albert, who has been stalking, whilst I have been fishing, & the whole is quite consonant with the truth. The solitude, the sport, the Highlanders in the water, &c will be, as Landseer says, a beautiful

exemplification of peaceful times, & of the independent life we lead in the dear Highlands. It is quite a new conception, & I think the manner in which he has composed it, will be singularly dignified, poetical & totally novel, for no other Queen has ever enjoyed, what I am fortunate enough to enjoy in our peaceful happy life here. It will tell a great deal, & it is beautiful ⁴².

As a commission from the reigning monarch, Landseer's "Royal Sports" does indeed tell a great deal about Queen Victoria's conception of, and identification with the "spirit of the Highlands". By using Barthes's simple methodology discussed earlier in this chapter, it is possible to identify the signifiers of what Barthes calls *language object*, or the first order semiological chain. Firstly, "Royal Sports on Hill and Loch" (Plate 27) illustrates a British Queen in the symbolic act of landing in Scotland ⁴³. Secondly, all eyes of the royal retainers are directed towards the Queen. All these are first order signifiers; what do they signify? Apart from the symbolic connotation of the Queen landing and conquering Scotland, the signifiers proclaim that the Queen is great and that all her subjects serve her loyally regardless of nationality. There is no better retort to those contemporaries who would perhaps allege colonialism and imposition than the loyalty shown by the natives to their Queen ⁴⁴. What is the sign? Quite simply, the sign is *royalty in a loyal Highlands*. At this level of understanding the meaning of the engraving would appear to be clear. However, if the engraving is examined carefully, what Barthes would call a second order semiological chain can be detected, one whose signifiers or *form* are already present in the sign of the first order system ie, royalty in a loyal Highlands. It is this second order semiological chain which defines the myth.

The mythical signified or *concept* can have several signifiers. Further, as Barthes argues it is through the repetition of this mythical signified, or *concept* through various signifiers that allows the observer to decipher the myth. Signifiers at this second level are present in the physical ascendancy of Queen Victoria, the royal ensign

FIGURE 5.2 THE VICTORIAN HIGHLAND MYTH



and Prince Albert's adherence to the tartan and kilt, the invention of an English quaker in 1727 ⁴⁵. What do these signifiers signify? The concept signified here is that of *royal imposition and appropriation of the Scottish landscape and Scottish history*. Royal imposition and appropriation lie at the very heart of the myth. It is through the concept, Barthes argues, that a whole new history is implanted for myth has one principle: it transforms history into nature. What then is the signification? The signification is the myth itself ⁴⁶. Myth is the process of de-politicization of the image. Here what is lost from the image is not royal imposition and appropriation but the contingent and historical, the fabricated quality of this imposition and appropriation. *The Victorian Highland myth is the apparent naturalness of the image of Queen Victoria and the royal family in a tranquil loyal Highlands* (Figure 5.2) ⁴⁷.

The privation of history

"Myth deprives the object of which it speaks of all History" ⁴⁸. From the myth and its signification in Landseer's "Royal Sports" historical reality is transformed into a *natural* image of reality. Here the naturalness of the image denies the struggles of the 1715 and 1745 Jacobite rebellions. Further, in "Royal Sports" (Plate 27) and "Highlander and Eagle" (Plate 25) the image of kilted and armed Highlanders seems to negate the tensions of the eighteenth century when such items of apparel were prohibited by Georgian statutes, statutes which had only been revoked in 1780 ⁴⁹. The fact that the first reigning monarch to visit Scotland since Charles I, George IV, did so less than 30 years previously is easily forgotten. Myth has the task of giving the historical (here Victoria's presence in the Highlands) a natural justification and, in doing so it makes contingency eternal. To quote Barthes; "The world enters language [here the image] as a dialectical relation between activities, between human actions; it comes out of myth as a harmonious display of essences" ⁵⁰. These essences are those which saturate the "spirit of the highlands" and in this

sense contribute not only to the privation of history, but the privation of geography ⁵¹.

Myth and the privation of geography

The Highland myth contributes not only to the privation of history but the privation of geography. It does so in its reduction of the landscape idea from a romantic construction to a bland container for what is ultimately a socially and historically determined myth ⁵². The nature of this change in landscape representation under the agency of myth can be illustrated by comparative analysis of "Royal Sports on Hill and Loch" with other works of the Highland genre by Landseer. In "Queen Victoria sketching at Loch Laggan" (Plate 24), the first of Landseer's pictures of the royal family in the Highlands of Scotland, the landscape component is strong. Here the setting at the east end of Loch Laggan looking towards the East Binnein, is more than just a backdrop for the royal image, it forms an integral part of the meaning ⁵³. It is the landscape Queen Victoria is in the act of sketching and as such it cannot be divorced from the meaning of the painting. Similarly, in the pastoral imagery of "Highland Lassie" (Plate 26) the landscape component, although different in nature from that in the previous painting remains strong. As with "Royal Sports" Queen Victoria was explicit in her wishes: "Highland Lassie" was to be all "peace and sunshine" ⁵⁴. Examination of the painting shows that her wishes were respected. The wild animals no longer fear mankind, sheep graze peacefully in the background while, in the distance, smoke spirals upwards into a serene sky from the hearths of doubtlessly happy homes!

On examination "Highlander and Eagle" (Plate 25), the companion painting to "Highland Lassie", appears radically different from the other royal commissions examined so far. Here the landscape component has been eradicated and the ruggedness of the Highlands personified in the highly romantic and powerful figure of the Queen's gillie, Peter Coutts. Further, the peaceful and tranquil imagery of the previous

works has gone. This highly dramatic image is however the result of Landseer's disregard for the Queen's wishes. In a letter to Queen Victoria's dresser, Miss Skerrett, Landseer had asked whether the Queen would prefer the "peaceful and sunny side" of the Highlander's character in preference to an "action and bloodied" image ⁵⁵. In the reply that followed it was apparent that while Queen Victoria's equerry was eager for a stormy image the Queen herself was not ⁵⁶. Queen Victoria again expressed her wish for a pastoral image and thought the Highlander should represent the "natural spirit of the highlands". The Queen in fact proposed a forester resting on his way home with the spoils of a day's sport silhouetted against a sunset over distant hills. Clearly Queen Victoria's wishes were disregarded by Landseer in this instance in favour of a dramatic, powerful high romantic composition.

Landseer, in his sketch for "Royal Sports" (Plate 28) recovered the romantic image of landscape and nature. Here the actions of Queen Victoria and her retainers remain within the framework prescribed by nature, or at least the artist's conception of the natural world. Even Queen Victoria in all her regality cannot rise above the peaks of the Highland landscape. In the completed version of "Royal Sports" (Plate 27) however, the myth, in its privation of history has brought about the privation of geography in at least three distinct ways. Firstly, the landscape component of the painting has been subsumed, if not eradicated by the myth, the apparent *naturalness* of the image of royalty in a loyal Highlands. The landscape image undergoes change from the picturesque of "Queen Victoria sketching at Loch Laggan" (Plate 24) to the pastoral of "Highland Lassie" (Plate 26), eventually to be subsumed in "Royal Sports" (Plate 27) where Queen Victoria in all her regality is higher, and by implication greater than all the surrounding natural world. Secondly, the animal presence has been completely subjugated by the royal presence. This is readily apparent on comparison of Plate 28 - the artist's sketch - with the final version, Plate 27. The number and species of dead game has increased while those animals which are not physically subjugated such as the dogs at Victoria's feet, pay homage like their human retainers to their royal masters ⁵⁷.

The third way in which the privation of geography occurs is related not to the specific content of the painting but the context in which the commission was undertaken. The transformation of social relations in Scottish society and the resultant tensions that this transformation produced are ignored. All the commissions discussed so far either illustrate or express the Queen's desire for a tranquil image of Highland life. This tranquil image of Scottish rural existence denies the transformation of Scottish social and economic life which had been underway since the mid eighteenth century, the *received history* of the Highland clearances, the saga of agrarian revolution, political domination, colonisation, eviction and emigration traditionally placed between 1780 and 1855 ⁵⁸. While Landseer's tranquil images do deny these tensions, they mask more fundamental changes in the structure of social and economic life over the period 1820 to 1870.

By 1820 a significant proportion of the Scottish people had been transformed into a landless proletariat. A decade later the basis of industrial capitalism had been laid: Scotland was on the brink of the transition to a modern economy ⁵⁹. In 1841 despite the fact that only 32.7% of Scots lived in towns of over 5000 inhabitants over half the population lived in parishes which were recognisably urban-industrial rather than agricultural in nature ⁶⁰. Between 1830-1870 industrialisation, centred on the rise of the factory mode of production and the decline of rural-based manufacturing over the period 1830-1840, finally transformed the great majority of Scots into a landless proletariat ⁶¹. The rise of Scotland's distinct form of client capitalism within the British and European economic system, based largely on the injection of capital from rural commerce, resulted in an irrevokable break of the traditional ties between the Scottish people and the land ⁶².

Rapid urbanisation over the period 1800-30 however resulted in poor sanitation, chronic overcrowding and an inadequate supply of drinking water in many urban areas. In the cities tuberculosis, typhus, measles, scarlet fever, dysentery and whooping cough were all endemic until the second half of the century. In 1831, 1848, 1853 and 1866 Scotland's urban areas were ravaged by cholera while in 1836 and 1848 typhus took its toll. Urban mortality rates returned to seventeenth century levels and on occasion were twice as high as those of the surrounding countryside ⁶³. In the early 1840's economic depression was so acute in industrial towns such as Paisley that, against the canons of the Scottish poor law, relief was given to the able bodied unemployed and soup kitchens established in almost all major Scottish towns ⁶⁴. For Scotland's emergent urban-industrial society the period 1832-1855 was one of profound social and economic crisis. While a vogue for tartan shawls following Victoria's initial visit to Scotland in 1842 may have temporarily eased Paisley's unemployment problem the Victorian Highland myth denied the harsh realities of Scottish urban existence and helped propagate an increasingly false regional image of a tranquil rural Scotland ⁶⁵.

In propagating this false rural image and denying the tensions inherent in Scottish society the Victorian Highland myth also masked tensions within England and Britain as a whole ⁶⁶. Landseer's royal commissions came at a time of great administrative change and upheaval. To many contemporaries the climax of the Chartist struggle in 1848, like the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745 had seemed to threaten the very foundations of British society. In 1842 Queen Victoria on her first visit to Scotland had been forced by Sir Robert Peel to undertake the journey by sea to avoid the chance of being caught up in Chartist unrest in the north of England ⁶⁷. Indeed, in the months prior to this visit two direct attempts had been made on the Queen's life.

In addition to Britain's internal problems, unrest throughout Europe was widespread. Regardless of the realities of the situation the crowned heads of Europe communicated with each other in despondent

letters. On the 26th February, 1848 Queen Victoria's uncle Leopold, King of the Belgians, wrote to his niece:

*I am unwell in consequence of the awful events at Paris -
What will soon become of us God alone knows; great efforts
will be made to revolutionise this country; as there are
poor and wicked people in all countries it may
succeed ⁶⁸.*

Queen Victoria in her reply could state:

*Since 24th February I feel an uncertainty in everything
existing, which _ _ _ one never felt before. When one
thinks of one's children, their education, their future -
and prays for them _ I always think and say to myself,
'Let them grow up fit for whatever station they may be
placed in - high or low'. This one never thought of
before, but I do always now. Altogether one's whole
disposition is so changed - bore and trifles _ _ one looks
upon as good things and quite a blessing _ _ _ provided
one can keep one's position quiet ! ⁶⁹*

It was no doubt these reasons amongst others that led to the Queen's entourage of troops even, in her "peaceful happy highland existence". That this presence was noticable in the Highlands there can be no doubt. In a letter to his friend Jacob Bell Landseer himself was to comment:

*The highlands - particularly the neighbourhood of Blair in
Atholl present a new character - soldiers and bustle, The
Q and P.A. being the great attraction ⁷⁰.*

Clearly, the tensions present in Scottish and British society were apparent for all to see, yet the myth with its tranquil rural imagery ignored these. Such was the nature of the Victorian Highland myth.

Propagation of the myth

Prior to the advent of photographic reproduction the major medium for visual mass communication in early and mid Victorian Britain was the engraving. Following the invention of the steel printing plate in 1840, and of stereotyping (the duplicating of the printing plates themselves), the print business was revolutionised. The very period in which Landseer painted royalty in the Scottish Highlands saw a boom in the engraving trade ⁷¹. In 1842 there were approximately 20 print sellers in London; by 1890 126 print sellers had registered with the Print Sellers Association, a body established to clamp down on pirate engravings and prints ⁷². Between 1847-1894 the number of plates declared totalled 4,823. This figure excluded those printed privately further, print piracy was rife. The fact that technical innovation, in particular stereotyping, enabled the plates to be duplicated, and that thousands of engravings were taken from each plate ensured that the total number of prints produced could be numbered in millions.

While the cumulative effect of the production of multiple copies on a large scale was to depress prices, substantial problems remained however in distribution of the end product. There was no national or international network of retail outlets. One attempted solution was the foundation of *art unions* for example the Art Union of London which was established in 1837 ⁷³. Art Unions were really no more than glorified lotteries where members subscribed a guinea or more each year. Prize money was allocated by lottery and the winner could select a work of art currently on exhibition at the Royal Academy, British Institute or the Society of Painters in Water Colours. The governing committees of the art unions annually commissioned an engraving after one of the winner's choices and prints were subsequently distributed to subscribers. Between 1838-1887 the art unions published 50 large plates one of which was Landseer and Calcott's "Harvest in the Highlands" (1857) (Plate 23). Despite the activities of the art unions the annual subscription rates and the problems of distribution ensured that the engraving mass market was restricted largely to the Victorian middle classes. From an examination of the engraving market it is

TABLE 5.1 ENGRAVING RECORD OF LANDSEER'S ROYAL HIGHLAND COMMISSIONS.

<u>Title.</u>	<u>Engraver.</u>	<u>Published.</u>	<u>Price.</u>
Queen Victoria sketching at Loch Laggan.	J.T. Willimore W. Roffe	1858 1881	1 gn. <hr/>
The Free Kirk (*).	T.L. Atkinson R. Piercy	1854 1885	2 gns. 1 gn.
Highland Lassie crossing a stream.	J. Outrim	1864	2 gns.
Highlander and Eagle.	J. Outrim W. Roffe	1856 1891	1 gn. 1 gn.
Royal Sports on Hill and Loch.	W.H. Simmons	1874	3 gns.

* Note: The Free Kirk has been included in the above table although not executed by royal commission.

Source: Information derived from the catalogue of the Print Sellers Association (P.S.A) and the Incorporated Print Sellers Association, London (Volume I, 1847-91).

possible to make some comments on the identity of those who purchased engravings of Landseer's works and who became consumers of the myth.

All of Landseer's royal commissions and genre paintings discussed above were engraved. Table 5.1 shows that some were engraved more than once. It is impossible to provide any real estimate of the number of prints published, however the prices charged for these prints are readily available and these are detailed in the accompanying Table. Such prices over the period 1854-1891 were beyond the reach of the majority of the working classes. Clearly the mass market for the Victorian Highland myth lay in the Victorian middle and upper classes and perhaps, in an aspiring labour aristocracy ⁷⁴. Above all myth is a value, a bourgeois value ⁷⁵.

The myth in context

So far this chapter has examined the nature of the Victorian Highland myth and the medium through which it spread. However, in order to understand fully the meaning of the myth, it is necessary to relate it to the specific social, political, economic and cultural milieu within which it existed. During the period, 1820-1870, the British monarchy was at its most significant in terms of the real effective political power it wielded. The monarchy was neither impartial nor above politics. As D. Cannadine has argued, this continuing royal power made grand royal ceremonial unacceptable, while renewed royal unpopularity made it impossible ⁷⁶. Over the period, 1820-1870 due to various reasons such as Prince Albert's Germanic descent, the press as a whole remained hostile to the monarchy. The lack of pictures mystified even the greatest of royal ceremonies to all but the most literate and wealthy. There was no cheap periodical press. The Illustrated London News, begun in 1842 sold at a shilling a copy and as a result had a very restricted readership ⁷⁷. Similarly, the cost of prints of Landseer's royal commissions restricted them initially to the mass market of the Victorian middle classes.

It was a combination of these kind of factors that led Cannadine to conclude that royal ceremonies (such as state visits to Scotland) were not so much shared corporate events as inaccessible group rites, performed for the benefit of the few rather than the many ⁷⁸. It is within this historical context that the Highland genre and myth discussed above must be examined for the Victorian Highland myth and the emergence of specific royal rituals are interconnected. Cannadine has argued that "the nadir of Royal grandeur and ceremonial presence" occurred in the two decades following the Prince Consort's death in 1861 ⁷⁹. However, in the Victorian Highland myth discussed above, it is possible to identify the emergence of a new royal ritual, a ritual which was intimately connected with, *not* the invention, but the creation and coming into being of a Scottish royal past.

Having identified and examined the nature of what can be called the Victorian Highland myth, it may be asked to what extent was this myth a conscious creation. Both D. Cannadine and E. Hobsbawm argue for the conscious creation or invention of tradition in the nineteenth century ⁸⁰. Given Queen Victoria's highly personal reasons for her preference for the Highlands and her naive acceptance of the romanticism of Sir Walter Scott such a stance is almost certainly incorrect ⁸¹. Barthes in his Mythologies directs his attention to myths that are not so much concocted as *secreted* and this is possibly the best way to view the Highland myth ⁸². To argue otherwise would be to practice a form of reductionism akin to the *Balmorality* of much late-nineteenth century and early-twentieth century Scottish nationalist thought ⁸³. It is not suggested that Queen Victoria took the lease on Balmoral to symbolically appropriate Scotland, nor is it suggested that Landseer's royal commissions formed part of conscious ideological exercise to manufacture and appropriate a highland tradition: to do so would be historically incorrect. There was no need for such measures given the apparent *naturalness* of the image of the Queen and the royal family in a tranquil loyal Highlands. Since the Victorian period the Highland myth has been appropriated, modified, and propagated by the cultural producers of today's consumer society.

Landseer, Victoria & the Highland Myth

The Victorian Highland myth was no more a conscious creation, and no less powerful than the myth of today ⁸⁴.

Notes to Chapter Five

1. W. Bagehot, The English Constitution, (Originally published, 1867), Glasgow, Fontana, 1963, Seventeenth Impression, p.82.

An abridged version of this chapter appears in D. Cosgrove & S. Daniels (eds.), The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the symbolic representation, design and use of past environments, Cambridge studies in historical geography:9, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988, pp.142-161.

2. Keyl Papers, MSS. with Sir Oliver Millar, Surveyor of the Queen's Pictures, Lord Chamberlain's Office, St. James's Palace, London. Unpaginated. Entry dated 1st March, 1867. Keyl's personal record of dinner conversations with Landseer.
3. R. Williams, Keywords, London, Fontana, Eighth Impression, 1981, pp.176-78.
4. R. Barthes, Mythologies, St Albans, Paladin, 1972, p.11. Original date of publication, 1957. Translated by A. Lavers. The texts which comprise this volume were originally written between 1954 and 1956.
5. R. Barthes, "Change the Object Itself: Mythology Today" in Image-Music-Text, , Essays selected and translated by Stephen Heath. Third Impression. (London, Fontana, 1982) pp.165-169. This essay originally appeared in Esprit, April 1971 under the title "La mythologie aujourd' hui".
6. A. Lavers Roland Barthes: Structuralism and After, London, 1982, p.127.
7. R. Barthes, 1971.

8. R. Barthes, 1972, p.137.
9. R. Barthes, 1972, p.112. See also Barthes's reflections on his own work in his autobiography (1975), Roland Barthes by Roland Barthes, New York, Hill & Wang, 1982. Translated by R. Howard, p.139.
10. R. Barthes, 1972, p.110.
11. R. Barthes, 1972, p.120.
12. R. Barthes, 1972, p.118.
13. R. Barthes, 1972, p.109. See also A. Lavers, 1982, pp.103-127.
14. R. Barthes, 1972, p.115.
15. R. Barthes "La peinture est-elle un langage ?" in La Quinzaine Littéraire, 1st March 1969, p.16. I am indebted to Dr A. Land for this translation. It is interesting to compare Barthes's viewpoint with that of John Ruskin:

"Painting, or art generally, as such, with all its technicalities, difficulties and particular ends, is nothing but a noble and expressive language, invaluable as a vehicle of thought, but by itself nothing. _ _ _ It is not by the mode of representing and saying, but by what is represented and said, that the respective greatness either of the painter or the writer is to be fully determined". Modern Painters, Volume 1, Chapter 2, Section 2, in E.T. Cook & A. Wedderburn (eds), Works, Volume III, 1903, pp.87-88. For Ruskin, painting was the expression of thought and the articulation of moral values. As an exemplification of his argument Ruskin expanded upon one of the most "perfect poems or pictures" he knew, Landseer's "Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner" (R.A. 1837) (Plate 20). For further discussion of this work see Chapter Six.

16. R. Barthes, 1969, p.16.
17. R. Barthes, 1969, p.16.
18. R. Barthes, 1972, p.121.
19. G. De Schepper, "Seeing art as something and nothing: a comparison of structuralism and hermeneutics in relation to selected works of poetry, painting and film", Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Ohio University, 1974, p.80.
20. On "structuralism" see, M. Lane (ed), Structuralism: a reader, London, 1970; J. Piaget, Structuralism, London, 1971; for further introductory comments and critiques see the various essays in T. Bennett, G. Martin, C. Mercer & J. Wollacott (eds), Culture, Ideology and Social Process, Batsford Academic, London, 1981, pp.19-37 & 126-184.
21. G. De Schepper, 1974, p.4.
22. G. De Schepper, 1974, p.11.
23. G. De Schepper, 1974, p.81.
24. See R. Barthes, "The Structuralist Activity", Partisan Review, 34, Winter, 1967, pp. 82-88, 86. Translated by R. Howard.
25. G. De Schepper, 1974, pp.30-31.
26. K. Marx The German Ideology, Edited by C.J. Arthur. London, Lawrence & Wishart, Second Edition, 1977, p.47. This work was written between November 1845 and summer 1846.
27. A. Lavers, 1982, p.118.

28. H. Kenner "Decoding Roland Barthes" in Harper's Magazine, Pt 1563, 1980, pp.68-71.
29. D. Funt "Roland Barthes and the Nouvelle critique" in the Journal of Art and Aesthetics, 1968, No.3, pp.329-340. Barthes insisted that "in relation to all its users structuralism is essentially an activity, ie. the controlled succession of a certain number of mental operations". R. Barthes, "The Structuralist Activity", Translated R. Howard, Partisan Review, 34, Winter, 1967, pp.82-88, 83.
30. "In what he writes, there are two texts. Text I is reactive, moved by indignations, fears, unspoken rejoinders, minor paranoias, defenses, scenes. Text II is active, moved by pleasure".
R. Barthes, 1982, p.43. See also J. Culler, Barthes, Glasgow, Fontana, 1983, pp.91-100.
31. See, R. Klein "Images of the Self: New York and Paris" in the Partisan Review, Vol.40, 1973, pp.294-301. & E. Goodheart "The Myths of Roland" in the Partisan Review, 1980, Vol. 47, No.2 pp.199-212.
32. R. Barthes, 1972; A. Lavers, 1982, p.117, p.125.
As A. Lavers notes Barthes hoped to analyse myths in detail. "It is a marxist tenet that every situation should be analysed in concrete terms; such precepts can be found in Zhdanov's critique of Alexandrov's A History of Philosophy, part of which is quoted in [Barthes's] 'Myth Today'".

It is important to stress that, although Barthes made this point perfectly clear in his writings he never overstressed it, for there was a taboo in contemporary Marxism on formalism. Formalism, A. Lavers argues, was a smear word for anything "not stolidly realist". Semiology, the science of the sign, had to be affirmed in the teeth of the current Marxist orthodoxy, even if it meant sacrificing or downgrading empirical modes of analysis.

33. A. Lavers, 1982, p.112.
34. P. Thody Roland Barthes: A Conservative Estimate, London, 1977, p.43.
35. Thody, 1977, p.46. A. Bermingham in her Landscape and Ideology: The English rustic tradition 1740-1860, (London Thames & Hudson, 1987) also stresses the relevance of Barthes's writings to the study of art history.
36. S. Timpanaro On Materialism, London, Verso, 1980, p.176.
37. R. Barthes, 1972, pp.149-150. For a recent sociological study of the geography of myth as suggested by Barthes see J. Burgess, "News from Nowhere: the press, the riots and the myth of the inner city" in J.R. Gold & J. Burgess, (eds.), Geography, the media and popular culture, Beckenham, Croom Helm, 1985, pp.192-228.
38. D. Millar, Queen Victoria's Life in the Scottish Highlands as depicted by her Watercolour Artists, London, Philip Wilson, 1985.
39. "The connoisseur will not in the whole 'land see a' better Landseer than the 'Doctor's visit to Poor Relations at the Zoological Gardens' (265) nor a worse, than the group of royal portraits to which Sir Edwin has not been ashamed to affix his name, but which it is charitable to hope he did not paint".

Extract from Judy cited in C.S. Mann "The Works of Sir Edwin Landseer" 4 Vols, 1874-77 (National Art Library, MSS. 86.BB.19-22), 1875, 86.BB.22, p.173.
40. R. Ormond, Sir Edwin Landseer, London, Thames & Hudson, 1981, p.163.
41. R. Ormond, 1981, p.160.

42. Extract from the Journal of Queen Victoria quoted in R. Ormond, 1981, pp.159-160:

The Queen's account of her Highland existence has recently been called into question: "Victoria's diary is a remarkable revelation of a monarch's ignorance about her kingdom, in spite of having travelled through it" J. Brand, The National Movement in Scotland, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978, p.93. While such accounts dispute the depth of the Queen's understanding they must of necessity recognise the deep sincerity of her feelings for her Highland retreat.

43. It is important to stress that this symbolic structure is not unique to Landseer and has a long pedigree in the history of art. Examples can be found in representations of Mary Queen of Scots (Sir W. Allen, The Landing of Mary Queen of Scots at Leith, 1827) and in works by artists of the Venetian school. During the 1850's and 1860's 56 works illustrating Mary Queen of Scots were exhibited. On this fashion for such historical scenes see, R. Strong, And When Did You Last See Your Father? The Victorian Painter and British History, London, Thames & Hudson, 1978, particularly pp.128-135.

44. However, at least one contemporary satirist thought otherwise.

"Yonder are 'respectable' couples who, have come specially to see Sir Edwin Landseer's portrayal of an interesting incident in the life of the Queen. They gaze on the picture with feelings of loyalty and flunkeyism intermingled: and among the people gathered around this work is sure to be a tall and solemn parson engaged probably in ponderous explanation of it. I profess of Sir Edwin's work the intelligent reader will derive much amusement from the faces of the gillies in the background who are gazing at the meeting of the Queen and her husband with looks of unmitigated disgust as if they would like to pitch the Prince Consort into the Loch".

Extract from The Period cited in C.S. Mann, 1875, (National Art Library, 86.BB.22), p.173.

45. For an informative, yet amusing account of the origin of the kilt see, H. Trevor-Roper, "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland" in E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger, The Invention of Tradition, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983, pp.15-41.

46. R. Barthes, 1972, p.121.

47. This "naturalness" is related to a broader issue noted by W. Bagehot:

"We have come to regard the Crown as the head of our morality. The virtues of Queen Victoria and the virtues of George III have sunk deep in the popular heart. We have come to believe that it is natural to have a virtuous sovereign, and that the domestic virtues are as likely to be found on thrones as they are eminent when there". Bagehot was however to critically comment: "But a little experience and less thought show that royalty cannot take credit for domestic excellence". W. Bagehot, English Constitution, Glasgow, Fontana Edition, 1963, Seventeenth Impression, p.96.

48. R. Barthes, 1972, p.151.

49. See, 19 Geo.IIc.39; 20 Geo.IIc.51; 21 Geo. II.c.34.

50. R. Barthes, 1972, p.142.

51. The interrelationship and interdependence between history and geography has long been recognised. That the privation of history necessarily entails a privation of geography too, has been noted:

"The history-less robot society and the 'brave new world' in which the deliberate falsification of history preserves the last

shreds of historical sense, is at the same time a geography-less society, for both time and space are reduced to mere dimensions". Van Paassen quoted in J.A. May, Kant's concept of geography and its relation to recent geographical thought, (University of Toronto Department of Geography Research Publications, No.4, University of Toronto Press, 1970), p.23.

52. The use of the phrase "socially and historically determined myth" should not be interpreted here as implying a conscious origin of the Highland myth. R. Barthes in addressing the question of motivation comments:

"Motivation is unavoidable. It is none the less very fragmentary. To start with, it is not 'natural': it is history which supplies its analogies to the form" (1972, pp.126-7). Barthes's statement, despite its apparent emphasis on intentionality, does not imply a conscious construction. Myth has its real origin, not in the individual, but in the bourgeois order. To place this in the context of Marxist historiography, myth may be viewed as an aspect of false consciousness. For a contradictory but stimulating discussion of the conscious displacement of socio-political history by natural phenomenon and personal history in Romantic art see J.A.W. Hefferman, The Recreation of Landscape, London, University Press of New England, 1984, pp.54-102.

53. R. Ormond, 1981, p.160.
54. Royal Archives, RA Add. C4 / 161, 21/11/1849.
55. Royal Archives, RA Add. C4 / 160, 20/11/1849.
56. Royal Archives, RA Add. C4 / 160, 20/11/1849.
57. S. Bann argues that Landseer's propensity for sketching animals and birds inevitably leads to the displacement of the historical by facets of the natural world. See S. Bann, The Clothing of

- Clio: A Study of the Representation of History in Nineteenth Century Britain and France, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984, pp.54-76, 69.
58. For a critical reappraisal of this received history see, E. Richards, A History of the Highland Clearances. Volume 1, Agrarian Transformation and the Evictions 1746-1886, & Volume 2, Emigration, Protest, Reasons, London, Croom Helm, 1982 & 1985.
59. See, B. Lenman, An Economic History of Modern Scotland, London, Batsford, 1977; B. Lenman, Integration, Enlightenment and Industrialisation in Scotland, 1745-1832, London, Edward Arnold, 1981; I. Levitt & T.C. Smout, The State of the Scottish working class in 1843: a statistical and spatial enquiry based on the data of the Poor Law Commission reports of 1844, Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press, 1979; A. Dickson (ed.), Scottish Capitalism: Class, State and Nation. From the Union to the Present, London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1980.
60. I. Levitt, & T.C. Smout, (1979), p.7.
61. K. Burgess, "Workshop of the World: Client Capitalism at its Zenith, 1830-1870" in A. Dickson (ed.), (1980), pp.181-243.
62. K. Burgess, (1980).
63. M. Flinn, Scottish Population History, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1977, pp.368-387, 371.
64. R.M. Mitchison, "The Making of the Old Scottish Poor Law", Past and Present, 63, (1974), pp.58-93; I. Levitt & T.C. Smout, (1979), pp.160-161.
65. I. Levitt & T.C. Smout, (1979), p.158.

66. This point is related to Bagehot's discussion of the role played by constitutional monarchy as 'a disguise' in times of transition: "It enables our real leaders to change without heedless people knowing it. The masses of Englishmen are not fit for an elective government; if they knew how near they were to it, they would be surprised, and almost tremble". W. Bagehot, English Constitution, (1867), Glasgow, 1963, Seventeenth Impression, p.97.
67. D. Duff (ed.), Victoria in the Highlands: The Personal Journal of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, London, Frederick Muller, 1968, p.25.
68. A.C. Benson & Viscount Esher (eds.), Letters of Queen Victoria: 1837-1861, Vol. II, 1844-1853, London, John Murray, 1908, p.149.
69. A.C. Benson & Viscount Esher (eds.), (1908), Vol II, pp.183-84.
70. Letter in the archive of the Royal Institution, London dated Sunday 15th, 1844. (File No.1, 70a).
71. For a recent discussion of Landseer and the engraving trade see: A. Dyson, "Images Interpretated: Landseer and the engraving trade", Print Quarterly, Vol.1, No.1, March, 1984, pp.29-43.
72. For a brief discussion of the Print Sellers Association see: A few words on art containing a short history of the Association, London, Print Sellers Association, 1881.
73. For a brief discussion of the rise of the Art Union of London see: E. Alsing, "The rise and progress of the Art Union of London" in, Apollo, 85, lix, (N.S), 12, 1967, pp.12-16.
For a full account of the art unions see, House of Commons, Report and Minutes of Evidence; Select Committee on Art Unions, 1845.

74. The terms "upper and middle classes", and "labour aristocracy" while a source of much discussion and controversy today are used here as they would be understood by contemporaries in early and mid Victorian Britain. The development of the word "class" in its modern form belongs essentially to the period 1770-1840. By the 1840's the "middle classes" and "working classes" were common terms and a consciousness of a middle class standard of living was clearly developed. The labour aristocracy was a small group of highly trained artisans who earned 30-50s a week in regular employment and superior working conditions. As Harrison (1979) notes no hard and fast line can be drawn between the labour aristocracy and the lower middle classes.

For a discussion of the origin and use of "class" see R. Williams, Keywords, 1981, pp.51-59; R.J. Morris, Class and Class Consciousness in the Industrial revolution 1780-1850, London, Macmillan, 1979; R.S. Neale, Class in English History 1680-1850, Oxford, 1981. For a broad but informative description of the Victorian middle class standard see: J.F.C. Harrison, Early Victorian Britain: 1832-1851, (London, Fontana, 1979), pp.130-149. On the labour aristocracy see R. Gray, The Aristocracy of Labour in Nineteenth-century Britain, c.1850-1900, London, Macmillan, 1981; For a critical appraisal of this concept see G. McLennan, Marxism and the Methodologies of History, London, Verso, 1981, pp.206-232.

75. R. Barthes, 1972, p.123.

W. Bagehot's comment on the Court Circular is perhaps pertinent here: "We smile at the Court Circular; but remember how many people read the Court Circular ! its use is not in what it says, but in those to whom it speaks". W. Bagehot, English Constitution, (1867), Glasgow, Fontana Edition, 1963, Seventeenth Impression, p.85.

76. D. Cannadine, "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual. The British Monarchy and the Invention of Tradition, c.1820-1870", in E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger, (1983), pp.101-164.
77. On the nature of the Victorian periodical press and reading public see, J. Shattock & M. Wolff (eds.), The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings, Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1982; R.K. Webb, "The Victorian Reading Public" in The New Pelican Guide to English Literature 6: From Dickens to Hardy, (ed) B. Ford, Harmondsworth, 1982, pp.198-219.
78. D. Cannadine, 1983, p.111.
79. D. Cannadine, 1983, p.118.
80. E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger, 1983. In particular see Hobsbawm's introduction "Inventing Traditions", pp.1-14.
81. Queen Victoria took the lease on Balmoral on the recommendation of her chief physician, Sir James Clark, who believed the climate would help her rheumatism. In addition Prince Albert enjoyed both the solitude and hunting while aspect of the Highland landscape reminded him of Saxe-Coburg.
82. R. Barthes, Mythologies, 1972.
83. On the development and nature of Scottish Nationalism see:

C. Harvie, Scotland and Nationalism. Scottish Society and Politics, 1770-1977. London, Allen & Unwin, 1977; H. J. Hanham, "Mid Century Scottish Nationalism" in R. Robson (ed.), Ideas and Institutions in Victorian Britain, London, 1967; R. Mitchison, "Nineteenth century Scottish Nationalism" in R. Mitchison (ed.), The Roots of Nationalism: Studies in Northern Europe, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1980; J. Brand, The National Movement in Scotland, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978.

84. For examples of the Highland myth today see the various periodicals which proliferate such as The Royal Magazine or the frequent newspaper articles in the tabloid press. For example, "Having a lovely time", Sunday Supplement, News of the World, 12th August, 1984, pp.16-18. For one work which recognises the history of the royal family in the Scottish Highlands yet propagates the myth see R. Martine, A Royal Tradition: The Queen and her family in Scotland, Edinburgh, Mainstream Publishing, 1986.

CHAPTER SIX

ANIMALS & NATURE IN EARLY & MID-VICTORIAN BRITAIN

*The day will come when the rest of the animal
creation may acquire those rights which never could
have been withholden from them but by the hand of
tyranny - -*

Jeremy Bentham (1789) ¹,

*What is animal becomes human and what is human
becomes animal,*

Karl Marx (1844) ²,

Until lately philosophical issues relating to animals have been largely neglected by European philosophers and moralists. With the exception of the writings of C. Glacken and Yi-Fu Tuan the same can be said for geographers ³. The last two decades however have seen great changes. Animal rights now form an active area of debate in moral philosophy ⁴. Animals are part of the natural world and for centuries they have helped mankind to define its place in nature. Changing attitudes to animals reflect changing conceptions of nature and human understanding of the natural world. The last century brought a gradual - but irreversible - shift in western society's relationship with the natural world. This chapter traces some of the threads of this change in thought or *sensibility* by re-examining the animal works of Sir Edwin Landseer. This chapter will attempt to show that far from being peripheral relicts of early and mid - Victorian culture to be glossed over as quickly as possible, consideration of works such as "The Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner" (1837) (Plate 20), "The Random Shot" (1848) (Plate 33), "Monarch of the Glen" (1851) (Plate 35) or "Man Proposes, God Disposes" (1864) (Plate 48) help us

to gain a better understanding of early and mid - Victorian conceptions of nature and indeed, trace the emergence of a new sensibility towards the natural world ⁵.

As in previous chapters, many of the terms used here such as *anthropomorphic*, *sensibility* and *animal* have over the last century assumed new meanings ⁶. These changes in meaning result largely from the changes in thought and sensibility traced below. While highlighting the mutability of these key terms it should be stressed that the term *sensibility* is used below as it was understood by contemporaries in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Britain i.e. to relate to a personal appropriation of certain social qualities together with a sense of morality.

The nineteenth century saw the emergence of a new sensibility in man's relation to the natural world which entailed a belief in the autonomy of the animal and the sacredness of life for itself ⁷. This new sensibility was related to at least three clearly identifiable factors. First was the culmination of a gradual realisation that humankind was descended from the beast ⁸. Second was the fact that the nineteenth century was an era of enhanced sensitivity to pain. Thirdly, the period was one of fundamental social transformation characterised by the beginnings of massive industrialisation and urbanisation. All of these factors informed and influenced one another. They converged on one question: how should people treat the animals around them? In answering this question early and mid-Victorians revealed much of their inner selves and their attitudes to nature. The animal works of Landseer and their propagation through the medium of engraving were part of this new sensibility yet, paradoxically, they also helped influence the form this sensibility would take. Before examining the way in which the above factors inform and find expression in Landseer's works it is necessary however to briefly review the history of animals in western thought for the new nineteenth century sensibility was firmly rooted in the earlier developments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Animals in western thought: the foundations of change

The history of animals in western thought has received considerable attention and the following is intended inevitably as a summary and prelude to the ensuing discussion of the role of animals in nineteenth century British thought ⁹.

Aristotle believed that while both man and animal shared a "common sensitive soul" or mechanism of motivation, only man had a rational soul. Similarly in Christian thought, according to the first chapter of Genesis, God gave Adam dominion over the beast. The animal possessed no soul ¹⁰. A mixture of the above ideas held sway until the Renaissance. R. Descartes (1649), who later identified the human soul with reason, also denied consciousness to animals because they lacked the ability to reason. Animals were mere *automata*. Despite widespread acceptance of the above ideas the seventeenth century however saw the beginnings of a fundamental change in attitude towards animals. Experiments on both man and animal became commonplace and physiological similarities were noted. Later thinkers insisted on extending some human considerations to animals. While excluding animals from justice and from "society which presupposes a degree of equality" and "any right of property", David Hume in his Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals (1777) emphasised that mankind was bound by laws of humanity to give "gentle usage" to such creatures. Similarly, Emmanuel Kant in his Lectures on Ethics (1780) rejected the terminology of duties to animals but called in practice for "responsible behaviour". In 1776 the Rev. Dr Humphrey Primate published his Dissertation on the Duty of Mercy and Sin of Cruelty to Brute Animals. Primatt's work, a biblical exegesis on the scriptural foundations of man's duty to the animal world, focused attention on the issue of pain. In doing so it shifted attention away from the observer to the pitiful object and the pain and suffering it endured.

Animals & nature in early & mid-Victorian Britain

In addition to the above neurological experiments increasingly suggested that human senses functioned in a similar manner to those of animals. Voltaire argued with rationalists:

*You discover in it all the same organs of
feeling that are in yourself. Answer me,
mechanist, has nature arranged all the means of
feeling in this animal so that it may not
feel ? "*

By the end of the eighteenth century it was a common place belief amongst the reading public that dogs had feelings. In addition science taught that sensation in people was the result of mental function; by implication it was believed that if brutes could feel they must have minds. Consequently the more articulate English readers came to suspect that beasts possessed not only feeling, but *reason*. Abstract reverence for animals however typically coexisted with everyday "careless brutality". Yet, as J. Turner has indicated, this was careless brutality and not *cruelty* for cruelty implies a desire to inflict pain and presupposes an empathetic appreciation of the suffering caused ¹². Prior to the nineteenth century empathy was not a highly developed trait .

Towards the end of the eighteenth century new moral sensibilities began to find expression in religious writings. In particular, the Latitudinarians emphasised the efficacy of good works as a means of salvation. Virtue became identified with universal benevolence. Benevolence meant more than merely doing good, it stressed that the tender passions that prompted and accompanied acts of charity were implanted by God as an incentive to good. This new found benevolence manifested itself in a variety of ways such as concern over the condition of public school boys, prison reform and slavery ¹³. Although animals began to benefit from this new found compassion this sentiment was far from general. By 1750 however a pose of sentimentality had become fashionable among the elite of England. This was reflected in the reading materials of the *cognoscenti*. James

Thomson's Seasons (1730) meted out pity to man and beast alike while growing intimacy with animals found expression in new scientific thought. Linnaeus (1735) grouped Homo Sapiens with other mammalian species and primates in the order "Anthropomorpha". Throughout the eighteenth century writers linked black Africans with apes. Paradoxically, this pushing down of black towards the beast helped bring the animal closer to humanity in popular consciousness.

The diffusion of biological thought and the upsurge of a cult of benevolence saw human sympathy descent gradually to the animal. It is important to stress however that such sympathy was restricted to the well educated and the actively religious. Although the roots of nineteenth century change in sensibility towards the natural world are clearly identifiable in the scientific discoveries and philosophic thought of the eighteenth century two further streams of thought emerged and contributed to a sharp change in attitudes towards animal kind; the morality of Utilitarianism and fears of social revolution.

Jeremy Bentham brought animals under the umbrella of moral law and formalised this protection by extending to them rights akin to people:

The day may come when the rest of the animal creation may acquire those rights which never could have been withholden from them but by the hand of tyranny _ _ It may one day come to be recognised that the number of legs, the villosity of the skin, or the termination of the os sacrum [fur or tail] are reasons equally insufficient for abandoning a sensitive being to the same fate, What else is it that should trace the insuperable line ? Is it the faculty of reason, or perhaps the faculty of discourse ? But a full grown horse or dog is beyond comparison a more rational, as well as a more conversable animal, than an infant of a day or week, or even a month old, But suppose they were

*otherwise, what would avail? The question is
not, can they reason? nor can they talk? But
can they suffer? '4*

In addition while Thomas Paine, author of the Rights of Man, urged kindness to animals in the Age of Reason, it was left to others to transform the rights of man into the rights of animals. In 1796 John Lawrence, a farmer heavily influenced by the French Revolution, devoted a long chapter of a treatise on the care of horses to the "Rights of Beasts" ¹⁵. By the beginning of the nineteenth century both the middle and upper classes believed that simple morality forbade wanton cruelty to animals. While this belief was widespread it was also thin. For Bentham it meant a long footnote, for Paine a few sentences.

In 1800 and 1802 parliamentary bills to outlaw bull baiting were decisively rebuffed. In 1809 Thomas Erskine's "Cruelty to Animals" bill intended to suppress "wilful and wanton cruelty to all domestic animals" was voted down in the Commons. Despite these initial setbacks voluntary associations for moral and humanitarian reform emerged under Evangelical auspices. Organisations such as the Society for the Suppression of Vice (est. 1802) waged war against bull baiting and in general there was a rising interest in animals and their welfare. The clergy denounced brutality towards beasts as a sensual distraction from higher things, arguing that it debased man. The early years of the nineteenth century saw the rise of vegetarianism such as that expounded in Joseph Ritson's An Essay on Abstinence from Animal Food as a Moral Duty (1802). This vegetarianism drew its impetus, not from medical or nutritional theories, but directly from revulsion against animal suffering ¹⁶. Growing sympathy for animals also found expression in the emergence of new genres in literature. Joseph Taylor's The General Character of the Dog (1806) was the first of many sentimental texts on the dog as a pet rather than a sporting servant. The enormous vogue of Landseer's early animal works with their allocation of distinctly human characteristics to animals demonstrated a spreading belief in the kinship of people and beasts ¹⁷.

Animals & nature in early & mid-Victorian Britain

Over the period 1800-1820 attitudes towards animals in England and America began to change noticeably. People began to perceive the sufferings of human beings and animals as being fundamentally the same. This new relationship had been reinforced around 1800 by the evolutionary theorizing of Erasmus Darwin and Jean Baptist Lamarck¹⁸. Behind a veneer of empathy with the beast however lay a deep fear which found expression in contemporary discussions of bull baiting and its effects on spectators. Contemporary critics considered such spectacles "degraded", "barbarous", "savage", "ferocious" and "inhuman". Science taught that the beast shared mankind's physical nature perhaps even his capacity to reason. If this were so then mankind's sole distinguishing feature was the ability to restrain the animal instinct, or beast within. The practice of blood sports such as bull baiting obliterated the thin line that set mankind apart from the beast. The abolition of explicit cruelty which featured so prominently in the new Victorian sensibility was one way of neutralizing the fear of the animal in man. This theme will be discussed further below but first it is necessary to suggest why changes in popular consciousness towards beasts occurred when they did.

Social transformation and the symbolism of the beast

The fear of the animal within explains why the abolition of "barbarous" sports was practised with moral fervour but it does not explain why abolition movements should arise at this moment in time for, as noted above, the germ of such change had existed in the scientific discoveries and social thought of the late eighteenth century.

Until the census of 1851 Britain was demonstrably a rural nation over the period 1800-1850 however the nation experienced the beginnings of unprecedented social transformation as a result of industrialisation and urbanisation. Although both animal and human power was used freely for draught purposes well into the century, animals became increasingly marginal to the process of production¹⁹.

Blood sports such as bull baiting with their accompanying gambling, disorder and disruption of time discipline were an anachronism in this new emergent social and economic order ²⁰. The bond between man and the natural world was broken and remade ²¹. The poetry of Wordsworth, the celebration of rural England in Constable's painting signify a new view of nature: nature as an escape from social transformation ²². Following the work of George Stubbs English painting took a new penetrating look at the beast. Through their symbolic role as emblems of *feeling* animals served as a direct link between man and nature. Subsequent defences of animals became indirectly a defence of nature and man's emotional bond with it ²³.

Significantly when animal protection statutes were enacted in the 1820's petitions supporting them came overwhelmingly from urban areas, London and the factory districts of the north. Early animal protectors succoured almost exclusively archetypal farm animals such as cattle, swine, sheep and horses, other unfortunate creatures such as cats and dogs were neglected until the latter half of the nineteenth century. Rising abstract concern for animals was largely a phenomenon of the cities and factory districts and was seldom shared by the rural population. By succouring animals highly symbolic of a rural idyll the urban populace, or at least certain sections of it, could feel a sense of continuity with a rural past. This phenomenon found expression in a series of works by Landseer painted between 1830 and 1860.

Landseer and the Highland pastoral

Beginning with "Highland Interior" (1831), over the period 1831-1859 Landseer painted a series of works which produced a highly pastoral image of the Scottish Highlands. The paintings concerned are detailed in Table 6.1.

TABLE 6.1 LANDSEER'S HIGHLAND PASTORAL IMAGES

<u>Date & Place of Exhibition</u>	<u>Title</u>
R.A. 1831	Highland Interior (Plate 6)
B.I. 1831	Cottage Industry
B.I. 1832	The Highland Cradle
B.I. 1832	Highland Lassie herding sheep (Plate 29)
R.A. 1834	Highland Breakfast
R.A. 1835	The Highland Drover's Departure (Plate 19)
R.A. 1837	The Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner (Plate 20)
R.A. 1839	Tethered Rams (Plate 30)
R.A. 1842	The Highland Shepherd's Home
R.A. 1849	The Forester's Family (Plate 31)
R.A. 1849	The Shepherd's Bible
* 1849	Highland Lassie crossing a stream (Plate 26)
R.A. 1859	The Prize Calf

Source: A. Graves, A Catalogue of the Exhibited Works of Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A., London, 1876.

Notes: R.A.: Royal Academy; B.I.: British Institution
* Commission for Queen Victoria.

Landseer's Highland pastoral image drew unconsciously upon long established art and literary traditions, in particular the writings of Virgil. Whether or not Virgil's Eclogues are set in Arcadia is debatable, they do however contain a dynamism, a dialectical tension between city, country and wilderness ²⁴. It has long been noted that acceptance of the pastoral idea depends upon "a setting of which the essential is that it be different from the urban life which has made the poet [what] he is" ²⁵. A constant element in the pastoral appears to be a recognisable contrast between pastoral life and some more complex type of existence such as urbanism. K. Olwig has stressed that the pastoral idea continually crops up at times of rural and urban contradiction and that the transposition of the Virgilian pastoral fitted late-eighteenth century Scotland remarkably well ²⁶. Subsequent pastoral writers have molded features of geographic reality into a symbolic form or *locus amoenus* capable of encapsulating a discourse mediating between city and countryside, industry and agriculture, and ultimately man and nature ²⁷. In a similar manner Landseer's nineteenth century Highland pastoral functioned as a *locus amoenus*, an image poised between the polarities of city and wilderness where the tensions between the two could become manifest and partially reconciled.

The pastoral image allows for a certain extent of "psychical distance" in both *time* and *space* ²⁸. In certain circumstances this "psychical distance" can be barely distinguishable from geographical distance ²⁹. In the case of Landseer's Highland pastoral this is manifestly apparent and sheer geographical distance from Scotland's rapidly developing central belt (discussed in Chapter Five) and urban-industrial Britain offers *one* key to an understanding of the popularity of the Highland pastoral image. By consideration of such imagery the urbanite was able to imaginatively dissociate himself from the realities of urban life and abstract, if only unconsciously, the ideal qualities of a distant tranquil age. This appeal of ruralism and the attraction that the past held for early and mid-Victorians is examined at greater length in Chapter Eight.

Classical and subsequent writers assumed Virgil based his pastoral on contemporary lifestyles. As a consequence the tranquil pastoral landscape came to be regarded as a recording of actual social conditions in which the virtues of kindness, egalitarianism and communal property flourished. With regard to Landseer's Highland pastoral observers could choose to believe that Highland Scotland remained a repository of such virtues however few who read contemporary periodicals with their continual pontification on the "condition of England" and H. Mayhew's revelations about Highland emigrants could doubt the existence of a reality contrary to the idyll³⁰. Indeed, as noted in Chapter Four, it was the highly idealised nature of Landseer's art which appealed to contemporaries. What the Highland pastoral provided was an alternative, one in which imaginative escape from the new urban-industrial age was possible, if only for a fleeting moment. It is worth reflecting that Virgil believed that the state could only survive when the dynamism of city life was balanced by the virtues of country existence. This contention goes some way to explaining why pastoral images should assume such symbolic importance over the period 1820-1860. However, a second, and perhaps more important key to an understanding of the popularity of Landseer's Highland pastoral lies in the symbolic importance of animals in early and mid-Victorian thought.

The animals represented in Landseer's Highland pastoral, primarily sheep and deer, symbolised a rural idyll and allowed the observer to disassociate themselves imaginatively from urban life. So closely did Landseer's pastoral resemble traditional models that even in the tranquil Highlands the motif *Et Ardacia Ego* found meaning. Death and dissolution crept into the pastoral with the images of the "Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner" (Plate 20) and its companion work "The Poor Dog" (1829) (also known as the "Shepherd's Grave"). Landseer's works differ of course in one crucial aspect; it is this which provides a further key to an understanding of the dialectic of the Highland pastoral. Man's place has been taken by a beast and, it must be stressed, not in some trivial task but in the observance of a moral Christian duty. John Ruskin thought the "Old Shepherd's Chief

Mourner" "a perfect poem" in a lengthy, though inaccurate, eulogy ³¹. That such an important transformation in the symbolic role of the beast went unnoticed by that great moralist, is perhaps indicative that animals were *gradually* assuming a new role in early and mid-Victorian thought. This work did not achieve its immense popularity until after Ruskin's praise; the lowly canine, unlike its symbolic rural counterparts, was yet to have its day. Consideration of the pastoral amongst other things impelled the observer to focus on the creation of an image of a new future, one in which the contradictions of wilderness and city, and man and nature, could be resolved in a new synthesis or new sensibility towards nature.

While the iconography of Landseer's Highland pastoral resplendent with its animal imagery served the above function part of the reason for its immense popularity lay in its deeper *iconological* and *ideological* significance ³².

Ideology and the prevention of cruelty

Statutory protection of animals in England began in the 1820's. Before this time all efforts to outlaw cruelty had failed due to indifference. In 1821 Richard "Humanity" Martin (M.P. for Galway) introduced a bill into the Commons "To prevent the cruel and improper treatment of Cattle". Martin's bill was supported by a wealth of petitions mainly from London and other urban areas ³³. The bill eventually received royal assent on the 22nd July, 1822: the law at last recognised the "rights of beasts". The 1822 act however extended only to "Horses, Geldings, Mules, Asses, Cows, Heifers, Steers, Oxen, Sheep, and other cattle". Once again concern had been shown for animals highly symbolic of a rural idyll, the very animals which featured so prominently in Landseer's Highland pastoral. Domestic animals such as cats and dogs were left unprotected. The rights of animals under the Act were minimal. Nevertheless, Martin's act was a milestone. Cruelty to any of the above animals could now result in a substantial fine and three months in jail.

Animals & nature in early & mid-Victorian Britain

The 1822 Act was quickly followed by the formation of societies for the protection of animals. These societies became the sounding board for a new sensibility towards the natural world. On the 16th June, 1824 a diverse audience assembled at "Old Slaughter's", a London coffee house. By the time the meeting closed a "Society for the Protection of Animals" (S.P.C.A.) had been founded. With an initial emphasis on both kindness to animals and the prosecution of offenders the S.P.C.A. flourished and magistrates welcomed its prosecutions. The few tracts it published had a wide circulation and several nobles lent prestige to its membership roles. In response to public concern over the faith of the S.P.C.A.'s secretary (Lewis Gompertz was a Jew), in June 1832 the Committee declared that "the proceedings of this Society are entirely based on Christian Faith, and on Christian Principles". The S.P.C.A. inspectorate was suspended and the Governing Committee pledged to press charges against only the most "flagrant offenders". As a consequence of these actions the S.P.C.A. flourished and, in 1840, by command of Queen Victoria it became the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (R.S.P.C.A.).

The success of the R.S.P.C.A. can be traced to its 1832 decision to alter its policy in favour of educational measures. On abandoning a system of paid informers and prosecutions the R.S.P.C.A. became an organisation which appealed to both the wealthy and high born and, through them, to the "respectable" middle classes. Although prosecutions resumed when the emergence of a paid police force made intervention acceptable and possible, the R.S.P.C.A. continued to concentrate on educational programmes. Hundreds of educational tracts descended on British working people. A special school fund was subsidised from 1837 which ensured a similar assault on childrens' sensibilities. By adopting such measures the R.S.P.C.A. made its appeal to the respectable. It was the wealthy and influential who provided the movements leaders while the solid middle classes followed. With the exception of a few public meetings specifically organised to enlighten cab drivers there is no evidence of a significant presence of manual workers or artisans in any R.S.P.C.A. activity during the nineteenth century. Status-conscious, deferential to wealth and

success, sober and respectable it was the middle classes who were the anonymous force behind the animal protection movement - just as it was the middle classes who formed the main market for engravings of Landseer's Highland pastoral.

Above all else the R.S.P.C.A. was the sounding board for a new sensibility, one that advocated "kindness to animals". Kindness to animals carried an important message for the early and mid-Victorian middle classes. Anxieties created by the kinship of people and brutes were given an added edge by the industrial transformation of Britain. In an age when men, women and children alike were mere tools in the industrial process inoffensive R.S.P.C.A. policies provided a "soothing anodyne"³⁴. Animal protection, its societies, legislation and practices acted as an intellectual tranquiliser for thousands of literate individuals who had to learn to live with the idea of man's new relationship with the beast during a period of fundamental social and industrial transformation. The R.S.P.C.A.'s emphasis on education and instruction in kindness however helped calm other fears as well.

Ideology, self interest, and the laissez faire teachings of political economy inhibited all but the most individualistic members of the middle and upper classes from questioning the justice of the economic order. However, perhaps early and mid-Victorians transferred their charitable impulses from the forbidden ground of the lower orders to a more acceptable object of benevolence³⁵. James Turner argues that the rhetoric of animal protection suggests this is the case. Animal lovers insisted that beasts were "faithful" and "hardworking servants" and as such merited fairer treatment from their "masters". References to the "working classes" or to the "labouring classes" of domestic brutes were common. Indeed, Henry Salt was later to reflect that animal lovers discussed the "lower orders" and "lower animals" in a similar manner³⁶. R.S.P.C.A. supporters justified their campaign for kindness by analogical argument referring to the relations between employers and workers. "We are bound to reciprocate duties: brutes give us their labour, and in return, we are bound to provide them with food and tender treatment"³⁷. The similarities between the labouring

Animals & nature in early & mid-Victorian Britain

classes and animal kind was not lost on more astute contemporaries. In his discussion of alienation under industrial capitalism Karl Marx commented:

*What is animal becomes human and what is human
becomes animal* ³⁸.

While such responses (with the exception of Marx) were the result of suppressed guilt at the plight of the labouring class they were also the product of an even deeper feeling, the fear of impending revolution.

To the sensibilities of the R.S.P.C.A. member the abuse of animals by the lower orders was a reminder of the frightening savagery of the working classes. R.S.P.C.A. members saw in the tormentors of animals the "brutality" of the lowest classes. Indeed, one anxious member of parliament explicitly linked brutality to beasts with social revolution and political violence ³⁹. Inherent within the philosophy of the R.S.P.C.A., and in the hearts of its members, was the hope that training in kindness would root out the hatred, cruelty and anarchy thought to be inherent in the lower classes. In essence the function and aim of the R.S.P.C.A. was clear. The working classes and their malleable children had to be:

*_ _ drilled and disciplined to virtue; to
practice the duties if not to feel the
sentiments of mercy and compassion _ _ [The
poor] will be brought up with their spirits more
humbled and will more faithfully fulfil their
duties with their fellow man* ⁴⁰.

Throughout the nineteenth century the R.S.P.C.A. with its public meetings for "humbler folk", distribution of tracts to working men, and additions and alterations to school curriculum never deviated from the tenets it established in the 1830's. Sensitivity to its essentially, conservative, middle class support conditioned its every move. It was against this background that Edwin Landseer on the basis of his animal

representations became the most popular artist in early and mid - Victorian Britain.

Guilt and fear did not dominate the lives of early and mid - Victorians however the educated person could not remain blind to the moral ambiguities inherent in industrialism and the capitalist spirit ⁴¹. The status of animals under capitalism, the succoring of the beast, provided a channel for as James Turner puts it "some mild carping at an economic system otherwise warmly embraced by its grateful beneficiaries" ⁴². It is this which in part accounts for the enormous popularity of Landseer's animal works however three other factors must be considered - the collapse of human uniqueness, new attitudes to pain and the Victorian dread of the beast within. All of these factors were reflected and articulated in the animal art of Edwin Landseer.

The collapse of human uniqueness

Studies in fields such as animal psychology delivered a death blow to any lingering hopes of human uniqueness ⁴³. Mankind now formed part of a larger biological continuum where the distinctions between man and beast had become all but invisible. Charles Darwin's writings gave new impetus to advocates of animal intelligence while his Descent of Man (1871) undermined the foundations of human mental uniqueness. The issue of human uniqueness was not confined solely to scientific circles and anecdotal articles concerning the "Question of Animal Uniqueness" were common in magazine's such as Harper's or the Westminster Review. By the last half of the century many literate people were of the opinion that the higher mammals shared human sentiments such as affection and shame, perhaps even religious and aesthetic impulses. These new views of the animal mind were to have sweeping ethical implications for it was but a short step to the belief that cruelly treated animals suffered as much from a sense of injustice as from physical pain. It was argued that since animals shared man's mental faculties their "claims" upon man rested:

*not upon the considerations of mere passing
sentiment, but upon the eternal laws of
justice, as well as of sympathy, with our
fellow beings and fellow creatures "*

The collapse of human uniqueness and the rise of the idea of the autonomous self-determining animal can be discerned in Edwin Landseer's works from 1840 onwards. Preceding widespread general acceptance of this idea, it is argued that these images played a formative role in the acceptance and elaboration of this concept. It is to Landseer's later works, which both reflected and structured this new sensibility that this discussion now turns.

From 1840 onwards the content and character of what was depicted in Landseer's animal painting began to change. More and more Landseer began to depict animals in their own right apart from man. Where man entered into the works it was as an external threatening force bent on the destruction of animal kind. 1842 saw the appearance of Landseer's "The Sanctuary" depicting a fleeing beast emerging from the water onto an island in the middle of Loch Maree where it has found sanctuary from man the hunter. In 1844 this work was followed by the largely anthropomorphic "The Challenge" (Plate 32). However a change in tone can be detected in Landseer's two subsequent major works, "The Random Shot" (1848) (Plate 33) and "The Stray Shot" (1850) (Plate 34). Both works show deer as the innocent victims of man's aggression, victims whose death is slow and painful to behold. In essence both "The Random Shot" (Plate 33) and "The Stray Shot" (Plate 34) depict man's needless destruction and gratuitous violence. That this was apparent to contemporaries is manifest from the text of a letter to Landseer's agent Jacob Bell from the engraver Charles Lewis. Lewis wished to obtain the commission to engrave "The Random Shot" (Plate 33) but commented:

*I cannot make out the publishers they seem to
think, a really beautiful piece of poetry & of a
most touching kind, cruel; the effeminacy of the*

*times is dreadful, I think that picture the
sweetest thing in the world, I have named it to
Graves at least twenty times, I would be glad to
do it almost for love, it would be sure to sell,
It should not be lost sight of.* ⁴⁵

While Charles Lewis thought the work beautiful shrewd publisher Algernon Graves sensed the moral imperative inherent in the image and questioned whether such a *cruel* image would be accepted by the public given the *effeminacy of the times*.

While articulating a growing awareness of man's destructive potential "The Random Shot" (Plate 33) still linked man and animal in a functional causal sense. By 1851 however Landseer had broken this link. Exhibited in the year of the Great Exhibition (1851), "Monarch of the Glen" (Plate 35) has been dismissed as "intellectually pretentious" ⁴⁶. To view what is perhaps Landseer's most enduring image in this manner is to misunderstand the original importance of the "Monarch", an importance which is rooted in the social context in which the work was painted. The fact that the work was originally commissioned for the refreshment room of the House of Lords has blinded critics to its broader significance. "Monarch of the Glen" was a reflection of the changing intellectual climate of mid-nineteenth century Britain. J. Holloway and L. Errington have quite correctly viewed this work as:

*a serious attempt to envisage the natural
environment as standing in some other possible
relation than to man and his needs* ⁴⁷.

"Monarch of the Glen" is in essence a glorification of the life of the stag in, and for, itself. It is a visual reversal of man's precedence over the animal world.

While "Monarch of the Glen" glorifies the concept of the autonomy of the animal this work was to be followed by others which showed the

frequently cruel reality of animal existence in mid-nineteenth century Britain. "The Stag at Bay" (Plate 36) with its depiction of the last desperate struggles of a doomed beast tells of the reality of man's brutality and perhaps the monarch's fears. "The Last Run of the Season" (1852, Plate 37) - also ironically entitled the 'Best Run' - shows a similar scene. While both of these works were used for the purposes of political satire their importance lies elsewhere for they were but a prelude to Landseer's more important, but seldom discussed works, a series of engravings known as "The Forest".

"The Forest" derives from a series of 20 chalk drawings specially undertaken by Landseer for engraving. Begun in 1845 and completed in 1861, Landseer himself commissioned and watched over the production of the prints, something he had not previously done⁴⁸. Engraving was undertaken by three engravers, Thomas Landseer (14), Charles G. Lewis (4) and John Outrim (2). The prints were initially released over the period 1852-1868 with some works being subsequently reissued in 1881 as part of a library edition of Landseer's works. Selling at one guinea each these prints were bought by the very same people who supported the R.S.P.C.A., the middle classes and the aspiring labour aristocracy⁴⁹. "The Forest" depicts the progress of a stag hunt from its stealthy initiation to its bloody conclusion. Due to the commissioning of the works from various engravers the prints appeared out of sequence. However when they are viewed in logical sequence the originality and radical nature of Landseer's "Forest" is readily apparent.

"The Forest" opens with "Suspicion" (1852) which shows a group of seven browsing deer; man's presence is detected. "Missed" (1852) depicts a solitary stag on the run over the brow of a hill, while "Doomed" shows that its fate is assured. "Some of the best Harts" (1861) records that the beast's efforts have been in vain. "Waiting for a load" (1846) (Plate 38) documents the commencement of the difficult process of transporting the carcass home. Here the arduous journey is to be undertaken by a rather tired and worn out pony - man the taskmaster is nowhere to be seen. In "A Goodly Freight" (1846) (Plate 39) the journey has commenced and the pony struggles under

the weight of the load. The contorted face of the dead stag strapped to the pony's back demands the attention of the observer. The strain of the task of transporting the load is emphasised in "Well Packed" (1847) (Plate 40) where the laden beast staggers away from the observer. Here the contortions of death cannot be ignored, indeed they are the most striking feature of this print. Prior to the transportation of the carcass it has been disembowelled. This process is depicted in "The Grealoch" (1857) (Plate 41) and the result of these endeavours in "Blood" (1852) (Plate 42). "The Grealoch" is of broader significance however and will be discussed further below. The end products of the hunt are depicted in "The Venison House" (1845) (Plate 43) and "Precious Trophies" (1857) (Plate 44). The remaining prints of this series represent animal life or man in his preparation for the hunt ⁵⁰.

For Landseer "The Forest" represented a radical departure from his earlier anthropomorphic works. What Landseer's "Forest" represents only too clearly is the *cruelty* of man's relationship with the natural world. This series sold well and indeed, many of the works were subsequently reissued. Why was the depiction of such carnage acceptable to the largely middle class market? The answer surely lies in the development of the Victorian construct of *pain* for this construct formed the keystone of a new Victorian sensibility towards the natural world.

Pain and the early and mid - Victorian sensibility to nature

Pain, as an evil mental construction and not a mere biological reaction, was a construct of the Victorian age ⁵¹. The growth of kindness to animals and people in Victorian Britain required a revulsion from suffering, one which entailed a new fear of physical pain. This fear of pain entailed a paradox for, wherever it was found, it underlied a new more "humane" sensibility. Through pain cruelty itself was defined: cruelty was the infliction of unnecessary pain. The horror of pain not only evoked sympathy for animals, it reinforced a fear of the

animal within man for more than any other act, the infliction of pain on animals turned man into a beast.

The transformation in attitude to pain bore momentous import for the structure of values and beliefs and man's attitude to the animal world. Fuelled by religious and humanitarian currents revulsion from pain and its ethical implications transcended the question of kindness to animals and reshaped prevailing ideas on the nature of society and social being ⁵². Victorian revulsion from pain was connected with the growth of technological ability. In many instances mankind no longer had to endure unnecessary pain. Doctors seized upon the use of ether and chloroform with a sense of immense relief. Anesthesia passed into common use more quickly than any other medical discovery. This ready acceptance was manifestly apparent in the process of childbirth which underwent enormous change during Queen Victoria's reign. On the 7th April, 1853 during the birth of her eighth child Queen Victoria was given chloroform. Many of the Queen's subjects expressed immediate interest and her physician was inundated with requests for information concerning the drug. While the clergy considered chloroform a "decoy of Satan" that would harden society and decrease reliance on spiritual assistance, Victoria in her position as Head of the Church effectively silenced objections by using chloroform again in 1857 ⁵³. The century opened with the isolation of morphine in 1806 and closed with the introduction of the aspirin in 1899. Paradoxically, the use of anesthetics and analgesics while relieving pain actually intensified the fear of pain.

Heightened sensitivity about pain formed only one ingredient in early and mid - Victorian revulsion from suffering. The other factor was *empathy* with the pain experienced by others. Empathy with animals and eventually, empathy with children and those in abject poverty. The Victorian mind was struck by the fact that while people could feign sickness and injury the suffering animal was the avatar of unmitigated pain. Each cry or tremble of a brute evinced certain agony. While people could offset physical pain by mental or spiritual diversions the suffering animal could not. It endured unrelieved and unredeemed

agony. Fear of pain in the human was transposed empathetically into a distaste of pain in the natural world. It was empathy grounded in an increased sensitivity towards pain which determined the favourable acceptance of many of Landseer's stag pictures and the popularity of "The Forest". It was the fear of pain that Landseer's "Forest" touched and played upon for, at one instant, the observer could empathise with the beast while distancing himself from man the beast.

Undoubtedly empathy and a distaste for pain featured strongly in John Ruskin's denouncement of Landseer's earlier "Otter Hunt" (R.A. 1844, Plate 45):

*I know of nothing more destructive of the whole
Theoretic faculty, not to say of the whole
Christian character and human intellect, than
these accursed sports in which man makes
himself, cat, tiger, serpent, chaetodon and
alligator all in one; and gathers into one
continuance of cruelty, for his amusement, all
the devices that beasts sparingly and at
intervals use against each other for all their
necessities I would have Mr Landseer
before he gives us anymore writhing otters, or
yelping packs, reflect which is best worthy of
contemplation in a hound be it's ferocity, or
the otter in it's agony, or in the human being
in it's victory, hardly achieved even with the
aid of it's most sagacious brutal allies, over a
poor little fish catching creature, a foot
long ⁵⁴.*

With hindsight it can be argued that Ruskin's savage attack on this work missed the implicit meaning of the "Otter Hunt". It seems possible that Landseer in painting the otter in all its agony intended it to be symbolic not only of man's brutality to animals but of a higher and more worthy cause, one which young Ruskin would

commend ^{ss}. This stated however the important point here is that Ruskin should denounce in explicit terms the infliction of pain itself.

Landseer, vivisection and the Victorian sensibility

It was sensitivity to pain and empathy with the beast, encapsulated by Ruskin's comment above, that led animal lovers to welcome anesthetics. Ether has scarcely come into common use when the R.S.P.C.A. urged its application in veterinary surgery. Widespread concern for the pain endured by animals however found its clearest expression in the public outrage over vivisection - experimentation on living animals.

Richard "Humanity" Martin had attacked this form of experimentation as early as 1825 and vivisection itself had a long and distinguished history. Occasionally eighteenth century men of letters had protested against it but the tempo of protest accelerated only in the nineteenth century as sympathy for animals grew. Throughout the first part of the century most scientists preferred physiology, comparative anatomy and clinical observation. To many early and mid-Victorians vivisection seemed both morally wrong and technically crude. Animal lovers objected not to the animal's ultimate death but the protracted suffering and agony experienced. Many of these claims were justified as, prior to the 1840's, vivisectors lacked any effective anesthetic. The R.S.P.C.A. attacked vivisection in its first publication and thrice over the ensuing two decades clashed with experimental physiologists. Despite this frenzied activity against vivisection in Britain prior to 1850 physiological experimentation remained little more than a hobby for a handful of physicians.

Pain was the indictment of experimental science and torture the method by which its aims were achieved. Unlike that inflicted by the non scientist, pain inflicted by the vivisector was deliberately calculated. Calculated pain was the symbol of evil. Vivisection polluted all decency, destroyed all kindness and hardened the heart. "Extremists" such as Francis Power Cobbe insisted that no good could

result from the "devil's work"; the sensibility of the operator hardened and he became indifferent to the infliction of pain and suffering ⁵⁶. Evil pervaded not only the practice of vivisection but contaminated the vivisector himself. For many no claim of utility, not even the ultimate alleviation of human pain, negated the evil of vivisection ⁵⁷.

Like Darwin, many early and mid - Victorians turned away from a callous God who could sanction such practices. While many scientists increasingly sealed off their professional pursuits from their religious, many opponents of vivisection could not. In direct contrast to the followers of Darwin anti-vivisectionists didn't abandon their faith but clung to the idea of a benevolent God and denied the world that operated on a such principles. There is evidence that Landseer himself found not only consolation in faith, but a means of reconciling the conflicting demands of science and sensibility. This theme is examined in more detail in the following chapter. Most Victorians chose neither Darwin's way nor that of the anti-vivisectors but sought to reconcile their faith in God with their dread of pain. It is against this background that Landseer's "Forest" and it's stark representations must be considered. If vivisection served to harden the heart, Landseer's "Grealoch" (Plate 41) effectively served - if only unconsciously - to remind the public how low man could sink.

Landseer was far from insensitive to pain indeed, evidence suggest that he was a hypochondriac ⁵⁸. Despite the protests of Ruskin there can be no doubt that Landseer was sensitive to the pain experienced by animals and direct evidence exists linking Landseer with the animal protection movement and the issue of pain.

In 1869 Landseer was vice president of the R.S.P.C.A. and at one well publicised trial that year he made his views known ⁵⁹. Landseer claimed he had invariably refused to paint a cropped dog or a docked horse as he considered the animal's health to be adversely affected. As a judge at one of the earlist dog shows Landseer expressed a wish to exclude all mutilated dogs but as the exhibitors had not been forewarned he could not press his point. Landseer argued that at all

future exhibitions no dog with cropped ears or any other mutilations should be admitted. An anonymous correspondent wrote to the The Times supporting Sir Edwin and two further letters followed in The Times and The Field supporting the practice. Landseer replied to the article in The Field in a letter to The Times. Landseer proclaimed that he had no prejudice against cropping but thought the writer in the The Field would be much improved by the operation as:

it is quiet evident that his ears are absurdly long; possibly it might have the effect of giving him the knowing appearance he wishes to produce in dogs. If the article in 'The Field' represents the views of dog fancy, it is quiet clear that they are in vulgar ignorance of the outward beauties of the various breeds of dogs and unable to appreciate the ways and high qualities of the noble animal Once for all I protest against this barbarous custom ⁶⁰.

Speaking at a meeting of the R.S.P.C.A. in 1870 Landseer told a story of one of the "proudest moments" of his life. In Regent Street he entered into conversation with a man with two puppies. Landseer had said to the man, "I see they are not cropped". The individual replied, "Sir Edwin Landseer says they ought not to be cropped". "I don't know why it was" Sir Edwin concluded, "but I felt extremely flattered by this, and felt I had done *something for the cause*" ⁶¹. These comments when taken in conjunction with Landseer's acute sensitivity towards his own health and pain suggests that the pain wracked bodies of "The Forest" and their explicit symbolism is far from coincidental. They also suggest that Landseer's caricature of "Humanity" Martin (Plate 46) springs more from admiration than from malice.

Pain and paradox

Despite Landseer's representation of pain in "The Forest" some necessary qualifications must be made to the above discussion for the artist, like many early and mid - Victorians, enjoyed pursuits directly at odds with his beliefs. Landseer enjoyed distractions which many today would consider cruel. His friend Frederick Keyl reminded him of his predilection for rat baiting:

*I reminded him of how he had brought her [a dog]
home on Dairy Maid the cream pony, how proud
Jessie was a of him at first. He told me
Redmond says he will back her to fight anything
in a few months time and can now with her milk
teeth kill a dozen, nay 25 rats as quickly as
possible _ _ _ he then held her up (carefully
and cleverly) by one of her delicate ears and
she stood it wonderfully at last giving a
whimper of impatience more than anything
else ⁶².*

Landseer's behaviour here must be seen in context for even "Humanity" Martin in 1824, after being goaded in parliament, had refused to extend the provisions of his act to include rats ⁶³.

As detailed in Chapter Four Landseer enjoyed the rigours of deer hunting. In a much quoted letter to the Earl of Ellesmere in 1837 he commented:

*There is something in the toil and trouble, the
wild weather and the savage scenery, that makes
butchers of us all. Who does not glory in the
death of a fine stag ? on the spot _ when in
truth he ought to be ashamed of the
assassination _ _ _*

Still, with all my respect for the animal's inoffensive character - my love of him as a subject for the pencil gets the better of such tenderness - a creature always picturesque and never ungraceful is too great a property to sacrifice to common feelings of humanity ⁶⁴.

The above quotation appears initially to negate the argument of the preceding discussion. Here however it should be noted that Landseer argues that the artist and hunter should feel shame at the "assassination" of a noble beast. The "effeminacy of the times" or the common feelings of humanity mentioned earlier are emerging - i.e. tender feeling for the animal world. Three years after writing the above Landseer suffered a debilitating mental breakdown from which he never really recovered. While continuing to participate in deer hunting Landseer exhibited a new heightened sensitivity towards the hunted beast, the cruelty of the sport and the pain animals could experience. As Frederick Keyl recalled:

He said; I shoot badly but always know what to hit, Whatever way a deer stands I like to know my way - - and with a fair chance, All I can say is I should not like to be the deer - - - Miss Jessie [Landseer's sister] thought the head was generally aimed at, he said I never will do so while I live (yet he killed the fallow buck so), There are only two places the size of a half crown where you can kill and I have seen the greatest Cruelty committed by firing at the head - - - a deer with its jaw dangling, the dogs tearing out and eating his tongue and the poor deer yet getting away ⁶⁵.

Despite the above Landseer continued to travel north every year to participate in stag hunting. Landseer was not unique in experiencing apparently contradictory beliefs concerning pain and cruelty for the

nineteenth century change in sensibility towards the natural world was gradual and entailed many paradoxes. It was the gradual nature of such change which resulted in some of Landseer's more telling comments such as:

*When I kill an animal I always try to get to
know it as well as I can* ⁶⁶,

These contradictions in thought and actions have their origin in both gradual societal change and Landseer's own personal sensibility to nature, a sensibility which strived to reconcile past, present and future ways of viewing man's relationship with the natural world. Though Landseer through his own personal problems may have experienced this *dialectical process* more acutely than many contemporaries, it was however a process common to many early and mid - Victorians.

As the century progressed, animal experimentation linked *explicitly* with pain became a principal focus for anxiety in the mid - Victorian mind. The use of dogs as experimental animals compounded the case against vivisection. It was all too easy for the individual to imagine the family pet under experimentation - the Landseer painting under the knife. By opposing such practices the anti-vivisectionists publically denied complicity in the infliction of pain. The large scale practice of vivisection in England began about 1870. Landseer's works such as "The Forest" came more than two decades previously and contained the germ of what was to develop into a new sensibility and understanding of nature. In 1875, two years after Landseer's death, Francis Cobbe organised a deputation to urge the R.S.P.C.A. to press for legislation restricting vivisection. An accompanying petition presented to the R.S.P.C.A. bore the signatures of such luminaries as Tennyson, Browning, Ruskin and Carlyle. Vivisection caught the public imagination. On 24th May 1875 the Home Secretary announced a Royal Commission to investigate the practice. On 8th January 1876 the Royal Commission recommended some form of state regulation of vivisection and on 15th August 1876 the Cruelty to Animals Act

received royal assent. It protected all vertebrate animals and required individual experimenters to be licensed by the Home Secretary. Experiments without anesthesia to illustrate teaching, or to test former discoveries and those in which animals recovered consciousness required a special certificate. Although the law contained many loopholes and in practice served to legitimise vivisection the rights of beasts were assured. The works of Edwin Landseer with their emphasis on empathy with the autonomous pain wracked animal had been *one* formative factor in this process.

The Victorian beast within

While the idea of the beast within is of long standing it emerged in a strong new way around the middle of the nineteenth century. The publication of Charles Darwin's Origin of the Species (1859) and Descent of Man (1871) roused the scientific world and deeply affected literate people. In addition to Darwinism other factors played an important role in defining more clearly human kinship with animals, namely the rapid development of ethnology, anthropology and prehistory. A deluge of explorers and travellers furnished accounts of distant primitive peoples. In doing so they raised a serious question: were all primitive peoples as human as their discoverers? As James Turner notes, the very need to ask such questions shook the Victorian belief in the demarcation between the human and the bestial ⁶⁷.

At another level the use of metaphors reflected only too clearly the relationship between man and animal. In a letter to the Princess Royal Victoria expressed her distaste for the barnyard aspects of childbirth:

*What you say of the pride of giving birth to a
mortal soul is very fine, dear, but I own that I
cannot enter into that; I think much more of our
being like a cow or dog at such moments; when
our poor nature becomes so very animal and
unecstatic.*

For Victoria and her contemporaries the animalistic processes of birth and death were unavoidable reminders of the physical and mortal nature of humanity. However, the process of birth and its attendant fear of pain and death was also:

*an unwanted reminder of the physical, barnyard
facts of life from which many middle-class
Victorians preferred to look away as if they
were not there* ⁶⁸.

The Origin dominated conversation at dinner parties. Landseer himself discussed Darwin's ideas with his "pupil" Frederick Keyl and dismissed them out of hand:

*He then asked me if I know any of the world's
philosophers, what are their names, Huxley, 'how
old is he', about 50, told him how sick he was
over the first dead porpoise he dissected. Then
I said there is Darwin, Wallis, Mr Blyth _ _ he
call these men who know Latin names can bother
the public very much [sic], but they know really
nothing and have no observation of living
things* ⁶⁹.

Landseer doubts to the contrary, Darwin's theory was rapidly accepted by well educated people. By Landseer's death in 1873 it had crushed all but the most stubborn opposition. Many animal lovers rallied to support Darwin's theories, for them evolution had become a simple matter of fact and a basis for future discussion of the relations between man and animal. Regardless of its scientific validity in its emphasis on the common origins of man and beast Darwinism taught a moral truth. Many however could not accept the ramifications of Darwin's thought. For them it was characterised by one unacceptable feature: an uncompromising materialism which had great ramifications for religious thought. While many sympathisers appreciated and

displayed their closer ties with the beast few wanted to be related to Godless "brutes".

In response many animal lovers contrived for themselves a much altered "Darwinism". This modified form, while stressing the relationship between the human and the beast, mitigated the beastiality of the latter. Instead of degrading people it elevated animals. In doing so it served as an antidote to the threats of man's own animality as posited by Darwin ⁷⁰. The later paintings of Sir Edwin Landseer it will be argued served a similar purpose.

Landseer and the beast within

The revolution in thought which had broken down the barriers between man and beast created new demons to torment anxious early and mid - Victorians. These demons were closely connected to attitudes towards nature ⁷¹. Throughout the nineteenth century nature grew larger and more impersonal and the human more insignificant. Darwin's writings followed those of Charles Lyell's Principles of Geology (1830-1833) which had outlined a view of nature as an arena of ceaseless strife. Darwin finished what geological writings in an age of religious doubt had begun.

Darwinism struck fear into the hearts of many because human descent from the beasts implied that that paragon of virtue, the Victorian middle classes could have inherited their ferocious nature. Literate Victorians recognised with ease the animal lurking in real people, just as easily as they recognised it in the later fiction of Robert Louis Stevenson ⁷². The popularity of the ideas of criminologist Cesare Lombroso furthered these ideas. During the 1860's Lombroso developed his theory of the "criminal type" where the "natural criminal" resembled the ape in brain and facial structure. Criminal man was a throwback to his beastial ancestors. By translating the ever-present fear of the "lower orders" into unease over the animal in human beings Lombroso

married two of the Victorian's greatest fears. Each justified and reinforced the other ⁷³.

Just as Victorians feared that they had inherited the beast's ferocious nature their kinship with animality raised another issue, the Victorian demon, sex. The association between sex and the realm of the beast is not obvious. However, to the Victorian mind, fornication, adultery, impure thoughts, masturbation and the curse of "spermatorrhea" reflected the release of the animal within the human ⁷⁴. The perceived universality of the sexual drive heightened this fear. Landseer's depiction of the "Grealoch" (Plate 41) with man astride the animal was inherently sexual in its symbolism. Such symbolism was far from common in "acceptable art" of mid-Victorian Britain and where this demon raised its head great discussion was generated ⁷⁵. No mention is made by contemporaries of the sexual connotations of Landseer's "Grealoch" - did the sensitive mid-Victorians fail to recognise this symbolism? Perhaps the answer to this question lies in the fact that Landseer's work made only too apparent the release of the beast within man, a beast whose actions like those of other animals could be conditioned by irrepressible malevolent sexual drives. As M. Foucault has noted this refusal to talk about sex marks it as *the* secret and places it at the centre of discourse ⁷⁶. Far from being a period of repression the Victorian age has been viewed by several commentators as being characterised by an explosive growth in discourse relating to sex ⁷⁷.

Of the appearance of sexuality in Victorian art R. Pearsall has commented:

The nude adolescent girl was considered less heinous than the nude woman, if only for the lack of voluptuousness and pubic hair, which was an affront to the respectable; a thesis could be written on the effect of pubic hair on Victorian sexual thinking. Pubic hair was the omnipresent reminder of the animal in man, the

*hairy beast brought to the knowledge of the
shocked middle classes by Darwin* ⁷⁸.

Such a comment far from being a frivolous aside contains a fundamental truth. While Landseer could not bring himself to accept the fundamental basis of Darwin's thesis he was quiet clear as to the demarcation between man and beast:

*... he always advocated shaving & cleaning the
chin as being the distinctive feature of man, no
animal having such* ⁷⁹.

While documenting Landseer's belief Keyl saw fit to add: "His chin was hidden by a white beard of recent growth" ⁸⁰. This observation and Landseer's criterion of demarcation serve to reinforce the role played by body hair in Victorian thought and more importantly the origin of such thoughts, the underlying fear of the beast or animal within man.

In early and mid - Victorian Britain sex and animality reinforced each other, indeed for many Victorians it was hard to separate the two concepts. From the middle of the century an extraordinary degree of identification between women and animals emerged. Women described themselves as horses being flogged, others saw their position embodied in the image of the helpless animal bound to the vivisector's table. This process of identification was manifestly apparent in three areas: gynaecology, pornography, and literature. Images from these three areas fused on an unconscious level and underlay the fervour of many female anti- vivisectionists ⁸¹. The full impact of the anti vivisectionist movement cannot be understood without recognition of this fact.

Gynaecological patients were bound to "saddles" on elevated tables and their ankles placed in "stirrups" while pauper women were effectively classed with animals as fitting subjects for experimentation. Similarly the language of Victorian pornography was also the language of the stable ⁸². There were marked similarities

between the devices used to restrain women for man's sexual gratification and the apparatus replete with stirrups and leather thongs which readied women for the surgeon's knife.

With most women the displacement of image and concept, from human to animal and from sexual activity to vivisection, must have been unconscious and all the more powerful because it was never brought into the light of day ⁸³.

In Victorian pornography the violated woman did not protest or scream, she howled, mewed, screeched, and yelped and the author by choice of his metaphor reduced her to the condition of an animal. Animals were increasingly seen as a surrogate for women who themselves read their own misery into the vivisector's victims. This empathetic process found its fullest expression in works of anti-vivisectionist fiction such as Wilkie Collin's "Heart and Science" (1883) or George MacDonald's "Paul Faber, Surgeon" (1878). Implicit in these works was the expression of woman as an animal and the link between sexuality and animality.

The link between sex and animality however was only to apparent to contemporaries in Landseer's later work "Taming the Shrew" (Plate 47), a work which created a minor sensation when it was exhibited in 1861:

Sir Edwin Landseer shows us a splendid mare immediately after the Rarey fying process has been thoroughly carried out by that accomplished Eugene, Miss Gilbert. Though prostration in animal life was never more completely rendered; the glazed eye, the relaxed limbs, the spent strength - all are delineated in the most masterly manner; and the satin gloss of the mare's full hind quarters is perfectly pat-able. But the courtly Sir Edwin has scarcely been so successful in his delineation of the lady. There

is a pert self sufficiency about the expression of her half closed eyes, that is not pleasant, besides I doubt very much whether so practical a lady would 'go in' for the taming process with her fair hand abundantly covered with rings! ⁸⁴.

In 1861 we had 'The Shrew Tamed', showing a riding mistress, who, having overcome the terwagant propensities of a vicious [sic] thorough bred ware, - for, as not seldom with Sir Edwin, his pictures echoed the wandering voices of the hour, and 'horse tamers' were now in vogue, - has made her lie down on straw and triumphantly reclines her own head on her flank, as the dame supine and smiling, rests beside the stead, while she gently and obediently caresses her hand; the former, conscious of her victory, pats the animals head. The horse is exquisitely faithful in the handling, the glossy muscle binding hide is all ashine with health and horseload; her powerful hoofs; her eye of fire subdued but not depressed, and full of vigour; the strong unmastered neck, that turns gracefully in its vigour towards the slender lady resting fearlessly among the dreadful feet, as if there were more harm in them than in her own that peep daintily brodequinned, beneath the blue riding robes edge. Among the straw and painted as only Landseer could paint lap dogs, was a saucy little beast of that kind ⁸⁵.

The model had ostensibly been a Miss Gilbert, a refined and accomplished woman who had figured in several canvases including W. Frith's "Derby Day" and who shortly afterwards died of consumption. However, as the above comments make apparent many contemporaries felt

uneasy about the work. The language of the above reviews was naturally the language of the stable however it was little removed from (and owed much to) the language of the pornographer. Those familiar with the *demi monde* immediately recognised Catherine Walters, a young high class prostitute known to her clients as Skittles⁸⁶. Walters in common with many other prostitutes paraded her wares on horseback along Hyde Park's Rotten Row. The Annual Register announced its disapproval of the work and the painting rapidly acquired its more popular title "The Pretty Horesbreaker" (Plate 47) after a contemporary ballad:

*The Young swells in Rotten Row
All cut it mighty fine,
And quiz the fair sex, you know,
And say it is divine,
The pretty little horse-breakers
Are breaking hearts like fun,
For in Rotten Row they all must go
The whole hog or none*⁸⁷,

This cult of the lady riders in Hyde Park fostered a creeping sadism and masochism which was naively sponsored by the Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine⁸⁸. The link between sex and animality which lay inherent in the "Grealoch" was now manifestly apparent. Here the tamed and tamer were both symbolically and paradoxically the female victim of Victorian pornography and the subject of male fantasy. Whether contemporaries thought of the implications of female taming female is questionable, what is not is the link between sex and animality. The public reception of "The Pretty Horsebreaker" (Plate 47) illustrated only too clearly that it was never far from popular consciousness.

The link between sex and animality however was but one expression of a deeper seated anxiety, one rooted in fear of the beast within. While many ostensibly found the "Taming of the Shrew" distasteful a

larger number of contemporaries found Landseer's later work "Man Proposes, God Disposes" (1864) unacceptable.

The return of the beast

Even as Darwin's ideas became more acceptable the fear of the beast within recurred time and time again throughout the century. The nature of, and response to, this fear was nowhere better illustrated than in the public reception of Landseer's "Man Proposes, God Disposes" (1864, Plate 48).

During the nineteenth century Arctic exploration aroused national interest. Preparations, departures and progress were followed as closely as communications allowed while the return of an expedition generated articles, dioramas, lectures and books. Explorations, while they had scientific, strategic and commercial purposes, were also a matter of national prestige⁸⁹. The mid - Victorian attitude to the Arctic was deeply affected by the image of the environment itself. Arctic explorers moved through a world illuminated by "a light that never was, on land or sea" and this land took on an almost allegorical significance⁹⁰. People's perceptions were deeply affected by literary works such as Coleridge's Rhyme of the Ancient Mariner. Coleridge anticipated one Victorian response to the Arctic by making it an environment which provoked theological speculation and fear. Mary Shelley in Frankenstein (1818) anticipated another by making it a setting in which human pride could show its folly in the face of the immensity of nature. Both of these responses can be seen in Landseer's "Man Proposes, God Disposes" (1864, Plate 48) however they are dwarfed by a third and more powerful theme, the return of the beast.

Accounts of scientific exploration were intent on giving a rational and scientific description of the environment but had exactly the opposite effect on the early and mid - Victorian public. They helped to foster a popular romantic image. Many adults who grew up during

the period 1820-1840 formed an image of the Arctic which was a strange mixture of fact and fiction mingled with the lure of the Sublime. Landseer's "Man Proposes, God Disposes" (Plate 48) depicts the fate of the Franklin expedition (1845), Britain's greatest effort in the search for a northwest passage. Franklin's ships the Erebus and Terror were superbly equipped and the crew of 128 men were the cream of the navy. The Navy was so confident that no contingency plans were made for search and rescue. Franklin himself, famous after two earlier expeditions, embodied British qualities which would enable the expedition to overcome all odds. Although national pride was involved in the expedition the symbolic value of the expedition went beyond mere patriotism. "The Franklin Expedition was not simply carrying the Union Jack into the Arctic; it was carrying Western man's faith in his power to prevail on earth" ⁹¹.

The shock of the expedition's fate came gradually for the navy did not send any search party until 1848. The loss of these brave men "whose aims were certainly as pure as the air of those high latitudes" in the advancement of geography, was partly the result of the difference between expectation and reality ⁹². However, the real shock related primarily to the fear of the beast within. On the 23rd October, 1854 The Times printed a report by Dr John Rae who had recently returned from a Hudson's Bay Company expedition in northern Canada. Rae claimed to have met Eskimos who told him that some years previous they had discovered bodies of white men along the shore of the King William Island. That Franklin's men had died of starvation had been hard enough for the public to swallow however Rae's report suggested that:

*... our wretched countrymen had been driven to
the last resource ... cannibalism as a means of
prolonging existence* ⁹³,

Public reaction was immediate. Rae's honesty was called into question by some while others questioned the veracity of the Eskimos. In a series of articles in Household Words Charles Dickens expressed the

outrage felt by the nation. The Eskimos were "a gross handful of uncivilised people, with a domesticity of blood and blubber" ⁹⁴. Against such savages Dickens placed the "brave and enterprising" British explorers who, because of their character and training would be unable to take the "last resource". "In defending Franklin, Dickens defended his own faith in man's power to endure under stress, and the source of this power lay not so much in man's reason and will as in man's heart" ⁹⁵. After a brief burst of horror the press ignored the reports of cannibalism and the nation began to accept the idea that Franklin and his men were all dead. In 1858 Leopold McClintock finally reached the western shores of King William Island and found many bodies and some pathetic relicts including a message which had been buried in a cairn. McClintock did not confirm the reports of cannibalism nor did he find all the bodies. Positive proof however had been furnished that Franklin had died early, the ships had been crushed by ice or deserted by their crews and that the men had died one by one as they tried to walk south to the Canadian mainland.

In spite of determined attempts to ignore it the fear of cannibalism persisted. With the appearance of Landseer's "Man Proposes, God Disposes" (Plate 48) in 1864 these fears once again broke through into the open. C.C. Loomis rightly calls it a lurid painting, one which is unforgettable ⁹⁶. Landseer's work shows two polar bears around the wreckage of one of the expedition's ships. On the left one bear shreds part of what contemporaries recognised as a Union Jack, while on the right another bear lifts its jaws from a human ribcage as it gnaws on a bone. Landseer probably did not intend to evoke the idea of cannibalism but given the prominence of the expedition in public consciousness it was inevitable that this would happen. The Times thought: "Sir Edwin Landseer goes to the heart of the subject - animal ferocity and desolation" ⁹⁷ while The Illustrated London News commented that:

*the painter conceives and presents before us, not
the immediate or impending fate of the survivors of
some Arctic expedition - we will not speculate
which - but the ultimate fate of their remains.*

*Extraordinarily original and imaginative as this
painting is, it may be questioned whether the
representation is not too purely harrowing for the
proper function of art ⁹⁸.*

Clearly from the tone of these reviews Landseer struck something deep in the mid - Victorian sensibility to nature. This becomes more apparent when the comments of the Fine Arts Quarterly Review are considered. While noting the popularity of the work and commenting that it is "perhaps the very highest of Sir Edwin's many achievements" the reviewer added:

*... it places the painting of brute life upon a new
and higher platform, hardly inferior in lofty
suggestiveness to human subjects ⁹⁹.*

"Man Proposes, God Disposes" (Plate 48) troubled Victorians because it reminded man of the basic animality that lurked inside him, an animality which could find release in cannibalism. Paradoxically, it was this which led to the immense popularity of the work despite hostile reviews. "Landseer's image of Nature in the Arctic [was] quite other than sublime; he portrayed the brute animal force of Nature, not its inorganic sublimity" ¹⁰⁰. However, Landseer's work did more than this it reflected and heralded the advent of a new concept in the moral status of the animal, one which had been implicit in his works of the 1840's such as the autonomous "Monarch of the Glen" (Plate 35). In placing the animal "upon a new and higher platform, hardly inferior in lofty suggestiveness to human subjects" "Man Proposes, God Disposes", like the earlier "Forest" works, pointed to the "sacredness of life for itself", the very right of the animal to live an independent life.

This new sensibility was recognised by some contemporaries, witness the The Examiner's review of this work:

It is very easy to call this horrible, without feeling that it is so. Bone is but bone, and to the hungry bear it matters little whether it be the bone of a man or bone of mutton. There is nothing ghastly in the aspect of a rib-bone, and seeing how long a man must lie in the cold north before his flesh can waste to a dry skeleton, we must accept Sir Edwin's emblem of arctic inhospitality with as much equanimity as man's own disembodied spirit may feel, when he sees what becomes of bones that he had done with yesterday or centuries ago. Wantonly to depict mere ghastliness of death is bad in art, but a man's dry rib-bone is no more unsightly than the bone of any of the lower animals, that the most dainty lady can, with her own hands and without a shudder, scrape and pick. So let us protest in advance against all mock squeamishness over the very natural behaviour of these two bears '01.

The above discussion has noted how the "Monarch of the Glen" and other contemporary works by Landseer emerged as "a serious attempt to envisage the natural environment as standing in some other possible relation than to man and his needs" ¹⁰². In the contemporary discussion of "Man Proposes, God Disposes" there is both recognition of this achievement and the emergence of the concept of the "sacredness of life for itself". This concept was to be fully developed only in the years following Landseer's death in 1873. The Landseer works discussed above however, in preceding these changes in thought, both reflected and help structure the emergence of a new sensibility towards the natural world.

From brute to animal

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century animals existed not to satisfy man's needs but to fulfil their own natures. This belief was clearly expressed in the writings of contemporaries:

*Modern philosophy teaches us although we are at the
head and infinitely higher than any animal, still,
in the first place, animals exist for themselves;
they enjoy their lives, and are happy merely
because they live* ¹⁰³.

Further, witness Henry C. Merwin's assertion that:

*The only way of utilising the inferior animals
which can certainly be pronounced right is the
natural way* ¹⁰⁴.

People could rightfully take advantage of the strength of a horse, the predatory instinct of a cat or the watchfulness of a dog however, to drive an animal beyond its capabilities or to employ it in a manner unsuited to its natural abilities was not only unnatural but morally wrong. In essence animals ought to live by nature's laws and not those of man. Widespread recognition of this fact saw two millennia of Christian and secular rational thought with regard to animals overturned. A new ethos emerged: the autonomy of the animal and the sacredness of life for itself. Nature became the effective standard by which to judge the proper treatment of animals.

By the 1860's and 1870's the exposure of man's animality manifest in the abuse of beasts troubled all educated people. By far the most common response was the refurbishment of the brute/animal itself for, "a sweetened animal meant a less bestial human being" ¹⁰⁵. The remodelling of the image of the beast extended even to the term *beast* itself. By 1900 the word brute as a synonym for animal had virtually disappeared and the term *beast* seldom referred to anything but the

most bloodthirsty of creatures. The neutral term *animal* became standard. The granting of autonomy to animals enabled them to serve as exemplars of human behaviour, yet this entailed a paradox. Previously animals had been remodelled to resemble people now people had to model themselves on animals. Exemplary animals did not display all human traits, only the most admirable. Essentially Victorians wanted and expected some kind of reinforcement of their own ethical and moral standards. The articulation of this characteristic can be seen in many of Landseer's later works.

"Wild Cattle" (1867, Plate 49) and "Deer of Chillingham Park" (1867, Plate 50) illustrate with penetrating clarity the sacredness of the Victorian bourgeois family headed by a dominant male. The Victorian family was the first family form in history which was both long lasting and intimate. It formed a crucial site for modern ideology. The bourgeois family and its domestic ideal did not derive directly from developments in capitalism but neither was it a completely autonomous development. It was related to broader social and political forces. The conscious articulation of bourgeois domestic ideology was a result of the fear of social disintegration and the self-development of an increasingly dominant class. Sexual and family decorum formed a vital part of social stability. The domestic ideal functioned as an important social cement for a stable home was viewed both as a microcosm of a stable society and a sanctuary from an unstable and rapidly changing world 106.

While the domestic ideal carried clear economic connotations its prime function was less to influence others than to articulate the class feelings and experiences of the bourgeoisie itself. By the second half of the nineteenth century the domestic ideal and its attendant images such as Landseer's "Wild Cattle" (Plate 49) and "Deer of Chillingham Park" (Plate 50) had become important features in the development of the idea of middle classness and the creation of a differentiated class identity. Engravings of Landseer's works such as his "Cattle" and "Deer" which hung in bourgeois parlours were an

expression of class confidence both against aristocratic immorality and the masses.

While apparently similar to the earlier anthropomorphic representations of Landseer such as "High Life" and "Low Life" (1829) the above paintings were informed by, and reflected a different sensibility to the animal world. Earlier works indeed showed that the idea of learning from animals was not new ¹⁰⁷. However, the animals of "The Cat's Paw" (1824, Plate 51), "The Monkey Who Had Seen the World" (1827, Plate 52) or "Jack in Office" (1833, Plate 53) were in essence people in disguise serving to warn against human vice while encouraging virtue. Indeed Ruskin had singled out this very point for criticism in Modern Painters:

In our modern treatment of the dog, of which the prevailing tendency is marked by Landseer, the interest taken in him is disproportionate to that taken in man, and leads to a somewhat trivial mingling of sentiment, or warping by caricature; giving up the true nature of the animal for the sake of a pretty thought or pleasant jest ¹⁰⁸.

Such naive anthropocentrism could not survive in the post Darwinism era, except perhaps for the purposes of political polemic. As witnessed by the later works of Landseer the use of animals did of course survive. However, animals were no longer a mirror of values but their source.

According to one contemporary animals showed "intelligence, industry, docility, self denial, fidelity and affection" ¹⁰⁹. For contemporaries these qualities could be readily discerned in Landseer's later works. One such example of this can be found in the reception of "Highland Nurses" (1856, Plate 54), a painting which was dedicated to Florence Nightingale. As C.S. Mann recorded in his compilation of Marks and Remarks on the Catalogue of the Royal Academy for 1856, on reflection some observers were prone to bitter comment:

*Crawling through the tangled heather
Stalks the Huntsman of the Highlands,
Lawless hunter of the helpless,
Not for ven'son but for frolick;
Stealthily he toils and grovels,
Creeping on to sport and slaughter
Death struck prostrate and despairing
Cries to Heaven, his hapless victim,*

*Cries aloud for Retribution;
Swells the fierce and panting nostril,
Till the life blood ebbing - failing,
All the outrage is accomplished
For the moral read the Picture;
See the piteous helpless 'Nurses'
Teaching mercy to us mortals;*

*Mark the touching sweet expression
Of the nurse in active service;
While I hold my own opinion
That it tells another story,
Tells in unexampled language*

*A far more heart stirring story
Than the painter had intended;
Than his matchless skill intended
In some others I could mention
In some others I will mention ''''.*

As demonstrated in the above quotation for many middle class mid - Victorians animals were both the source and teacher of such values and the lesson to be learnt was "heart training through the Animal World" '''. The great majority of people who of course could not purchase Landseer paintings found instruction both in popular literature and the engraving market. The enormous success of Anna

Sewell's Black Beauty (1877) testified to the need and market for such instruction. Those who could not afford oil paintings for their parlours could choose from hundreds of engravings or hand coloured lithographs. Though many of these works appear ludicrous today in an age when sensibilities have once again changed, they were of great significance in mid-nineteenth century Britain for they effectively allowed the animal to enter the human family by the back door. The engraving market in part transformed the animal world into man's shy friends. Human beings no longer needed to fear nature indeed, they had to match up to its moral standards.

Despite their importance in structuring nineteenth century thought the role played by Landseer's works must not be overstressed. The philosophical underpinnings expressed in Landseer's compositions were in all probability taken on board unconsciously by both observer and artist alike. Animal lovers found virtue most readily accessible, not in the paintings and engravings of Edwin Landseer or those of any other artist but in the domestic pet. Pets of course were nothing new but their widespread acceptance in the middle class household coincided roughly with the changing intellectual climate around the middle of the nineteenth century ¹¹².

*By creating the modern pet - the cuddly puppy, the
cute kitten - animal lovers manufactured an animal
designed to quell savage nature with the balm of
love ¹¹³.*

Paradoxically, when the pet bared its fangs it symbolised just as effectively a savage uncaring nature yet, this contradiction was largely lost on contemporaries. Where it was recognised it caused mild discomfort and necessitated a shifting of sensibilities as circumstance dictated.

Animal lovers sought to mask the savage reality of nature. It has been argued that the establishment of the animal as a model of compassion and virtue achieved three things ¹¹⁴. Firstly, it

calmed ever-present anxieties over man's kinship with the beast. Secondly, it effectively neutralised the beast which lurked within man despite attempts to disguise it. Thirdly, it brought the beast into the Victorian parlour and in doing so it gave the beast not only a mind, but a compassionate heart. The image of the compassionate beast which can be seen in Landseer's "Highland Nurses" (Plate 54) or the Chillingham works allowed mid - Victorians to learn to live with the idea that they too were animals. Further, if compassion was a characteristic of the animal then human compassion wasn't a fleeting impulse but a basic characteristic of nature. There was however a fourth thing the image of the compassionate beast achieved. Together with the emerging view of the totality of nature it was eventually to allow the reconciliation of science and sensibility.

The rise of nature

The nineteenth century ended with a fundamental shift in intellectual and moral concern for animals. Kinship with animals, revulsion from pain coupled with a new respect for science all merged to redefine man's place in nature. After 1870 the character of the R.S.P.C.A. movement changed and domestic pets ousted their rural relations from the centre of concern. Anxieties which fuelled the protectionist movement diminished. Man could now accept kinship with the beast and indeed, the urban industrial age. New outlets for humanitarian concern emerged such as the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children which received its charter in 1884 ¹¹⁵. Further, over the century legislation was enacted protecting women and children from the rigours of the urban-industrial age. It was no longer necessary to lavish pity on suffering animals for want of acceptable human objects of compassion ¹¹⁶.

By the 1890's only pets aroused more interest than wild birds amongst animal lovers. For the first time animal lovers attacked in an organised fashion the *taking* of life itself. Concern over the extermination of birds saw the emergence of a new ethic with regard

to human treatment of animal life. This ethic later flourished into what twentieth century observers would recognise as the *ecological approach*. This idea derived from the new belief in the autonomy of animals and what contemporaries recognised as the "sacredness of life for itself" ¹¹⁷. Bird protectionists stressed the role played by birds in preserving the balance of nature and this approach eventually came to be held by a large proportion of animal lovers. The idea of a interrelated chain of being was of course not new but it was only in the agitation over the treatment of birds that this idea coalesced into a coherent understanding between humanity and the natural world ¹¹⁸. What brought about this change was the simple realisation that man no longer had primacy over nature.

Few animal lovers, Landseer included, consciously switched their allegiance from older theories of animal rights to those outlined above however, by the end of the nineteenth century ecological rights had become part of the educated person's intellectual baggage. All living creatures now held rights because all dwelt together in nature and regulated their activities in accordance with the principle of the "sacredness of life for itself". It was this concept that Landseer's later works such as the "Forest" reflected and reinforced in stark contrast to the naive anthropomorphic representations of his earlier career.

Over the period 1800-1900 man's relationship with the natural world changed completely. Animals became increasingly marginal to the process of production yet at the same time they assumed a new symbolic importance. Together with other aspects of nature they became an escape from social transformation. Consequently concern for animals was a characteristic of the cities and was seldom shared by the rural population. Animal rights derived initially from the capacity to feel pain. These rights were basic and included only the freedom from unnecessary pain. Animals remained subject to the superior rights of people. From the middle of the century older views of animal rights rooted in both Christian theology and secular thought were rejected by a growing number of the middle classes. The theories of Darwin and

others raised brutes to a new height and shattered traditional foundations of animal rights. A reflection of the above changes can be seen in the animal works of Sir Edwin Landseer, the most popular artist in early and mid - Victorian Britain. Through the popularity of engravings of his later works Landseer helped to structure and propagate a new sensibility towards the natural world. This new sensibility was founded on new Victorian conceptions of pain and was characterised by new beliefs in the autonomy of the animal and eventually , the sacredness of life for itself.

It is this respect for life itself which led Landseer nearly half a century earlier to entitle one of the "Forest" plates "Precious Trophies" (Plate 44). "Precious Trophies" is, if anything a hollow symbol of man's mindless dominion over the brute. The new ecological ethic demanded the same respect for life, human or animal. It did not condemn people for killing for food or clothing but it did ask equal reverence for all living creatures. There is something about Landseer's "Forest" discussed above which provokes the sympathy and demands the attention of the observer; it is the nascent claim that all creatures should be treated with equal reverence.

Landseer himself did not live to see the fruition of the ecological concept of nature. Paradoxically, the artist whose works did so much to inform the development of this new sensibility was to struggle to realise a very personal analogical and essentially Christian view of the natural world. It is this struggle which forms the basis of the following chapter.

Notes to Chapter Six

1. Jeremy Bentham, Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation, (1789). Ed. J.H. Burns & H.L.A. Hart, London, 1970, pp. 282-83.
2. Karl Marx, Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts, 1844, in The Marx-Engels Reader, R.C. Turner (ed.), New York, 1972, pp.60-62. Quoted in J. Turner, Reckoning with the Beast: Animals, Pain and Humanity in the Victorian Mind, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1980, p.163. Sections 4 & 6 of this present chapter owe much to Turner's interpretation.
3. C. Glacken, Traces on the Rhodian Shore, University of California Press, Berkeley 1967; Yi-fu Tuan, Dominance and Affection: The Making of Pets, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1984.
4. See for example R. Godlovitch, "Animals and morals", Philosophy 46, 1971, pp. 23ff; R. & S. Godlovitch & J. Harris (eds.), Animals, Men and Morals, London, 1971; M. Midgley, "Concept of beastiness", Philosophy 48, 1973, pp. 111 ff; J. Passmore, Man's Responsibility for Nature, London, 1974; P. Singer, Animal Liberation, New York, 1975; P. Singer & T. Regan (eds.), Animal Rights and Human Obligations, New York, 1976; A. Linzey, Animal Rights, London, 1976; M. Midgley, Animals and Why They Matter, Harmondsworth, 1983; S.R.L. Clark, The Moral Status of Animals, Oxford, 1984.
5. For a typical comment on the perceived shallowness of Landseer's work see, M. Rosenthal in British Landscape Painting, Phaidon, London, 1982, pp.142-144.

On the emergence of a new sensibility towards the natural world see James Turner, 1980 op cit. & James Crewdon Turner,

Kindness to Animals: The Animal Protection Movement in England and America during the Nineteenth Century, (Unpublished dissertation, Harvard University, 1975). Both of the above works offer penetrating insights into how attitudes articulate the interests and aspirations of social groupings.

6. See M. Midgley, 1983, Chapter 11. "What is Anthropomorphism?", pp. 125-133. See also, R. Williams, Keywords, Glasgow, Fontana, 1976. "Sensibility", pp. 235-238.

7. J. Turner, 1980, op cit, Preface.

8. The term beast in this discussion is used as a synonym for "animal" and bears no relation to the beast in the Book of Revelations.

9. For informed discussions see,

D. Harwood, Love for Animals and How it Developed in Great Britain, New York, 1928; R.S. Crane, "Suggestions Toward a Genealogy of the Man of Feeling", ELH: A Journal of English Literary History, Volume 1, Number 3, 1934, pp. 205-230; W. Shugg, "Humanitarianism in the Early Animal Experiments of the Royal Society", Annals of Science, Volume 24, Number 3, 1968, pp. 227-238; J & B Klaitz, Animals and Man in Historical Perspective, New York, 1974; F. Klingender, Animals in Art and Thought to the end of the Middle Ages. (ed.) Evelyn Antal and John Harman, Cambridge, M.I.T. Press, 1971; B. Taylor, Animal Painting in England from Barlow to Landseer, Harmondsworth, 1955; J. Passmore, "The Treatment of Animals", Journal of the History of Ideas, 36, 1975, pp.196-198; K. Thomas, Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800, Allen Lane, London, 1983; B. Harrison, "Animals and the State in Nineteenth Century England", English Historical Review, Vol. 88, 1973, pp.786-820; R.D. French, "Animal Experiment and Humanitarian Sentiment before 1870" in Antivivisection and

- Medical Science in Victorian Britain, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1975, pp. 15-35.
10. Genesis 1:26-28; This interpretation ignores other ways of construing the text more favourably to animals see: J. Passmore, 1974, pp. 5-12; C. Glacken, 1967, op cit pp. 166-168.
 11. Cited in M. Midgley, 1983, p. 11. See Voltaire's, Philosophical Dictionary under "Animals".
 12. J. Turner, 1980, op cit, p.2.
 13. The growth of a more humane sensibility has been the subject of enquiry for many writers. See in particular, Michel Foucault's "Discipline and Punish", Harmondsworth, 1979; T.L Haskell, "Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility" (Parts I & II) in the American Historical Review, Volume 90, Nos. 2 & 3, 1985, pp.339-361 & pp.547-566 .
 14. J. Bentham, 1789, op cit.
 15. J. Lawrence, A Philosophical and Practical Treatise on Horses and on the Moral Duties of Man towards the Brute Creation, London, 1796.
 16. J. Turner, 1980, p.18. For more recent thoughts on this matter see, T. Regan, "The moral basis of vegetarianism", Canadian Journal of Philosophy, 5, 1975, pp. 181 ff.
 17. K. Garlick, "Landseer in the Diploma Galleries", Burlington Magazine, 103, 1961, pp. 143-144.
 18. E. Darwin, Zoonomania, or the Laws of Organic Life, London, 1794-7; J.B. Lamarck, Philosophie zoologique, 1809.
 19. K. Thomas, 1983, op cit p. 181; J. Turner, 1980, op cit, p. 25.

20. E.P. Thompson, "Time, work discipline and industrial capitalism", Past and Present, Volume 38, 1967, pp.56-97.
21. J. Turner, 1980, op cit, p.31.
22. J. Barrell, The Dark Side of the Landscape: the rural poor in English Painting, 1730-1840, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1980, p.32.

"What is true of Constable's later painting is true also of much of the landscape-painting of the mid-nineteenth century, though for different reasons, and probably because, by then, the labourer in agriculture is no longer, and is no longer regarded as the prototypical English worker. The concern of the rich has shifted to the worker in industry; and it is he who seems to carry the burden of England's economic progress, and he who seems capable of threatening it by indiscipline, idleness or revolt. And though, for reasons which need not detain us here, the value of the rural community as it had traditionally been defined, and as it had been reaffirmed in the poetry of Wordsworth, is strengthened and emphasised in the Victorian novel as a better alternative to the anonymity of industrial civilisation, in poetry and painting the countryside comes to take on the simply negative virtue of not being the city".

23. J. Turner, 1980, op cit, p.33.
24. Virgil, The Eclogues, Harmondsworth, 1984 (Translation and introduction by Guy Lee); Yi-fu Tuan, Topophilia, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs N.J, 1974, pp. 107-109; K. Olwig, The Morphology of a Symbolic Landscape: A Geosophical Case Study of the Transformation of Denmark's Jutland Heath circa 1750-1950, University of Minnesota, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 1977, pp. 33-65, (63).
25. Parry, quoted in Olwig, 1977, op cit., p.35.

26. Olwig, 1977, op cit, pp. 166-168; K. Olwig, Nature's Ideological Landscape, London, 1984, pp. 23-39.
27. The concept of locus amoenus, developed by P. Piehler in, The Visionary Landscape, London, 1971, has been criticised recently by G. Lee, 1984, op cit, p. 22.
28. E. Bullough, "Psychical distance as a factor in art and Aesthetic Principle" in, Aesthetics: Lectures and Essays, (Originally published 1913). E. Bullough & E.M. Wilkinson (eds.), London, 1957, pp.91-130.

On Bullough's theory see also:

J.T. Ogden, "From Spatial to Aesthetic Distance in the Eighteenth Century" in, Journal of the History of Ideas, XXXV, No.1, January -March, 1974, pp. 63-78; G. Dickie, "Bullough and the concept of psychical distance", Philosophy and Phenomenological Research, XXII, September 1961 - June 1962, pp. 233-38; L.D. Longman, "The Concept of Psychical Distance", Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, VI, No.1, September 1947, pp. 31-36.

29. K. Olwig, 1977, p.44
30. While H. Mayhew himself drew attention to the plight of Highland vagrants in London parliament, contrary to popular mythology, openly debated their fate. See: H. Mayhew, London Labour and London Poor, (4 Volumes), London, 1861-62, reprinted 1967, Volume 3, pp. 164-171. As indicated in Chapter 2 however, comments on the "Highland problem" from radicals such as William Cobbett were not widely publicised.

31. John Ruskin, Modern Painters, Volume 1, Chapter 2, Section 2, in E.T. Cook & A. Wedderburn (eds), Works, Volume III, 1903, pp.88-89.

"Take for instance, one of the most perfect poems or pictures (I use the words as synonymous) which modern times have seen - the 'Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner'. Here the exquisite execution of the glossy and crisp hair of the dog, the bright sharp touching of the green bough beside it, the clear painting of the wood of the coffin and the folds of the blanket, are language, language clear and expressive in the highest degree. But the close pressure of the dog's breast against the wood, the convulsive clinging of the paws, which has dragged the blanket off the trestle, the total powerlessness of the head laid, close and motionless, upon its folds, the fixed and tearful fall of the eye in its utter hopelessness, the rigidity of the repose which marks that there has been no motion nor change in the trance of agony since the last blow was struck on the coffin lid, the quietness and gloom of the chamber, the spectacles marking the place where the Bible is last closed, indicating how lonely has been the life, how unwatched the departure, of him who is now laid solitary in his sleep; these are all thoughts - thoughts by which the picture is separated at once from hundreds of equal merit, as far as mere painting goes, by which it ranks as a work of high art, and stamps its author, not as the neat imitator of the texture of the skin, or the fold of a drapery, but as a man of mind".

Ruskin's religious fervour allowed him to overlook the fact that the spectacles rest on the top of a closed bible.

32. For a recent discussion of the ideological nature of Victorian metaphorical discourse and practices relating to animal husbandry, categorisation, representation and subjugation see, H. Ritvo, The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age, London, Harvard University Press, 1987.

33. S. Lynam, Humanity Dick: A Biography of Richard Martin, M.P., 1754-1833, London, 1975.
34. J. Turner, 1980, op cit, p. 53.
35. J. Turner, 1980, op cit, pp. 54-59.
36. H.S. Salt (Ed), Cruelties of Civilisation: A Program of Human Reform, Volume 1, London, 1894, vi-viii. See also Salt's, Animal Rights Considered in relation to Social Progress, 1892 (1980 Edition edited by Peter Singer, Society for Animal Rights Inc, Clarks Summit, Pennsylvania). For further elaboration on history & use of such metaphors see H. Ritvo, 1987, op cit.
37. W. Youatt, The Obligation and Extent of Humanity to Brutes, London, 1839, p. 35.
38. K. Marx, Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts, 1844, Quoted in Turner, 1980, op cit., p.163.
39. Hansard, Second Series, Volume 12, 1013.
40. Quoted in J. Turner, 1980, op cit, p.55. Origin uncertain. K. Thomas, 1983, op cit, p.186 adds: "The S.P.C.A can thus be seen as yet another middle class campaign to civilise the lower orders. In the early years those whom it prosecuted for cruelty to animals sprang almost exclusively from the working classes".
41. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the writings and omissions of John Ruskin see, Stormcloud of the Nineteenth Century, 1884 and Ruskin's autobiography Praeterita, 1885. Landseer like Ruskin was to struggle to come to terms with the moral ambiguities of the age.
42. J. Turner, 1980, op cit, p.56.

43. For a discussion of experiments in animal physiology between 1800 - 1850 see E.G. E.G. Boring, A History of Experimental Psychology, New York, 1957; See also R.D. French, 1975, op cit.
44. Animal World 4, 1873, pp.47-48. Quoted in J. Turner, 1980, p. 65.
45. Letter in the archive of the Royal Institution, London from Charles Lewis to Jacob Bell dated 11th August, 1848 (Uncatalogued Collection).

The issue of pain and cruelty was also commented on by the art critic of the Illustrated London News, Volume 12, June 3, 1848, p.360:

"A deer dying or dead in the snow from the efforts of a random shot, one of her young has followed her for nourishment. The incident is painful _ _ _ the execution most felicitous".

That the "Random Shot" should provoke such a comment is indicative of the emergence and development of a new sensibility towards pain.

46. M. Rosenthal, 1982, op cit, pp. 142-144.
47. J. Holloway & L. Errington, The Discovery of Scotland: The Appreciation of Scottish Scenery Throughout Two Centuries of Painting, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1978, p. 107.
48. J.A. Manson, Sir Edwin Landseer, London, 1902.
49. Information on prices and print declaration derived from the Catalogues of the Print Sellers Association (P.S.A.), Volume 1, 1847-1892.

50. These works are "Wait till he rise" (1863), "Found", "No Hope", "Off", "At Bay", "A Grand Hart", "The Fatal Duel", "The Watch Tower", and "The Pass" (1868).
51. J. Turner, 1980, op cit, p. 80.
52. The ramifications of this revulsion from pain was instrumental in determining the acceptability of intervention in the functioning of society through the enactment of legislation on the behalf of both women and children.
53. J. H. Millar, "Temple and Sewer: Childbirth, Prudery, and Victoria Regina" in A.S Wohl, (Ed), The Victorian Family: Structure and Stresses, London, 1978, pp. 23-43.
54. John Ruskin, Modern Painters, Volume 2, Chapter XII, in E.T. Cook & A Wedderburn (eds), Works, Volume IV, 1903, p.149.
55. The parallels between the speared otter and the crucifixion of Christ are readily apparent. This work is discussed at greater length in Chapter 7.
56. Contemporary Review, Volume 71, 1902, p. 622.
57. "Be the physical benefits to man what they may _ _ _ they would be far outbalanced by the moral evils which its practice would entail". M. Thornhill, The Morality of Vivisection, London, 1885, p.11, p.18.
58. R. Ormond, Sir Edwin Landseer, London, 1981, p. 10.
59. E.G. Fairholme & W. Pain, A Century of Work for Animals: The History of the R.S.P.C.A. 1824-1933, London, 1934, p.120.
60. Landseer quoted in E.G. Fairholme & W. Pain, 1934, p.120.

61. E.G. Fairholme & W. Pain, 1934, op cit, p.121.
62. Keyl Papers, MSS with Sir Oliver Millar, Surveyor of the Queen's Pictures, Lord Chamberlain's Office. Unpaginated. Entry dated August 31, 1866. Frederick Keyl's personal record of dinner conversations with Landseer.
63. Early in 1824 Martin had tried to bring in a Bill to prevent cruelty to dogs, cats, monkeys and other animals. He specifically excluded rats. E.G. Fairholme & W. Pain, 1934, op cit, p. 39.
64. Letter to Earl of Ellesmere quoted in C. Lennie, Landseer: The Victorian Paragon, Hamish Hamilton. London, 1976, p.142.
65. Keyl Papers, op cit, unpaginated. Entry dated August 31, 1866.
66. Keyl Papers, op cit, unpaginated. Entry dated March 1st, 1867.
67. J. Turner, 1980, op cit, p.63.
68. J.H. Millar, The Victorian Family, 1978, op cit, pp. 31, 39-40.
69. Keyl Papers, op cit, unpaginated. Entry dated February 25, 1869. This reflects an earlier comment by Landseer on the same subject.

"Naturalists are of no use - _Owin [sic] and all these people only write Latin descriptions of the animal and when you get them translated there is nothing in them". Keyl Papers, entry dated March 1st, 1867.
70. J. Turner, 1980, op cit, p. 62.
71. J. Turner, 1980, op cit, p. 66.

72. The fear of the beast within man and its articulation and recognition in public consciousness can be discerned in the publication and reception of R.L. Stevenson's, Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde, London, 1886; H.G. Wells, The Island of Dr Moreau, London, 1896.
73. On Lombroso see, Gina Lombroso Ferrero, Criminal Man According to the Classification of Cesare Lombroso, New York, 1911; Courtney Kenny, "The Italian Theory of Crime: Cesare Lombroso" in The Modern Approach to Criminal Law, Ed. Leon Radzinowicz & J.W.C. Turner, London, 1945.
74. The definition of diseases such as "spermatorrhea" (nocturnal emission) was but part of an overall growth in discourse and categorization pertaining to the sex act which had been underway since the seventeenth century. See M. Foucault, The History of Sexuality. Volume 1: An Introduction, (Translated from the French by Robert Hurley. Originally published, 1976), Harmondsworth, 1984. For a clear and concise discussion of Foucault's work see, J. Weeks, Sex, Politics and Society, London, 1981, pp.6-11.
75. As in the public outrage over Millais's "The Knight Errant". See M. Eaton, "Lie back and think of England", in The Left and the Erotic, (ed.) E. Phillips, London, 1983, p.159-181.
76. M. Foucault, 1984, p. 69.
77. J. Weeks, 1981, p. 4; For the fullest articulation of this view see M. Foucault, 1984.
78. R. Pearsall, The Worm in the Bud: the world of Victorian Sexuality, Harmondsworth, 1969 pp. 145-146.
79. Keyl Papers, op cit, unpaginated. Entry dated August 31st, 1866.

80. Keyl Papers, op cit, unpaginated. Entry dated August 31st, 1866.
81. C. Lansby, "Gynaecology, Pornography and the Antivivisection Movement", Victorian Studies, Spring, 1985, pp. 413-437.
82. See S. Marcus, The Other Victorians, London, 1964; R. Pearsall, 1969, op cit, pp. 447-507.
83. C. Lansby, 1985, op cit, p.422.
84. Contemporary review quoted in C.S. Mann, 1874, The Works of Sir Edwin Landseer, (National Art Library MSS, 86.BB.19, p. 94).
85. Contemporary review quoted in C.S. Mann, 1874, Volume 2, p. 13.
86. See R. Pearsall, 1969, op cit, pp. 308-10. Catherine Walters became the centre of a cult and numerous books were written about her.
87. R. Pearsall, 1969, op cit, p. 309.
88. The relevant issues (Volumes 5-9, 1868-70) are now deposited in the Private Cases of the British Museum.
89. C.C. Loomis, "The Arctic Sublime" in Nature and the Victorian Imagination, U.C. Knoepfelmacher & G.B. Tennyson (eds), University of California Press, Berkeley, 1978, pp. 95-112.
90. C.C. Loomis, 1978, op cit, p. 96.
91. C.C. Loomis, 1978, op cit, p. 104.
92. J. Conrad, "Geography and Explorers" in Last Essays, London, 1926, p.16.
93. J. Rae, The Times, October 23rd, 1854.

94. C. Dickens, "The Lost Arctic Voyagers" in Household Words, December 2nd, 1854, p. 365.
95. R.L. Brannan, quoted in C.C. Loomis, 1978, op cit, p. 109.
96. C.C. Loomis, 1978, op cit, p. 110.
97. The Times, April 30th, 1864, p. 14c.
98. Illustrated London News, Volume 44, May 7th, 1864, p. 455.
99. Fine Arts Quarterly Review, Vol.III, (Oct.1864 - Jan.1865), 1864, pp. 27-28.
100. C.C. Loomis, 1978, op cit, p.111.
101. The Examiner, April 30th, 1864, p.280.
102. J. Holloway & L. Errington, 1978, op cit, p. 17.
103. Quotation from Animal World, Vol 14, 1883, p.30. Cited in J. Turner, 1980, op cit, p. 73.
104. Quotation 1902. Cited in J. Turner, 1980, op cit, p. 73.
105. J. Turner, 1980, op cit, p. 69.
106. J. Weeks, 1981, op cit, pp. 24-37.
107. For example see the fables of Aesop, La Fontaine and John Gay. These animals however were little more than people in disguise.
108. John Ruskin, Modern Painters, Volume V, Part IX, Chapter VI, in E.T. Cook & A. Wedderburn (eds), Works, Volume VII, 1905, p. 337.

109. C. Bray, Paul Bradley: A Village tale inculcating kindness to Animals, London, 1876, pp. 131-132.
110. Extract from "Marks and Remarks on the Catalogue of the Royal Academy for 1856" cited in C.S. Mann, Works, 1874, (National Art Library MSS, 86.BB.20), p.123. The other works mentioned by the author were those which the public were increasingly finding cruel and disturbing such as "The Otter Hunt" (1844) and "Random Shot" (1848).
111. J. Turner, 1980, op cit, p. 75.
112. J. Turner, 1980, op cit, pp. 76, 122-25. For a more detailed discussion see K. Thomas, 1983, op cit. For a provocative examination of the making of pets see Yi-fu Tuan, 1984, op cit. "Acceptance" here is understood to mean the social integration of the animal into the family through various means such as the giving of personal Christian names etc.
113. J. Turner, 1980, op cit, p. 97.
114. J. Turner, (1980).
115. A. Allen & A. Morton, This is your Child: The Story of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, London, 1961. For further works relating to the history of childhood see J. Walvin, A Child's World: A Social History of English Childhood 1800-1914, Harmondsworth, 1982.
116. See T.E. James, "The Development of the Law Relating to Children in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries", Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of London, 1957.

For a useful summary of the relevant acts pertaining to women, children and the poor see E.J. Evans, The Forging of the Modern

State: Early Industrial Britain 1783-1870, Longman, London, 1983, pp. 385-388.

117. J. Turner, 1980, op cit, p. 127.

118. On the "chain of being" see A.O. Lovejoy, The Great Chain of Being: a study of the History of an Idea, Cambridge (Mass), Harvard University Press, 1948. See also C. Glacken, 1967, op cit, pp. 481-482.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FLOOD IN THE HIGHLANDS: FROM NATURE'S GOD TO NATURE'S WORKS

*... the transition is so natural from 'nature's work
to nature's God' and to me it always brings with
overwhelming force the question, what returns ?*

Wriothesley Russell¹,

*The Trinity of God, Man, and Nature was central to the
nineteenth century universe, Nature itself was
illuminated by another Trinity: art, science, and
religion,*

B. Novak²,

In the previous chapter the symbolic importance of animals in early and mid-Victorian thought was examined and the emergence of a new sensibility towards the natural world traced. This chapter examines Landseer's last major Highland work, "Flood in the Highlands" (1845-60, Plate 55), and argues that Landseer struggled to realise an essentially Christian, analogical view of the relationship between man and the natural world. From consideration of the referential symbolism of Landseer's "Flood" it is also argued that it is possible to gain an understanding of man's attitude to the environment within a specific social and historical context.

Landseer's "Flood" perplexed many contemporaries and failed to find genuine popular appeal. It is suggested that this failure was ultimately related to a combination of factors, namely, Landseer's highly individualistic symbolism, the emergence of the new sensibility examined in Chapter Six and the development of new ways of seeing,

appreciating and apprehending landscape and nature. Before turning to such general observations however it is desirable to determine what "Flood in the Highlands" purports to depict and the social context in which the work was produced.

Flood in the Highlands

"Flood in the Highlands" (1845-60, Plate 55) was inspired by the Moray floods of August 1829 ³. As a result of heavy rains the rivers fed by the Cairngorm and Monadhliath Mountains flooded causing severe damage and loss of life. The events of the flood were documented in a series of sketch books made by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder in 1829 and in a volume subsequently published in 1830 ⁴. Lauder recorded that many families sought refuge on the roofs of their houses. Although several buildings and bridges were swept away the majority of the crofters were saved. Landseer's painting represents "Dandaleith", the first farm below Craigellachie where the combined waters of the Fiddick and Spey scoured 26 acres and covered another 50 with a three foot layer of sand and debris. Lauder recorded that 107 families in the parish were made destitute by this event ⁵.

Landseer's "Flood in the Highlands" (1845-60, Plate 55) depicts a group of figures on the roof of a central building seeking refuge from the floodwaters below. The figures in the foreground appear to be sitting on the turf roof of an outhouse ⁶. On the left of the painting stands a board inscribed "Alick Gordon/ Upputing/ Stance/ Mile East". From this it is clear that the main building shown is an inn providing accommodation (upputing) for drovers who could leave their cattle at a "stance" one mile to the east. Seated on a chair in the centre of the composition is a terrified mother clutching her child, an empty cradle lies beside her (Plate 56). Adjacent to the mother is a young girl who is grasping her stoical grandfather's hand. The young boy in the bottom right of the picture does not appear to be part of the family group. He is not comforted by any adult and his sole companions are his puppy and the pup's mother. In their terror and fear

Flood in the Highlands

of the flood various animals gather around the people while below a bleating goat tries desperately to escape the waters. In the lower left hand corner a black ox is about to be sucked down by the waters while a group of men on the adjacent building struggle to save a horse and an upturned cart. Storm clouds roll across the sky and fallen trees lie around. The impact of the event is all the greater because the floodwaters are barely shown ⁷.

"Flood in the Highlands" (1845-60, Plate 55) received a mixed reception from both critics and public alike. The Times called it "a decisive answer to those who whisper that Sir Edwin's power is on the wane" ⁸ while The Athenaeum thought "Sir Edwin has done his best in this picture; and as a result of many years study shows how profitably they have been employed in ensuring him fresh honour" ⁹. Some contemporaries however thought otherwise, one believed it:

too purely tragic. To excite sympathy by the exhibition of simple pain and distress belongs to an early stage of art . . . it is by no means the highest resort of art to represent unmitigated calamity in any shape ¹⁰.

Later critics too were of mixed opinions. Stephens thought it a masterpiece, "probably the strongest of all his pictures . . . if it was not his finest work, it was at any rate his culminating one" ¹¹. Manson however thought it an "invention beyond his control" ¹². Landseer rarely went to Scotland before September or October and it is unlikely that he witnessed this particular summer flood although he did witness others. Man's insignificance in the face of the uncontrolled forces of nature was a favourite romantic theme, indeed Landseer's "Flood in the Highlands" (1845-60) can be linked thematically with earlier works such John Martin's "Deluge" (1826) and Francis Danby's "Deluge" (1840) ¹³.

Image and reality

Dandaleith in the parish of Knockando does not appear in the series of evaluation roles (parish lists of valued rents for general land tax) held in the Scottish Records Office and examination of the surviving estate plans fails to find any trace of Landseer's "Alick Gordon" and his droving inn. However, estate plans taken in conjunction with the first edition of the Ordnance Survey map (1874) of this area give a reasonably clear impression of the nature of both the settlement and economy of Dandaleith over the period, 1845-1861 ¹⁴. Further, there is no reason to doubt Lauder's assessment of Mr MacInnes of Dandaleith and the productivity of his lands ¹⁵.

In 1859, the year prior to the exhibition of Landseer's "Flood in the Highlands" (1845-60), the earliest extant estate plan shows Dandaleith to be tenanted by a Mr J. Mac Innes ¹⁶. As for the nature of the settlement there can be no doubt. The following figures are drawn from estate plans held in the Scottish Records Office ¹⁷.

1859

Arable	298 0 25
Pasture	40 1 34
Wood	222 0 22
House &	10 0 25
Gardens.	

<u>Total</u>	570 3 26
--------------	----------

1868.

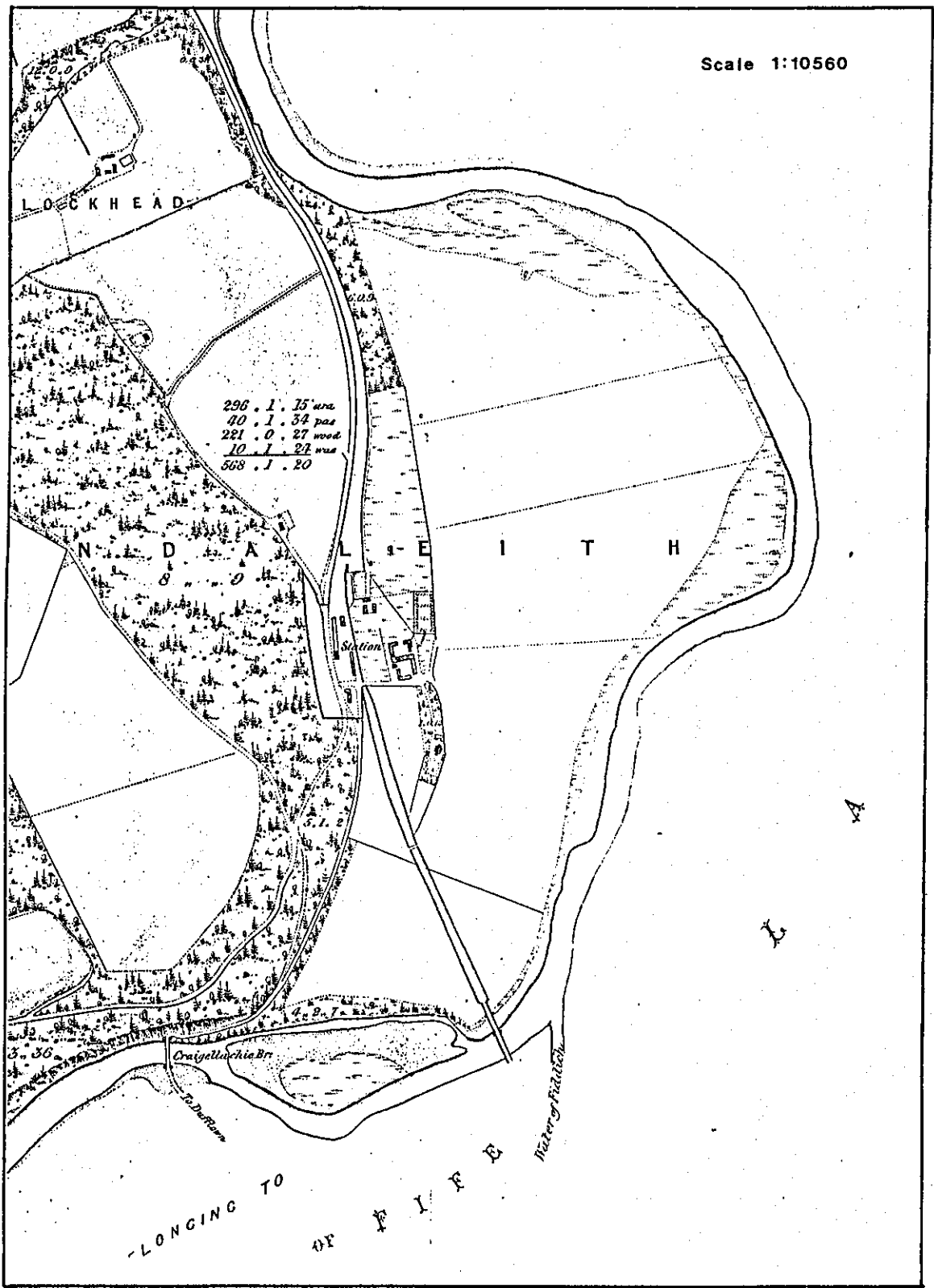
296 1 15
40 1 34
221 0 27
10 0 24

568 1 20

All figures are in Acres.

[illegible]

FIGURE 7.2 EXTRACT FROM A PLAN OF THE EARL OF SEAFIELD'S ESTATES IN ELGIN & ROTHES DISTRICTS: 1868



Clearly Dandaleith was an arable farm. Examination of the 1874 Ordnance Survey map shows the existence of disused buildings, possibly cottages opposite Heathery Isle, and it may be possible that this is the location Landseer depicted (Figure 7.1). No further information can be found on this site however and the estate plans of 1859 and 1868 (Figure 7.2) do not show any type of settlement at this location ¹⁹. Lauder described Dandaleith as being tenanted by a Mr Innes in 1829 and, in the absence of other evidence it seems likely that over the period 1829-1868 Dandaleith remained an arable farm ¹⁹.

As for the existence of a droving inn as depicted by Landseer, droving stances were indeed determined by the existence of accessible pasture and water which Dandaleith possessed on the Haugh. Cattle were brought to some convenient point where purchases were gradually collected into droves ²⁰. Craigellachie, on the east bank of the Spey opposite Dandaleith, was one such area. Due to the absence of a bridge over the Spey to Elgin until the early nineteenth century, Craigellachie remained a collecting area for one of the major drove roads south to the trysts. However, from the surviving documentation it would appear that Landseer's "Flood in the Highlands" (1845-60, Plate 55) with its drove inn at Dandaleith belongs to a fictitious landscape permeated with romantic association with the past rather than a portrayal of contemporary reality. This accords well with the surviving evidence for after 1835 the droving of cattle to southern markets declined dramatically due to a variety of factors ²¹.

New attitudes to land ownership, reduced access to wayside grazing coupled with the rapid disappearance of common land, agricultural change which enabled cattle to be wintered in the Highlands and the surfacing of roads were all instrumental in the decline of droving. Between 1820-36 a marked change took place in the transportation of cattle from north eastern districts. Cattle were transported from Aberdeen to Leith (Edinburgh) and London by sailing ships for £1.10s per head. As the size and value of the beasts increased with changing agricultural practices such as the introduction of the turnip, graziers and dealers in Banffshire, Morayshire and Aberdeenshire took increasing

advantage of the new steamship transports. Risks to the beasts and charges of £2.10 and £3.00 per head were offset by a chance of fatter beasts at market and a quicker passage south.

From an examination of surviving estate plans it can be seen that by 1859, Dandaleith had become a station on the Morayshire Railway Line (Figure 7.1) ²². The Morayshire Railway Company line, which opened on the 10th August 1852, ran initially from Elgin to the port of Lossiemouth however, by 1855 a connecting line eastwards to Aberdeen had come into operation ²³. By 23rd December, 1858 a branch line from Dandaleith had come into operation enabling journeys to be undertaken between Aberdeen and Inverness. On 17th May, 1861 the Morayshire Railway was empowered to extend its line southwards over the Spey at Craigellachie and effect a junction with the Strathspey Railway which in turn joined the Highland Railway at Boat of Garten. This made possible direct journeys southwards to Perth ²⁴.

Although largely a passenger line the presence of a stock yard indicated on the 1868 (Figure 7.2) estate plan immediately adjacent to the railway station suggests that by this time Dandaleith may have served as a loading point for cattle and produce destined for southern markets, perhaps via the ports of Lossiemouth and Aberdeen ²⁵. The effects of the railway on Dandaleith and the local economy remain unclear. From 1860 however rapid change occurred with southern buyers travelling to the Highlands to buy direct from the graziers and from 1875 the railways overall constituted a major factor in the decline of droving ²⁶. What can be concluded with certainty is the fact that Landseer, through his selection of a traditional romantic theme and a form of economy that was rapidly passing into obscurity through technological and societal change, chose to recreate a view of nature rooted in the historical past rather than Highland reality.

Lauder's account of the Flood

From the above discussion it is clear that Landseer's painting, with its image of a historic past rather than contemporary reality, can be viewed as part of a wider romantic vision. This stated it is possible to identify certain elements in Landseer's "Flood" which are historically specific and to relate them to prevailing circumstances as noted by Lauder in 1830 ²⁷. Lauder's account provides a graphic description of the events at Dandaleith:

The first farm on the left is that of Dandaleith, a stretch of level land, which has been rendered, by the skill and capital of Mr MacInnes, the boast of Speyside, And well it might be called so; for land in higher cultivation, or more perfectly fenced was nowhere to be met with, But the Flood burst over it from the Lower Craigellachie, the Spey being forced to the left of the Fiddick, and converted into a desert, that seemed that it had never been tilled by man, At least 26 acres of fine land were carried away entirely, and not less than fifty more were covered in sand and gravel to a depth of three feet; immense river channels were cut in various places, the fences levelled and the whole crop destroyed, The ground was strewn over when I saw it with enormous trees; amongst others, one immense oak from Ballindalloch, weighting with its roots not less than three or four tons, Besides all this, the whole corn stacks of the 1828 crop, five excepted were carried off like a fleet of ships, Great part of a thriving distillery were thrown down, A cow herd, who slept there, being asked if he lost anything, 'Aye' he replied, 'I lost twa sarks [shirts], and ane o' them was clean too', As I walked over the farm, I was suddenly arrested by observing a longitudinal cairn of small stones about the dimensions of a man's body, This was a frail and

melancholy monument, placed there by the friends of poor Cruickshanks, to mark the spot where they had found his body.

Opposite to Dandaleith is the Heathy Be, among the trees of which were found spinning wheels, chairs, tables, beds, chest of drawers, and all manner of cottage furniture and farming utensils, from the cradle to the cart ²⁸.

From the above passages it is apparent that many of the compositional elements present in Landseer's "Flood" accord with the circumstances of the 1829 flood at Dandaleith. Given that Lauder's account was published fifteen years before Landseer began work on "Flood in the Highlands" (1845-60) it is possible that Landseer drew directly on Lauder's text for some compositional elements such as the strewn trees, cattle, cradle and hay cart. Further, (assuming he was aware of them) it is also possible that some of the elements in Lauder's description with their religious overtones may have had a strong appeal to Landseer. This theme will be discussed below.

Despite similarities between Lauder's account and Landseer's depiction it is clear however that as a portrayal of the actuality of the 1829 flood Landseer's painting is of limited value as an empirical source ²⁹. This stated it is argued below however "Flood in the Highlands" (1845-60) does reflect a people's attitudes to nature within a specific societal and historical context. These attitudes become apparent through an examination of the *referential symbolism* of the painting and a reading of surviving accounts of the flood. Following discussion of this referential symbolism attention will then be given to Landseer's individualistic symbolism inherent in the work.

Referential symbolism in Landseer's Flood

Roland Barthes has categorised symbolism into two basic types; *referential* and *individual* ³⁰. *Referential* symbolism relates to a stock of commonly held and easily recognised symbols while *individual* symbolism relates to a "network of displacements and substitutions" peculiar to an individual ³¹. Barthes's taxonomy will be used in the examination of the symbolism of Landseer's "Flood" which follows below.

The identification of referential symbols in Landseer's "Flood" can be undertaken with relative ease. In the bottom right of the painting lies an hour glass on its side (Plate 57). This symbolises the fact that time has ceased to flow. Time has become static and the painting may be interpreted as depicting key concepts that remain constant throughout time. The themes of life and death are encapsulated in a vignette in the bottom right of the painting; life and death are symbolised by the cat devouring the freshly laid egg against a backdrop of dead fish, while the ladder symbolises the ascent from life to death. Similarly, on the theme of mortality the vertical forms of the cradle, chair in which the mother sits, inn sign, dovecote and chimney are all reminiscent of gravestones. Next to the hour glass lies a highland bridal cup which symbolises marriage, a broadsword and adjacent dirk wrapped in tartan plaid symbolising an absent father and husband (presumably a soldier) now dead (Plate 57). As the plaid has become a shroud so the targe becomes a tombstone. These are clear referential symbols to universal concepts.

In this context the phrase "universal concepts" does not refer to supposed timeless qualities inherent in so called "great art" which place a painting like some essence above and beyond the vicissitudes of history -the truths P. Fuller has attacked as being "just one more attempt by the bourgeoisie to universalise their own particular ideology to turn what is historically specific into something eternal" ³². This term refers to matters relating to man's relatively constant biological condition and his dependence on nature. This is not

to place these concepts above social and economic considerations but merely to note:

*One cannot help but recognise also that there are non
superstructural elements in cultural activities and
institutions* ³³.

The universal concepts referred to here are birth, life and death. In examining these concepts in a specific social and environmental context mankind's relationship to, and dependence on nature becomes more apparent. This task however is made more difficult by the complex nature of Landseer's symbolism.

On the theme of mortality two further points must be noted with regard to Landseer's "Flood". Both of these points suggest that, in addition to the referential symbolism present, a "network of displacements and substitutions" peculiar to Landseer exists ³⁴. These displacements form a system of individual symbolism in the work. Dandaleith was one of the few locations where an actual fatality occurred, the death being that of Cruickshanks, a local inn keeper whose grave is mentioned above. Secondly, the finding of an empty cradle at Heathy Be opposite Dandaleith is striking given the prominence of the empty cradle in Landseer's painting. Throughout the long period during which this work was completed (1845-59) Landseer's mental health was deteriorating and in his distressed state of mind and failing reason it is possible he attached more significance to certain elements of "Flood in the Highlands" than has previously been thought. This individual symbolism will be examined in greater detail below.

Referential symbolism and attitudes to nature in nineteenth century Morayshire

For many leading nineteenth century thinkers such as John Ruskin, God, man and nature were interconnected phenomena ³⁵. Further, as a recent study has stressed, contemporary understanding of nature was

often illuminated by studies in art, science and religion ³⁶. While teleological philosophies were by no means new, in the hands of talented polymaths such as Ruskin, they were greatly refined. In many regions however, these new philosophies struggled to supersede older established ideas with regard to the perceived relationship between God, man and nature. As a result of a schismatic religious past early nineteenth century Morayshire was one area where older ideas were firmly rooted.

With the coming of the Reformation to Scotland in 1560 Protestant religion was gradually propagated throughout Morayshire, however as one intemperate chronicler documented:

*The number of papists was great, Those who professed
the Protestant religion retained strong prejudices in
favour of their ancestors* ³⁷,

Initial reformers taught the Calvinistic doctrine however during the reign of James VI "Arminianism" became popular. This doctrine was accompanied by much superstition and the practice of what contemporaries called "heathenish and Catholic customs". Pilgrimages to wells and chapels co-existed with a belief in apparitions and fairies. "Charms, casting nativities, curing diseases by enchantments, fortune telling were commonly practiced, and firmly believed" ³⁸. Writing from a viewpoint clearly grounded in Protestant doctrine L. Shaw argues that by the late nineteenth century these practices had been largely discarded. Nevertheless he personally recalled hearing people swear not to practice witchcraft, charms or spells ³⁹.

Since the Reformation popular belief in Morayshire varied greatly and each successive doctrine contained elements of another. While the overall predominance was that of Protestantism, elements of pagan and Catholic thought survived, if only in a somewhat obscure form. These surviving elements, together with the actions of an unpredictable and uncontrollable hostile environment made individuals susceptible to superstitious belief. As A. Polson noted:

The superstition of the highlanders differ from those of the Lowlands in kind rather than number. Nor is this to be wondered at when the environment of many inhabitants is considered ⁴⁰.

Just as a hostile environment can be the source of religious beliefs however, from deeply held religious beliefs certain attitudes to the environment can emerge ⁴¹. Consider the following extracts from Lauder's account of the 1830 flood.

Tom Meldrum was a merchant whose house, constructed of 'substantial stone and lime' stood above the bridge of the Aven fourteen yards from the river bank and twelve feet above the level of the river.

*We syne the waters rise over the eaves o' our thatch,
an that was the way that a' thing was till 10 o'
clock neist mornin', when we cam' back, an' fund that
a' the swa' kinkind o' articles had been floated out
at a back wundo. But waur nor' a' that, the hail of
Tam's goods, tea, sugar, an siclike, war a' gane, an'
the sugar a' meltit ! A hunder pound wudna mak' it up
till us, An' oor comfortable hoos, too, see hoo its
ruined, an' it beggit but twa years ago; an' the
gairden new taen in; an' a destroyed as ye see ! But
it's the Lords will, an' we maun submit* ⁴².

John Cly, the miller of Tomore had a similar experience:

*The rapid burn of the Tomore descends from the
mountain of Belrinnes on the right, John Cly, the meal
miller of Tomore, a sturdy, hal, independent minded
old man of 75, has been singularly persecuted by
floods, having suffered by that of 1768, and by three
or four inundations since, but especially that of
1783, when his house and mill were carried away and he*

was left penniless. He was not a little affected by that calamity which fell upon him and on no one else; but his indomitable spirit got the better of everything. About seven years ago he undertook to improve a piece of absolute beach of two acres, entirely covered with enormous stones and gravel. But John knew that a deep rich soil lay below, buried there by the flood of 1768. He removed the stones with immense labour, formed them into a bulwark and enclosure around the field, trenched down the gravel to a depth of four or five feet, and brought up the soil which afterwards produced most luxuriant crops.

The fruits of all John's labours were swept away by the direful flood of the 3rd August. But the pride of his heart as this improvement had been, the flood was not able to sweep away his equanimity and philosophy together with his acres. When some one condoled him on his loss, 'I took it frae the Aven' said he, with emphasis, 'and let the Aven hae her ain again,

After the year 1783, he built his house on a rock that shewed itself from under the soil at the base of the bank, bounding the Glen of the burn. During the late flood, the water was dashing up at his door, and his sister who is older than he, having expressed great terror, and proposed that they should both fly for it, 'What's the woman afeard o'?', cried John impatiently, 'hae we not baith the rock o' nature an' the Rock of Ages to trust till? _ _ We'll no stir one fit! ⁴³,

Both Tom Meldrum and John Cly (if the reader is to believe Lauder's testimony) were clearly men of firm convictions and such beliefs were common in Morayshire ⁴⁴. When Mr Cumming Bruce's new house,

'Dunphail' on the River Divie was isolated and had its gardens destroyed Bruce could only comment, "Dreadful indeed _ _ _ is the devastation that a few hours have wrought. But we must be thankful that all around us are safe. God's will be done" ⁴⁵. Similarly a Mr Funns could, after the event state, "I'se be grateful to God a' my days. Its muckle comfort till a poor man to feel the Lord is his friend" ⁴⁶. It was such strong religious convictions that led John Geddes "a poor and industrious man" to tell neighbours seeking shelter in his house to "trus in providence neebours" ⁴⁷. That these beliefs should have such an apparently firm basis in popular thought is hardly surprising given the views and teaching of the local clergy. The Rev. Duncan Grant claimed he had never before seen:

*so great a manifestation of the might and majesty of
God in the dispensations of His Providence, nor
evidence so convincing of the weakness, the utter
helplessness of man* ⁴⁸.

Belief in Providence and predestination, apparently widespread in nineteenth century Morayshire, was of immense comfort for:

*In the scripture the devout could find immediate
analogies with their own experience and they drew
reassurance from the knowledge that the worst of their
tribulations had been undergone by Job, Jeremiah
or some other Biblical hero* ⁴⁹.

It was the certainty of such beliefs which produced such resigned attitudes as that of Landseer's old man to the Highland Flood. "The victim of misfortune could thus draw some stoical consolation from the knowledge that God was controlling his fate, even if the respective roles of God, man and nature were sometimes a matter for delicate computation" ⁵⁰. Further:

As Calvin had pointed out, the perils of daily existence would have made life intolerable for men who believed that everything happened by chance and that they were subject to every caprice of arbitrary fortune. The Christian could submit himself to God, secure in the knowledge that no harm could befall him unless the almighty permitted it, and that if adversities still came his way, they were at least intended for his own good ⁵¹.

It is in this social context that Landseer's "Flood in the Highlands" must be examined for, as Lauder's Account makes clear, it was faith in the doctrine of predestination that provided a degree of security for individuals in an uncertain and often hostile environment. It is possible that Landseer's calm and stoical old man is one clear referential symbol to a widespread belief in predestination throughout Morayshire in the first half of the nineteenth century. Detailed examination of Landseer's "Flood" reveals other referential and individual symbols that point to the possibility of a meaning rooted in traditional Christian iconology.

There are a number of symbols in Landseer's "Flood in the Highlands" which suggest a religious or spiritual interpretation. Landseer's "Flood" contains many biblical analogies. Firstly, there is the analogy of Noah and the Great Flood ⁵². Indeed Lauder himself found it "difficult to resist the idea of the recurrence of a general deluge" ⁵³. On the River Dee:

The combined horrors of this dreadful night led many in Braemar to imagine that the end of the world was approaching. One individual, in particular, remained a whole night in the corner of his house, and would not

*go to bed, in the full persuasion that the
termination of all things was at hand* ⁵⁴,

Although slightly forced, in Landseer's "Flood" people seek refuge on the roof of a droving inn and parallels may be made with the analogy of the biblical inn and stable.

One way of course in which God could be seen to test the faith of individuals was a direct confrontation with diabolical agency. In the bottom left of the painting a screaming goat is depicted staring directly towards the observer. Given Landseer's interest in spiritualism and the occult this may be interpreted as being symbolic of the devil ⁵⁵. Adjacent to the goat and about to be washed away by the floodwaters is a bull bleeding from the mouth (Plate 58). If the goat is symbolic of the devil then the bull may indeed be viewed as a lost soul or, as in Leviticus, a sin offering for the individual or multitude seeking atonement ⁵⁶. This possible interpretation is supported by the fact that in 1861 (the year following exhibition of the "Flood") Landseer exhibited at the British Institution a painting entitled "The Sin Offering". This work showed a goat lying bound upon a burning altar and it was accompanied with an extract from Leviticus (Lev. x. 16) ⁵⁷. In the foreground of the "Flood" on a flat projection lie two goats, one of which appears to be bound (Plate 59). In the light of the above, the parallels with the image of a sacrificial altar are immediately apparent.

In addition to the above explicitly Christian symbolism "Flood in the Highlands" contains several occultic references, references which are directly related to the environment and the superstition which it helped to foster. The horseshoe on the child's cradle is made of iron. Iron, especially in the form of a horseshoe was thought to be an effective charm against malevolent fairies, witches and demons ⁵⁸. In its specifically inverted form as painted by Landseer the horseshoe was intended to be a charm against witchcraft. The role played by the

flowing floodwater in the painting is problematic. As G.L. Kitteredge points out:

There is a manifest connection with the ancient and all universal belief that water, particularly running water dissolves a spell or interposes an obstacle to the passage of uncanny beings ⁶⁰,

This pre Christian belief was incorporated into Christian ideology by the use of water as the agent of baptism. Water, being the agent of baptism, would not accept impure elements ⁶⁰. If the observer chooses to accept this particular symbolic meaning of water then one possible meaning of "Flood in the Highlands" is the triumph of good for the water has acted as a barrier to the goat while it has offered redemption to the sin offering.

Having noted the above it is possible however to point to a contradictory interpretation of the symbolism. In the background of the painting on the left two enormous trees have fallen across each other in ways not compatible with the prevailing climatic or hydrological conditions. The direction of the wind is clearly shown by the red flag or rag in the centre of the painting and accounts for the direction of only one of the fallen trees. If the tree on top lies there as a result of the floodwaters then both cart, bull and goat would have been swept away. If it is accepted that these two trees lie in a way unexplained by the prevailing conditions then it is possible to interpret them symbolically as representing a fallen cross (Plate 60). In terms of referential symbolism in popular belief (as in European folklore) the cross was thought to be an effective talisman against witchcraft ⁶¹. In this instance the fallen image may have been intended by Landseer to symbolise the failure of such protective charms against malevolent forces.

Clearly from the above the symbolism of Landseer's "Flood in the Highlands" is extremely complex and open to various interpretations. However it does seem tenable to argue for the existence of two systems

of symbols as detailed above. The first form of symbolism is *referential* and relates to universal concepts outlined above which are biological in origin, birth, life and death. These concepts must be located within a specific societal and environmental context. Other non biological universals such as good and evil too are related to this form of symbolism. Secondly, "Flood in the Highlands" seems to contain a form of individual symbolism peculiar to Landseer which is informed and inspired by his own religious and superstitious beliefs. The existence of these two types of symbolism yield two possible levels of understanding with regard to the work. Neither of these however can be properly understood without regard to the other and both point to a meaning rooted in Christian iconology.

Landseer and the individualistic symbolism of the Flood

In 1840 Edwin Landseer suffered a severe mental breakdown and for the remainder of his life was prone to bouts of depression. The artist had an obsessive interest in criminals and murderers. Despite appeals from contemporaries such as the Duke of Richmond he was known to have visited condemned men in their cells. Further, like many Victorians Landseer is known to have attended seances and to have had a keen interest in spiritualism and the occult ⁶². A strong body of evidence suggests that Landseer was a hypochondriac and that in the final years of his life he suffered from alcoholism. By 1872 Landseer's behaviour was so erratic that his family and financial advisor, Thomas Hyde Hills had him certified with the concurrence of Gladstone and other individuals ⁶³.

From the mid 1840's Landseer worked on "Flood in the Highlands" over a period of 15 years. His close friend and fellow artist Frederick Lee recalled seeing the painting almost finished in 1846 however, when he next saw it again in 1860:

*... it was so altered that he no longer liked it,
One of the models who had resumed her sittings for a*

figure in that picture after such an interval expressed to me her astonishment at seeing the picture almost obliterated by scrapings, save only the part for which she had sat, Landseer had entirely changed the entire scheme of the picture, which seemed to be an incubus upon him ⁶⁴.

It seems quite feasible to suggest that Landseer's confused state of mind was responsible for the long gestation of this work, an incubus which was not a commission but one of his own personal choosing. As one of Landseer's contemporaries noted:

The picture makes no distinct impression as a whole. One has to spell out the individual parts, and piece them together for oneself. The mere physical difficulty of seeing the picture is, thanks to the peculiarities of colour and perspective very great; to see it as a whole is well nigh impossible ⁶⁵.

One characteristic of this sudden raging flood, its confusion, is empathetically reproduced, on canvas, and renewed on the spectators mind. The picture is not created but laboriously built together. The fusion is not chemical but mechanical. This miscellany of man, woman, baby, boy, drowning ox and horse, clambering goat, wet collies, burrowing hare, swimming ducks, frightened hens, serene back arching cat, admirably painted mauds and worsted stockings _ _ it is a mere cento of pictures, each in itself is technically admirable; it is not a picture. All this unparalleled technical facility and material power, all these years of labour, based on so wide a knowledge of animal and even human nature, ends in a nugatory result; it is a tower of Babel by which the artist in vain strives to reach the heaven of invention _ _ _

Did Sir Edwin ever see it in his own mind ? ⁶⁶,

R. Ormond has viewed the disparate elements of Landseer's "Flood" as being united by a single theme, the psychological study of the effects of fear and despair induced by a sudden catastrophe ⁶⁷. While undoubtedly many elements of the "Flood" can be accounted for by this framework, many cannot; for example the tranquillity of the old man in such a situation. These elements suggest a possible alternative understanding of Landseer's "Flood in the Highlands". It is argued that Landseer's "Flood" represents an attempt to realise an essentially Christian analogical view of the world in a period of fundamental social transformation. As far as Landseer is concerned Ormond has stated that: "Neither politics nor conventional religion meant very much to him" ⁶⁸. From this statement it appears that the above examination of the referential symbolism of Landseer's "Flood" may be readily dismissed. However Ormond's statement can be challenged on the basis of a comparative examination of Landseer's works from 1840 onwards and by reference to surviving manuscripts.

Landseer's selection of the theme was perhaps in part inspired by a communication he received from Lord Cosmo Russell. Russell proposed a work entitled "Such is Life";

*Thus depicted: Principal figure, a very pretty widow
with an expression of extreme hope looks into the
distance into a beam of light (or picture of a laden
sky) towards a distant chicken yard, beneath the
picture a bothy with a Shepherds plaid, stick and dog
in conscious helpless grief. In the foreground between
the widow and her contemplated distance a group of
unconscious happy wary things, children - puppies -
playing. Tho showing a state of unconsciousness in
each, and the superiority of Xtrism over fynite
grief* ⁶⁹,

While Landseer's "Flood" is not set in such a situation there are obvious common elements not least, it will be argued, the need to show "the superiority of Xtrism over fynite grief".

From 1840 it is possible to discern an undercurrent of Christian and spiritualist symbolism in a series of paintings which reflect Landseer's troubled mind. Although their significance has been dismissed recently, a substantial body of correspondence suggests that Landseer was heavily influenced by practising Christians and Christian thought ⁷⁰. In February, 1842 following his mental breakdown Landseer received a comforting letter from Caroline Elizabeth Norton (Plate 61):

*No one knows better than I do, the loathing
heartsickness of first trying to return to such
occupations _ the impossibility of attention of a calm
and fit sort _ the fit of weariness and fits of
desperation which come on, in spite of gleams of hope
and efforts at invention _ But to have one's mind
stagnate is not wholesome either; it is a choice of
evils _ the struggle or the stagnation; God meant the
struggle or he would have not joined such tenacity of
suffering with so much energy and buoyancy as we find
in the world, People tell one to keep the mind quiet
as if it were an unruly horse, and one had nothing
better to do than buy a different bridle and
martingale to control its movements; but those who
have really endeavoured at this nearly hopeless task,
know that it is infinitely difficult to keep it quiet
than to keep it occupied, Removing habitual occupation
is like removing the living man among strangers, _ a
blank is not a comfort nor can it be endured, I say
nothing of religion _ it is folded in all hearts as a
secret, what degree of power they have, to turn from
the cross they must bare to the cross they may kneel
at, _ but the endeavour to pray and the endeavour at
wholesome occupation of the mind lies the only secure*

balance, if one could find it and strength to keep it steady '1.

Such correspondence was not new to Landseer, in 1830 Lord Wriothsesley Russell, (Plate 62) Chaplain and Canon of Windsor had written:

I hear that in your pictures you have surpassed yourself, but if my hopes have all been wished you will before this have felt that human applause, fascinating as it is, cannot confer one moments real happiness. God permit that you may soon know what that means in the Fullest extent of the word - that deep overflowing feeling of joy, of peace, which the World cannot give and whose only course is in Him 'Whose blood was shed for our sins and not for ours alone but the whole world'. As you have now probably made some progress in the books I sent you, I wish that you would let me hear your opinion of them. Write me freely with correspondence and be assured that no one can feel a deeper interest in your welfare. Doodling I think eminently adapted to some, the unthinking but it appeared to me that you required instruction and I think the clean philosophical style of Erskine admirable. By God's grace I trust that the two read together may put you in possession of those spiritual gifts I so earnestly desire for you, but there is one Book only that is needful, Study its divine contents and pray to be enlightened '2.

Again in 1840 following the death of Landseer's mother and immediately prior to Landseer's breakdown Wriothsesley Russell wrote again:

There are times when we are forced to pause and collect ourselves, and I know not the results of all the reflections the day of sorrow brings with it, is a tendency to diminish the poignancy of our regrets. We are forcibly reminded of the fearful concomitants of death - of judgement- and eternity. We are compelled to ask, 'What am I ? Where am I going ? What am I living for ? What have I as yet acquired that is worth having ? What is my portion for the world to come ? These are questions that will rise and I trust must be solved - and here comes the real deep unspeakable comfort of the Christian. Men talk of resignation but what do they mean by it ? A miserable cold thing that chills the heart - it seems to fortify and deceive with the notion that we submit when in truth we are only yielding to that which we cannot avoid.

Every grief, every bereavement, every loss is met with 'It is the Lord, let Him what seemeth his good', I would fain hope you feel this, for I know how deeply you need these draughts of consolation which this world cannot give. I would not be intrusive but I should be thankful if you would allow me to endeavour to alleviate your sorrows by books, by letters, by visits or anything that I can do ⁷³.

In another, undated, letter Wriothsley Russell urged Landseer to seek the salvation Christ offers:

_ _ the transition is so natural from 'nature's work to nature's God' and to me it always brings with overwhelming force the question, what returns ? _ _ The only return he recognises is that we should all accept the salvation He offers. Most people say and I

*believe think they do but one moments affliction must
convince them of the 'utter' fallacy of these ideas,
It is not long since I 'tumbled' on putting to myself
these simple questions, Do I hope to be saved and on
what do I found this hope ? I could not answer
satisfactorily I believed the inference was
inevitable,*

Russell concluded "would anyone seeing a friend walking in his sleep and in the act of walking over a precipice hesitate to awaken him from the fear of disturbing a pleasant dream" ⁷⁴.

This concern for Landseer's spiritual well being was persistent and cannot have failed to have had an impact on Landseer's impaired reasoning. In the immediate wake of his illness Landseer painted "The Otter Hunt" (1844, Plate 45) for the 4th Duke of Aberdeen ⁷⁵. In the "Otter Hunt" the pyramidal shape topped by the pierced otter reflects an established compositional structure of western art - it is symbolic of Christ's crucifixion and the act of impalement. It is instructive to compare this work with one produced the following year, "The Shepherd's Prayer" (1845, Plate 63). "The Shepherd's Prayer" was exhibited in the same year as Landseer began work on "Flood in the Highlands". In discussing the engraving of "The Otter Hunt" (Plate 45) The Art Union could comment:

*we confess it is not without pleasure we learn he is
about to abandon this style for one of a far loftier
order We should express no pleasure in the
prospect of his quitting a beaten track, in which he
has achieved so much distinction, but we know him to
be capable of efforts equally great in pursuits far
worthier, more honourable, and more profitable - to
mankind, certainly, and, we believe, to himself, If
report speaks truly, the beautiful and very striking
print before us will be one of the last addressed to a
section; those that are to follow being designed to*

*keep pace with the on march of intellect and the
improvement of public taste* ⁷⁵,

As detailed in Chapter Five, at this time (1847) Landseer began work on a number of royal commissions and this may be what the above reviewer referred to. However this comment may be a veiled reference to works inspired to Christian thought for in "The Shepherd's Prayer" (Plate 63) the symbolism of crucifixion implicit in the "Otter Hunt" became explicit as did the use of water as an agent of purification ⁷⁷. "The Shepherd's Prayer" (Plate 63) is essentially a religious allegory and shows a Belgium shepherd before the crucified Christ on the fields of Waterloo, his flock stretching into the distance. Both these works serve to illustrate how natural was the transition from beast to man in Landseer's thought, if not in popular consciousness.

In 1859, the year before Landseer exhibited "Flood in the Highlands" Landseer exhibited "A Kind Star", a painting tainted with Highland superstition. "A Kind Star" illustrated the belief that hinds were protected by beneficent stars. The work shows a spirit with a star in its hair bent over a dying beast. Contemporaries were shocked. Pre-Raphaelite F.G. Stephens commented that:

*those who had owed him so much delight for so many
years stood aghast before it. Some even tried to
ascribe its exhibition and even its production to some
unfrequent impulse . . . deference to some inferior
mind, subservience to some vulgar taste* ⁷⁸,

That Landseer should have produced an image of this kind is hardly surprising given his interest in spiritualism and the occult. This period was a trying one for Landseer and led him to doubt his future well being, so much so that Dickens' biographer, John Forster had been forced to comment the previous year:

*You have no right to assume that Providence which has
been so kind and prodigal of gifts to you heretofore,*

*will not be so to the end, See cheerful people, and
be cheerful yourself, It is a duty we owe in this
world 79.*

Following the exhibition of "Flood in the Highlands" in 1860 Landseer's physical ailments and mental condition deteriorated. During the mid and late 1860's at various times Landseer's mental condition became so bad that he had to be confined under the care of Dr. T. Tuke, a neurologist. It was amidst declining health that Landseer began work on "Man Proposes, God Disposes" (Plate 48) discussed at length in Chapter Six. Despite such fatalistic images and a rapid decline in Landseer's health a spiritual undercurrent was clearly discernable in his final works, "The Baptismal Font" (Plate 64) and "The Lion and the Lamb" (Plate 65), indeed, it was here that these beliefs burst into the open for all to see.

Conclusion: Nature's God to Nature's works

This chapter has suggested that two systems of symbols can be identified in Landseer's "Flood in the Highlands". Firstly, that there exists a system of referential symbols derived from a general lexicon of universal symbols which relate to, and reflect man's constant biological condition and his dependence on, and interaction with nature. From consideration of these referential symbols it is argued that it is possible to gain an understanding of man's attitude to the environment within a specific societal and environmental context. By its use of these referential symbols Landseer's "Flood in the Highlands" illustrates one cultural response to a hostile environment and the mediation of this response through the agency of religion. Secondly, it is suggested that Landseer's "Flood" contains "a network of displacements and substitutions" peculiar to Landseer and that these too are informed by religious considerations ⁸⁰.

In the "Flood" Landseer created a landscape permeated with a romantic past and religious association rather than Highland reality. Why did Landseer choose to do so? Roland Barthes provides a partial answer in his discussion of the "obtuse" or "third meaning" ⁸¹. The "third meaning" is a meaning which "exceeds the copy of the referential motif". To Barthes the obtuse is "a signifier without a signified" and is largely concerned with disguise and emotion. The emotion of the third meaning "is an emotion which simply designates what one wants to defend: an emotional value, an evaluation" ⁸². In dissociating itself from what Barthes calls the "obvious meaning" (ie. the meaning of the referential symbols) the third meaning:

*has a de-naturing effect with regard to the referent
[to reality in nature, the realist instance] ⁸³.*

From the above comments it is possible to see in Landseer's "Flood in the Highlands" an "obtuse" or "third meaning", one which entails an emotional distancing from the social transformation of nature. This in part accounts for Landseer's selection of a past flood as a theme when in contemporary reality Dandaleith was but one of the growing number of Highland railway stations. The choice of a such a location and topic need come as no surprise for both the coming of the railway and the biblical deluge stood as strong cultural symbols in an age of radical doubt. Indeed, W.M. Thackeray encapsulated this very point in writing:

*We who lived before railways, and survive out of the
ancient world, are like Father Noah and his family out
of the Ark . . . We who lived before railways - are
antediluvians - we must pass away ⁸⁴.*

Similarly, the projection of religious ideas onto the landscape need come as no surprise either for, as B. Novak has pointed out in a detailed study of American art, the imposition of new moral imperatives onto both nature and landscape coincided with the destruction of wilderness in the early and mid nineteenth century ⁸⁵.

Landseer's image is in a sense, a defence of the indefensible; an attempt to distance himself from the social transformation of the Highlands and indeed, the restructuring of British society itself.

Barthes has argued that the "third meaning" cannot be held in "a figurative painting" as it lacks the necessary diegetic horizon, however Landseer's "Flood" was only one, if not the culmination of a series of paintings depicting the Scottish Highlands ⁸⁶. The question of whether Landseer's "Flood" contains a third meaning, an emotional distancing from the ramifications of the social transformation of the Highlands as suggested above is of course debatable. However, Landseer's struggle to establish an essentially Christian representation of man's relationship with nature is, like those mid century American artists studied by B. Novak, of a much broader significance to an understanding of changes in nineteenth century thought.

In a recent collection of essays P. Fuller has developed an argument for what he calls "the consolations of lost illusions" ⁸⁷. "Good art" Fuller argues, requires the presence of a shared symbolic order such as that provided by religion. While retaining an emphasis on imagination, biology, social process, material conditions and tradition, Fuller stresses that these influences are tempered by the "grand illusions of faith and tradition" ⁸⁸. "Flood in the Highlands" together with later works by Landseer discussed above reflect long established traditions of Christian iconography and the myth of redeeming sacrifice embedded within western cultural history. Landseer's depiction of images of nature which articulated social and moral imperatives reflected not only the work of American artists but other contemporary painters such as Holman Hunt and Caspar Friedrich ⁸⁹. That Landseer himself eventually believed in the redeeming myth of Christ is apparent from the nature of "The Shepherd's Prayer" (Plate 63), "The Baptismal Font" (Plate 64) and "The Lion and the Lamb" (Plate 65).

The mixed public reception given to Landseer's analogical "Flood" was indicative of intellectual changes taken place in not just British,

but western society. Scientific advances increasingly questioned teleological views of the world and undermined many of the foundations of contemporary religious belief. As has been noted recently:

It was the particular achievement of nineteenth century science to elevate causal over analogical reasoning as the only valid avenue to truth about natural processes and phenomena ⁹⁰.

The century saw a steady retreat of religion from contemporary life. As a consequence reliance on a traditionally shared Christian iconography and understanding of the natural world began to collapse as reliance upon traditional classical and religious iconography became culturally exhausted ⁹¹. A new source of a common symbolic order was increasingly required and paradoxically "a future mourning the loss of faith and consumed with ecological nostalgia was not far away" ⁹². As indicated in Chapter Six, the new source of symbolic order was to be nature itself.

This is not to suggest that Landseer sought secular equivalents of the crucifix, pieta and Holy Family but merely to point to a fundamental shift in popular consciousness ⁹³. This new symbolic order, like the shift from analogical to more scientifically based causal thinking, was related to fundamental changes in the social organisation of society in mid and late nineteenth century capitalist Britain. Scientific change enabled not only the more efficient exploitation of established resources but the definition of new areas for development. With the realisation that aspects of nature could be lost for ever a new ecological reverence for the natural world developed ⁹⁴.

In 1872 Landseer exhibited "The Baptismal Font" (Plate 64), together with an unfinished portrait of Lady Emily Peel and another unfinished work entitled "The Lion and the Lamb" (Plate 65). As The Times noted:

The Baptismal Font (190) has been transferred from some ruined place of prayer to a park. It still shows the Saviour's face and the symbols of Redemption, Life in all gradations, from spotless innocence to the darkest sinfulness, is typified in the lambs, white and black, and mottled, who gather to these waters of life. A black lamb presses, closest to the consecrated lavers. Round the basin doves have descended or are descending; and about and above them play the fragments of a shattered rainbow, so many signs that here is hope and cleansing even for the blackest sinner, or perhaps intended as a suggestion of the universality of Christian salvation, offered to black and white alike ⁹⁵.

For contemporaries the meaning of the allegory was far from clear and Landseer's painting stood apart from the mainstream of contemporary art ⁹⁶. However, as the above reviewer noted, the key thing was that the work transferred the waters of baptism from church to country.

Perhaps the most telling aspect of Landseer's "Baptismal Font" is the fact that it was originally commissioned by Baroness Burdet-Coutts, president of the Ladies Committee of the R.S.P.C.A ⁹⁷. In Chapter Six the emergence of a new sensibility towards the natural world was examined and the genesis of "ecological" science traced. This new sensibility entailing a new belief in the autonomy of the animal and the sacredness of life for itself was only one part of a growing "ecological nostalgia" which placed a premium on the value nature's works. That nature should become a source for a new symbolic order at the same time as animals became a source of human values was no coincidence. Both processes were linked by scientific change and the social transformation of everyday life, further both served ultimately to illustrate a fundamental and irreversible transition in popular thought, the shift in attention from consideration of what Wriothesley Russell termed "nature's God" to "nature's works". While

Landseer's "Lion and the Lamb" brought one career to a "grand and fitting close", like "Flood in the Highlands" and "The Baptismal Font", it also reflected the beginning of the end of British Christian analogical thinking with regard to the natural world ⁹⁸.

Notes to Chapter Seven

1. Letter from Lord Wriothsesley Russell to Edwin Landseer, dated September 15th. National Art Library MS, Transcri. 86.RR.8, f.294.
2. B. Novak, Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting 1825-1875, Thames & Hudson, London, 1980, p. 47.
3. R. Ormond, Sir Edwin Landseer, London, 1981, p. 203.
4. Sir Thomas Dick Lauder's sketch books are deposited in the Library of Aberdeen City Art Gallery.
Sir T.D. Lauder, An Account of the Great Floods of August 1829 in the Province of Moray and the Adjoining Districts, Edinburgh, 1830.
5. T.D. Lauder, Account, 1830, p. 282.
6. R. Ormond, 1981, p. 202.
7. J. Dafforne, Pictures by Sir Edwin Landseer with Descriptions, London, 1874, p. 51.
8. The Times, May 5, 1860, p.5.
9. The Athenaeum, May 5, 1860, p. 6200.
10. Saturday Review, Volume 9, May 26, 1860, p. 678.
11. F.G. Stephens, Memoirs of Sir Edwin Landseer, London, 1874, p. 134.
12. J.A. Manson, Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A., London, 1902, p. 156.

13. The subject of the Deluge was of particular importance in Romantic thought. Entire schools of geological thought formed around the role played by the "Flood" in the creation of the world. The debate percolated to poets, painters and the general public. Martin's painting was a conscious attempt to reconcile artistic, literary and scientific traditions surrounding the "Flood". On this theme see, L.R. Matteson, "Apocalyptic Themes in British Romantic Landscape Painting", University of California, Ph.D, Berkeley, 1975.
14. Plans held in the Scottish Records Office, West Register House, Edinburgh.

RHP. 11827, "Plan of the Estates of the Earl of Seafield in the Elgin and Rothes Districts: 1868".
RHP. 11831, "Plan of the lands of Rothes, Elchies and Dandaleith: 1859".
RHP. 851, "Plan and section of Proposed Morayshire Railway: 1845".
15. T.D. Lauder, Account, 1830, p. 274.
16. RHP. 11831.
17. See note 13 above.
18. RHP. 11831; RHP. 11827.
19. T.D. Lauder, Account, 1830, p. 274.
20. A.R.B. Haldane, The Drove Roads of Scotland, London, 1952.
21. A.R.B. Haldane, 1952.
22. RHP. 11831.

23. L. James, A Chronology of the Construction of Britain's Railways: 1778-1855, London, 1983; A.E. & I.A. Glen, Dunbar, The Great North of Scotland Railway Album, London, 1980; H.A. Vallence, The Highland Railway: The History of the Railway of the Scottish Highlands (Vol 2). Originally published in 1938 and reprinted by David St John Thomas, David & Charles, London, 1985, pp. 20-21.
24. H.A. Vallence, 1985, p. 20.
25. RHP. 11831.
26. A.R.B. Haldane, 1952, p. 219.
27. T.D. Lauder, Account, 1830.
28. T.D. Lauder, Account, 1830, p. 274. ff.
29. See, R. Rees, "Geography and Landscape Painting: An Introduction to a Neglected Field", Scottish Geographical Magazine, Volume 89, No.3, December, 1973, pp.147-149.

R.L. Heathcote, "The Artist as Geographer: Landscape Painting as a source for geographical research", Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Australia, South Australian Branch, 73 (1972), pp. 5-9. Both Rees and Heathcote recognise the value of landscape painting in examining man's relationship with the natural world.
30. R. Barthes, "The Third Meaning" in Image-Music-Text: Essays selected and translated by S. Heath, Glasgow, Fontana, 1977, pp. 52-68.
31. R. Barthes, 1977, p. 52.
32. P. Fuller, Art and Psychoanalysis, London, 1980, p. 5.

33. S. Timpanaro, On Materialism, London, Verso, 1980 (Translated from Italian by L. Garner), p. 118.
34. R. Barthes, 1977, p. 52.
35. For a brief introduction to the teleological thought of John Ruskin see, D. Cosgrove, "John Ruskin and the Geographical Imagination", Geographical Review, Vol.69, No.1, 1979, pp. 43-62. On the history of western teleological thought prior to the nineteenth century see, C.J. Glacken, Traces on the Rhodian Shore, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1967.
36. On the interaction between art, science and religion and the projection of moral ideas onto nature see B. Novak, 1980, particularly Chapter 1, "The Nationalist Garden and the Holy Book" pp. 3-17.
37. L. Shaw, The History of the Province of Moray, (3 Vols), Volume III, Glasgow, 1882, p. 327.
38. L. Shaw, 1882, p. 330.
39. L. Shaw, 1882, p. 331.
40. A. Polson, Highland Folklore, Edinburgh, 1930, p. 1. See also John Ruskin's comments "Of the Supernatural as an element of the Sublime" in Modern Painters, Volume 1, Appendix. E.T. Cook & A. Wedderburn, Works, Volume IV, 1903, pp.370-371.

"The sympathy therefore of landscape with the event represented as taking place in it, is not merely - as is commonly said, in good taste; it is not the representation of an agreeable accident, but of that which we all imagine, if not believe - the address of supernatural powers to us through insentient things; and the working together of landscape element to excite some strong ruling emotion in the human mind is always as distinctly

suggestive, according to its degree, of supernatural power, as the Darkness until the ninth hour during the Crucifixion" p.370.

"_ _ _ with every manifestation of destruction or overwhelming power, there are addressed to the senses such accompanying phenomena of sublime sound and colour that the mind instantly traces some ruling sympathy that conquers the apathy of the elements, and feels through the inanimation of nature the supernatural unity of God" pp.370-371.

41. B. Novak, 1980, pp. 3-17, 34-44.
42. T.D. Lauder, Account, 1830, p. 239.
43. T.D. Lauder, Account, 1830, pp. 249-250.
44. While Lauder proved naive in the extreme over the case of the Sobieski Stuart's (pretenders to the British Crown) there is no reason to doubt the veracity of his testimony. However, as with all historical accounts of this nature there can be little doubt that Lauder selected those narratives which suited his own personal religious beliefs.

(See, Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland" in E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger, "The Invention of Tradition", Cambridge, 1983, pp. 33, 35).
45. T.D. Lauder, Account (Second Edition), 1873, p. 67.
46. T.D. Lauder, Account, (Second Edition), 1873, p. 111.
47. T.D. Lauder, Account, (Second Edition), 1873, p. 232.
48. T.D. Lauder, Account, (Second Edition), 1873, p. 119.

49. K. Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, Harmondsworth, 1971, p. 95. The book of Job was a common reference and such sentiments were common to many believers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
50. K. Thomas, 1971, p. 93.
51. K. Thomas, 1971, p. 94.
52. R. Ormond, 1981, p. 201.
53. T.D. Lauder, Account, (Second Edition), 1873, p. 76.
54. T.D. Lauder, Account, (Second Edition), 1873, p. 285.
55. R. Ormond, 1981, p. 17.
56. See Leviticus, Chapter 1, v.2-3; especially Chapter 4, v.13-21; Chapter 8, v.14-17.
57. C.S. Mann, The Works of Sir Edwin Landseer, (4 Vols), 1874-77. National Art Library MSS, 86.BB.19, p. 113.
58. J.G. Dalrymple, The Darker Superstitions of Scotland, Glasgow, 1835, p. 141; J.G. Campbell, Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, Glasgow, 1900.
59. G.L. Kittredge, Witchcraft in Old and New England, Originally published London, 1929, (1972 Edition, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass), p. 232.
60. J.G. Dalrymple, 1835, pp. 78, 513; Sir Walter Scott, Letters on Demonologie and Witchcraft, London, 1830, (1884 Edition), p.333.

61. W.G. Stewart, Popular Superstitions and Festive Amusements of the Highlanders of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1823, (1850 reprint), pp. 35, 145.
62. R. Ormond, 1981, p. 17. On the immense popularity and diverse nature of spiritualism in Victorian England see L. Barrow, Independent Spirits: Spiritualism and English Plebians, 1850 - 1910, (History Workshop Series), London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986.
63. R. Ormond, 1981, p. 22. On the process and terms of Landseer's certification and confinement see, Gladstone Papers, British Museum Add.MS. f.249.
64. Quoted in R. Ormond, 1981, pp. 203-204.
65. The Critic, Volume 20, May 19, 1860, p. 626.
66. The Critic, Volume 20, May 19, 1860, p. 626.
67. R. Ormond, 1981, pp. 201-204.
68. R. Ormond, 1981, p. 8.
69. Letter from Lord Cosmo Russell, undated. National Art Library MS, Transcri. 86.RR.8. f.278.
70. C. Lennie, Landseer: the Victorian Paragon, London, Hamish Hamilton, 1976, p. 109.
71. Letter from Caroline Elizabeth Norton (1808-1877) dated 8th February, 1842. National Art Library MS, Transcri. 86.RR.8, f.232.
72. National Art Library MS, Transcri. 86.RR.8, f.292.

73. Letter dated 4th February, 1842. National Art Library MS, Transcri. 86.RR.8, f.293.

74. National Art Library MS, Transcri. 86.RR.8, f.294.

75. "We have said nothing about the size. A certain degree of magnitude is necessary to do justice to the subject, and to the animals represented; but consistent with the attainment of this object, perhaps the less, the better. It will be a picture that I shall wish to live with and I have no room, or wall, fit to receive a huge work. You will know what is most desirable in this respect". Letter from the Earl of Aberdeen to Landseer dated 17th November, 1838. National Art Library MS, Transcri. 86.RR.6, f.7.

"With respect to the picture, I am glad to find you are thinking about it, but I hope that you will not be very much shocked, if I express a wish which I know you will not approve of. I am quite certain that my pleasure in the picture will be greatly increased if it should be of small dimensions, instead of the half life size proposed". Letter from the Earl of Aberdeen to Landseer dated 14th October, 1841. National Art Library MS, Transcri. 86.RR.6, f.10.

Despite the above wishes of his patron Landseer's completed version of "The Otter Hunt" was almost life size.

76. The Art Union, 1847, p. 304.

77. Landseer's composition draws upon an established metaphoric symbolism of Christ as the tree of life whose roots are found in the waters of baptism. See D. Davies, "The evocative symbolism of trees", pp.32-42, 40 in D. Cosgrove & S. Daniels, The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the symbolic representation, design and use of past environments, Cambridge

studies in historical geography: 9, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988.

78. F.G. Stephens, 1874, p. 130.
79. Letter from John Forster to Landseer dated 2nd June, 1858. National Art Library MS, Transcri. 86.RR.7, f.126.
80. R. Barthes, 1977, op cit, p. 52.
81. R. Barthes, 1977.
82. R. Barthes, 1977, p. 59.
83. R. Barthes, 1977, p. 61.
84. W.M. Thackery quoted in K. Tillotson, Novels of the Eighteen-Forties, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1955, p. 106.
85. B. Novak, 1980, p. 4.
86. R. Barthes, 1977, p.66. On the question of Landseer's works forming a historical series see Chapter Six, "Landseer and the Highland Pastoral" and Chapter Eight below.
87. P. Fuller, Images of God: The Consolations of Lost Illusions, London, Chatto & Windus, 1985.
88. P. Fuller, 1985, xii.
89. See T. Hilton, The Pre-Raphaelites, Thames & Hudson, London, 1970; W. Vaughan, Romantic Art, Thames & Hudson, London, 1978, pp. 142-151.
90. D. Cosgrove, Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape, Beckenham, Croom Helm, 1984, p. 252.

91. P. Fuller, "Edwin Landseer: Animal Crackers", pp.59-64 in The Naked Artist: Art and Biology & Other Essays, London, Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative, 1983, p. 63.
92. B. Novak, 1980, p. 5.
93. P. Fuller, 1983, p. 63.
94. B. Novak, 1980, p. 5.
95. The Times, May 4, 1872, p. 5a.
96. As regards "The Baptismal Font" C.S. Mann himself thought:

"I confess I don't know what to make of this picture -- I suppose it is an allegorical picture for fonts don't usually stand in places as this font does, but what is the reading of the allegory I know not. I suppose there is love, and gentleness, and purity and innocence, and -- anything else of the sort that occurs to you".

National Art Library MSS, 86.BB.19, p. 118.

Of the related work, "The Lion and the Lamb" the 1872 exhibition catalogue concluded:

"This could scarcely under any circumstances be accepted as a tangible picture. The juxtaposed position of agnal innocence and weakness, with Leonine strength and ferocity, is too frankly liberal; and there are no immediate propositions, no accessories, to convert a prosaic and circumstantial statement into an allegory. If it be a commentary on the pious aspirations that the lion shall lie down with the lamb, something allegorically correlative is necessary to spiritualise the conception".

Cited in C.S. Mann, 1874. National Art Library MSS, 86.BB.19, pp. 103-04.

97. "The Baptismal Font belongs to the Queen; painted a long time ago of course. It is not finished now, and never will be I fear, but Sir Edwin is very loath that her majesty should have it until it is. The Baroness Burdett Coutts wanted him to paint some years ago an altar piece, or something of the kind, for one of her benevolent institutions, and this picture was the outcome of her wish, hence the half allegorical tone about it and the halo and rainbow like light which is so conspicuous feature in it".

Extract from "Listener at the Royal Academy", London Society, June, 1872. Cited in C.S. Mann, National Art Library MSS, 86.BB.19, pp. 108-9.

98. The Times, May 4, 1872, p. 5a; D.E. Cosgrove, 1984, p. 253.

CHAPTER EIGHT

REFLECTIONS: THE HIGHLAND IMAGE IN VICTORIAN BRITAIN 1820-1870

*We were wise indeed, could we discern truly the signs
of our own time; and by knowledge of its wants and
advantages, wisely adjust our own position in it. Let
us, instead of gazing idly into the obscure distance,
look calmly around us, for a little, on the more
perplexed scene where we stand. Perhaps, on a more
serious inspection, something of its perplexity will
disappear, some of its distinctive characters and
deeper tendencies more clearly reveal themselves;
whereby our own relations to it, our own true aims and
endeavours in it, may also become clearer.*

Thomas Carlyle, 1829¹.

In 1831 in a moment of reflection on contemporary society J.S. Mill wrote "The 'spirit of the age' is in some measure a novel expression. I do not believe that it is to be met with in any work exceeding fifty years in antiquity. The idea of comparing one's own age with former ages, or with our notion of those which are yet to come, had occurred to philosophers; but it never before was itself the dominant idea of any age"². J.S. Mill's reflection was indeed highly perceptive for in early and mid nineteenth century Victorian Britain many modern attitudes to the temporal process first emerged³. Erudite society became obsessed with the issue of time and concepts of the past. While the roots of this obsession lay in structural social transformation, a reformulation of the concept of history, the genesis of new forms of historical writing and profound scientific change, concern for the past deeply affected early and mid-Victorian art.

This final chapter traces some of the less tangible reflections of this preoccupation with temporal process in Landseer's Highland art and notes the active role such works play in the formation of a strong regional image. In conclusion it is suggested that the diverse images examined in previous chapters have one thing in common: they reflect and articulate two central traits of early and mid Victorian thought - the value of the rural and the pull of the past. Before reflecting on these two themes and their articulation in Landseer's Highland image it is useful however to briefly re-examine the social context in which they occurred.

Early and mid-Victorian reflections on past and present

With the end of the Napoleonic Wars (1815) British historical writing flourished. Henry Hallam's View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages (1818) and Lingard's History of England (1819) heralded a plethora of pedantic volumes. In popular fiction the historical novel came into being; history formed not only the basis of pedantic works but popular literature ⁴. Further in both a *public* and *private* sense time became the concept around which personal narrative was structured ⁵. The nineteenth century was the age of the autobiography, and in various ways social philosophers made new appeals to a Time-spirit or "Zeitgeist" ⁶. From J.S. Mill's Spirit of the Age (1831), A.W.N Pugin's Contrasts (1836), Newman's theological Tracts for the Times (1841), Ruskin's Time and Tide (1867), Praeterita (1885), to Thomas Carlyle's "Signs of the Times" (1829) and Past and Present (1843), the concept of time was central to informed discourse and reflection. Concern with temporal issues was also reflected in new sciences such as uniformitarian geology and evolutionary biology. In their emulation of these physical sciences embryonic social sciences too grounded their methodology in temporal processes. Concern with things temporal was not limited to an intelligentsia. Such was the hold of the past on popular imagination that J.S. Mill suggested that his fellow Englishmen "carry their eyes in the back of their heads" ⁷.

While the concept of *time* was not a new phenomenon its nineteenth century formulation differed fundamentally from that held in previous ages. Previously history had been viewed as the product of mere temporal accretion. This concept of accretion was replaced by the notion of history as a medium of organic growth ie. a process of evolution and fundamental change ⁹. Inherent within this new formulation was the idea of *development* in which the past, although it would never repeat itself, would persist through each successive modification. From this new conception "The past accordingly became the object of solicitous regard; the present could not be cut off from its history" ⁹.

These new ideas gained an increasing hold on both academic and popular thought as the century progressed. Between 1820-1870 however history remained conceptually detached from the value free scientific discipline it was later to proclaim itself to be: for many writers and thinkers it was a vehicle for moral, political and religious comment ¹⁰. In using history in this manner protagonists such as Carlyle, Pugin and Ruskin drew heavily on an organic analogy and the belief that the present could not be conceptually separated from the past. Further, through the historical novel even those who did not consciously read history were drawn into its intricate didactic web as writers and painters alike used the past as a vehicle for contemporary comment.

History in Victorian art

Mirroring new fashions established by both didactic and popular writers and following on from the pioneering work of C.R. Leslie and David Wilkie, from the 1830's the past became an important part of the iconography of every major artist. Over the decade 1840-1850 the number of history paintings exhibited at the Royal Academy peaked and the years 1840-70 were the heyday of history painting ¹¹. Amongst its notable exponents were E.M. Ward, C.W. Cope, Daniel Maclise, Charles Lucy, John Calcott Horsley, Frederick Goodall, Charles

Landseer, W.P. Frith, Augustus Egg and John Faed. The production of such a large volume of self proclaimed historical works during this period is beyond question, however as has recently been pointed out, "it is by no means self-evident that such a cavalcade of historical paintings played a central role in the 're-discovery of the past'" ¹². Indeed the definition of what constituted a historical painting during this period is problematic in the extreme for history, like landscape, was "the province not only of the history painter but also of the exponents of genre" ¹³.

Edwin Landseer is frequently listed among the key exponents of the historical genre ¹⁴. Works such as "The Hunting of Chevy Chase" (1826, Plate 5), "Hawking in the Olden Time" (1832, Plate 66), the immensely popular "Bolton Abbey in the Olden Tymes" (1834, Plate 67) and "Queen Victoria and Prince Albert as Queen Philippa and King Edward" (1842) do indeed appear to make specific use of the historic past. Landseer's working relationship with Sir Walter Scott is often cited in support of this contention. Further, in several of the artist's works historically specific details are present and can be readily identified. On closer inspection however it must be stated that Landseer's work bears a more ambiguous relation to the historical process.

In a discussion of Landseer's "Hawking" (1832, Plate 66) and "Bolton Abbey" (1834, Plate 67) S. Bann makes some interesting observations. In the former Landseer situates the human participants on a distant horizon while placing a grim battle between heron and hawk in the immediate foreground. In the latter he covers the canvas with suitably robed monks and peasants but immediately reinstates the prominence of the natural world by taking as his prime subject the payment of tithes through gifts of fowl, fish and game. Such compositional structures lead Bann to argue that Landseer's propensity for sketching animals and birds inevitably leads to the displacement of the historical by facets of the natural world, "from objects or situations having a real connection with historical events, to the creation of a fictive world in which the real world is the timeless

drama of the chase". On the basis of the above observation S. Bann boldly generalises:

*It seems as if almost the only
'historical' paintings which Landseer does
not twist ashamedly to suit his special
skill are the scenes which take Scott's
fiction as their immediate source; and
unimportant compositions recording 'The
Bride of Lammermoor' and the 'Death of
Elsbeth Mucklebackit' from The Antiquary
(both painted by 1830) '15.*

Bann further argues that Landseer's works are characterised by sentimental appeal rather than any real concern for antiquarian detail. In essence Bann contends that the artist's work "masquerades under the colours of the genre, while it is actually observing quite different criteria of fidelity" '16.

This historical problematic of the relationship between history and the natural world is not unique to Landseer. It is a characteristic of much romantic art and literature which apparently embodies a "radically revolutionary desire to annihilate the past" '17. In romantic art the repudiation of the past is frequently accompanied by the rediscovery of landscape as a wilderness unscarred by human strife. It is said that William Wordsworth looked at nature as if he were her first born, while John Constable strove to forget the entire history of art when making a sketch from nature. While the challenge to history in the work of Constable was largely implicit, in the work of Turner, who was obsessed with history, it was explicit. Although Turner painted historical events throughout his entire life he made history compete for mastery with the forces of nature and with his own profoundly personal visions '18. The work of Wordsworth, Constable and Turner embodies a strategy of displacement in which public history gives way to private or natural history '19. In this process natural phenomena and personal history assume the value and importance

traditionally associated with socio-political history. This process has been further commented on by R. Paulson who has implied that landscape painting is in essence history painting with the history removed ²⁰.

Bann's harsh criticism of the historical nature and veracity of Landseer's art is predicated on two basic assumptions, firstly that Landseer was free to determine the subject matter and composition of the work and secondly that he consciously sought to *recreate* a past age. In the works discussed by S. Bann these assumptions prove unfounded. In the "Hunting of Chevy Chase" (1826, Plate 5) the sporting subject matter reflected the wishes of Landseer's patron the 6th Duke of Bedford ²¹. "Bolton Abbey in the Olden Time" (1834, Plate 67) - one of Landseer's most popular works - also reflects the tastes of Landseer's patron the 6th Duke of Devonshire but is more problematical. While the Duke of Devonshire specifically wanted "a representation of the place" Landseer painted a general evocation of medieval monastic life. In terms of dress and architecture the work lacks authentic antiquarian detail that both R. Strong and S. Bann would recognise as being a necessary characteristic of the Victorian historical painting ²². In this sense the historical status of the work is questionable; its claim to authenticity is further belied by the fact that the historical agents depicted are in essence little more than a pastiche of Landseer's personal friends ²³. This said "Bolton Abbey" does exhibit an ambiguous status which leaves itself open to interpretation.

Given the status of Roman Catholicism in Britain in the 1830's "It would be easy to read a satirical meaning into Landseer's picture, and to see the abbot as the representative of a greedy and cynical church exploiting the people, whose natural way of life is an indictment of his own". This said Landseer apparently does not seem to intentionally suggest that the relationship between the abbey and its dependants is wrong or unnatural ²⁴. What contemporaries, especially ardent protestants, made of the work however is open to question for popular historical works frequently served a didactic function in early and mid Victorian Britain.

In "Queen Victoria and Prince Albert as Queen Philippa and King Edward (1842-46) Landseer recorded a scene from a fancy dress ball held at Buckingham Palace on May 12th 1842. Ostensibly in aid of the struggling Spitalfields Silk industry, the ball, like the earlier Eglinton Tournament, was one tangible expression of the on-going medieval revival ²⁵. Unlike "Bolton Abbey" (Plate 67), Landseer's work accurately records Victoria's period reproduction dress designed by Vouillon and Laure and made under the supervision of historical dress expert James Planché. To call this work little more than "a polite conceit" is to oversimplify the context in which the work was produced and to project contemporary concerns into the past ²⁶.

In analysing the historical in the work of Landseer the examiner encounters fundamental problems of interpretation relating to both the artist's individual tastes and the nature of the market for which the work was produced. These problems suggest that greater attention be given to the *social context* in which the works were produced.

Private and public history in the art of Landseer

One way to approach the fundamental problem of the historical in Landseer's works is to return to the elementary notions of *private* and *public* history. There are few better examples of the creation of private history than Landseer's "Rent day in the Wilderness" (1868, Plate 68) a work commissioned by Sir Roderick Murchison. As a leading geologist of his era and author of pioneering studies such as The Silurian System (1838) Roderick Impey Murchison (1792-1871) played a pivotal role in establishing the international reputation of British geology ²⁷. Further, as the creator of the "Silurian" system Murchison promoted widespread popular appreciation of geological science. Despite its undoubted importance however Murchison's scientific work constituted only the middle segment of a frustrated career which began with military aspirations following the Napoleonic Wars and ended with the Presidency of the Royal Geographical Society ²⁸.

Murchison's public and private writings were replete with metaphors of militarism and imperialism and he himself considered his scientific endeavours to be the fruition of a much sought after patriotic career. In a detailed study of these metaphors J. Secord has argued that for Murchison geology served as an alternative to an arrested military career and as a means of obtaining social distinction and national prominence. Further through the aggressive propagation of his "Silurian" system Murchison achieved both personal and international territorial conquest ²⁹. Given the above facts and the light they shed on the nature of Murchison's character it is possible to pass some further comment on the historical nature and role of Landseer's "Rent Day in the Wilderness" (1868, Plate 68).

"Rent Day in the Wilderness" (Plate 68), Landseer's last historical Highland image was ostensibly commissioned by Murchison to commemorate the bravery of his ancestor Donald Murchison. R. Murchison had also built a monument to his ancestor's memory in the churchyard at Cononside in the parish of Urray. For the aspiring Roderick Murchison his ancestor's life offered a model of bravado and action - a lifestyle for which he himself had yearned for but failed to realise. Following the defeat of the Stuart army of 1715 at Sheriff Muir, several leading landowners forfeited their estates. One such landowner was the Earl of Seaforth who fled abroad leaving his lands in the hands of Donald Murchison. For ten years Murchison illegally collected and transmitted rents to his exiled chief resisting all attempts by the government commissioners to reassert control over the Seaforth Estates. In a moment of glory in October 1721 Murchison ambushed a company of more than hundred soldiers close to the end of Loch Affric with a large force of Mackenzies and drove them back. A year later he drove back a second invasion. Four years later General Wade complained bitterly to the King that Murchison was still collecting rents and travelling unmolested to Edinburgh to remit eight hundred pounds to Seaforth's agents.

As R. Ormond has observed Landseer's picture does not seem to specifically depict the Loch Affric ambush, rather it appears to be

more a general record of Donald Murchison's exploits. In the central character's hand is a letter signed "Seaforth", while in the foreground rests an account book clearly dated 1721. Next to it lies a large tartan snuffbox given to Donald Murchison by the Old Pretender. Having identified these elements which provide historical detail some further comment is necessary however, for they function here not to establish the historical veracity of the scene depicted but to furnish Donald Murchison's descendant with an illustrious past. Roderick Murchison himself posed for the portrait of his ancestor and was also the proud owner of the historic snuff box. Further, it was Murchison's express wish that Landseer's work be donated to the National Gallery of Scotland "to be well placed and in the best light in that Gallery and to have a tablet or Inscription affixed thereto stating that it was presented by me" ³⁰. Like the "Silurian" system "Rent Day in the Wilderness" (1868, Plate 68) was to stand as a monument to the life and memory of Roderick Impey Murchison ³¹. While R. Chamber's could state with regard to Donald Murchison "A more disinterested hero never lived" the same could hardly be said of his descendant ³².

As an individual work replete with personal imagery and private history "Rent Day in the Wilderness" offers no overall conception of either Scottish history or the Highland region. Although authentic historical detail is replicated several times within the work it is not repeated in other related works. In contrast Bann and others have argued that an original period depiction of *public history* does not have to present what he calls its "titles of justification" ³³. The authenticity of such works rest exclusively on the accurate delineation of both the event and period detail. Further, scenes of *public history* frequently form part of a *series*. When this occurs they may be truly said to *re-present* the past or period they depict. Although initially intended as purely personal family records Landseer's images of Queen Victoria and the Royal family in the Scottish Highlands belong to this category. Through a series of popular engravings private images became public history, yet, as Chapter Five has illustrated, history of a impoverished kind. Although Victoria considered aspects of Landseer's royal Highland commissions

"quite consonant with the truth" these works led to the emergence of a Highland myth which resulted in the privation of history and geography. This Victorian Highland myth both altered contemporaries' conception of the Scottish landscape and Highland region and ensured that the contingent and historical was lost in an image of tranquil natural order.

Landseer's series of royal paintings and engravings discussed in Chapter Five were not his only works however to become a part of public history for virtually all the artist's Highland images were linked to more general temporal and spatial propositions - the search for ruralism, the pull of the past, the rise of regionalism and the temporisation of space itself.

Ruralism and the pull of the past

Idealisation of the relationship between city and country has a long history in western thought ³⁴ and attitudes towards the city and countryside have always served as indicators of sensibility to other less tangible things ³⁵. Over the period 1820-1870 with increasing urbanisation fundamental changes occurred in the way people perceived and related to the rapidly changing world around them. Attitudes to Britain's past heritage, future prospects and rural regions began to change.

Although a shining symbol of Britain's remarkable industrial achievement the Great Exhibition (1850) marked the culmination of educated opinion with regard to industrial capitalism. In both pedantic and popular writings, "a cultural cordon sanitaire" was constructed around Britain's growing industrial systems and structures which gave "a particular softly rustic cast to middle and upper class culture" ³⁶. A new categorisation of values and relationships with regard to what constituted "Englishness" occurred. Few aspects of bourgeois culture remained unaffected by this change. Art proved no exception ³⁷.

During the second half of the century Britain's industrial revolution and its distasteful side effects were effectively domesticated as the literate classes constructed for themselves a *culture of containment* ³⁸. Although holding widely different ideological viewpoints the Victorian sages Arnold, Mill, Ruskin and Dickens all recoiled from the ramifications of industrial society. All contributed to some extent to this emergent culture of containment which was characterised by a concern for non-materialism and closeness to the past. Contemporaries found these qualities best encapsulated in rustic imagery and peripheral rural regions which suggested a sense of timelessness ³⁹.

Writing in 1862 in "Unto this Last" against the hollow materialism of the industrial age John Ruskin argued "THERE IS NO WEALTH BUT LIFE". For a growing number of contemporaries that "life" was increasingly one of honest labour and pastoral contemplation. Feelings for rural life were expressed time and time again. Bucolic nostalgia emerged in the social thought of all political persuasions, from the cottage gardens of William Cobbett and M. Birkett Foster, to the gardenesque landscapes of James Loudon and the socialist utopia of William Morris's News from Nowhere (1890) ⁴⁰. Amongst a plethora of popular works Richard Jefferies' (1848-87) Hodge and his Masters (1880) provided the richest portrait of a rural England. For R. Jefferies and his readers pure country air and living was vital to the mental and physical well being of the nation. The alternative future, which Jefferies described in After London; or Wild England (1885), struck fear into many Victorian hearts.

Scenes of rustic imagery provided a means of accommodating both the present with the past *and the past in the present* ⁴¹. Like other artists of the period Landseer's work was largely devoid of industrial imagery and mercantile symbolism ⁴². Of the hundreds of works produced by the artist only two address these issues *indirectly* through *animal* representations. The works in question, "Free Trade" (Plate 69) and "Protection" (1852, Plate 70), are telling symbols of both British supremacy and a paradoxical distancing from the material

effects of industrialisation. Painted during the Great Exhibition, "Free Trade" is dominated by a large, dark, powerful stallion. The beast stands erect and has a ribbon tied to its tail as if on display. Unlike its counterpart, "Protection", the stallion in "Free Trade" is unbridled. Behind the horses' head stands a fat cheery farmer clothed in a smock. In his right hand the farmer clutches a pennant on a long staff. The light coloured flag has a pattern with laurel leaves on it and at the man's feet is a sturdy terrier. All three stand on a raised piece of ground. In the background is a hazy industrial townscape complete with eight smoking chimney stacks. In the centre stands a church.

While "Free Trade" (Plate 69) and "Protection" (Plate 70) celebrate the effects of mercantile theory they also celebrate the triumph of country over town for these works are nothing but a glorification of unfettered *agrarian* capitalism ⁴³. In choosing to use animals to symbolise economic theory and in occluding the material consequences of industrialism in a hazy background Landseer merely followed prevailing tastes which placed a premium on rural symbolism ⁴⁴. This symbolic role and use of animals in early and mid Victorian Britain has been commented on at length in Chapter Six and provides one key to the understanding of the immense popularity of Landseer's Highland images. The animals depicted in Landseer's Highland pastoral, primarily sheep and deer, symbolised a rural idyll. By identifying with such animals viewers of the images could experience both a sense of continuity with the rural past and a momentary escape from the realities of the present.

For those who could afford more than a momentary escape from urban and industrial existence the Highlands initially provided an ideal opportunity "To find a country where no railroad existed" ⁴⁵. Yet even in later years when such developments had fully penetrated the region, as Chapter Seven illustrates, artists such as Edwin Landseer could ignore reality in favour of analogical images of nature and past society. Such was the symbolic importance of ruralism and the pull of the past. The importance of ruralism is well illustrated in

Landseer's images of the royal family in the Scottish Highlands discussed in Chapter Five. While the Highlands provided a real alternative to urbanism for Victoria and a symbolic retreat for the art buying public, the social and industrial transformation of Scottish society was masked by the emergence of a powerful Highland myth which emphasised ruralism and an untroubled past.

While industrialism profoundly affected early and mid Victorian attitudes to nature, rural life and the past it was not the only facet of a rapidly changing world which worried contemporaries.

During the years 1820-70 there were many moments when, for external reasons alone, the future seemed very insecure indeed; major epidemics of cholera in '32, '48-9, and other lesser outbreaks; chances of revolution in '32, '39, '48; great disturbances in many parts of the country in '50, and riots that thoroughly disturbed Matthew Arnold in '66; major scares of foreign invasion in the fifties, from Napoleon III, and in the seventies from Prussia '46.

For early and mid Victorians life was far from safe, calm and secure. For consolation many turned either to inward reflection or the contemplation of distant rural lands. Given a pronounced interest in things temporal it is not surprising that many favoured rural regions which appeared not only distant in spatial terms, but also distant in time.

The Highland region and the temporisation of space

While ordinary mid-Victorian's remained fascinated by the rural and new concepts of time the emergent sciences of uniformitarian geology and evolutionary biology explored the relations between time and space. While time was important for Roderick Murchison and

others geology was considered "primarily as a science of spatial relations which had _ _ a visual language of sections, views and maps" ⁴⁷. From scientific enquiries and the embryonic social sciences such as geography a new awareness of the importance of regional study emerged. In keeping with this development the peripheral areas of Europe began to assume a new symbolic importance with a discerning public ⁴⁸. In Britain attention increasingly turned to the distant Celtic fringes of society ⁴⁹.

As noted above rural imagery provided individuals with some measure of escape and reassurance. Nowhere were these characteristics more apparent than in the Scottish Highland image. While the realities of Highland life may have been far from rosy, Landseer's images were untainted by disease ⁵⁰. Further, as Chapter Four has illustrated, where scenes of dirt, poverty, emigration and hunger were depicted these issues were *re-presented* in a manner which met the moral requirements of the mid-Victorian art market. Despite continual structural upheaval in Scottish rural society over the period 1820-70 peasant resistance to change was sporadic. While resistance occasionally assumed significant proportions the Highlands received remarkably little attention in even the Scottish press; there certainly was no need for artists to invent new styles to deal with traditional rural themes ⁵¹. Contemporaries who were concerned about the stability of society found nothing in Landseer's Highland image to alarm them. Through a whole series of quaint peasant/domestic genre scenes and symbolic animal representations Landseer's rural Highland image, like countless other facets of mid Victorian culture, served as an anodyne for both an unpalatable, growing industrial order and an unstable society.

Between 1827-70 Edwin Landseer painted no less than 60 major Highland Images ⁵². Almost all of these works were engraved; many were re-published several times throughout the century ⁵³. In addition between 1825-35 Landseer painted over a hundred small Scottish landscape sketches largely for his own pleasure ⁵⁴. These images helped create in the minds of contemporaries a powerful regional image which

spoke eloquently of both the Scottish landscape, people and places and the value of rural life. Leaving aside the artist's Scottish animal and personal landscape representations, Landseer's Highland Images depicted "traditional" aspects of rural life and economy. These aspects of Scottish rural life however were either obsolete or passing rapidly into obscurity. Landseer's representation of a Highland Chieftain and his retainers in a triumphant "Crossing the Bridge" (1837, Plate 21) was little more than an image of a lost past and a moribund society. As detailed in Chapter 7, even viable practices such as Highland droving (depicted in the "The Highland Drover's Departure" 1835, Plate 19) were soon to be eclipsed with the coming of new technologies and markets. In a real sense Landseer's Highland images looked not to the Victorian present or future, but to a bucolic past.

In looking to the past rather than the present Landseer effectively situated these Highland works in ideal *landscapes of the past*. In doing so, like other leaders of mid-Victorian culture, he brought together two central threads in Victorian thought: the value of the rural and the pull of the past. It is in this broad context of the *mediation* of the past and the present, rather the representation of any specific scene or period, that the *historical* in Landseer's art lies. It is this mediation between past and present that provides a key to an understanding of the role of the Highland image in popular consciousness over the period 1820-70.

While "Victorian thought was dominated by the idea of history as a sequence of events in time. The sequence was imagined in terms of space" ⁵⁵. The ideal rural landscape that Landseer *re-presented* was situated not only in distant time but space: *space itself became temporised*. The Scottish Highlands were not merely a distant peripheral rural region of Britain; they were also symbolically distant in time. When combined with the sheer geographical distance from urban-industrial Britain this temporal factor ensured that the region offered a powerful rural symbol ideally situated to mediate between past and present - a symbol which could also reconcile the

contradictions of a new society and provide relief for many from the stresses of the present. In addition the Highland Image, like countless other forms of rural symbolism offered to many the promise of release from the relentless tyranny and march of time ⁶⁶. In fulfilling this function the Highland image was merely one of a growing number of symbolic links between landscape and culture in mid-Victorian Britain.

Notes to Chapter Eight

1. Signs of the Times reprinted in Scottish & Other Miscellanies, Thomas Carlyle, E. Rhys (ed.), London, John Dent & Sons, Everyman Edition, nd, pp.223-245, 225. This essay originally appeared in the Edinburgh Review, No. 98, 1829.
2. Quotation from J.S. Mill's The Spirit of the Age (1831) cited in J.H. Buckley, The Triumph of Time: a study of the Victorian Concepts of Time, History, Progress and Decadence, Cambridge, Mass, Harvard University Press, 1966, vii. While the veracity of Mill's statement can be questioned and other societies' emphasis on the importance of the past cited (eg. 15th century Florence) the important point here is that many Victorians believed Mill's statement to be true.
3. J.H. Buckley, 1966, p.1; D. Lowenthal, The Past is a Foreign Country, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985, xvi.
4. G. Lukacs, The Historical Novel, Harmondsworth, 1981 (originally published 1937); see also A. Fleishman, The English Novel: Walter Scott to Virginia Woolf, Baltimore and London, John Hopkins University Press, 1971, especially Chapter Two pp. 16-36.
5. J.H. Buckley, 1966.
6. J.H. Buckley, 1966, p.3; on Victorian autobiographies see pp. 97-102.
7. J.S. Mill, "Spirit of the Age" (1831) cited in Lowenthal, 1985, p. 97.
8. J.H. Buckley, 1966, p.15.
9. J.H. Buckley, 1966, p.15.

10. G.P. Gooch, History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century, London, 1957.
11. R. Strong, And When Did You Last See Your Father: The Victorian Painter and British History, London, Thames & Hudson, 1978, p.42.
12. S. Bann, The Clothing of Clio: A Study of the Representation of History in Nineteenth Century Britain and France, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984, p. 55.
13. R. Strong, 1978, p. 40.
14. R. Strong, 1978, p. 42; R. Ormond, Sir Edwin Landseer, London, Thames & Hudson, 1981, pp. 114-122; S. Bann, 1984, pp. 68-70.
15. S. Bann, 1984, p. 69.
16. S. Bann, 1984, p. 70.
17. J.A.W. Hefferman, The Recreation of Landscape, London, University Press of New England, 1984, p. 54.
18. J.A.W. Hefferman, 1984.
19. J.A.W. Hefferman, 1984, p. 56.
20. R. Paulson, Literary Landscapes: Turner and Constable, London, 1982, p. 134.
21. R. Ormond, 1981, pp.64-68. Ormond notes that "Landseer's decision to paint a historical picture on this scale no doubt reflected in part the wishes of his patron. The Duke of Bedford commissioned several history pictures from contemporary artists, and he was always encouraging Landseer to devote himself to serious subjects" pp. 66-67.

22. R. Strong, 1978, pp. 13, 24-29; S. Bann, 1984, p. 57.
23. "This picture is rendered more interesting from the fact that most of the characters are portraits of well known personages. In the abbot we have a likeness of Sir Calcott the well known R.A.; in the Falconer's son, Jacob Bell; the Fisherman's daughter, Miss Landseer; and that of the Forester, a serf brought from Russia by the late Duke of Devonshire _ _ _ it has the air of a collection of portraits of modern folks, and so, belies its title".
- Extract from Life cited in C.S. Mann, The Works of Sir Edwin Landseer, 4 Vols, 1874-77. (National Art Library MSS, 86.BB.19, p.79).
24. See R. Ormond, 1981, p. 122.
25. On the Eglinton Tournament see, I. Anstruther, The Knight and the Umbrella, 1963; M. Girouard, The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman, New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 1981, pp. 88-110. With renewed interest in Greek, Gothic, Renaissance and Georgian architecture the Victorian period "was inevitably a great age of revivals", J.H. Buckley, 1966, p. 18.
26. S. Bann, 1984, p. 69.
27. A. Geikie, Life of Sir Roderick I. Murchison. Based on his Journals and Letters with Notices of his Scientific Contemporaries and a Sketch of the Rise and Growth of Palaeozoic Geology in Britain. 2 Vols, 1875 (Reprinted: Gregg International, Farnborough, 1972).
28. Murchison was President of the Royal Geographical Society in 1843-45, 1851-53 & 1862-1871. For a geographical appreciation see E.W. Gilbert & A.S. Goudie, "Sir Roderick Impey Murchison,

Bart, K.C.B., 1792-1871, Geographical Journal, 137, 1971, pp. 505-511.

29. J.A. Secord, "King of Siluria: Roderick Murchison and the Imperial Theme in Nineteenth Century British Geology", in Victorian Studies, Summer 1982, Vol 25, No.4, pp. 413-442.

H.R. Mill observed that on his return from Russia in 1845 Murchison was "strengthened . . in his confidence in his own powers and in importance as a member of high society . . with a trace of arrogance in his manner towards humbler folk . . [and an] amiable weakness for honours and decorations". Quoted in D.R. Stoddart, On Geography, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1986, p. 61.

30. Extract from Murchison's will proved 14th November, 1871 deposited in the Library of the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.

31. Personal communication from Dr J. Secord.

32. R. Chambers, Annals of the Domestic History of Scotland, Vol III, p. 459.

33. S. Bann, 1984, p.74.

34. "In the country has gathered the idea of a natural way of life: of peace, innocence, simple virtue. In the city has gathered the idea of an achieved centre of learning, communication, light. Powerful hostile associations have also developed: on the city as a place of noise, worldliness and ambition: on the country as a place of backwardness, ignorance, limitation. A contrast between city and country, as fundamental ways of life, reaches back into Classical times". R. Williams, The Country and the City, Paladin, St Albans, 1975, p. 9. See also, W.J. Keith, The Rural Tradition, Toronto, 1974.

35. Yi Fu Tuan, Man and Nature, Resource Paper No 10, Association of American Geographers, Washington DC, 1971.
36. M.J. Wiener, English Culture and the Decline of the English Spirit, Harmondsworth, 1985, ix. (Originally published, 1981).
37. This change in English art is observed by N. Pevsner, The Englishness of English Art, London, 1956, pp. 188-89.
38. Wiener, 1985, p. 10.
39. F. Spalding comments this sense of timelessness was often a protest against change, "Changing Nature: British Landscape Painting 1850-1950" in Landscape in Britain 1850-1950, Arts Council Exhibition Catalogue, 1983, pp. 9-22, 10.
40. J. Ruskin, Unto this Last, pp.107-193, 185 in J. Ruskin, Unto this Last and other Essays, London, John Dent & Son, 1938. W. Cobbett, Cottage Economy, London, 1821; M. Birkett Foster, Pictures of English Landscape, 1863; on the Victorian yearning for cottage and garden see, G.H. Ford, "Felicitous Space: The Cottage Controversy" in U.C. Knoepfelmacher & G.B. Tennyson, Nature and the Victorian Imagination, Berkeley University of California Press, 1978, pp. 29-48; See also A. Bermingham, "Middle Grounds and Middle Ways: The Victorian Suburban Experience of Landscape" pp.157-193 in Landscape and Ideology: The English rustic tradition 1740-1860, London, Thames & Hudson, 1987; On the development of J.C. Loudon's gardenesque "breathing places" and their relationship to the ideas of Cobbett see M.L. Simo, "Loudon and the Landscape: a study of rural and metropolitan improvements, 1803-1843", unpublished Ph.D thesis, Yale University, 1976, pp. 1-5, 125-169, 357-359; On Morris see E.P. Thompson, William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary, Pantheon, New York, 1975. (Originally published, 1955)

41. Wiener, 1985, pp. 6, 46ff. A. Bermingham, 1987, op. cit., p.193 concludes: " _ the countryside, or rather the urban vision of it, came to provide the setting for problems that were not specifically rural at all. Instead of focusing on rural experience, the representation of the countryside modeled urban culture. No longer played off against the city as its traditional opposite, the countryside seemed instead to distill and clarify urban experience. It was as though the country formed a repository of ideals through which urban experience both was perceived and found its ultimate truth. Objectified as spectacle or science, the countryside took on an ideal form and performed the ideological function of providing urban industrial culture with the myths to sustain it".
42. Several notable exceptions can be found however in Ford Madox Brown's "Work" (1852-65) and William Bell Scott's "Iron and Coal" (1855-60). For a discussion of these paintings and other artists who documented the onset of the industrial age see, T. Hilton, The Pre-Raphaelites, Thames & Hudson, 1970, pp. 157-159; Ill. p. 203; F.D. Klingender, Art and the Industrial Revolution, (ed. A. Elton), St. Albans, Paladin, 1972, pp.118-162.
43. In addition "Protection" satirised leading politicians. The individuals were "portraits of the late Earl Derby and the Rt Honourable B. Disraeli" C.S. Mann, National Art Library MSS, 86.BB.20.
44. It is instructive to compare the composition of Landseer's "Free Trade" (1852) with Pugin's "contrasted" Catholic town of the 1840's. See, A.W.N. Pugin "Contrasts; or a parallel between the noble edifices of the middle ages and corresponding buildings of the present day", 1836. Like Pugin Landseer opts for a horizon littered with chimney stacks but he chooses to obscure them in a hazy mist. Despite this marked difference however both works express a similar distancing from the material consequences of an expanding industrial age. On the

metaphorical use of animals see H. Ritvo, The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age, London, Harvard University Press, 1987.

45. Comment by John Balfour recorded in the Glen Quoich Visitors' Book, 23rd September - 2nd October, 1847. National Library of Scotland MSS, 15197, unpaginated.

46. H. House, "The Age of Doubt" in, Ideas and Beliefs of the Victorians, BBC, London, 1949, pp. 71-77, 71; For a study of one cholera outbreak see G. Kearns, "Urban Epidemics and Historical Geography: Cholera in London, 1848-9", Historical Geography research Series, No.15, June, 1985; On English civil disturbances see the various essays in J. Stevenson, Popular Disturbances in England 1700-1870, Longman, London, 1979.

47. J.A. Secord, 1982, p. 415; See also M.J.S. Rudwick, "The Emergence of a Visual Language for Geological Science 1760-1840", History of Science, 14, 1976, pp. 149-195.

48. For a detailed study of one peripheral area see K. Olwig, The Morphology of a Symbolic Landscape: A Geosophical Study of the Transformation of Denmark's Jutland Heath circa 1750-1950, University of Minnesota, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 1977; Nature's Ideological Landscape, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1984.

49. Interest in Celtic areas was paralleled by a growing number of historicist studies by articulate celts such as Hugh Miller (Sutherland as it was, and is: or How a Country may be ruined, Edinburgh, 1843), Cosmo Innes (Sketches of Early Scotch History and Social Progress, Edinburgh, 1861), W.F. Skene (Celtic Scotland, Edinburgh, 1880), A. Mackenzie (The Highland Clearances, Inverness, 1881) and J.S. Blackie (Altavona, Edinburgh, 1882). In many instances these studies helped foster both Celtic revivalism and a late nineteenth century cult of the peasant.

For a commentary on these and other works see C. Dewey, "Celtic Agrarian Legislation and the Celtic Revival: Historicist Implications of Gladstone's Irish and Scottish Land Acts 1870-1886", Past and Present, 64, 1974, pp. 30-70; I. Carter, "The Changing Image of the Scottish Peasantry 1745-1980" in R. Samuel (ed.) People's History and Socialist Theory, (History Workshop Series) London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981, pp.9-15; P. Morgan, "From a Death to a View: The Hunt for the Welsh Past in the Romantic Period" & H. Trevor-Roper, "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland" in E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger, The Invention of Tradition, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983, pp. 43-100 & 15-41 respectively.

50. During the period 1825-50 there was a resurgence of mortality in Scotland. Cholera raged in 1831-2 claiming c.10,000 victims mainly in the large towns and lowland belt. It returned again with diminishing effects in 1848-9, 1853-4, 1866-7. The great killers however were tuberculosis, typhus, measles, scarlet fever, dysentery diarrhoea and whooping cough. All the above were endemic in the larger urban areas but rural areas experienced sharp epidemics. Flinn comments "It was clearly the towns, above all the large cities, that experienced the worst of this return of the mortality crisis". M. Flinn, (ed) Scottish Population History, Cambridge, 1977.

In painting healthy Highland Images Landseer both reflected the incidence and distribution of disease in Scotland and unconsciously offered a rural palative to urban squalor. On representations of urban poverty and squalor see H.D. Rodee, "Scenes of Rural and Urban Poverty in Victorian Painting and their Development, 1850 - 1890", University of Columbia, Ph.D thesis, 1979, pp.121-240.

51. E. Richards, A History of the Highland Clearances (Vol 1): Agrarian Transformation and the Evictions 1746-1886, Croom Helm, London, 1982, pp. 219-220, 226-228, 234, 236, 331. With

regard to the Clearances Richards notes "The Clearances continued usually in a silence which is almost entirely astonishing to posterity" p.226; The record of rural protest is examined at greater length in E. Richards, A History of the Highland Clearances Vol 2: Emigration, Protests, Reasons, Beckenham, Croom Helm, 1985.

It has been suggested that the artist Samuel Palmer may have adopted a highly individual style in order to avoid portraying the harsh realities of rural protest in Kent. See M. Rosenthal, British Landscape Painting, Phaidon, London, 1982, p. 118; On rural protest in Kent at this time see E. Hobsbawm, & G. Rude, Captain Swing, Harmondsworth, 1973.

52. These figures are derived from the exhibition catalogues of the Royal Academy and British Institution. They include Landseer's major animal works such as "Monarch of the Glen" (1851) but specifically exclude the artist's series of prints known as "The Forest" (20).
53. For example Landseer's "Highland Drovers' Departure" (1835) was originally published in 1841 but subsequently reissued in 1859 and 1887. Similarly "Return from the Staghunt" (also known as "Crossing the Bridge", 1837) was originally published in 1847 but reissued in differing formats in 1850, 1859, 1881 & 1888.

Information derived from the Catalogues of the Print Sellers Association, P.S.A, Volume One, 1847-1892.

54. R. Ormond, 1981, p. 87.
55. H. House, 1949, p. 71.
56. M.J. Wiener, 1985, p. 51.

POSTSCRIPT

While this thesis has examined selected themes in Landseer's art and their relationship to early and mid-Victorian concepts of landscape and nature, no claim to total understanding of the complex cultural symbolism involved can possibly be made. While recognising this fact it is hoped however that this study has at least afforded some improved understanding of the role of culture in reflecting and articulating early and mid-Victorian concepts of landscape and nature. No study is all embracing and, at the conclusion of any such analysis, there are inevitably questions left unanswered and new avenues to explore. While these are beyond the scope of this present study, this brief and speculative postscript outlines one such avenue which may reward further examination and reflection.

While Landseer's works were in essence images of the past it is possible that their immense popularity helped prepare Victorian society for a subsequent historicist reaction which clearly illustrated the power of the past in shaping the social policy and regional development of the Highlands. Throughout the nineteenth century the enormous popularity of Landseer's Highland images did much to awaken and sustain interest in the Highland region. The artist's images portraying a peaceful, quaint and happy peasantry were known and loved by millions. While most critics recognised Landseer's images were highly idealised few realised the full extent of what contemporaries called the "Highland Problem". In the years following Landseer's death in 1873 the Highland economic situation deteriorated and discontent spread throughout the region. During the 1870's the foundations of landlord authority were questioned throughout mainland Britain. In Highland Scotland this process was stimulated by continuing Irish agitation and the onset of depression in the sheep farming community. Prevailing laissez faire axioms which had substantiated the abolition

of customary tenancy rights were seriously challenged. By 1881 these axioms had been displaced in popular thought by the rise of historicist axioms which legitimated the concession of comprehensive tenant rights.

As a direct consequence of new historicist axioms tenant demands and rights emerged which exceeded those ascribed to traditional Highland society. These new attitudes were rooted in polemical didactic writings which propagated images similar to those Landseer had created decades earlier. The two decades following 1870 witnessed a remarkable flowering of Celtic historicist writings. These writings formed an integral part of continuing agitation in the Highlands and eventually led to the establishment of the Napier Commission and the passing of the Crofter Act in 1886. By the time of the passing of the act of 1886 highland clearances were a thing of the past. Despite this fact however contemporary historicist and popularist writings centred on the historical nature and implications of the clearance process. These historicists were led by intellectuals such as W.F. Skene, John Stuart Blackie and Cosmo Innes. In the Highlands themselves the cause was forwarded by Alexander Mackenzie (1838-98) who created an impressive body of historicist writings on the region. In November 1875 Mackenzie started the Celtic Magazine - a journal which reinforced the case for land reform by situating discussion in a cultural and historical context. Above all the writings of intellectuals such as Innes and popularists such as Mackenzie demonstrated the power of historical myth in informing and substantiating contemporary debate about the "Highland Problem" and the contentious issue of land reform.

Historicist emphasis on the intrinsic merits of the past helped foster embryonic Celtic revivalism and a late nineteenth century cult of the peasant. More importantly however underlying historicist charges of injustice, eviction, emigration, atrocity and genocide lay a belief (derived from the earlier writings of Donald Macleod, Hugh Miller and Stewart of Garth) of the degradation of a once happy and prosperous peasantry from a golden age state. Herein lies a

paradoxical link between Landseer's Highland image and the social transformation of Highland Scotland. The images of society that late nineteenth-century political activists paraded before the general public as reformist propaganda were those which illustrated a tranquil bountiful Highland life. These "golden age" images were essentially similar in nature to those depictions of "small prettiness" that Landseer had painted forty years earlier for "golden pay". Where once these images had unconsciously helped mask the material consequences of structural change they now were *consciously* used to expose them and act as an instrument of social policy. While there were of course great differences in content, composition and function between the visual and the written images, both stressed the benefits of traditional rural life - both called on the past to redress the imbalances of the present.

The incorporation of historicist evidence into the findings of the Napier Commission ensured that past images of the Highlands became *active agents* in current political processes. While the acceptance of the Napier Commission's findings and the subsequent passage of the Crofters Act (1886) had much to do with political problems and praxis in both London and Ireland, both marked political landmarks in the history of the Highlands. Both brought an end to nearly two centuries of centralised conflict over the relative merits of *laissez faire* and interventionist policies. While the Napier Commission ultimately rejected the exaggerated historicist claims of the Crofters it accepted the principle of government intervention in regional policy. In doing so the Commission, like many early and mid-Victorians, recognised only too clearly the power of the past in interpreting and shaping the reality of the present. The exact relationship between Landseer's images and those of later historicists remains a matter of conjecture and invites further enquiry.

As the nineteenth century progressed landscape in both art and geographical thought ceased to be a subjective social attribute and became an *objective* phenomenon worthy of value free scientific observation. In turning towards the objective study of nature both

art and geography turned away from the moral and social considerations inherent in the landscape idea and a long established belief that it could also serve as both an indicator and critique of contemporary society. In doing so they looked to the future rather than the past. Recently both art historians and historical geographers have begun to question ideological assumptions inherent in concepts of landscape and nature. In doing so they have rediscovered what their nineteenth century predecessors found difficult to forget, the power of the past in shaping, interpreting and mediating the reality of the present. It is hoped that this thematic study has made some contribution to the recognition and study of this process.

NOTES ON SOURCES

Manuscript Sources

National Art Library, London:

Landseer correspondence:	MSS 86.R-R.1-5. MSS 86.JJ.BoxII.
Transcripts:	Transcri. 86.R-R.6-9.
C.S. Mann, The Works of Sir Edwin Landseer, 4 Volumes, 1874-77.	MSS 86.BB.19-22.

National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh:

Selected Landseer correspondence:	
Letters of 1847, 1852.	MSS 8887 ff.93-98.
Letters of 1836-7, 1839.	MSS 9836 ff.124, 134, 160, 163.
Letters of 1841, 1854, 1858, 1868, n.d.	MSS 15033.
Correspondence of John Russell, 6th Duke of Bedford.	MSS 3899 ff.116, 132, 151, 182.
Correspondence of Allan Thomson (physician), 1836.	MSS 9237 ff.19-22.
Ellice Papers.	MSS 15001-15196.
Glenfeshie Game Books 1834-72.	MSS 15152-5.
Glen Quloch Visitors' Book 1846-1863.	MSS 15197.

Scottish Records Office, Edinburgh:

Plan, Estate of the Earl of Seafield in Elgin & Rothes, 1868.	RHP 11827.
Plan, Rothes, Elchies & Dandaleith, 1859.	RHP 11831.
Plan & section of proposed Morayshire Railway, 1845.	RHP 851.

British Museum, London:

Selected Landseer correspondence:

Letters to C.G. Lewis (engraver), 1833-35.	BM Add.4 38608.
Correspondence with Sir R. Peel, 1842-49.	BM Add.5 40501, 40509, 40545, 40564- 5, 40572.
Correspondence with H. Graves (Publisher), 1836-1875.	BM Add.7 46140, ff.55, 68, 74, 122, 123, 275, 289, 290.
W.E. Gladstone correspondence:	BM Add.6 44401, ff.35, 43, 247, 249.

Royal Archives, Windsor:

Correspondence relating to Landseer commissions.	RA Add. C4/160-1
Keyl Papers.	
(Manuscript with Surveyor of the Queen's Pictures, Lord Chamberlain's Office, St. James's Palace, London)	

Royal Institution, London:

Landseer correspondence, 1844-70:

Boxes 70-72.

103 letters to Jacob Bell, 60 letters
from C.E. Lewis, picture dealers
& restorers.

National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh:

"Rent Day in the Wilderness", documentation in Artist's file.

Print collection. Acces Nos. 506, D3664-7, D4783, D4802, D5080

Aberdeen Art Gallery:

Sketch book of Sir Thomas Dick Lauder depicting the floods of 1829.

University of Edinburgh:

Correspondence relating to Landseer.

La.11. 426/261-2

Other Contemporary Sources

Where possible contemporary writings and periodicals have been drawn upon to exemplify and expand upon points of interest. Detailed references are given at the end of each chapter.

For comment and guidance on the art of their time Victorians turned to a large number of diverse periodicals. Just like twentieth century magazines and newspapers however the accuracy, quality and frequency of the explanation and criticism offered varied greatly. Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine and the Fortnightly Review which were considered to be the more intellectual journals both featured regular art

columns as did the news orientated Illustrated London News. This was true also of quarterlies such as the Contemporary Review, monthlies such as the New Monthly Magazine and weeklies such as the Saturday Review and The Athenaeum. In general reviews in the quarterlies were better organised, more penetrating, and drew interesting comparisons with both contemporary literature and other works of art. Those who were fashion conscious read Belgravia and Fraser's Magazine. The middle classes sought and found additional advice in The Critic and The Examiner while the ever popular Art Journal and the Magazine of Art reached a broader audience.

The following periodicals have been consulted:

The Athenaeum	The Examiner
The Art Journal	Fine Arts Quarterly
The Art Union	Fraser's Magazine
Blackwood's Magazine	Illustrated London
News Contemporary Review	Magazine of Art
The Critic	Saturday Review
	The Times

In addition to the above information on print prices and publishing histories were derived from:

Index of Painters and Engravers with the Titles of their works declared at the Office of the Print Sellers Association, London and the Incorporated Print sellers Association, London.

An alphabetical list in 2 volumes compiled by C.F. Duffell, Vol.1: 1847-1891 & Vol.2: 1892-1912. Volumes deposited in the Library of the National Portrait Gallery, London.

General Bibliography

A general bibliography of secondary works consulted is detailed below.

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aberdeen Art Gallery. Turner in Scotland, Exhibition Catalogue, 1982.
- Adam, M.I. "The Highland Emigration of 1770", Scottish Historical Review, Volume 16, 1919.
- "The Causes of the Highland Emigrations of 1783-1803", Scottish Historical Review, Volume 17, 1920.
- "The Eighteenth Century Highland Landlords and the Poverty Problem", Scottish Historical Review, Volume 19, 1922.
- Adams, I.H. The Making of Urban Scotland, London, Croom Helm, 1978.
- Allan, W. "Landseer: The Victorian Paragon", book review, Connoisseur, 193, (778), 1976, p.327.
- Allen, A. & Morton, A. This is your Child: The Story of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, London, Routledge Soc., 1961.
- Allen, D.E. The Naturalist in Britain, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1978.
- Alsin, E. "The rise and progress of the Art Union in London", Apollo, 85, lix, (n.s.), 12, 1967, pp.12-16.
- Anstruther, I. The Knight and the Umbrella, (Originally published 1963), London, Sutton, 1986.
- Appleton, J. (ed) The Experience of Landscape, London, Rural Planning Services Ltd, 1975.

General Bibliography

- Argan, G.C. "Ideology and Iconology", Critical Inquiry, 2, Winter, 1975, pp.297-305.
- Arlott, J. & Daley, A. Pageantry of Sport from the Age of Chivalry to the Age of Victoria, London, Elek, 1968.
- Ashton, T.S. The Industrial Revolution 1760-1830, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1947.
- Bagehot, W. The English Constitution, (originally published 1867), Glasgow, Fontana, Seventeenth Impression, 1963.
- Bailey, P. Leisure and class in Victorian England: rational recreation and the contest for control, 1830-1885, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978.
- Baker, A.R.H. "Historical Geography: a new beginning ?", Progress in Human Geography, Volume 3, 1979, pp.560-571.
- Bann, S. The Clothing of Clio: A Study of the Representation of History in Nineteenth Century Britain and France, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Barber, L. The Heyday of Natural History, 1820-1870, London, Jonathan Cape, 1980.
- Barnes, B. & Shapin, S. Natural Order: Historical Studies of Scientific Culture, London, Sage, 1979.
- Barras-Hill, I. Landseer: An Illustrated Life of Sir Edwin Landseer, London, Shire, 1973.
- Barrell, J. The Idea of Landscape and the Sense of Place, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1972;

General Bibliography

The Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting 1730-1840, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1980;

Review of D.C.D. Pocock (ed) Humanistic Geography and Literature, Journal of Historical Geography, Volume 9, 1, 1981, pp.95-97.

Barrell, J & Bull, J. The Penguin Book of Pastoral Verse, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1982.

Barthes, R. "The Structuralist Activity", Partisan Review, 34, Winter, 1967, pp.82-88.

"La Peinture est-elle un Langage?", La Quinzaine Littéraire, 1st March, 1969, p.16;

Mythologies, (1957, Translated by A. Lavers), St Albans, Paladin, 1972;

Image - Music - Text, (Edited and Translated by S. Heath), Glasgow, Fontana, 1977;

Roland Barthes by Roland Barthes, (Translated by R. Howard), New York, Hill & Wang, 1977.

Bateson, F.W. "Is your structuralism really necessary?", New Review, Vol.2, No.14, 1975, pp.55-58.

Baxandall, L. "Marxism and Aesthetics: A Critique of the Contribution of George Plekhanov", Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol.25, Spring, 1967, pp.267-269;

Marxism and Aesthetics: A Selected Annotated Bibliography, Princeton, 1968.

General Bibliography

- Beck, H. Victorian Engravings, London, Victoria & Albert Museum, 1973.
- Bedford, J. Victorian Prints, London, Cassell, 1969.
- Bendiner, K. "Landseer, Edwin: Art Review", Burlington Magazine, Vol.124, January, 1982, pp.57-58;
- An Introduction to Victorian Painting, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1985.
- Bennett, T, Culture, Ideology and Social Process, London, Martin, C. Batsford Academic, 1981.
- Wollacott, J. &
Mercer, C. (eds)
- Benson, A.C. & Letters of Queen Victoria, 1837-1861, Vols I & II, Viscount Esher London, John Murray, 1908.
- Berger, J. Ways of Seeing, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1972;
- "Mythical Speech", New Society, 24th February, 1972, pp.407-8;
- "Inside the mask", New Society, 22nd September, 1977, pp.614-615;
- About Looking, London, Writers and Readers Publishing Co-operative, 1980.
- Berman, M. Social Change and Scientific Organisation: The Royal Institution 1799-1844, London, Heineman, 1978.
- Bermingham, A. Landscape and Ideology: The English rustic tradition 1740-1860, London, Thames & Hudson, 1987.

General Bibliography

- Bernal, J.D. Science in History (2 Vols), Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1969.
- Billinge, M. "Hegemony, class and power in late Georgian and early Victorian England: towards a cultural geography" in Baker, A.R.H. & Gregory, D., Explorations in Historical Geography: Interpretative Essays, Cambridge studies in historical geography: 5, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984, pp.28-67.
- Black, A & C. Economical Tourist of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1841

Tourist's Guide to Scotland, Edinburgh, 1882.
- Blaut, J.M. "A radical critique of cultural geography", Antipode, 12, 2, 1980 pp.25-29.
- Bloch, H.H. "Towards the development of a sociology of literary and art forms", American Sociological Review, Vol.8, January, 1943, pp.313-320.
- Boase, T.S.R. English Art, 1800-1870, (Oxford History of English Art), Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1959.
- Bouquet, M. The Tourist's Ramble in the Highlands, London & Paris, n.d.
- Bourdon, D. "Landseer, Edwin, animal paintings, letter", Smithsonian, 12, (10), 1982, p.12.
- Bowers, D.F. "The role of subject matter in art", The Journal of Philosophy, Vol XXXVI, No. 23, November, 1939, pp.617-630.

General Bibliography

- Bowles, P. "The origin of property and the development of Scottish historical science", Journal of the History of Ideas, Vol XLVI, 1985, pp.197-209.
- Bowness, A. "Art and society in England and France in the mid nineteenth century: Two paintings before the public", Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th Series, Vol.22, 1972, pp.119-139.
- Bradley, L. "Edwin Landseer: Master story teller", Art Magazine, 56, (6), February, 1982, pp.140-144.
- Brand, J. The National Movement in Scotland, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978.
- Branden, M. The Making of the Highlands, London, Constable, 1980.
- Briggs, A. The Age of Improvement 1780-1867, London, 1959.
- Brooks, C. Signs for the Times: Symbolic Reaction in the mid Victorian World, London, Allen & Unwin, 1984.
- Brown, D. Walter Scott and the Historical Imagination, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979.
- Bryan, M. Dictionary of Painters and Engravers, (Originally published 1816, 2 Vols). Reprinted 1903 in 5 vols, 1921 Edition.
- Brydall, R. Art in Scotland, its origins and progress, Edinburgh, 1889.
- Bryson, G. Man and Society: the Scottish Inquiry of the Eighteenth Century, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1945.

General Bibliography

- Buckell, L.E. "Landseer and the Life Guards:1839", Journal of the Society of Army Historical Research, Vol 38, No. 156, 1960, p.143.
- Buckley, J.H. The Victorian Temper, (Originally published 1963), Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- The Triumph of Time: a study of the Victorian Concepts of Time, History, Progress and Decadence, Cambridge (Mass), Harvard University Press, 1966.
- Bullough, E. "Psychical distance as a factor in art and aesthetic principle" in Bullough, E. & Wilkinson, E.M. (eds.), Aesthetics: Lectures and Essays, London, 1957, pp.91-130.
- Bumsted, J.M. The People's Clearance: Highland Emigration to British North America 1770 - 1815, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1982.
- Bunske, E.V. "Humboldt and an aesthetic tradition in geography", Geographical Review, Vol.71, No.2, 1982, pp.127-46.
- Burdett, O. "Fine art and the Monarchy", London Mercury, 29, December 1933, pp.131-41.
- Burlington Gallery. Catalogue of an Exhibition of the Engraved Works of the late Sir Edwin Landseer, London, 1874.
- Burns, W.L. The Age of Equipoise, 1964.
- Burrow, J.W. A Liberal Descent: Victorian Historians and the English Past, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Butterfield, H. The Origins of Modern Science. 1300-1800, London, Bell, 1950.

General Bibliography

- Cadfryn-
Roberts, J.
(ed) British Sporting Prints, London, Deutsch Art, 1955.
- Cage, R.A. The Scottish Poor Law 1745-1845, Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press, 1981.
- Camie, C. Experience and Enlightenment: Socialization for cultural change in Eighteenth Century Scotland, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1984.
- Campbell, J.G. Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, Glasgow, 1900.
- Campbell, R.H. The Origins and Nature of the Scottish Enlightenment,
& Skinner, A.S. Edinburgh, John Donald, 1982.
- Cannadine, D. "The context, performance and meaning of ritual: The British Monarchy and the invention of tradition, C.1820-1977" in Hobsbawm, E & Ranger, T (eds), The Invention of Tradition, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983, pp.101-164.
- Cannon, S.F. Science in Culture: The Early Victorian Period, New York, Dawson & Science History, 1978.
- Cardonnel,
A. de Picturesque Antiquities of Scotland, London, 1793.
- Cardwell, D.S The Organisation of Science in England, London, Heineman, 1972.
- Carlyle, T. Scottish and other Miscellanies, Rhys, E. (ed.), London, J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, n.d.

General Bibliography

- Carter, I. "The changing image of the Scottish peasantry 1745-1980" in Samuels, R (ed.), People's History and Socialist Theory, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981, pp.9-15.
- Caw, J.L. Scottish Painting Past and Present, London, 1908.
- Chambers, R. Annals of the Domestic History of Scotland, Volume III, Edinburgh, 1894.
- Chandler, A. A Dream of Order: The Medieval Idea in Nineteenth Century Literature, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971.
- Chant, C. & Fauvel, J. Darwin to Einstein: Historical Studies on Science and Belief, London, Longman/ Open University Press, 1980.
(eds)
- Chapman, M. The Gaelic Vision in Scottish Culture, London, Croom Helm, 1978.
- Chapman, R.W. Johnson's Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland and Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LLD, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1979 edition.
- Charlesworth, A. An Atlas of Rural Protest in Britain 1548-1900, Beckenham, Croom Helm, 1982.
- Chalton, D.G. New Images of the Natural in France, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Checkland, S. & O. Industry and Ethos: Scotland 1832-1914, London, Edward Arnold, 1984.

General Bibliography

- Chitnis, A. The Scottish Enlightenment: a social history, London, 1976; The Scottish Enlightenment & Early Victorian English Society, London, Croom Helm, 1986.
- Christopher Wade Gallery. British Sporting Paintings, 1775-1925, Exhibition Catalogue, London, 1980.
- Clarke, K. Landscape into Art, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1956.
- Clark, R.W. Balmoral: Queen Victoria's Highland Home, London, Thames & Hudson, 1981.
- Clark, S.R.L. The Moral Status of Animals, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Clarke, J.C. From Business to Politics: The Ellice Family 1760 - 1860, Unpublished D.Phil thesis, University of Oxford, 1973.
- Clayre, A. Nature and Industrialisation, Oxford, Oxford University (ed) Press, 1977.
- Clifford, T. "Mappin Art Gallery Exhibition, Sheffield", Connoisseur, Vol.179, April, 1972, pp.224-5.
- Colnaghi & Co. Animal Drawings Through Three Centuries, Exhibition Galleries. catalogue, London, 1953.
- Conrad, P. "The desecration of the image: Great Victorian Pictures Exhibition", Times Literary Supplement, 28th July, 1978, p.855.
- Constable, W.G. "Art and society: The influence of social movements on art", Sociological Review, Vol.14, April, 1922, pp.123-130.

General Bibliography

- Coombs, D. Sport and the Countryside in English paintings, Watercolours and Prints, Oxford, Phaidon, 1978.
- Cordiner, C. Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland, in a series of letters to Thomas Pennant, London, 1780.
- Cornish, V. "Harmonies of scenery. An outline of aesthetic geography", Geography, Vol.14, Pts. 4 & 5, 1928, pp.275-283 ; 383-394.
- Cornish, V. The Poetic Impression of Natural Scenery, London, Praed & Co., 1931.
- Cornish, V. The Preservation of Our Scenery, Essays and Addresses, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1937.
- Cosgrove, D.E. "Place, landscape and the dialectics of cultural geography", Canadian Geographer, 22, 1978, pp.66-72.
- Cosgrove, D.E. "John Ruskin and the geographical imagination", Geographical Review, Vol 69, 1979, pp.43-62.
- Cosgrove, D.E. "Problems of interpreting the symbolism of past landscapes" in Baker, A.R.H. & Billinge, M. (eds), Period and Place, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982, pp.220-230.
- Cosgrove, D.E. "The myth and the Stones of Venice: an historical geography of a symbolic landscape", Journal of Historical Geography, 8, 2, pp.145 - 169.
- Cosgrove, D.E. "Towards a radical cultural geography: problems of theory", Antipode, 15, 1, 1983, pp.1-11.
- Cosgrove, D.E. Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape, Beckenham, Croom Helm, 1984.

General Bibliography

- Cosgrove, D.E. "Prospect, perspective and the evolution of the landscape idea", Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, N.S., Vol.10, No.1, 1985, pp.45-62.
- Cosgrove, D. & Thornes, J. "The truth of clouds: John Ruskin and the moral order in Landscape" in D. Pocock (ed.), Humanistic Geography and Literature, Beckenham, Croom Helm, 1981, pp.20-46.
- Cosgrove, D. & Daniels, S. (eds) The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and use of Past Environments, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Cousins, M. & Hussain, A. Michel Foucault, London, Macmillan, 1984.
- Crane, R.S. "Suggestions toward a genealogy of the man of feeling", ELH: A Journal of English Literary History, Vol.1, No.3, 1934, pp.205-230.
- Cranfield, G.A. The Press and Society, London, Longman, 1978.
- Crombie, T. "Flawed facility: Landseer at the Tate", Apollo, 115, April, 1982, p.290.
- Crehan, A.S. "Victorian Literature: Materials for Teaching and Study (Great Britain)", Victorian Studies, Vol XIX, No.3, March 1976, pp.379-409.
- Crossick, G. The Lower Middle Class in Britain 1870-1914, Beckenham, Croom Helm, 1977.
- Crouzet, F. The Victorian Economy, London, Methuen, 1982.
- Culler, J. Barthes, Glasgow, Fontana, 1983.

General Bibliography

- Culley, L.F. Artists' Life Styles in nineteenth century France and England: The Dandy, The Bohemian and the Realist, Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Stamford University, 1975.
- Cunningham, A. The Life of David Wilkie, (3 Vols), London, 1843.
- Cunningham, H. Leisure in the Industrial Society, London, Croom Helm, 1980.
- Cursiter, S. Scottish Art to the Close of the Nineteenth Century, London, Harrup Art, 1949.
- Dafforne, J. Pictures by Sir Edwin Landseer with Descriptions, London, 1874.
- Daiches, D. "Sir Walter Scott and history", Etudes Anglaises, 24, 1971, pp.458-77.
- Daiches, D. & Jones, P & J (eds) A Hotbed of Genius: the Scottish Enlightenment 1730 - 1790, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1986.
- Dalyell, J.G. The Darker Superstitions of Scotland, Glasgow, 1885.
- Daniels, S.J. Moral Order and the Industrial Environment in the Woollen Textile Districts of West Yorkshire, 1780 - 1880, Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of London, 1980.
- Daniels, S.J. "Humphry Repton and the morality of landscape" in Gold, J.R. & Burgess, J., Valued Environments, London, Allen & Unwin, 1982, pp.124-150.
- Daniels, S.J. "Ideology and English landscape art" in Cosgrove, D.E., Geography and the Humanities, Loughborough,

General Bibliography

Loughborough Department of Geography Occasional Paper
No.5, 1982, pp.6-13.

Daniels, S.J. "Human geography and the art of David Cox", Landscape Research, Vol 9, No.3, 1984, pp.14-19.

Daniels, S.J. "Arguments for a humanistic geography" pp.143-158 in, Johnson, R.J., The Future of Geography, London, Methuen, 1985.

Davies, D.H. Monarchs of the Glen: A history of deer stalking in the Scottish Highlands, London, Hamish Hamilton, 1978.

Davis, F. Victorian Patrons of Art, London, 1963.

"Landseer without the Monarch", Country Life, Vol.155, 21st March, 1974, pp.646-7;

"Landseer in a savage mood", Country Life, Vol.158, 18th December, 1975, p.1730.

Denvir, B. "The form of fauna: a study of Landseer", World Review, March, 1952, p.62.

De Schepper, G. Seeing Art as Something and Nothing: A Comparison of Structuralism and Hermeneutics in relation to selected works of Poetry, Painting and Film, Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Ohio University, 1974.

Dewey, C. "Celtic agrarian legislation and the Celtic revival: Historicist implications of Gladstone's Irish and Scottish Land Acts 1870 - 1886", Past and Present, 64, 1974, pp.30-70.

Dickenson, A (ed.) Scottish Capitalism: Class, State and Nation. From the Union to the Present, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1980.

General Bibliography

- Dickie, G. "Bullough and the concept of psychical distance", Philosophy and Phenomenological Research, XXII, September, 1961 - June 1962, pp.233-38.
- Digby, A. The Poor Law in Nineteenth Century England, Historical Association Pamphlet G.104, London, 1982.
- Duff, D. Victoria in the Highlands: The Personal Journal of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, London, Frederick Muller, 1968.
- Dunabin, J.P.B. Rural Discontent in Nineteenth Century Britain, London, Faber & Faber, 1974.
- Duncan, J. "The superorganic in American cultural geography", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 70, 1980, pp.181-98.
- Dyos, H.J. & Wolff, M. The Victorian City: Images and Realities, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973.
- Dyson, A. "Images interpreted: Landseer and the engraving trade", Print Quarterly, Vol 1, No.1, March, 1984, pp.29-43.
- Eagleton, T. Criticism and Ideology, London, Verso, 1976.
- Eaton, M. "Lie back and think of England", pp.159 - 181 in, Phillips, E. (ed), The Left and the Erotic, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1983.
- Edelstein, T.J. But Who Shall Paint the Grievs of those Oppress'd?: The Social Theme in Victorian Painting, Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1979.

General Bibliography

- Edinburgh, Fine Art Society Ltd. Scottish Painting, 1778-1927, Edinburgh, 1977;
 Masters of Scottish Painting, Edinburgh, 1978.
- Edwards, O & Martin, G. Romanticism, Bletchley, Open University Press, 1972.
- Emsley, C. British Society and the French Wars 1793-1815, London, Macmillan, 1979.
- Engen, R.K. Victorian Engravings, London, Academy Editions, 1975.
- Errington, L. "Monarchs of the Glen: an artistic sidelight on Scottish deer stalking", Connoisseur, CXCVI, November, 1977, pp.202-211.
- Evans, E.J. The Forging of the Modern State: Early Industrial Britain 1783-1870, London, Longman, 1983.
- Ever, A.H. The Pattern of Rural Discontent: the Nineteenth Century, University of Leicester Department of English Local History Occasional Paper, No. 4.
- Fair, J.D. "Walter Bagehot, royal mediation, and the modern British Constitution, 1869 - 1931", The Historian, 43, 1, 1980, pp.36-54.
- Fairholme, E.G & Pain, W. A Century of Work for Animals: The History of the R.S.P.C.A, 1824-1933, London, John Murray, 1934.
- Feaver, W. "Queen Victoria's pet painter", The Observer, Colour Supplement, 14th February, 1982, pp.20-21.
- Fenton, A. Scottish Country Life, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1981.

General Bibliography

- Ferriday, P. "The Victorian art market", Country Life, 139, 1966, pp.1456-58, 1567-78
- Finlay, I. Art in Scotland, London, 1848.
- Finley, G.E. Interpretation of Topographical Views by English Artists during the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, John Hopkins University, 1965;
- "J.M.W. Turner and Sir Walter Scott: Iconography of a Tour", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, Vol XXXV, pp.359-385;
- Turner and the Fourth in Edinburgh, 1822, Edinburgh, Tate Gallery & Edinburgh University Press, 1981.
- Fischer, E. The Necessity of Art, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1963.
- Fisher, J.L. "The aesthetic of the mediocre: Thackeray and the visual arts", Victorian Studies, August, Vol 26, Pt.1, 1982, pp.65-82.
- Fleishman, A. The English Novel: Walter Scott to Virginia Woolf, John Baltimore, Hopkins University Press, 1971.
- Fleming, J. "Landseer returns to Burlington House", Connoisseur, (American Edition), Vol.147, April, 1961, pp.136-7.
- Flinn, M. (ed) Scottish Population History, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Foucault, M. The Birth of the Clinic, London, Tavistock, 1976;
- Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1977;

General Bibliography

- The History of Sexuality Volume 1: An Introduction, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1979.
- Fox, C. "The development of social reportage in English periodical illustration during the 1840's and early 1850's", Past and Present, Vol.74, 1977, pp.90-111.
- Fraser, W.H. The Coming of the Mass Market 1850-1914, London, Macmillan, 1981.
- Freedman, S. & Taylor, C.A. Roland Barthes: A Bibliographical Reader's Guide, New York & London, Garland Publishing, 1983.
- French, R.D. Antivivisection and Medical Science in Victorian Britain, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1975.
- Frey, R.G. Interests and Rights: The case against animals, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Fuller, P. Art and Psychoanalysis, London, Writers and Readers Publishing Co-operative, 1980;
- Beyond the Crisis in Art, London, Writers and Readers Publishing Co-operative, 1980;
- Seeing Berger: A Revaluation of Ways of Seeing, London, Writers and Readers Publishing Co-operative, 1980;
- "Animal Crackers", New Society, 18th February, 1982, pp.276-77;
- Images of God: The consolations of lost illusions, London, Chatto & Windus, 1985.
- Funt, D. "Roland Barthes and the nouvelle critique", Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, No.3, 1968, pp.329-340.

General Bibliography

- Furbank, P.N. "The lonely mythologue", The Listener, 24th August, 1972, pp.246-247.
- Garlick, K. "Landseer in the Diploma Galleries", Burlington Magazine, 103, 1961, pp.143-144.
- Gaunt, W. Bandits in a Landscape: A Study of Romantic Painting from Caravaggio to Delacroix, London, Studio, 1936.
- Gear, J.M. Masters or Servants? A Study of Selected English Painters and their Patrons of the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries, Unpublished Ph.D thesis, New York University, 1976.
- Geikie, W. Etchings illustrative of the Scottish Character and Scenery, Edinburgh, 1885.
- Getlein, F. "Landseer: art review", Smithsonian, 12, 8, 1981, pp.62-71.
- Gibb, F. "Dusting down the Victoriana", Daily Telegraph, 1st November, 1978, p.17.
- Gilbert, E.W. "Sir Roderick Impey Murchison, Bart K.C.B., 1792-1871", & Goudie, A.S. Geographical Journal, 137, 1971, pp.505-511.
- Gilbey, Sir W. Animal Painters of England from the year 1650: A Brief History of their Lives and Works, London, Vinton, 1900.
- Gillyet, P.L. The Profession of Painting in England 1850-1890, Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of California, 1979.
- Gilpin, Rev. W. Observations of Several Parts of Great Britain, Particularly the Highlands of Scotland, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty made in the Year 1776, 2 Vols, London, 1808.

General Bibliography

- Girouard, M. The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman, New Haven, Yale University press, 1981.
- Glacken, C.J. Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the end of the Eighteenth Century, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1967.
- Glen, A.E. & I.A. The Great North of Scotland Railway Album, London, Allan, 1980.
- Gloag, J. Victorian Taste: some aspects of architecture and industrial design 1820-1900, London, David & Charles, 1962.
- Godfrey, R.T. Print Making in Britain: A General History from its Beginnings to the Present Day, Oxford, Phaidon, 1978.
- Godlovitch, R. "Animals and Morals", Philosophy, 46, 1971, pp.23ff.
- Godlovitch, R & Animals, Men and Morals, London, Gollanez, 1971.
& S. & Harris, J.
(eds)
- Goldie, A. The Moral or Educational Tale of the Early Nineteenth Century, Unpublished Ph.D, University of Edinburgh, 1951.
- Gooch, G.P. History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century, London, Longman, 1957.
- Goodheart, E. "The myths of Roland, Partisan Review, Vol 47, No.2, 1980, pp.199-212.
- Gordon, C. British Paintings of the Nineteenth Century, London, Warne, 1981.

General Bibliography

- Goudie, A. "Vaughan Cornish: geographer", Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, Vol.55, 1972, pp.1-16.
- Gower, R.S. Sir David Wilkie, London, 1902.
- Graves, A. Catalogue of the Works of the Late Sir Edwin Landseer, London, 1876.
- Gray, B. The English Print, London, 1937.
- Gray, M.L. The Highland Economy: 1750 - 1850, Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd, 1957.
- Gray, R. The Aristocracy of Labour in Nineteenth Century Britain c.1850-1900, London, Macmillan, 1981.
- Gray, R. "Bourgeois hegemony in Victorian Britain", in Bennett, T, Martin, G., Mercer, C. and Woollacott, J. (eds), Culture, Ideology and Social Process, London, Batsford Academic, 1981, pp.235-250.
- Great Britain, Arts Council The Art of Landscape, London, Exhibition Catalogue, 1948;
- English Landscape Gardening of the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries, London, Exhibition Catalogue, 1951;
- British Subject and Narrative Pictures, 1800-1848, London, Exhibition Catalogue, 1955;
- Visit of George IV to Edinburgh, 1822, Edinburgh, Scottish National Portrait Gallery Exhibition Catalogue, 1961;

General Bibliography

- Hanovarians in Caricature, London, Exhibition Catalogue, 1961;
- Victorian Paintings, London, Exhibition Catalogue, 1962;
- British Sporting Painting, 1650-1850, London, Exhibition Catalogue, 1974;
- The Romantic Movement, London, Tate Gallery Exhibition Catalogue, 1959;
- Landscape in Britain 1850-1950, London, Hayward Gallery Exhibition Catalogue, 1983;
- Great Britain, Paintings and Drawing by Sir David Wilkie 1785-1841,
Arts Council Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland Exhibition
Catalogue,
Scottish 1958;
Committee
- Scottish Genre Paintings 1700-1952: an exhibition of
scenes from everyday life, Edinburgh, 1952;
- Scottish Scenes by Scottish Artists, Edinburgh, 1950;
- Sport in Scotland: An Exhibition of Pictures
Illustrating Sport in Scotland during the Late
Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, Edinburgh, 1962.
- Guise, H. Great Victorian Engravings, London, Zodiac, 1981.
- Hadjinicolaou, Art History and Class Struggle, London, Pluto, 1978.
N.
- Hagnal, J. Landseer and his world, Sheffield, Mappin Art Gallery
Exhibition Catalogue, 1972.

General Bibliography

- Haldane, A.R.B. The Drove Roads of Scotland, London, Nelson, 1952.
- Halevy, E. A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century : Volume One, England in 1815, London, 1964.
- Hall, S. "Cultural Studies: two paradigms" pp.19-42 in Bennett, T., Martin, G., Mercer, C. & Woollacott, J. (eds), Culture, Ideology and Social Process, London, Batsford Academic, 1981.
- Hamerton, P.G. A Painter's Camp in the Highlands and Thoughts about Art, 2 Vols, Cambridge, 1862.
- Hamlyn, R. "Perhaps the public was right", Antique Collector, 53, February, 1982, pp.46-48.
- Handley, J. Scottish Farming in the Eighteenth Century, London, 1957.
- Hardie, W. Scottish Painting 1837-1939, London, Studio Vista, 1976.
- Harris Museum
A Art Gallery British Sporting Paintings, Preston, Exhibition Catalogue, 1943.
- Harris, M. Cultural Materialism, New York, 1979.
- Harris, R.W. Romanticism and the Social Order 1780-1830, London, Blandford Press, 1969.
- Harrison, B. "Animals and the state in Nineteenth Century England", English Historical Review, LXXXVIII, 1973, pp.786-820.
- Harrison, J.F.C. Living and Learning 1790-1960, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961;

General Bibliography

- Early Victorian Britain 1832-1851, Glasgow, Fonatana, 1979.
- Harvey, A.D. Britain in the Early Nineteenth Century, London, Batsford, 1978.
- Harvie, C. Scotland and Nationalism, Scottish Society and Politics, 1770-1977, London, Allen & Unwin, 1977.
- Harvie, C., Industrialisation and Culture: 1830-1914, London, Martin, G & Macmillan, 1970
Scharf, A. (eds)
- Harwood, D. Love for Animals and How It Developed in Great Britain, New York, 1928.
- Haskell, F. "The manufacture of the past in nineteenth century painting", Past and Present, No.53, November, 1971, pp.109-120;
- Rediscoveries in Art: Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion and Collecting in England and France, Oxford, Phaidon, 1976.
- Haskell, T. "Capitalism and the origins of humanitarian sensibility", American Historical Review, Vol 90, No.2 pp.339-361 & No.3 pp.547-566, 1985.
- Hawes, L. Presences of Nature: British Landscape Painting, 1780-1830, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1982.
- Heathcote, R.L. "The artist as geographer: landscape painting as a source for geographical research", Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, South Australia Branch, Vol.73, 1972, pp.1-21.

General Bibliography

- Hefferman, J.A.W. The Recreation of Landscape, London, University Press of New England, 1984.
- Heffernan, M.J. The Politics of Literacy: Cultural Change and Political responses in Nineteenth Century Provincial France, Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Cambridge, 1986.
- Herrmann, L. British Landscape Painting of the Eighteenth Century, London, Faber, 1973;
- Paul and Thomas Sandby, London, Batsford, 1986.
- Hessey, J.A. The Artist as a Great Moral Teacher: A Sermon Delivered in St. Pauls Cathedral on Sunday, October 11, 1873 on the Occasion of the Funeral of Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A., London, John Murray, 1873.
- Heyck, T.W. The Transformation of Intellectual Life in Victorian England, Beckenham, Croom Helm, 1982.
- Hilton, T. The Pre-Raphaelites, London, Thames & Hudson, 1970.
- Hobhouse, H. Prince Albert. His Life and Work, London, Hamish Hamilton Ltd, 1983.
- Hobsbawm, E. Industry and Empire, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1968.
- Hobsbawm, E & Ranger, T. The Invention of Tradition, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Holloway, J. & Errington, L. The Discovery of Scotland: The Appreciation of Scottish Scenery Through Two Centuries of Painting, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland Exhibition Catalogue, 1978.

General Bibliography

- Holly, M.A. Panofsky and the foundations of art history, Cornell University Press, 1985.
- Honour, H. Romanticism, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1981.
- Hont, I & Ignatieff, M. Wealth and Virtue: The Shaping of the Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983.
(eds)
- Hooykaas, R. Religion and the Rise of Modern Science, Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press, 1973.
- Houghton, W.E. The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1957.
- House, H. "Man and nature: some artists views", In Ideas and Belfiefs of the Victorians London, British Broadcasting Corporation, 1949, pp.222-232.
- Howard, P.J. Changing Tastes in Landscape Art, Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Exeter, 1985.
- Howard, P.J. "Painters preferred places", Journal of Historical Geography, 11, 2, 1985, pp.138-154.
- Hughes, T. Prints for the Collector: British Prints from 1500 - 1900, London, Lutterworth, 1970.
- Hussey, C. The Picturesque: A Study in a Point of View, London, 1924.
- Irwin, D. Artist and Patron in the North East, 1700-1860, Aberdeen, Aberdeen Art Gallery Exhibition Catalogue, 1975.

General Bibliography

- Irwin, D & F. Scottish Artists at Home and Abroad 1700-1900, London, Faber & Faber, 1975.
- Jackson, J.B. "The meanings of landscape", Kulturgeografie, 88, 1964, pp.47 - 51.
- Jackson, P. "A plea for cultural geography", Area, 12, 1980, pp.110-113.
- James, L. A Chronology of the Construction of Britain's Railways 1778 - 1855, London, 1983.
- James, L. Print and People 1819 - 1851, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1976.
- James, T.E. The Development of the Law Relating to Children in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of London, 1957.
- Januszczak, W. "With blood on his palette", Guardian, 10th February, 1982, p.11.
- Johnson, E.D.H. "Victorian prints and the urban milieu", pp.449-474, in Dyos a Wolff, M (eds), The Victorian City: Images and Realities, Vol.2, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973.
- Johnson, H.J.M. British Emigration Policy 1815-1830: Shovelling Out Paupers, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1972.
- Johnson. L. The Cultural Critics: From Matthew Arnold to Raymond Williams, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979.
- Jordanova, L.J. & Porter, R.S.(eds) Images of the Earth, Chalfont St. Giles, British Society for the History of Science, 1979.

General Bibliography

- Keith, W.J. The Rural Tradition, Toronto, 1974.
- Kenner, H. "Decoding Roland Barthes", Harpers Magazine, 1563, 1980, pp.68 - 71.
- Kitteredge, G.L. Witchcraft in Old and New England, (Originally published London, 1929) Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass., 1972 Edition.
- Kitson, M. "Measure of success", Times Literary Supplement, 17th February, 1978, p.210.
- Kitson-Clark, The Making of Victorian England, (Originally published 1962), London, Methuen & Co, 1965.
- Klaits, J & B. Animals and Man in Historical Perspective, New York, 1974.
- Klein, R. "Images of the self: New York and Paris", Partisan Review, Vol. 40 , 1973, pp.294-301.
- Klingender, F. Animals in Art and Thought to the End of the Middle Ages, Cambridge (Mass), M.I.T. Press, 1971. (Ed. Antal, E. & Harman, J.);
- Art and the Industrial Revolution, (Edited and revised by A. Elton) St. Albans, Paladin, 1975.
- Knight, C.R. "What are they thinking: Key to an understanding of animal psychology and the soul of animal art", Natural History, Vol.41, February, 1938, pp.85-92.
- Knoepflmacher, U.C. & Tennyson, G.B. Nature and the Victorian Imagination, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1978.
- (eds)

General Bibliography

- Kroeber, K. "Constable and Wordsworth: the ecological movement of romantic art", Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, Vol.34, 1971, pp.377-386;
- Romantic Landscape Vision: Constable and Wordsworth, University of Wisconsin Press, 1975.
- Kuhms, R. "Criticism and the problem of intention", The Journal of Philosophy, Vol LVII, No.1, January, 1960, pp.5-23.
- Lafferty, M.L. The Landscape Art of Sir Walter Scott: Scenic Description in Selected Waverley Novels, Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1970.
- Lambourne, L. An Introduction to Victorian Genre Painting, London, Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1982.
- Landseer, E. Works relating to:
- Sketches by in Field, 31st December, 1921, pp.844-5.
- Deer Stalking in the Highlands, fol. London, n.d.
- Dog Life, London, 1875;
- "Artists every child should know", American Childhood, Vol.12, November, 1926, pp.40-41;
- "Landseer revival", Connoisseur, (American Edition), Vol.139, June, 1957, p.246;
- "Landseer in Philadelphia", Apollo, Vol.114, November, 1981, pp.342-33;
- "Landseer in London", In Britain, February, 1982, pp.27-29.

General Bibliography

- Article on "Man Proposes, God Disposes", Times Higher Education Supplement, 15th June, 1984, p.6.
- Lane, H. The Wild Boy of Aveyron, St. Albans, Paladin, 1979.
- Lane, M. Structuralism: A Reader, London, 1970.
- Lansby, C. "Gynaecology, pornography and the antivivisection movement", Victorian Studies, Spring, 1985, pp.413-437.
- Lauder, T.D. An Account of the Great Floods of August 1829 in the Province of Moray and the Adjoining Districts, Edinburgh, (Originally published 1830), Second Edition, 1873.
- Laver, J. English Sporting Prints, London, 1970.
- Lavers, A. "A mode of knowledge", Times Literary Supplement, No.3829, 1975, p.878;
- Roland Barthes: Structuralism and After, London, Methuen, 1982.
- Leighly, J. "Some comments on contemporary geographic method", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 27, 3, 1937, pp.125-141.
- Lemos, J.T. "Little studies of great pictures", Normal Instructor and Primary Plans, Vol.32, May, 1923, pp.42-43;
- "Art and society", Sociological Review, Vol.14, July, 1922, pp.225-27.
- Lenman, B. An Economic History of Scotland, London, Batsford, 1981;

General Bibliography

- Integration, Enlightenment and Industrialisation in Scotland, 1745-1832, London, Edward Arnold, 1981.
- Lennie, C. "An artist in a comfortable trap", The Times, 23rd September, 1973, p.12;
- Landseer: the Victorian Paragon, London, Hamish Hamilton, 1976;
- Review of Lennie, C. (1976), Victorian Studies, 21, 3, 1978, pp.412-413.
- Levitt, I. & Smout, T.C. The State of the Scottish Working Class in 1843: A Statistical and Spatial Enquiry Based on the Data from the Poor Law Commission Reports of 1844, Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press, 1979.
- Ley, D & Samuels, M. (eds) Humanistic Geography: Prospects and Problems, London, Croom Helm, 1978.
- Lindsay, M. The Eye is Delighted: Some Romantic Travellers in Scotland, London, 1971.
- Linzey, A. Animal Rights, London, S.C.M. Press, 1976.
- Llewellyn, B. "The Victorian renaissance", Connoisseur, 210, August, 1979, pp.236-9.
- Loftie, W.J. Landseer and Animal Painting in England, London, 1891.
- Longman, L.D. "The concept of psychical distance", Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, VI, No.1, September 1947, pp.31-36.

General Bibliography

- Lovejoy, A.O. The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea, Cambridge (Mass), Harvard University press, 1948.
- Lowenthal, D. The Past is a Foreign Country, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Lowenthal, D & Prince, H. "The English landscape", Geographical Review, 54, 3, 1964, pp.309-46;
- "English landscape tastes", Geographical Review, 55, 2, 1965, pp.186-222.
- Lukacs, G. The Historical Novel, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1981.
- Lynam, S. Humanity Dick: A Biography of Richard Martin, M.P. 1754-1833, London, Hamish Hamilton, 1975.
- MacCormack, C & Strathern, M (eds) Nature, Culture and Gender, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- McDougal, S. Sir Edwin Landseer, London, 1903.
- McElroy, D.D. Scotland's Age of Improvement: A Survey of Eighteenth Century Literary Clubs and Societies, Washington, Pullman, 1969.
- McLennan, G. Marxism and the Methodologies of History, London, Verso, 1981.
- McMullen, R. "The rear guard of the avant garde", Horizon, 1975, Pt.2, pp.32-37.
- Mackinder, H.J. "Geography, an art and a philosophy", Geography, Vol.27, 1942, pp.122-30.

General Bibliography

- Mackworth-Young, Sir R. "The Royal Archives, Windsor Castle", Archives, Vol.XIII, No. 59, Spring 1978, pp.115-130
- Macmillan, D. Painting in Scotland, Oxford, Phaidon, 1986.
- Macnayr, J. A Guide from Glasgow, To Some of the Most Remarkable Scenes in the Highlands of Scotland, and to the Falls of Clyde, Glasgow, 1797.
- Mannings, D. "Panofsky and the interpretation of pictures", British Journal of Aesthetics, Vol.13, 1973, pp.146-162.
- Manson, J. Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A., London, 1902.
- Marcus, S. The Other Victorians, London, 1964.
- Marcuse, H. "Art as a form of reality", New Left Review, No.74, August, 1974, pp.51-58;

The Aesthetic Dimension, London, Macmillan, 1979.
- Marshall, A. "In the picture", New Statesman, 14th April, 1978, p.495.
- Martine, R. A Royal Tradition: the Queen and Her Family in Scotland, Edinburgh, Mainstream Publishing, 1986.
- Marx, K. The German Ideology, (ed). C.J. Arthur, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1977.
- Marx, K. & Engels, F. On Literature and Art, Moscow, Progress, 1976.
- Matteson, L.R. Apocalyptic Themes in British Romantic Landscape Painting, Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of California, 1975.

General Bibliography

- Matthews, L.G. "Statesman of pharmacy. Jacob Bell 1810-1859", The Chemist and Druggist, 6th June, 1959, pp.606-613.
- May, J.A. Kant's Concept of Geography and its Relation to Recent Geographical Thought, Toronto, University of Toronto Dept. of Geography Research Publication No.4, 1970.
- Mayhew, H. London Labour and London Poor (4 vols), (Originally published 1861-62), reprinted , London, F. Cassell, 1967.
- Meadows, P. & M. "The social determination of art", Sociology and Social Research, Vol.26, March, 1942, , pp.310-313.
- Meek, R.L. "The Scottish contribution to Marxist sociology", pp.34-50 in, Meek, R.L., Economics, Ideology & Other Essays, London, Chapman & Hall, 1967.
- Melly, G. "Victorian aspirations", New Society, 27th July, 1978, pp.196-197.
- Melville, R. "Exhibition in the Diploma Gallery at Burlington House", Architectural Review, Vol.130, July, 1961, p.58.
- Merriman, J.D. "The other Arthurians in Victorian England", Philosophical Quarterly, 56, 1977, pp.249-53.
- Merz, J.T. A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century, (4 Vols) London, Blackwood, 1912
- Midgley, M. "Concept of beastiness", Philosophy, 48, 1973, pp.111 ff;
Animals and Why they Matter, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1983.

General Bibliography

- Mikesell, M.W. "Landscape" in International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Vol 8, 1968, New York, pp.575-80;
- "Cultural geography" in Progress in Human Geography, Vol.1, No.3, 1977.
- Miles, R. "A dealer discusses Landseer", Antique Collector, 46, February, 1975, pp.36-7;
- "Why Victorian?", Antique Collector, 51, August, 1980, p.83.
- Millar, D. Queen Victoria's Life in the Scottish Highlands as Depicted by her Watercolour Artists, London, Philip Wilson, 1985.
- Mingay, G (ed) The Victorian Countryside, (2 Vols) London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981.
- Minto, C.S. Victorian and Edwardian Scotland from Old Photographs, London, Batsford, 1970.
- Mitichison, R. "Nineteenth Century Scottish Nationalism" in Mitichison, R. (ed.), The Roots of Nationalism: Studies in Northern Europe, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1980.
- Money, E. "Did you order a lion Sir Hedwin?", Contemporary Review, 240, April, 1982, pp.204-07.
- Monkhouse, W.C. Pictures by Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A. with Descriptions, London, 1878;
- The Studies of Sir Edwin Landseer with a History of his Art Life, London, 1878.

General Bibliography

- Monro, G.G., Scottish Art and National Encouragement Containing a View of Existing Controversies and Transactions During the Last Twenty Seven Years Relative to Art in Scotland, Edinburgh, 1846.
- Moore, C. "Towards a sociology of art: symposium", Sociological Review, Vol.20, April, 1928, pp.105-30.
- Moore, J. A Selection of Views in Scotland engraved by, and under the direction of J. Landseer, London, 1794.
- Morgan, P. "From death to a view: The hunt for the Welsh past in the romantic period", pp.43-100, in Hobsbawm, E & Ranger, T., The Invention of Tradition, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Morris, E.S. "John Naylor and other collectors of modern painting in Nineteenth Century Britian", pp.72-119 in Annual Report and Bulletin of the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, V, 1974-75.
- Morris, R.J. Class and Class Consciousness in the Industrial Revolution: 1780-1850, London, Macmillan, 1979.
- Mortimer, R. "Victorian painters and their times", New Statesman & Nation, Vol.23, 25th April, 1942, p.275.
- Moss, A.W. Valient Crusade: The History of the R.S.P.C.A., London, Cassell, 1961.
- Mueller, J.H. "Is art the product of its age?", Social Forces, Vol.13, 1935, pp.367-75.
- "Meaning and the evolution of art in society", American Sociological Review, Vol.10, August, 1945, pp.495-503.

General Bibliography

- Mukerjee, R. "Social disguise as the principle of art", Sociology and Social Research, Vol.30, Sept-Oct, 1945, pp.177-184;
- "The sociological approach to art", Sociology and Social Research, Vol.30, January, 1946, pp.177-184.
- Mullaly, T. "The dark side to Landseer", Daily Telegraph, 13th February, 1982, p.9.
- Munhall, E. "The animal artist", Landseer art review, Du Kunstz, 491, 1982, pp.84-85.
- Munsche, P.B. Gentlemen and Poachers: the English Game Laws 1671-1831, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Nadel, I.B. & Schwarzbach, T.S. Victorian Artists and the City: A Collection of Critical Essays, Oxford, Pergamon, 1980.
- Nash, R. Wilderness and the American Mind, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1967.
- National Gallery of Scotland Paintings and Drawings by Sir David Wilkie, Edinburgh, Exhibition Catalogue, 1958;
- Master Class: Robert Scott Lauder and His Pupils, Edinburgh, Exhibition Catalogue, 1983.
- National Library of Scotland Thomas Carlyle, 1795-1881, Edinburgh, Exhibition, Catalogue, 1981
- Neale, R.S. Class in English History 1680-1850, Oxford, Blackwell, 1982;

General Bibliography

- "Cultural Materialism", Social History, 9, 2, 1984, pp.199-215.
- Neve, C. "The escape from Monkeyana: Landseer reassessed", Country Life, 151, 24th August, 1972, pp.448-9.
- "Struggles for a royal likeness", Country Life, Vol.161, 31st March, 1977, pp.784-785.
- Newte, T. A Tour in England and Scotland in 1785 by an English Gentleman, London, G.G.J. & J. Robinson, 1788.
- Nicholls, D. "Nineteenth-century English History: Materials for Teaching and Study (Great Britain)", Victorian Studies, Vol XIX, No.3, March 1976, pp.345-377.
- Nicolson, M.J. Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite, New York, Cornell University Press, 1959.
- Noakes, A. Sportsmen in a Landscape, London, 1954.
- Novak, B. Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting 1825-1875, London, Thames & Hudson, 1980.
- Nowell-Smith, G. Antonio Gramsci: Selections from Cultural Writings, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1953.
- Nupend Gallery Landscape and the Animal: An Exhibition of English Paintings of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, Lower Nupend Gallery, Cradley (Warcs) Exhibition Catalogue, 1970.
- O'Donoghue, Y. William Roy 1726-1790. Pioneer of the Ordnance Survey, London, British Library, 1977.

General Bibliography

- Ogden, J.T. "From spatial to aesthetic distance in eighteenth century", Journal of the History of Ideas, XXXV, No.1, Jan- March, 1974, pp.63-78.
- Okum, H. "Ossian in painting", Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, Vol.30, 1967, pp.327-356.
- Oldroyd, D. Darwinian Impacts: An Introduction to the Darwinian Revolution, Milton Keynes, Open University Press, 1980.
- Olwig, K. The Morphology of a Symbolic Landscape: A Geosophical Case Study of the Transformation of Denmark's Jutland Heath circa 1750-1950, Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Minnesota, 1977;
- Nature's Ideological Landscape, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1984.
- Oppe, P. "Art" pp.99-176 in, Young, G.M. (ed), Early Victorian England 1830-1865, Vol 2, London, 1951.
- Ormond, R. "Landseer: the Victorian Paragon", Book Review, Apollo, 104, 174, pp.148-149;
- Sir Edwin Landseer, London, Thames & Hudson, 1981.
- Orr, W. Deer Forests, Landlords and Crofters: The Western Highlands in Victorian and Edwardian Times, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1982.
- Paget, G. "Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A.: How are the mighty fallen", Apollo, April, 1949, pp.99-102.
- Panofsky, E. Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance, New York, (Originally published 1939) Harper & Row, 1972.

General Bibliography

- Meaning in the Visual Arts, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1970.
- Parry, M.L. & Slater, T.R. The Making of the Scottish Countryside, Beckenham, Croom Helm, 1980.
- Passmore, J. Man's Responsibility for Nature, London, (1974) reprinted, Duckworth, 1980;
- "The treatment of animals", Journal of the History of Ideas, 36, 1975, pp.196-198.
- Patterson, J.H. "The novelist and his region: Scotland through the eyes of Sir Walter Scott", Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol. 81, 1965.
- Paulson, R. Literary Landscape: Turner and Constable, New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 1982.
- Paviere, S.H. A Dictionary of British Sporting Painters, Leigh on Sea, 1965.
- Pearsall, R. The Worm in the Bud: The World of Victorian Sexuality, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1969.
- Pennant, T. A Tour in Scotland, MDCCLXIX, London, 1774.
- Pevsner, N. The Englishness of English Art, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1956.
- Philadelphia Museum of Art. Romantic Art in Britain: Paintings and Drawings 1760 - 1860, Philadelphia, 1968.
- Philipson, N. "The bonny side of Scotland", Times Literary Supplement, 10th November, 1978, p.1310.

General Bibliography

- Phillips, J. Prince Albert and the Victorian Age, Cambridge,
(ed.) Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Phillipson, Scotland in the Age of Improvement, Edinburgh,
N.J. & Edinburgh University Press, 1970.
Mitchison, R. (eds)
- Piaget, J. Structuralism, London, 1971.
- Piehler, P. The Visionary Landscape: a study in medieval allegory,
London, Edward Arnold, 1971.
- Piper, D. Painting in England 1500-1880, Harmondsworth, Penguin,
1965;
- "Landseer: the Victorian Paragon", Book Review, Times
 Literary Supplement, 3878, 1976, p.847.
- Playfair, R.W. Innovations in the Theory and Practice of British
 Landscape Painting circa.1800, Unpublished M.Litt thesis,
University of Edinburgh, 1973.
- Plekhanov, G. Art and Social Life, London, 1953.
- Plowden, A The Young Victoria, London, Weldenfeld & Nicolson,
1981.
- Pocock, D.C.D "The paradox of humanistic geography", Area, 15, No.4,
1983, pp.355-358.
- Podro, M. The Critical Historians of Art, New Haven, Yale
University Press, 1982.
- Pointon, M.R. History of Art, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1986.
- Polson, A. Highland Folklore, Edinburgh, 1930.

General Bibliography

- Porter, R. & Teich, M. (eds) The Enlightenment in National Context, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Poulet, G. "Timelessness and Romanticism", Journal of the History of Ideas, 15, 1954, pp.3-22.
- Prince, H.C. "Landscape and painting", Geography, Vol.69, 1984, pp.3-18.
- London, Print Association A Few Words on Art containing a short history of the Print Sellers Association, London, 1881.
- Procter, I. Masters of British Nineteenth Century Art: Landseer to Whistler, London, Dobson, 1961.
- Rader, M. "Marx's interpretation of art and aesthetic value", British Journal of Aesthetics, July, 1967, pp.237-249.
- Raphael, M. Proudhon, Marx, Picasso: Trois Etudes sur la Sociologie de l' Art, Paris, Editions - Excelsior, 1933.
- Redgrave, R. A Catalogue of the Pictures, Drawings, Etchings etc in the British Fine Art Collections Being for the Most Part the Gift of John Sheepshanks Esq, London, 1859.
- Reed, M. The Georgian Triumph 1700-1830, St. Albans, Paladin, 1984.
- Rees, A.L. & Borzello, F. The New Art History, London, Camden Press, 1986.
- Rees, R. "The scenery cult: Changing landscape tastes over three centuries", Landscape, Vol.19, Np.3, 1971, pp.39-44;

General Bibliography

- "Geography and landscape painting: an introduction to a neglected field", Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol.89, 1973, pp.148-57;
- "The taste for mountain scenery", History Today, Vol.35, No.5, 1975, pp.305-312;
- "Images of the Prarie", Canadian Geographer, Vo.20, 1976, pp.259-77;
- "John Constable and the art of Geography", Geographical Review, Vol.66, 1976, pp.59-72;
- "Landscape in art" in Butzer, K.W. (ed), Dimensions of Human Geography: Essays on Some Familiar and Neglected Themes, Chicago, University of Chicago, Dept. of Geography research Paper 186, 1978;
- "Historical links between cartography and art", The Geographical Review, Vol.70, No.1, 1980 pp.60-78;
- "Constable, Turner and views of nature in the nineteenth century", The Geographical Review, Vol.72, No.3, 1982, pp.253-269.
- Regan, T. Animal Rights and Human Obligations, Englewood Cliffs
Singer, P. N.J., Prentice Hall, 1976.
- Relph, T. Rational Landscapes and Humanistic Geography,
Beckenham, Croom Helm, 1981.
- Rendall, J. The Origins of the Scottish Enlightenment 1707 - 1776,
London, Macmillan, 1978.
- Reynolds, G. "From thoroughbred to mongrel", Times Literary
Supplement, 19th February, 1982, p.187;

General Bibliography

- Richards, E. A History of the Highland Clearances: Vol 1. Agrarian Transformation and the Evictions 1746 - 1886, London, Croom Helm, 1982.
- A History of the Highland Clearances: Vol. 2. Emigration, Protest, Reasons, Beckenham, Croom Helm, 1985.
- Ritchie, L. Scott and Scotland, London, 1835.
- Ritvo, H. The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age, London, Harvard University Press, 1987.
- Roberts, H.E. "Exhibition and review: the periodical press and the Victorian art exhibition system", pp.79-107 in Shattock, J & Wolff, M (eds), The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings, Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1982.
- Robson, R. Ideas and Institutions in Victorian Britain, London, G. Bell, 1967.
(ed)
- Rodee, H.D. Scenes of Rural and Urban Poverty in Victorian Painting and their Development. 1850-1890, Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Columbia University , 1975;
- "The dreary landscape as a background for scenes of rural poverty in Victorian paintings", Art Journal, Vol.XXXVI, No.4, 1977, pp.307-313;
- "France and England: some mid Victorian views of one anothers painting", Gazette de Beaux Arts, Vol VI (e) XCI, January, 1978, pp.39-48.
- Roe, F.G., Sporting Prints of the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries, London, 1927.

General Bibliography

- Rollin, B.E. Animal Rights and Human Morality, New York, 1981.
- Rose, M.E. The Relief of Poverty: 1834-1914, London, Macmillan, 1972.
- Rosenthal, M. British Landscape Painting, Oxford, Phaidon, 1982;

Constable: The Painter and His Landscape, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1983;

"Approaches to landscape painting", Landscape research, Vol.9, No.3, 1984, pp.2-13.

Constable, London, Thames & Hudson, 1986.
- Rosinger, K.E. "What shall we look for in art?", The Journal of Philosophy, Vol.XXXIV, No.12, June, 1937, pp.309-322.
- Ross, I.S. Lord Kames and the Scotland of his Day, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1972.
- Royal Academy, Sir Edwin Landseer, Exhibition Catalogue, London, 1961.
London.
- Ruskin, J. The Works of John Ruskin, Library Edition, 39 Volumes edited by Cook, E.T. & Wedderburn, A., London, George Allen & Unwin, 1903-1912;

Unto this Last & Other Essays, Edited by Rhys, E., London, John Dent & Sons, 1936.
- Russell, C. Science and Social Change 1700 - 1900, London, Macmillan, 1982.
- Russell, J. "Landseer: Ormond, R", book review, New York Times Review, Vol.86, No.49, 1982, p.80.

General Bibliography

- Salt, H.S. Animal Rights Considered in Relation to Social Progress,
(Originally published, 1892), London, Centaur Press,
1980.
- Samuels, J. "Victorians at home", Antique Collector, 49, December
1978, pp.78-81.
- Sandby, P. A Collection of Views in England, Wales, Scotland and
Ireland, 2 Vols, London, 1782-83.
- Sanders, A. The Historical Novel, London, Macmillan, 1978.
- Sayer, A. "Epistemology and conceptions of people and nature in
geography", Geoforum, 10, 1979, pp.19-44.
- Scott, L. Sir Edwin Landseer, London, 1902.
- Scott, Sir W. Letters on Demonologie and Witchcraft, London, 1830.
- Scottish The Scottish Tourist and Itinerary; or; A Guide to the
Tourist Scenery and Antiquities of Scotland and the Western
Isles, Edinburgh 1830.
- The Tourist's Manual, or An Account of the Principal
Pleasure Towns in Scotland, Edinburgh, 1832.
- Secord, J.A. "King of Siluria: Roderick Murchison and the imperial
theme in nineteenth century British geology", Victorian
Studies, Vol.25, No.4, Summer, 1982, pp.413--442.
- Sewter, A.C. "Possibilities of a sociology of art", Sociological
Review, Vol.27, October, 1935, pp.441-53.
- Shattock, J. & The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings,
Wolff, M. Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1982.
(eds)

General Bibliography

- Shaw, L. The History of the Province of Moray (3 Vols), Glasgow, 1882.
- Sheely, J. The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past: The Celtic Revival, 1830-1930, London, Thames & Hudson, 1980.
- Shepard, P. Man in the Landscape: A Historic view of the Esthetics of Nature, New York, Knopf, 1967.
- Shipp, H. "Challenge from the Royal Academy: Catalogue cover design of the baying stag from Landseer's 'The Challenge'", Apollo, Vol.74, April, 1961, p.94.
- Shepherd, N.M. "Landseer in Scotland", Scotland's Magazine, 5, 1947, pp.33-37.
- Shugg, W. "Humanitarianism in the early animal experiments of the Royal Society", Annals of Science, Vol.24, No.3, 1968, pp.227-238.
- Siltzer, F. The Story of British Sporting Prints, London, 1925.
- Simo, M.L. Loudon and the Landscape: A Study of Rural and Metropolitan Improvements, 1803-1843, Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Yale University, 1976.
- Singer, P. Animal Liberation, New York, 1975.
- Singer, P. & Regan, T (eds) Animal Rights and Human Obligations, New York, Prentice Hall, 1976.
- Skine, H. Three Successive Tours in the North of England, Interspersed with Observations on the State of Society, and the Manners and Customs of the People, London, 1795.

General Bibliography

- Smith, B. "Art and the environment in Australia", Geographical Magazine, Vol.19, 1943-44, pp.389-409;
- European Vision and the South Pacific 1768-1850: A Study in the History of Art and Ideas, (Originally published, Oxford, 1960). Second Edition, New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 1985.
- Smith, E.L. "Landseer reassessed", Illustrated London News, 270, February, 1982, pp.48-49.
- Smout, T.C. "Tours in the Scottish Highlands from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries", Northern Scotland, Vol.5, No.2, 1983, pp.99-122.
- S.S.P.C.A. One Hundred Years Working for Animals, Edinburgh, Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, 1939.
- Solkin, D. The Landscape of Reaction, London, Tate Gallery Exhibition Catalogue, 1982.
- Spurling, J. "Neither sadism nor sentiment", New Statesman, 19th February, 1982, p.32.
- Staley, A.(ed) The Royal Academy (1837-1901) Revisited: Victorian paintings from the Forbes Magazine Collection, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975.
- Stanford, J.K. "Blundsbust in Glenagony", Blackwood's Magazine, Vol.282, August, 1957, pp.97-119.
- Steegman, J. Victorian Taste, Cambridge (Mass), M.I.T. Press, 1971.
- Stephens, F.G. The Early Works of Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A., London, Bell & Dalby, 1869;

General Bibliography

- The Landseer Gallery: A Series of 20 Autotype Reproductions of the Engravings after the Celebrated Early Paintings of Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A. with Memoir and Descriptions, London, 1871;
- Memoirs of Sir Edwin Landseer, London, 1874. Later republished as, Sir Edwin Landseer, London, 1880.
- Stevenson, J. Popular Disturbances in England, 1700-1870, London, Longman, 1979.
- Stevenson, J & Quinault, R. Popular Protest and Public Order, London, 1974.
- Stewart, W.G. Popular Superstitions and Festive Amusements of the Highlanders of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1823.
- Stoddart, D.R. "Humboldt and the emergence of scientific geography", in Alter, P. (ed) Humboldt, London, Heineman, 1985;
- On Geography, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1982.
- Storey, R. & Madden, L. Primary Sources for Victorian Studies: A Guide to the Location and Use of Unpublished Materials, London, Phillimore, 1977.
- Strong, R. And When Did You Last See Your Father?: The Victorian Painter and British History, London, Thames & Hudson, 1978.
- Sutton, D. "Ambiguities of Victorian art", Country Life, 130, 30th November, 1961, pp.1318-19;
- "The rediscovery of Landseer", Country Life, 129, 16th March, 1961, pp.572-4.

General Bibliography

- Synder, E.D. The Celtic Revival in English Literature 1760-1800,
Cambridge (Mass), Harvard University Press, 1923.
- Tanner, T. "Victorian painting in modern perspective", Connoisseur,
December, 1967, p.205.
- Taylor, B. Animal Painting in England from Barlow to Landseer,
Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1955.
- Taylor, J.R. "Landseer: The brutal sentimentalist", The Times, 16th
February, 1982, p.9.
- Taylor, R. Beyond Art: What Art Might Become If Freed From
Cultural Elitism, London, Harvester, 1981.
- Thacker, C. The Wildness Pleases: The Origins of Romanticism,
Beckenham, Croom Helm, 1983.
- Thody, P. Roland Barthes: A Conservative Estimate, London,
Macmillan, 1977.
- Thomas, K. Religion and the Decline of Magic, Harmondsworth,
Penguin, 1971;
- Man and the Natural World: Changing attitudes in
England 1500-1800, London, Allen Lane, 1983.
- Thompson, E.P. "Time, work discipline and industrial capitalism", Past
and Present, Vol.38, 1967, pp.56-97.
- Thompson, F. Victorian and Edwardian Highlands from Old Photographs,
London, Batsford, 1976.
- Thompson,
F.M.L. English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century,
London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963.

General Bibliography

- Thompson, W.I. At the Edge of History: Speculations on the Transformation of Culture, New York, Harper Row, 1979.
- Thomson, D. England in the Nineteenth Century, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1966.
- Thomson, D.S. The Gaelic Sources of Macpherson's Ossian, Aberdeen University Studies, No.130, Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd, 1951.
- Tillotson, K. Novels of the Eighteen-Forties, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1955.
- The Times. "Surprising aspects of Landseer's art", The Times, 28th February, 1961, p.15;
- "Landseer's reputation enlarged by Academy exhibition", The Times, 10th March, 1961, p.19.
- Timpanaro, S. On Materialism, London, Verso, 1975.
- Timperley, L.R.P. A Directory of Landownership in Scotland c.1770, Scottish Records Society N.S. No.5, Edinburgh, 1976.
- Tranter, N.G. The Queen's Scotland, London, Hodder, 1971.
- Treble, J.H. Urban Poverty in Britain: 1830-1914, London, Methuen, 1979.
- Trevor-Roper, H. "The invention of tradition: The Highland tradition of Scotland", pp.15-41 in, Hobsbawm, E & Ranger, T., The Invention of Tradition, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983.

General Bibliography

- Truitt, W.H. Social Theory and the Foundations of Aesthetic Culture: A Critique of and Contribution to the Marxian Theory of Art, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Boston University, 1969.
- Turnell, M. "The criticism of Roland Barthes", Encounter, Vol.26, February 1966, pp.30-36.
- Turner, F.M. Between Science and Religion: the Reaction to Scientific Naturalism in late Victorian England, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1974;
- "The Victorian conflict between science and religion", Isis, 69, 1978, pp.356-76.
- Turner, J.C. Kindness to Animals: The Animal Protection Movement in England and America During the Nineteenth Century, Ph.D thesis, Harvard University, 1975;
- Reckoning with the Beast: Animals, Pain and Humanity in the Victorian Mind, Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1980.
- Usherwood, N. "A chill arena", Country Life, 171, 4th March, 1982, pp.536-38.
- Vaizey, M. "Landseer: animals are human", Sunday Times, 14th February, 1982, p.39.
- Vallance, H.A. The Highland Railway. The History of the Railways of the Scottish Highlands Vol.2, (Originally published 1938), London, David St. John Thomas, 1985.
- Vaughan, W. Romantic Art, London, Thames & Hudson, 1978.

General Bibliography

- Victoria, Mountain, Loch, Glen - Illustrating Our Life in the
Queen of Highlands from Paintings Executed for this Work by J.
Great Britain. Adam. With an Essay on the Characteristics of Scottish
Scenery by Rev. N. MacLeod, London, 1870.
- Vyvyen, J. In Pity and Anger: A Study of the Use of Animals in
Science, London, M. Joseph, 1969.
- Wagner, P. "The themes of cultural geography rethought",
Association of Pacific Coast Geographers Yearbook, 1975,
pp.7-14.
- Walvin, J. A Child's World: A Social History of English Childhood
1800-1914, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1982.
- Watson, F.J.B. "Canaletto and the English landscape", Geographical
Magazine, Vol.28, 1955-56, pp.603-610.
- Weeks, J. Sex, Politics and Society, London, Longman, 1981.
- Weisberg, G.P. "Sir Edwin Landseer: called by the wild", Art News,
(University of Pittsburg), Vol.81, No.3, 1982, pp.122-24.
- Whittet, G.S. "Exhibition at the Royal Academy's Diploma Gallery",
Studio, Vol.161, June, 1961, pp.228-29.
- Whittington, . The Military Survey of Scotland: A Critique, Historical
G. & Gibson, Geography Research Group research Paper No.18, July,
A.J.S. 1986.
- Whittle, T. Victoria and Albert at Home, London, 1980.
- Wiener, M.J. English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial
Spirit, 1850-1980, (Originally published, 1981),
Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1985.

General Bibliography

- Wilder, F.L. English Sporting Prints, London, 1974.
- Williams, R. "Culture is ordinary", Conviction, 1958;
- Culture and Society 1780-1950, (Originally published, 1957), Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1963;
- "Base and superstructure in Marxist cultural theory", New Left Review, Vol.82, November - December, 1973, pp.3-16;
- The Country and City, St. Albans, Paladin, 1973;
- Keywords, Glasgow, Fontana, 1976;
- "Problems of materialism", New Left Review, Vol.109, May - June, 1978, pp.3-16;
- Culture, Glasgow, Fontana, 1981.
- Wilmerdi, J. "Hawk and Heron", Studies in the History of Art, Vol.9, 1980, p.59.
- Wilson, A. "When decoding is encoding", Times Higher Education Supplement, 29th June, 1984, p.14.
- Wilson, M.I. "A man who loved beasts: J.F. Lewis, animal painter", Country Life, CLX, 23rd December, 1976, pp.1930-31;
- A Bibliography of Pre-Nineteenth Century Topographical Works including Facisimile Editions, Relating Chiefly to England, Scotland and Wales, London, 1977.
- Withers, C.J. "The geographical extent of Gaelic in Scotland 1698-1806", Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol.97, No.3, December, 1981, pp.130-139;

General Bibliography

- "The Scottish Highlands outlined: Cartographic evidence for the position of the Highland - Lowland boundary", Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol.98, No.3, December, 1982, pp.143-157;
- "The image of the Land: Scotland's geography through her languages and literature", Scottish Geographical Magazine, Vol.100, No.2, September, 1984, pp.81-95;
- The Cultural Transformation of Highland Scotland, Beckenham, Croom Helm, in press.
- Wohl, A.S (ed) The Victorian Family: Structure and Stresses, London, Croom Helm, 1978.
- Wood, A. Nineteenth Century Britain: 1815-1914, London, Longman, 1982.
- Wood, C. Dictionary of Victorian Painters, Woodbridge, Antique Collectors Club, 1971.
- Wood, J. "Landseer, Edwin: art review", Pantheon, Vol.40, No.2, 1982, pp.148-150.
- Wolff, J. The Social Production of Art, London, Macmillan, 1981;
- Aesthetics and the Sociology of Art, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1983.
- Yi-Fu-Tuan Man and Nature, Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Resource Papers No.10, Washington, 1971;
- Topophilia, Englewood Cliffs N.J., Prentice Hall, 1974;
- "Humanistic geography", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol.66, 1976, pp.266-76;

General Bibliography

Dominance and Affection: The Making of Pets, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1984.

Young, G.M. Early Victorian England, 1830-1865, 2 Vols, London, 1934;

Victorian England: Portrait of an Age, London, 1936;

"Scott and Historians", in Sir Walter Scott Lectures, 1946-48, Edinburgh, University of Edinburgh Press, 1949.

Younghusband, F. "Natural beauty and geographical science", Geographical Journal, Vol.56, 1920, pp.1-13.

Youngson, A.J. After the Forty Five, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1973.

Zaring, J. "The Romantic face of Wales", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol.67, 1977, pp.397-418.

Ziff, P. "On what a painting represents", The Journal of Philosophy, Vol.57, October, 1960, pp.647-54;

"Sociology of art", Times Literary Supplement, 26th May, 1961, p.325.

LOUGHBOROUGH
UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY
LIBRARY

AUTHOR/FILING TITLE

PRINGLE, T R

ACCESSION/COPY NO.

03287802

VOL. NO.

CLASS MARK

~~15 JAN 1993~~

-5 JUN 1998

LOAN COPY

003 2878 02



Loughborough University of Technology Library	
Date	Aug 89
Class	
Acc. No.	03287802

PROPHET OF THE HIGHLANDS: SIR EDWIN LANDSEER AND THE SCOTTISH
HIGHLAND IMAGE

VOLUME 2

PLATES

Abbreviations: R.A. : Year exhibited at the Royal Academy, London.

B.I. : Year exhibited at the British Institution, London.

Plate & page number:

1. PAUL SANDBY BONNINGTON LINN, LANARKSHIRE (c.1750)
Pen & water colour, 25.7 x 37.6 cm, National Gallery of Scotland.
2. ALEXANDER RUNCIMAN OSSIAN SINGING (c.1772)
Pen & brown wash, 34.3 x 49.2 cm, National Gallery of Scotland.
3. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER SIR WALTER SCOTT IN RHYMER'S GLEN (R.A. 1833)
Oil on canvas, 152 x 122 cm.
4. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER c.1860 (London Stereoscopic & Photographic
Company). Copyright reserved: Reproduced by the Gracious Permission
of Her Majesty The Queen.

5. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER THE HUNTING OF CHEVY CHASE (R.A. 1826)
Oil on canvas, 143 x 170.8 cm, Birmingham City Museum & Art Gallery.

6. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER HIGHLAND INTERIOR (R.A. 1831)
Oil on panel, 69.8 x 85 cm, private collection.

7. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER HIGHLAND BREAKFAST (R.A. 1834)
Oil on panel, 50.8 x 66 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum.

8. MEMORIAL TO EDWIN LANDSEER, ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, LONDON (1873)

9. WILLIAM COLLINS RUSTIC CIVILITY (R.A. 1833)
Oil on canvas, 45.7 x 61 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum.

10. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER THE STONEBREAKER (B.I. 1830)
Oil on panel, 45.8 x 58.5 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum.

11. JOHN EVERETT MILLAIS THE BLIND GIRL (R.A. 1856)
Oil on canvas, 81.3 x 62.2 cm, Birmingham City Museum & Art Gallery.

12. ERSKINE NICOL NOTICE TO QUIT (R.A. 1862)
Oil on canvas, 72 x 105 cm, private collection.

13. ERSKINE NICOL RENEWAL OF THE LEASE REFUSED (R.A. 1863)
Oil on canvas, 92 x 72 cm, private collection.

14. JACOB THOMPSON THE HOPE BEYOND (R.A. 1853)
Engraving after Thompson.

15. RICHARD REDGRAVE THE EMIGRANTS' LAST SIGHT OF HOME (R.A. 1859)
Oil on canvas, 67.9 x 98.4 cm, Tate Gallery.

16. THOMAS FAED LAST OF THE CLAN (R.A. 1865)
Oil on canvas, 145 x 183 cm, Glasgow City Art Gallery & Museum.

17. FORD MADDOX-BROWN LAST OF ENGLAND (R.A. 1855)
Oil on panel, 95 x 75 cm, Birmingham City Museum & Art Gallery.
18. JOHN R. REID HOMELESS AND HOMEWARD (R.A. 1882)
Engraving after Reid.
19. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER THE HIGHLAND DROVER'S DEPARTURE (R.A. 1835)
Oil on canvas, 125.8 x 191.2 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum.
20. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER THE OLD SHEPHERD'S CHIEF MOURNER (R.A. 1837)
Oil on panel, 45.8 x 61 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum.
21. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER CROSSING THE BRIDGE (R.A. 1837)
Oil on canvas, 35.5 cm x 160 cm, private collection.
22. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER THE TIRED REAPER (1824)
Oil on panel, 25.5 cm x 35 cm, private collection.
23. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER HARVEST IN THE HIGHLANDS (R.A. 1833)
& W. CALLCOTT Engraving by J.T. Willimore after Landseer &
Callcott, 1856.
24. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER QUEEN VICTORIA SKETCHING AT LOCH LAGGAN
(1847) Oil on panel, 34.1 x 49.5 cm. Copyright reserved: Reproduced
by the Gracious Permission of Her Majesty The Queen.
25. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER HIGHLANDER AND EAGLE (1850)
Oil on canvas, 51.1 x 67.9 cm. Copyright reserved: Reproduced by
the Gracious Permission of Her Majesty The Queen.
26. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER HIGHLAND LASSIE CROSSING A STREAM (1850)
Oil on canvas, 51.1 x 67.9 cm. Copyright reserved: Reproduced by
the Gracious Permission of Her Majesty The Queen.

27. ROYAL SPORTS ON HILL AND LOCH Engraving by W.H. Simmons after Landseer, 52.8 x 92 cm, 1874. Copyright reserved: Reproduced by the Gracious Permission of Her Majesty The Queen.
28. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER SKETCH FOR ROYAL SPORTS ON HILL AND LOCH (1850-51) Oil on canvas, 42.9 x 76.5 cm. Copyright reserved: Reproduced by the Gracious Permission of Her Majesty The Queen.
29. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER HIGHLAND LASSIE HERDING SHEEP (B.I. 1832) Engraving after Landseer by J. Burnett.
30. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER TETHERED RAMS (R.A. 1839) Oil on panel, 45 x 57.5 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum.
31. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER THE FORESTER'S FAMILY (R.A. 1849) Oil on canvas, 68.5 x 104 cm.
32. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER THE CHALLENGE (R.A. 1844) Oil on canvas, 96.5 x 211 cm, Duke of Northumberland.
33. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER RANDOM SHOT (R.A. 1848) Oil on canvas, 122 x 183 cm, Bury Art Gallery & Museum.
34. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER STRAY SHOT (1850) Mappin Art Gallery, Sheffield.
35. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER MONARCH OF THE GLEN (R.A. 1851) Oil on canvas, 163.8 x 169 cm, John Dewar & Sons Limited.
36. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER STAG AT BAY (R.A. 1846) Engraving by T. Landseer.
37. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER LAST RUN OF THE SEASON (R.A. 1851) Oil on canvas, 87.6 x 155.5 cm, private collection.

38. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER WAITING FOR A LOAD (1848)
Original chalk on card, Engraving by T. Landseer.
39. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER A GOODLY FREIGHT (1846)
Original chalk on card, Engraving by T. Landseer.
40. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER WELL PACKED (1847)
Original chalk on card, Engraving by T. Landseer.
41. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER THE GREALOGH (1857)
Original chalk on card, engraving by T. Landseer.
42. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER BLOOD (1852)
Original chalk on card, engraving by T. Landseer.
43. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER THE VENISON HOUSE (1845)
Original chalk on card, engraving by C.G. Lewis.
44. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER PRECIOUS TROPHIES (1857)
Original coloured chalk on card, engraving by J. Outrim.
45. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER OTTER HUNT (R.A. 1844)
Oil on canvas, 200 x 153.7 cm, Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
46. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER RICHARD MARTIN M.P. - THE MAN WITH A GOOD
HEART (Undated). Pen & ink sketch, 15 x 20 cm, Ashmolean Museum,
Oxford.
47. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER TAMING THE SHREW (R.A 1861)
Engraving by J. Stephenson, 52.7 x 87.6 cm, 1864. Copyright
reserved: Reproduced by the Gracious Permission of Her Majesty The
Queen.
48. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER MAN PROPOSES, GOD DISPOSES (R.A. 1864)
Oil on canvas, 91.4 x 243.8 cm, Royal Holloway College, London.

49. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER WILD CATTLE OF CHILLINGHAM PARK (R.A. 1867)
Oil on canvas, 228.5 x 156.3 cm, Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
50. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER DEER OF CHILLINGHAM PARK (R.A. 1867)
Oil on canvas, 228.5 x 156.3 cm, Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
51. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER THE CAT'S PAW (B.I. 1824)
Oil on panel, 75.6 x 69.8 cm, private collection.
52. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER THE MONKEY WHO HAD SEEN THE WORLD (R.A. 1827)
Oil on panel, 47 x 54.6 cm, Guildhall Art Gallery, London.
53. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER JACK IN OFFICE (R.A. 1833)
Original oil on panel, 50.2 x 66 cm. Engraving by C.G. Lewis, 1850.
54. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER HIGHLAND NURSES (R.A. 1856)
Engraving by T. Landseer.
55. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER FLOOD IN THE HIGHLANDS (R.A. 1860)
Oil on canvas, 198.5 x 311.2 cm, Aberdeen Museum & Art Gallery.
56. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER FLOOD IN THE HIGHLANDS (Detail 1)
Oil on canvas, 198.5 x 311.2 cm, Aberdeen Museum & Art Gallery.
57. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER FLOOD IN THE HIGHLANDS (Detail 2)
Oil on canvas, 198.5 x 311.2 cm, Aberdeen Museum & Art Gallery.
58. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER FLOOD IN THE HIGHLANDS (Detail 3)
Oil on canvas, 198.5 x 311.2 cm, Aberdeen Museum & Art Gallery.
59. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER FLOOD IN THE HIGHLANDS (Detail 4)
Oil on canvas, 198.5 x 311.2 cm, Aberdeen Museum & Art Gallery.

60. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER FLOOD IN THE HIGHLANDS (Detail 5)
Oil on canvas, 198.5 x 311.2 cm, Aberdeen Museum & Art Gallery.
61. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER THE HONOURABLE CAROLINE NORTON (1838)
Nottingham Castle Museum.
62. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER LORD WRIOTHESLEY RUSSELL (undated)
Reproduced with the permission of the Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement.
63. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER THE SHEPHERD'S PRAYER (R.A. 1845)
Engraving by T.L. Atkinson after Landseer, 55.3 x 11.4 cm, 1858.
64. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER THE BAPTISMAL FONT (R.A. 1872)
Oil on canvas, 187.5 x 167.6 cm. Copyright reserved: Reproduced by the Gracious Permission of Her Majesty The Queen.
65. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER THE LION AND THE LAMB (R.A. 1872)
Johannesburg City Art Gallery.
66. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER HAWKING IN THE OLDEN TIME (R.A. 1832)
Oil on canvas, 152.5 x 183 cm, Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood, London.
67. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER BOLTON ABBEY IN THE OLDEN TIME (R.A. 1834)
Oil on canvas, 155 x 193 cm, reproduced with permission of the Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement.
68. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER RENT DAY IN THE WILDERNESS (R.A. 1868)
Oil on canvas, 122 x 265.5 cm, National Gallery of Scotland.
69. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER FREE TRADE (1852)
Coloured chalk on buff paper, 59 x 87 cm, private collection.
70. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER PROTECTION (1852)
Coloured chalk on buff paper, 59 x 88 cm, private collection.

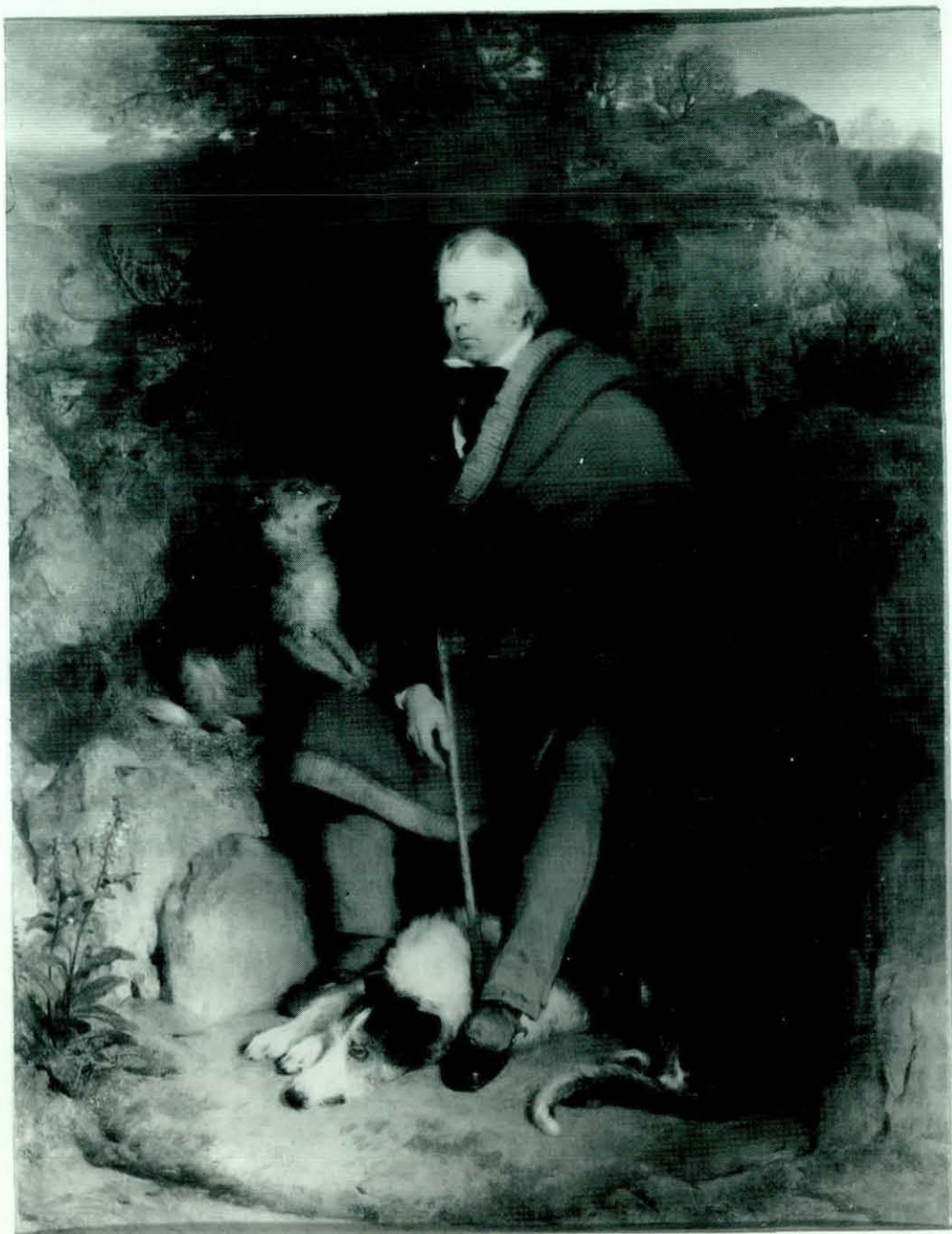


1. PAUL SANDBY BONNINGTON LINN, LANARKSHIRE (c.1750)
Pen & water colour, 25.7 x 37.6 cm, National Gallery of Scotland.



2. ALEXANDER RUNCIMAN OSSIAN SINGING (c.1772)

Pen & brown wash, 34.3 x 49.2 cm, National Gallery of Scotland.



3. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER SIR WALTER SCOTT IN RHYMER'S GLEN (R.A. 1833)
Oil on canvas, 152 x 122 cm.



4. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER c.1860 (London Stereoscopic & Photographic Company). Copyright reserved: Reproduced by the Gracious Permission of Her Majesty The Queen.



5. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER THE HUNTING OF CHEVY CHASE (R.A. 1826)
Oil on canvas, 143 x 170.8 cm, Birmingham City Museum & Art
Gallery.



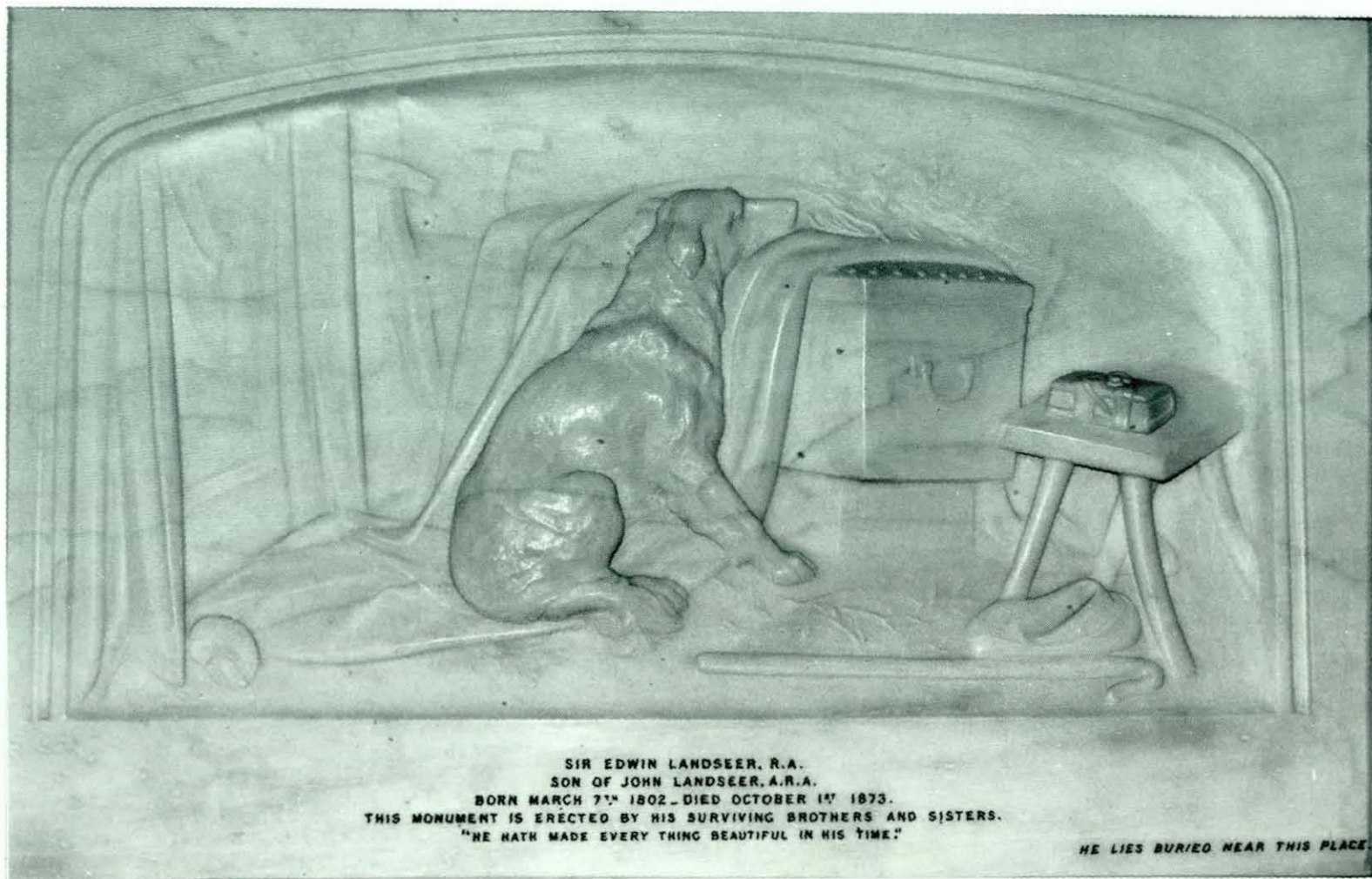
6. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER HIGHLAND INTERIOR (R.A. 1831)

Oil on panel, 69.8 x 85 cm, private collection.



7. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER HIGHLAND BREAKFAST (R.A. 1834)

Oil on panel, 50.8 x 66 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum.



8. MEMORIAL TO EDWIN LANDSEER, ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, LONDON (1873)

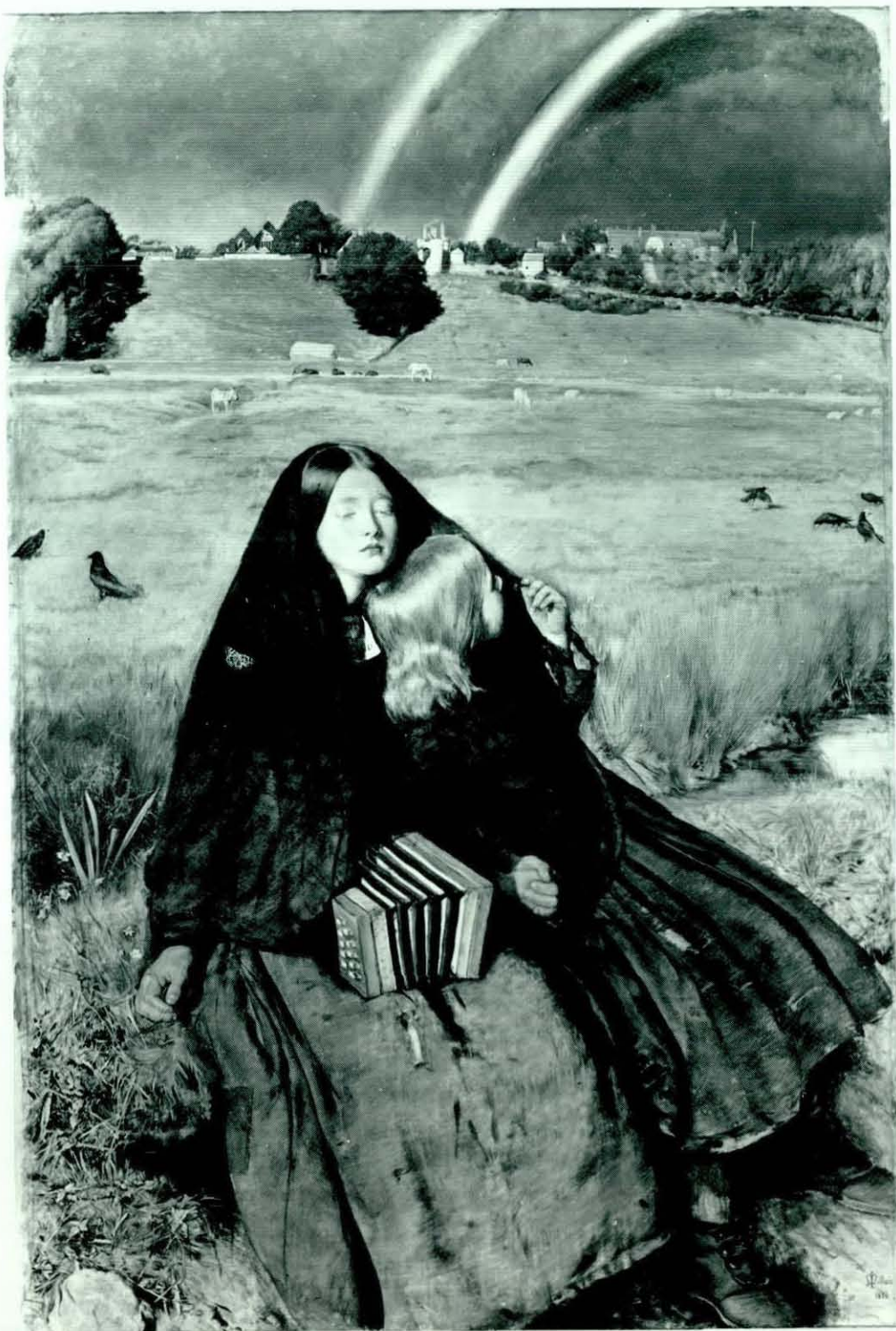


9. WILLIAM COLLINS RUSTIC CIVILITY (R.A. 1833)

Oil on canvas, 45.7 x 61 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum.

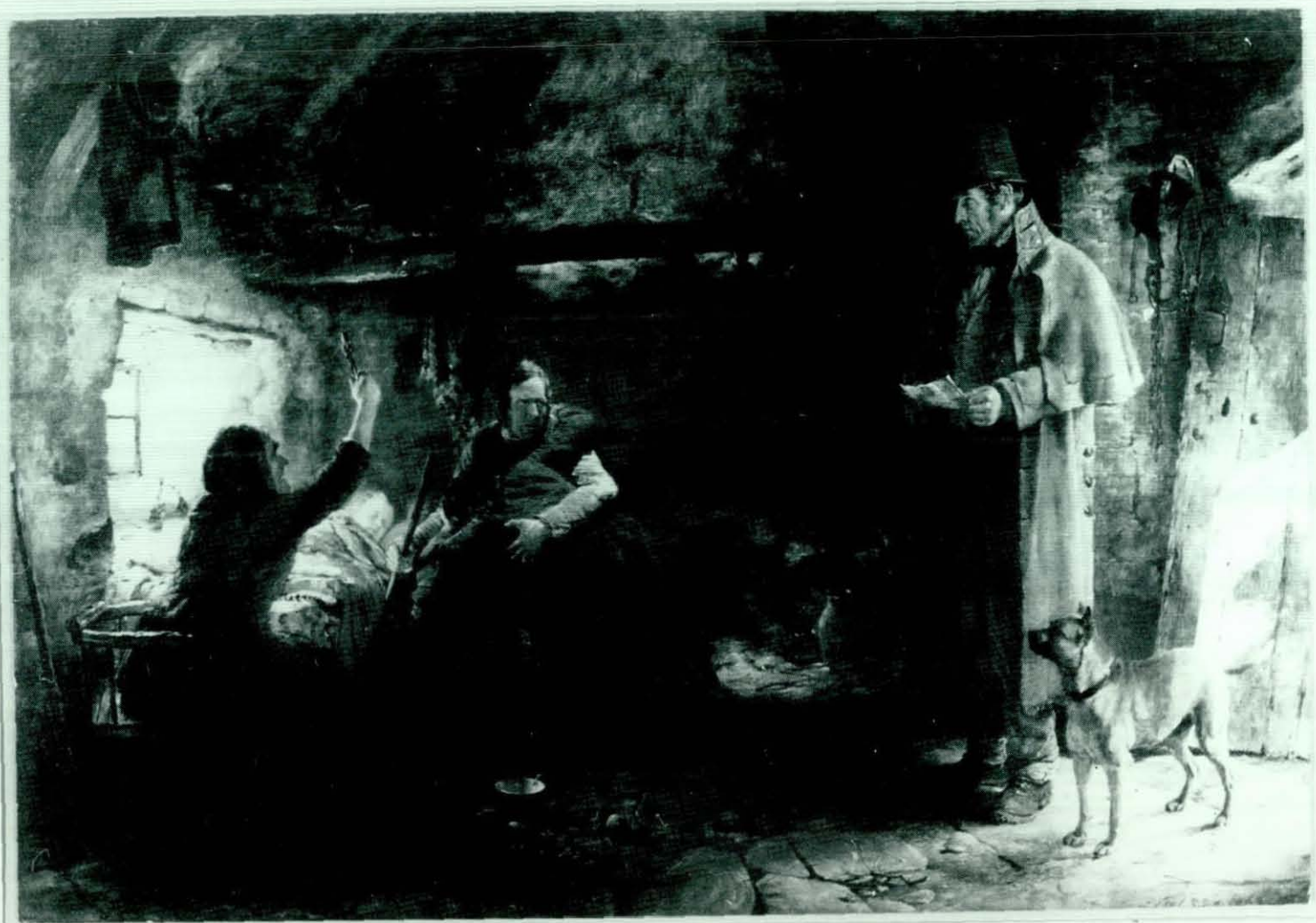


10. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER THE STONEBREAKER (B.I. 1830)
Oil on panel, 45.8 x 58.5 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum.

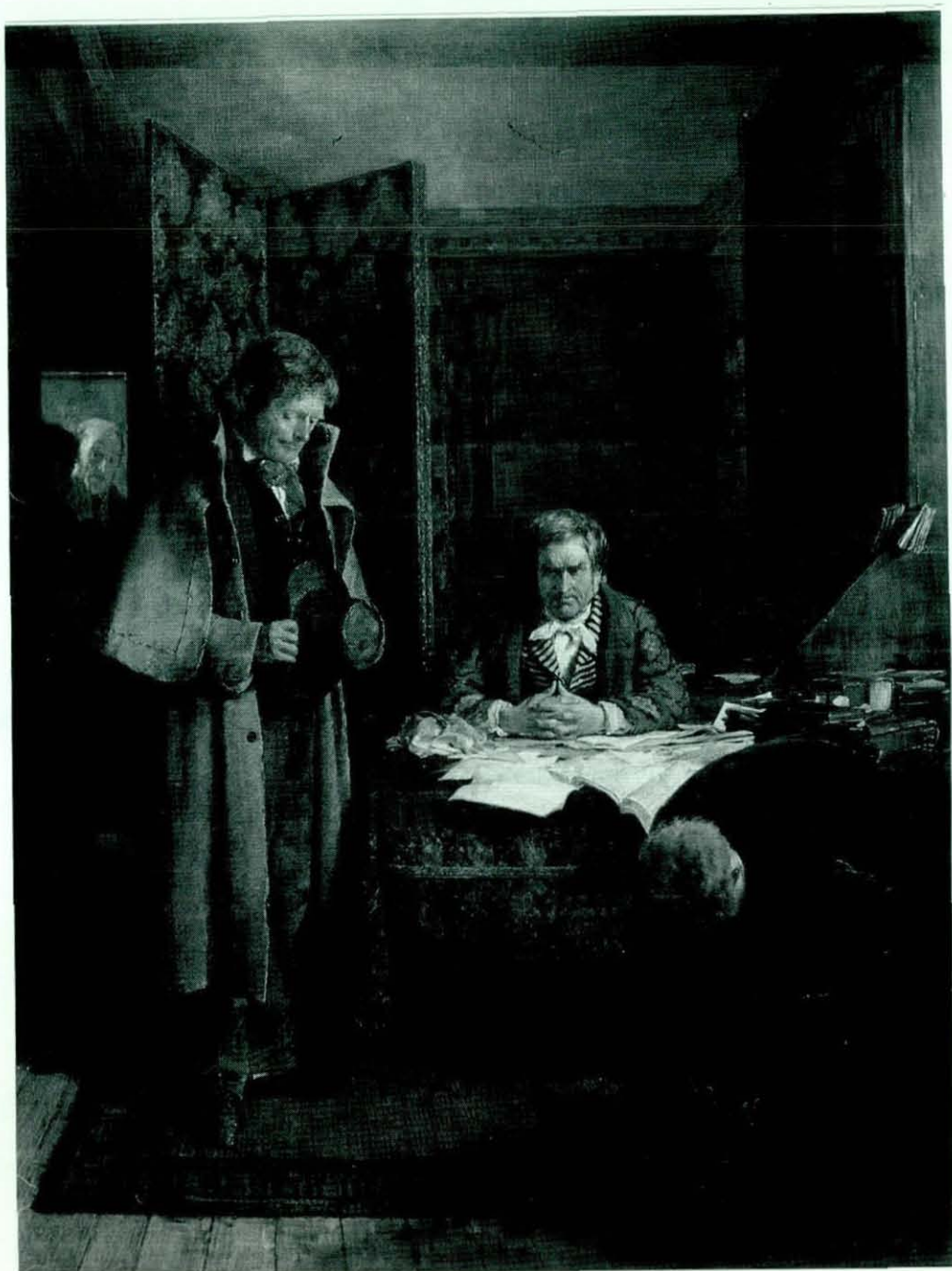


11. JOHN EVERETT MILLAIS THE BLIND GIRL (R.A. 1856)

Oil on canvas, 81.3 x 62.2 cm, Birmingham City Museum & Art Gallery.



12. ERSKINE NICOL NOTICE TO QUIT (R.A. 1862)
Oil on canvas, 72 x 105 cm, private collection.



13. ERSKINE NICOL RENEWAL OF THE LEASE REFUSED (R.A. 1863)
Oil on canvas, 92 x 72 cm, private collection.



14. JACOB THOMPSON THE HOPE BEYOND (R.A. 1853)

Engraving after Thompson.



15. RICHARD REDGRAVE THE EMIGRANTS' LAST SIGHT OF HOME (R.A. 1859)

Oil on canvas, 67.9 x 98.4 cm, Tate Gallery.



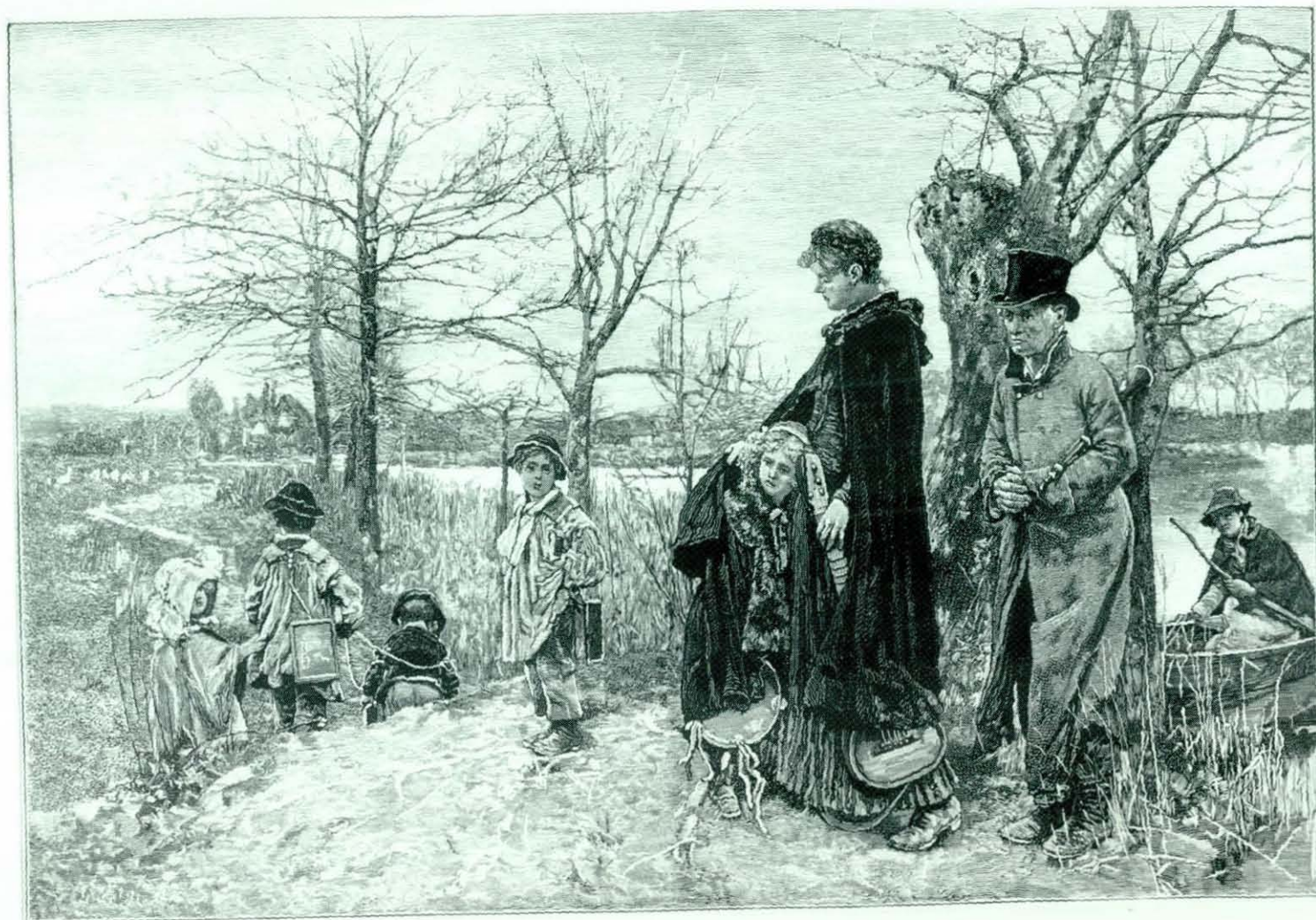
16. THOMAS FAED LAST OF THE CLAN (R.A. 1865)

Oil on canvas, 145 x 183 cm, Glasgow City Art Gallery & Museum.



17. FORD MADOX-BROWN LAST OF ENGLAND (R.A. 1855)

Oil on panel, 95 x 75 cm, Birmingham City Museum & Art Gallery.



18. JOHN R. REID HOMELESS AND HOMEWARD (R.A. 1882)

Engraving after Reid.



19. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER THE HIGHLAND DROVER'S DEPARTURE (R.A. 1835)

Oil on canvas, 125.8 x 191.2 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum.



20. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER THE OLD SHEPHERD'S CHIEF MOURNER (R.A. 1837)
Oil on panel, 45.8 x 61 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum.



21. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER CROSSING THE BRIDGE (R.A. 1837)

Oil on canvas, 35.5 cm x 160 cm, private collection.



22. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER THE TIRED REAPER (1824)
Oil on panel, 25.5 cm x 35 cm, private collection.



23. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER HARVEST IN THE HIGHLANDS (R.A. 1833)
 & W. CALLCOTT Engraving by J.T. Willimore after Landseer &
 Callcott, 1856.



24. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER QUEEN VICTORIA SKETCHING AT LOCH LAGGAN
(1847) Oil on panel, 34.1 x 49.5 cm. Copyright reserved: Reproduced
by the Gracious Permission of Her Majesty The Queen.



25. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER HIGHLANDER AND EAGLE (1850)

Oil on canvas, 51.1 x 67.9 cm. Copyright reserved: Reproduced by
the Gracious Permission of Her Majesty The Queen.



26. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER HIGHLAND LASSIE CROSSING A STREAM (1850)

Oil on canvas, 51.1 x 67.9 cm. Copyright reserved: Reproduced by
the Gracious Permission of Her Majesty The Queen.



27. ROYAL SPORTS ON HILL AND LOCH Engraving by W.H. Simmons after Landseer, 52.8 x 92 cm, 1874. Copyright reserved: Reproduced by the Gracious Permission of Her Majesty The Queen.



28. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER SKETCH FOR ROYAL SPORTS ON HILL AND LOCH
(1850-51) Oil on canvas, 42.9 x 76.5 cm. Copyright reserved:
Reproduced by the Gracious Permission of Her Majesty The Queen.



29. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER HIGHLAND LASSIE HERDING SHEEP (B.I. 1832)

Engraving after Landseer by J. Burnett.



30. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER TETHERED RAMS (R.A. 1839)

Oil on panel, 45 x 57.5 cm, Victoria & Albert Museum.



31. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER THE FORESTER'S FAMILY (R.A. 1849)

Oil on canvas, 68.5 x 104 cm.

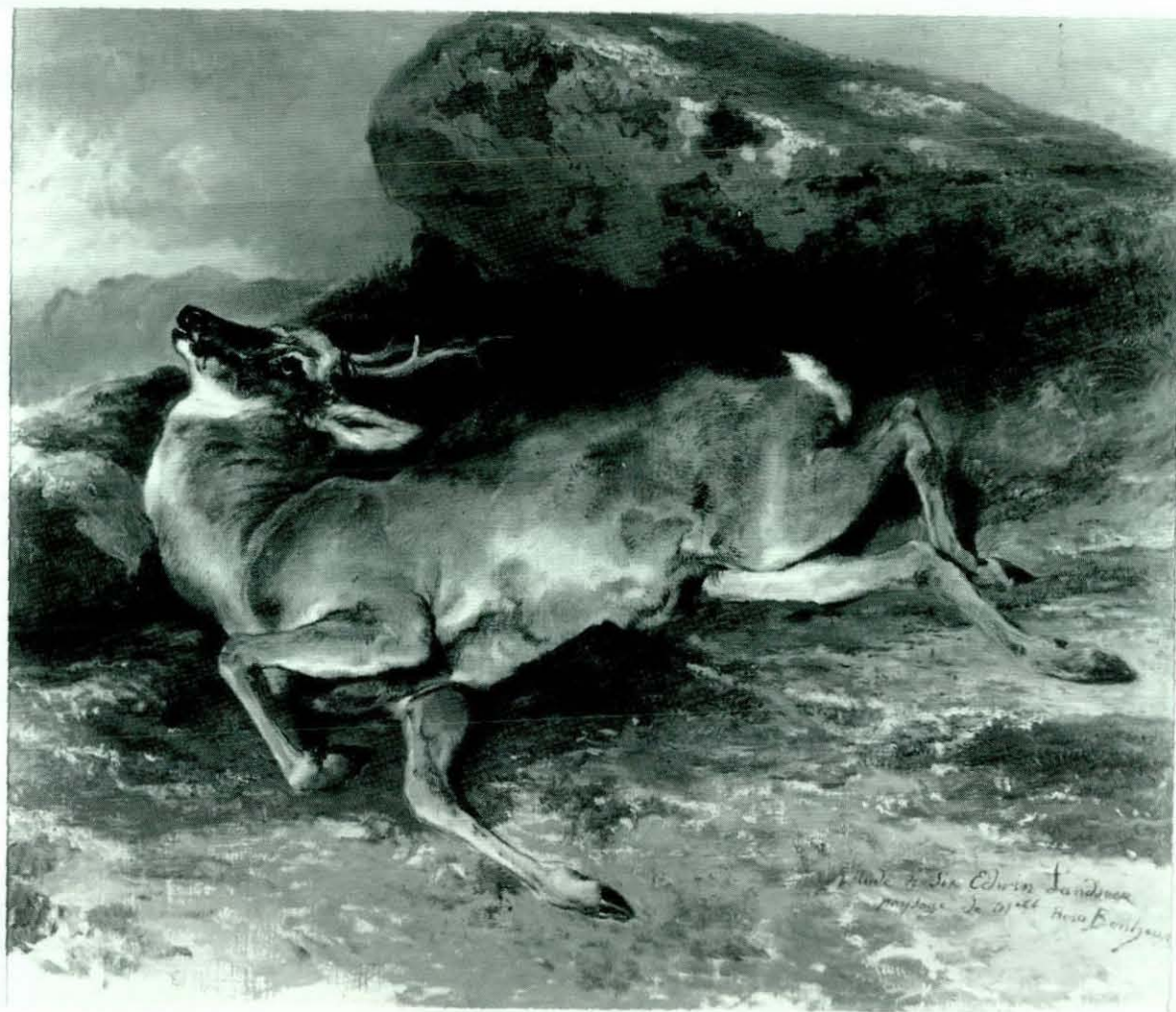


32. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER THE CHALLENGE (R.A. 1844)
Oil on canvas, 96.5 x 211 cm, Duke of Northumberland.



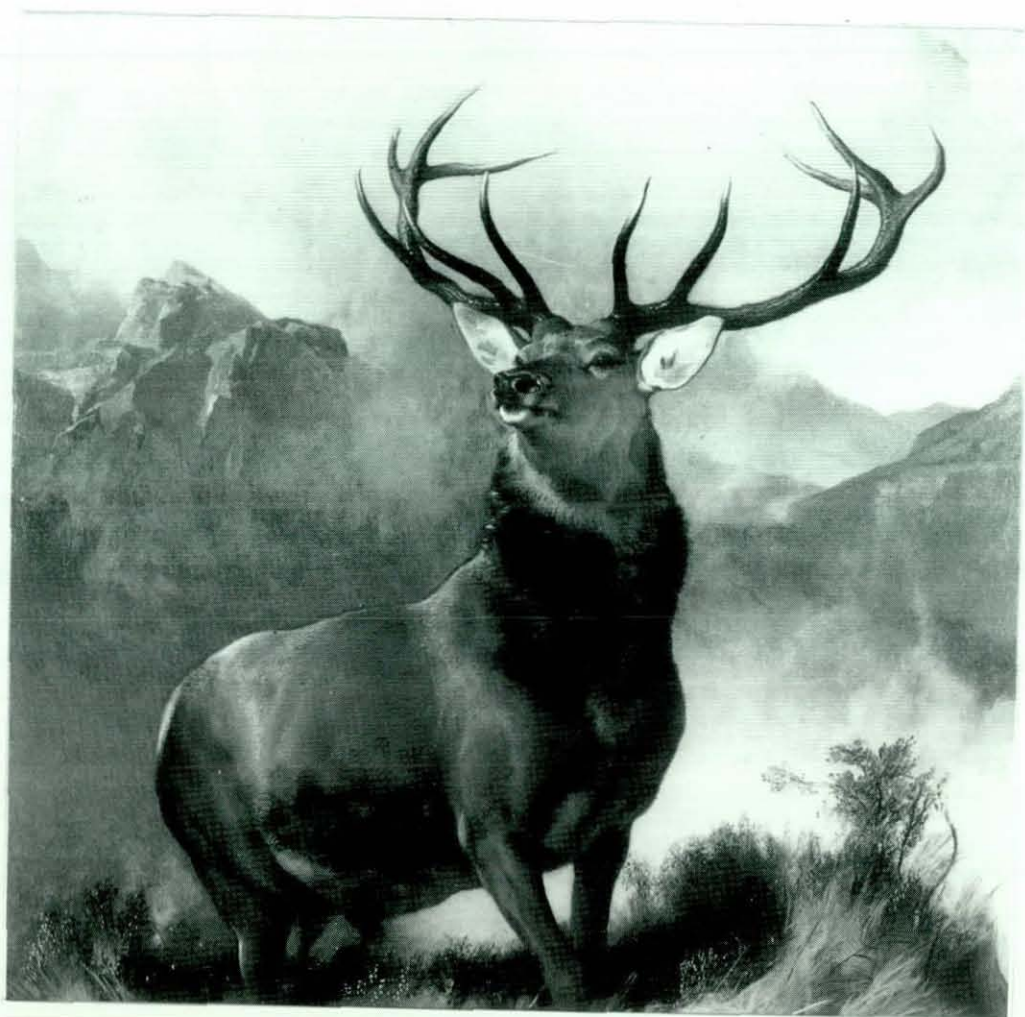
33. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER RANDOM SHOT (R.A. 1848)

Oil on canvas, 122 x 183 cm, Bury Art Gallery & Museum.



34. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER STRAY SHOT (1850)

Mappin Art Gallery, Sheffield.



35. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER MONARCH OF THE GLEN (R.A. 1851)
Oil on canvas, 163.8 x 169 cm, John Dewar & Sons Limited.



36. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER STAG AT BAY (R.A 1846)

Engraving by T. Landseer.



37. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER LAST RUN OF THE SEASON (R.A. 1851)

Oil on canvas, 87.6 x 155.5 cm, private collection.



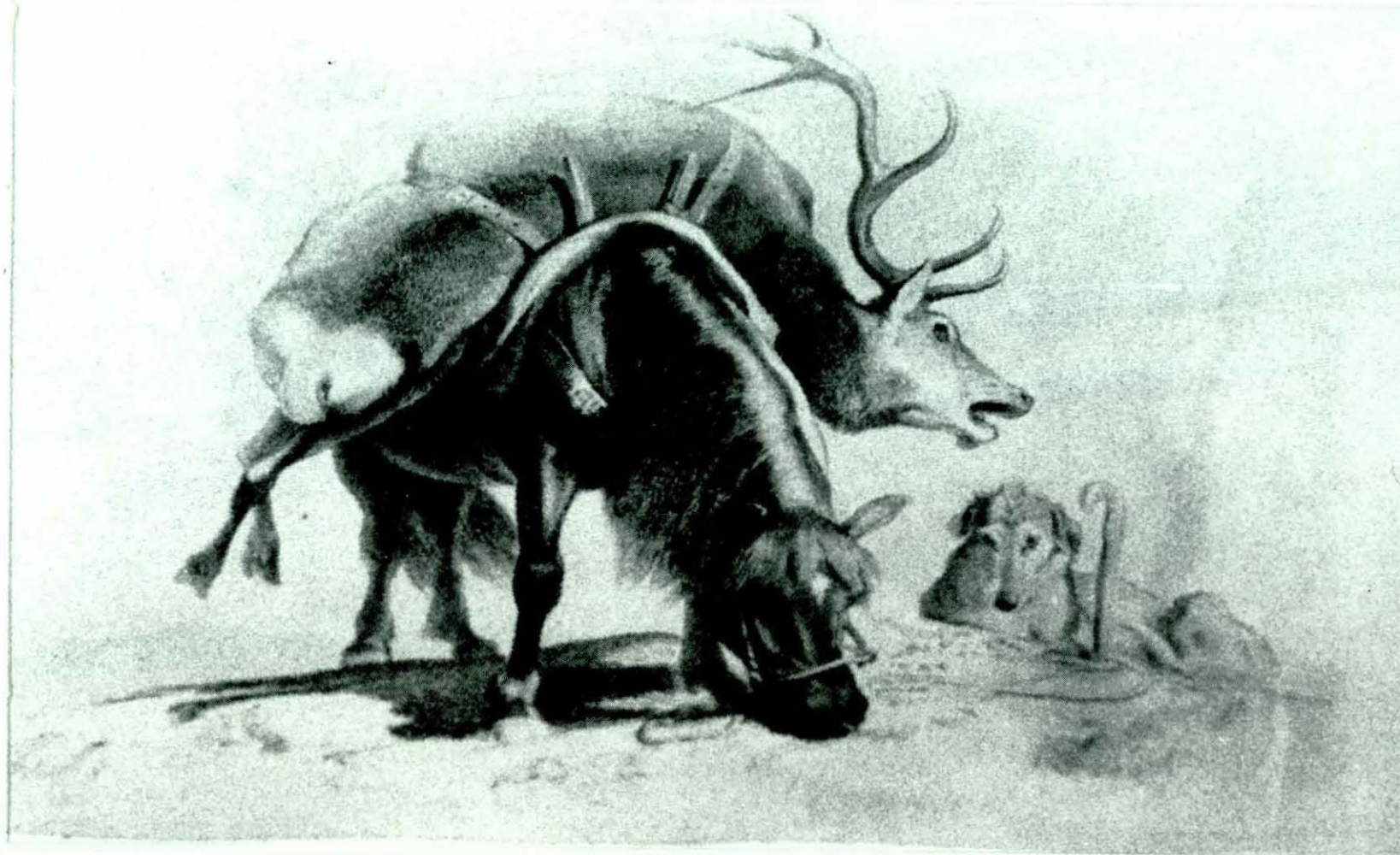
38. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER WAITING FOR A LOAD (1848)

Original chalk on card, Engraving by T. Landseer.



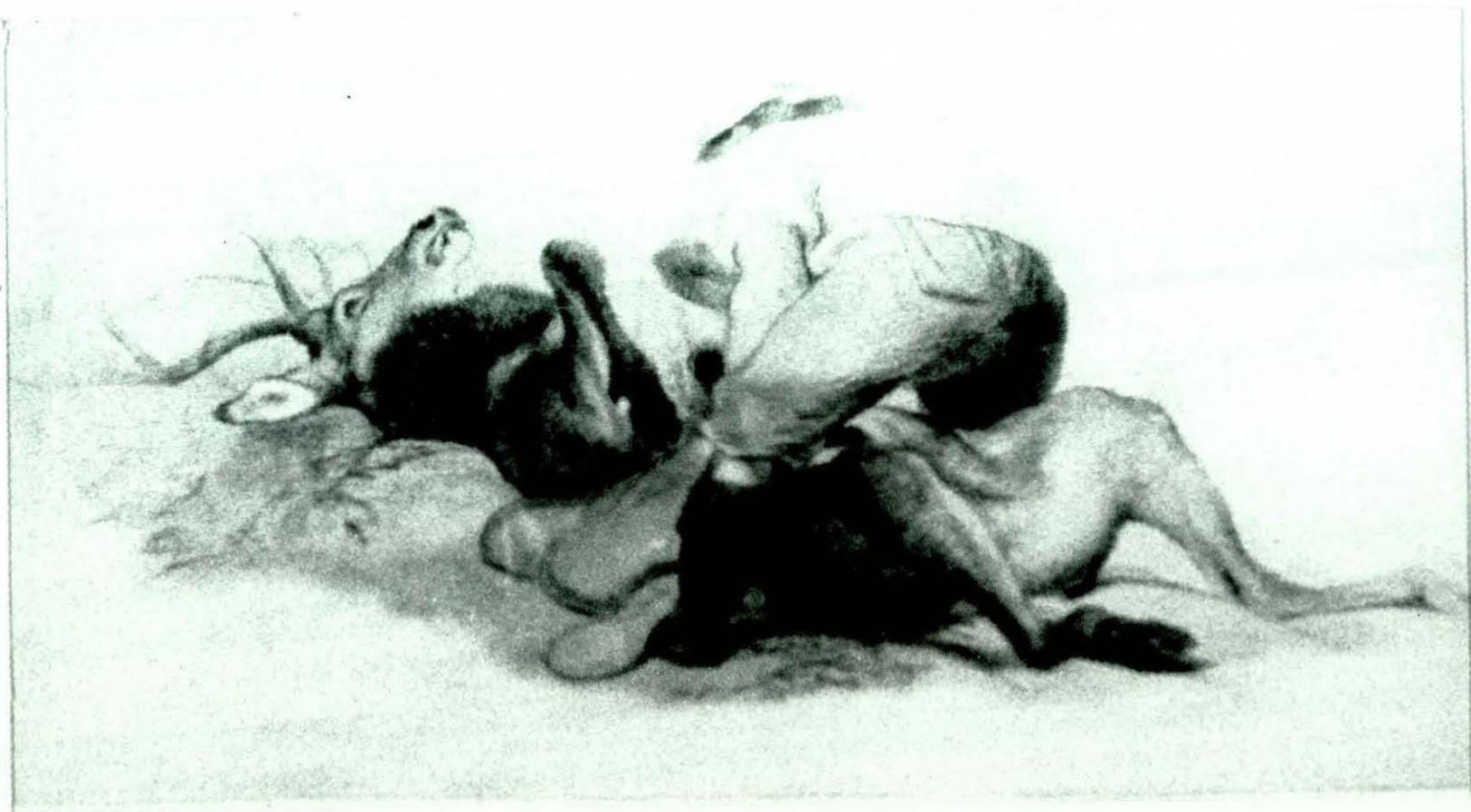
39. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER A GOODLY FREIGHT (1846)

Original chalk on card, Engraving by T. Landseer.



40. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER WELL PACKED (1847)

Original chalk on card, Engraving by T. Landseer.

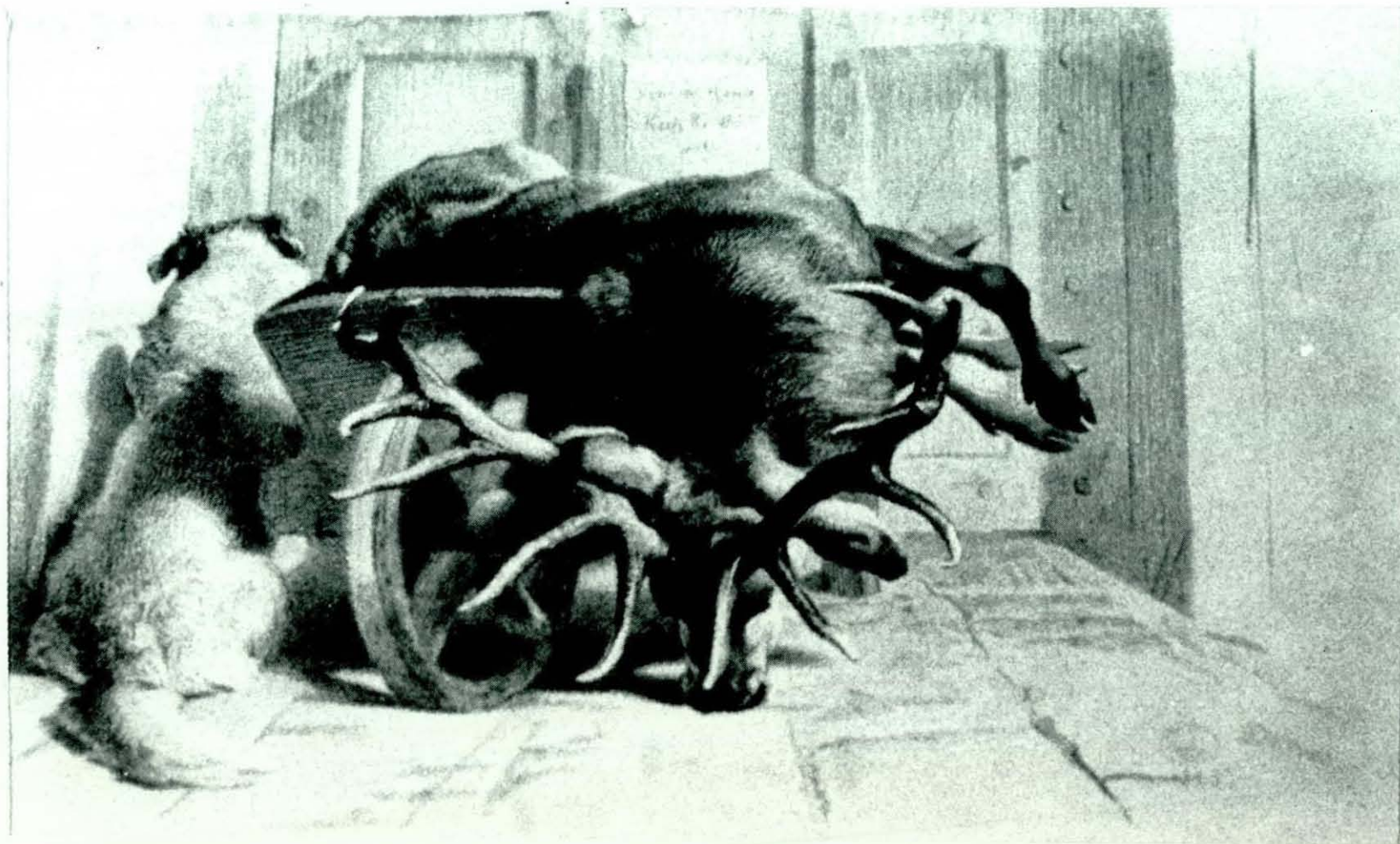


41. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER THE GREALOCH (1857)
Original chalk on card, engraving by T. Landseer.



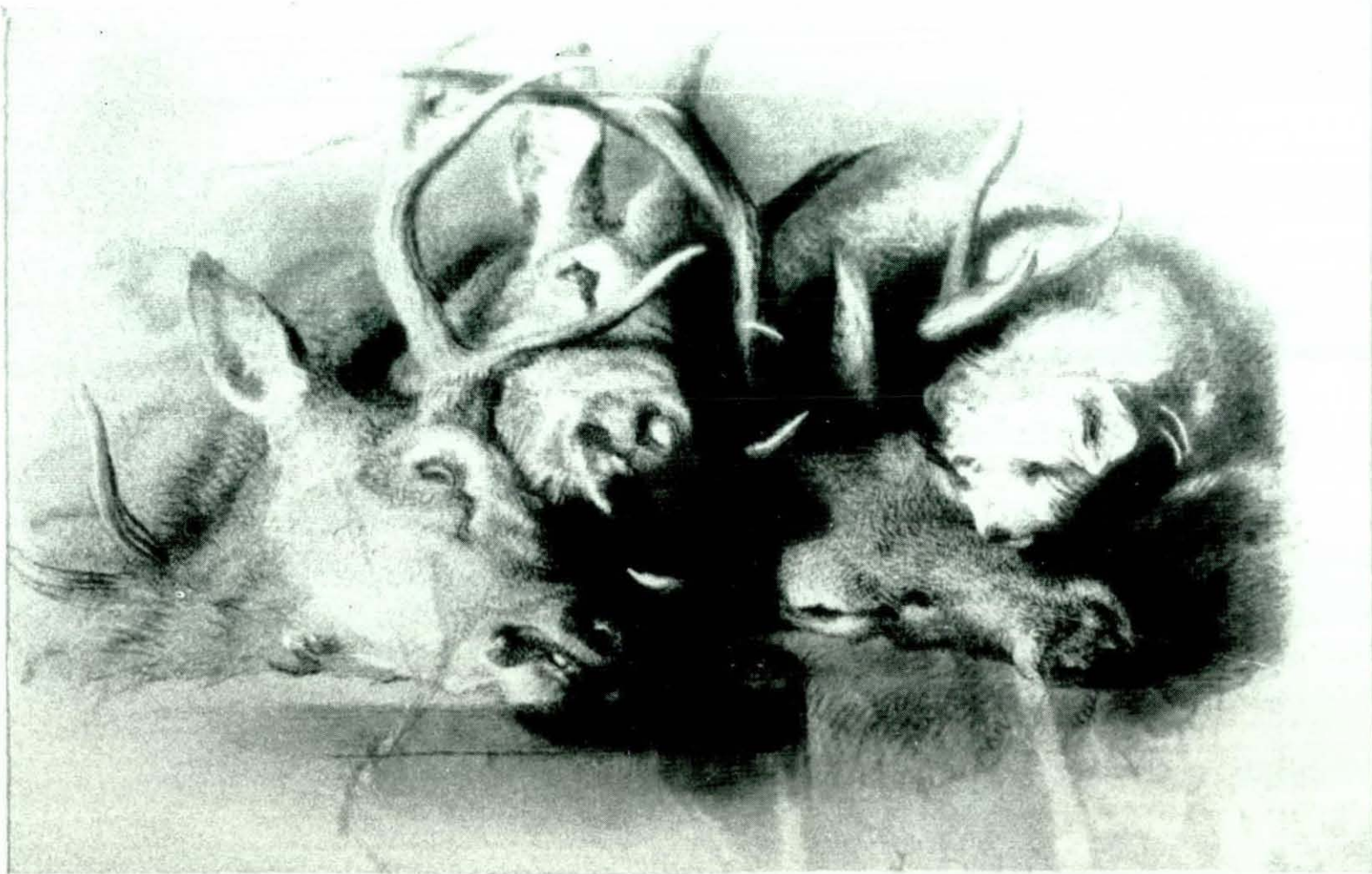
42. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER BLOOD (1852)

Original chalk on card, engraving by T. Landseer.



43. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER THE VENISON HOUSE (1845)

Original chalk on card, engraving by C.G. Lewis.



44. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER PRECIOUS TROPHIES (1857)

Original coloured chalk on card, engraving by J. Outrim.



45. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER OTTER HUNT (R.A. 1844)

Oil on canvas, 200 x 153.7 cm, Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.



Shun dog.

Richard Martin

Cat & kitten

Richard Martin Esq. the man with a good heart

46. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER RICHARD MARTIN M.P. - THE MAN WITH A GOOD HEART (Undated). Pen & ink sketch, 15 x 20 cm, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.



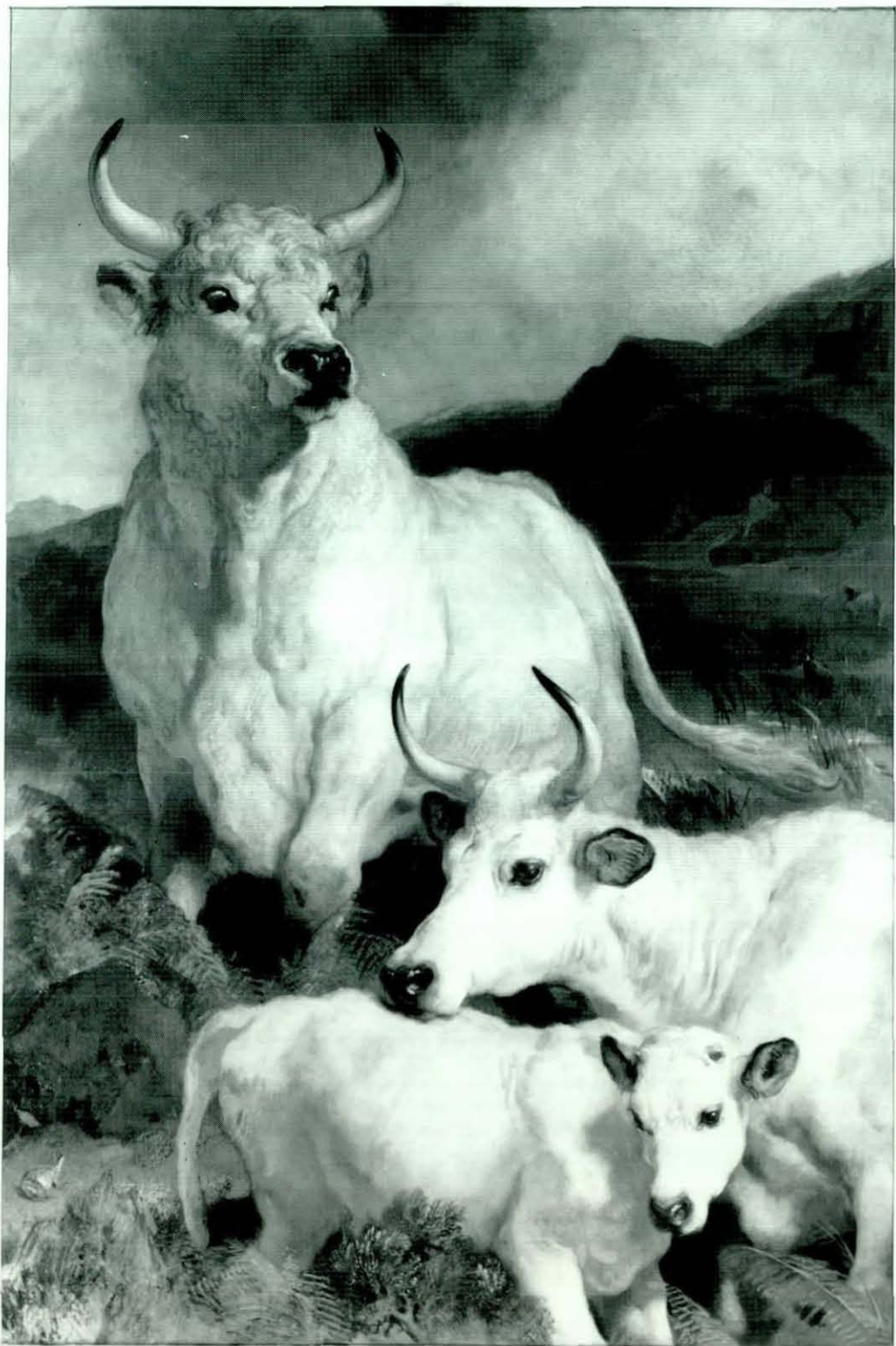
47. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER TAMING THE SHREW (R.A 1861)

Engraving by J. Stephenson, 52.7 x 87.6 cm, 1864. Copyright reserved: Reproduced by the Gracious Permission of Her Majesty The Queen.

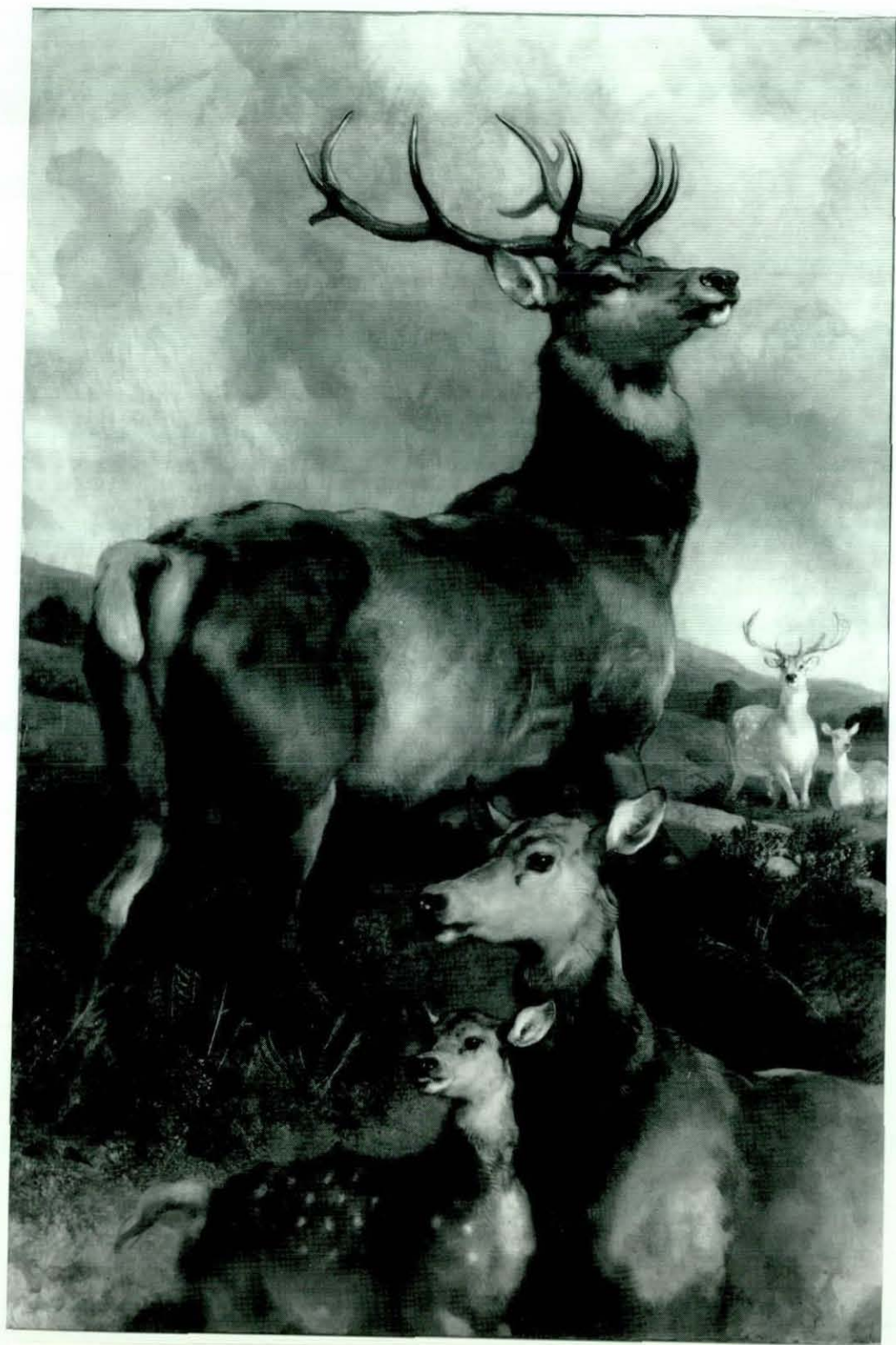


48. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER MAN PROPOSES, GOD DISPOSES (R.A. 1864)

Oil on canvas, 91.4 x 243.8 cm, Royal Holloway College, London.



49. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER WILD CATTLE OF CHILLINGHAM PARK (R.A. 1867)
Oil on canvas, 228.5 x 156.3 cm, Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.



50. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER DEER OF CHILLINGHAM PARK (R.A. 1867)
Oil on canvas, 228.5 x 156.3 cm, Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.



51. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER THE CAT'S PAW (B.I. 1824)
Oil on panel, 75.6 x 69.8 cm, private collection.



52. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER THE MONKEY WHO HAD SEEN THE WORLD (R.A. 1827)

Oil on panel, 47 x 54.6 cm, Guildhall Art Gallery, London.



53. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER JACK IN OFFICE (R.A. 1833)

Original oil on panel, 50.2 x 66 cm. Engraving by C.G. Lewis, 1850.



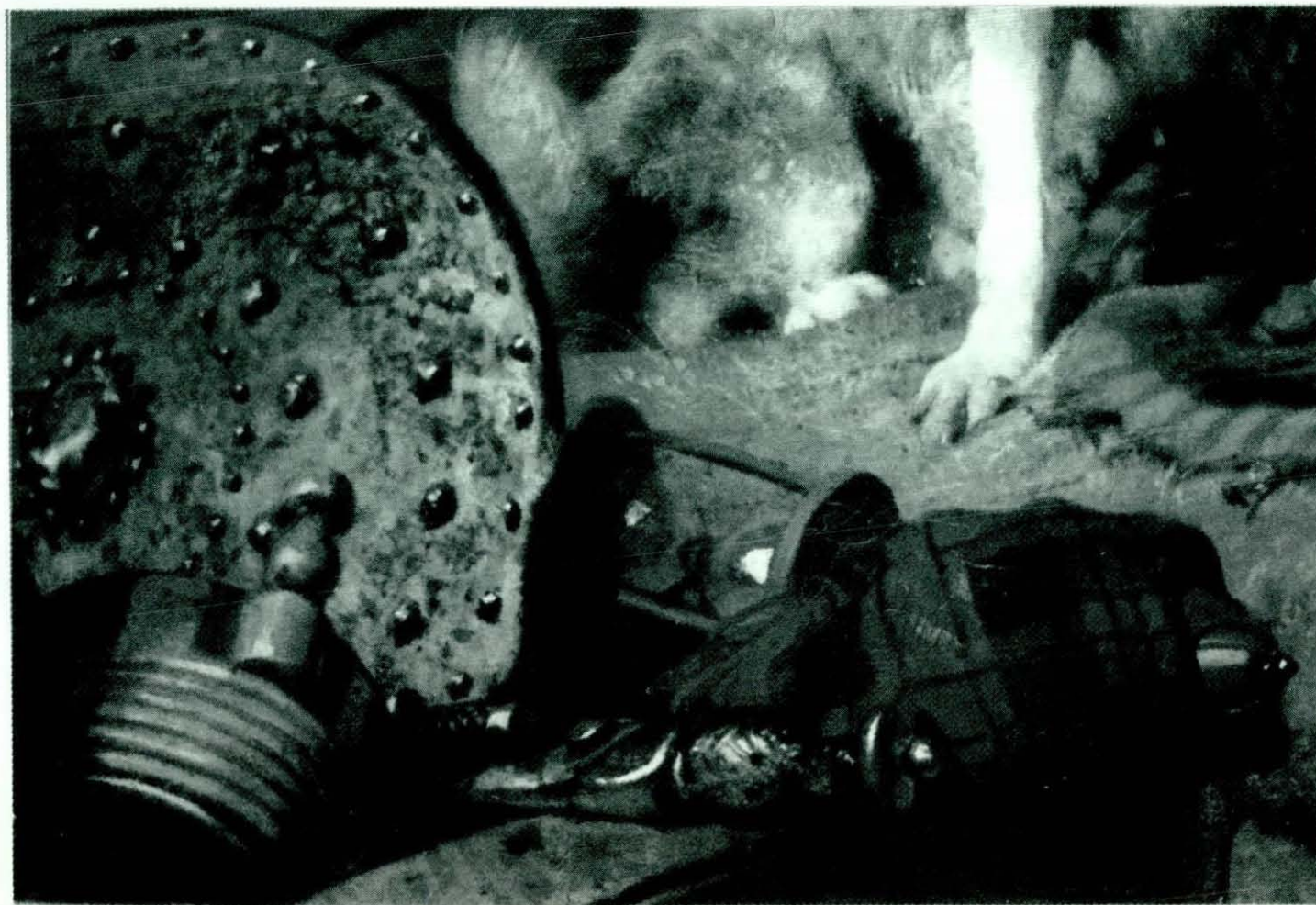
54. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER HIGHLAND NURSES (R.A. 1856)
Engraving by T. Landseer.



55. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER FLOOD IN THE HIGHLANDS (R.A. 1860)
Oil on canvas, 198.5 x 311.2 cm, Aberdeen Museum & Art Gallery.



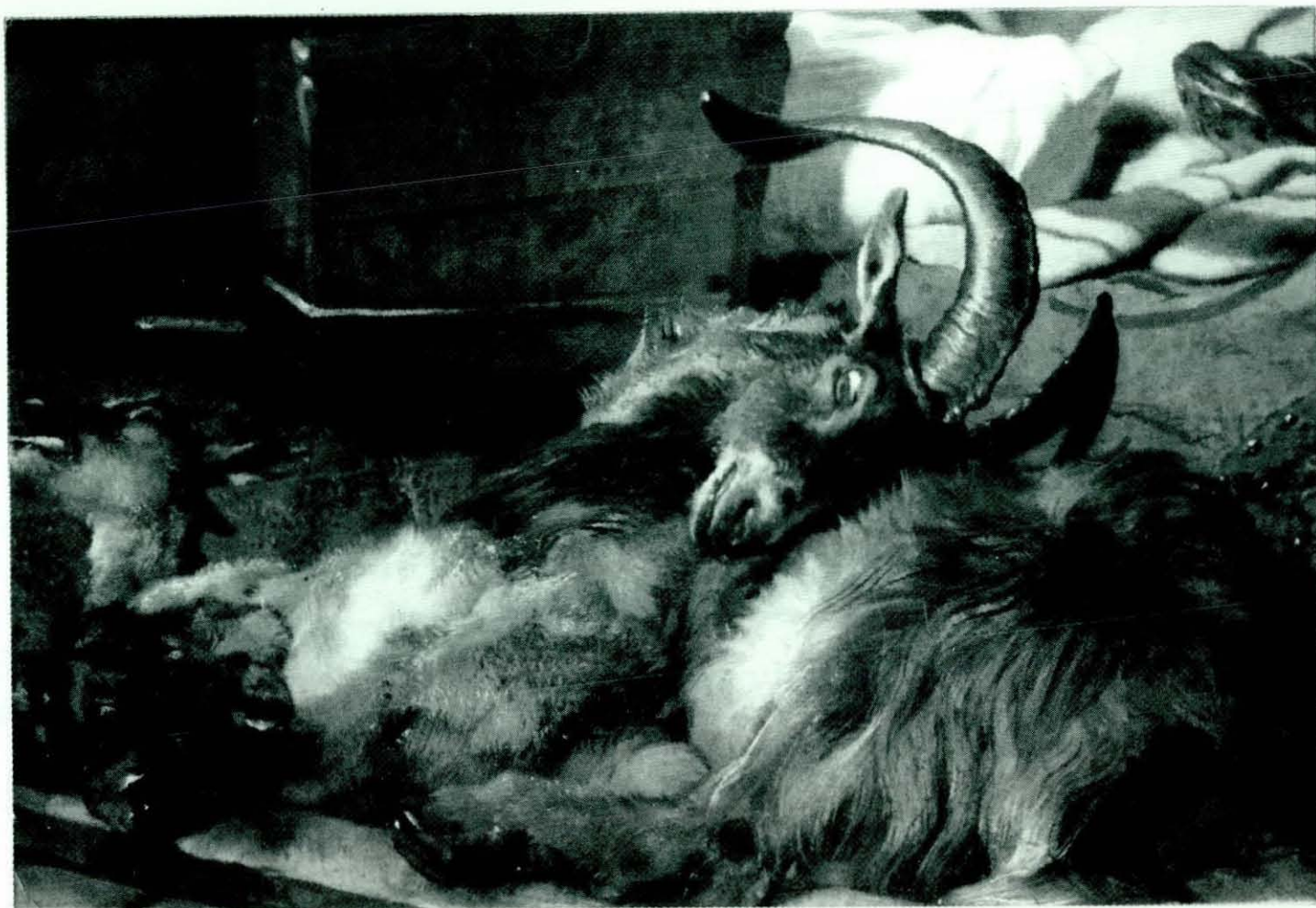
56. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER FLOOD IN THE HIGHLANDS (Detail 1)
Oil on canvas, 198.5 x 311.2 cm, Aberdeen Museum & Art Gallery.



57. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER FLOOD IN THE HIGHLANDS (Detail 2)
Oil on canvas, 198.5 x 311.2 cm, Aberdeen Museum & Art Gallery.



58. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER FLOOD IN THE HIGHLANDS (Detail 3)
Oil on canvas, 198.5 x 311.2 cm, Aberdeen Museum & Art Gallery.



59. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER FLOOD IN THE HIGHLANDS (Detail 4)

Oil on canvas, 198.5 x 311.2 cm, Aberdeen Museum & Art Gallery.



60. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER FLOOD IN THE HIGHLANDS (Detail 5)
Oil on canvas, 198.5 x 311.2 cm, Aberdeen Museum & Art Gallery.



61. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER THE HONOURABLE CAROLINE NORTON (1838)
Nottingham Castle Museum.



62. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER LORD WRIOTHESLEY RUSSELL (undated)

Reproduced with the permission of the Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement.



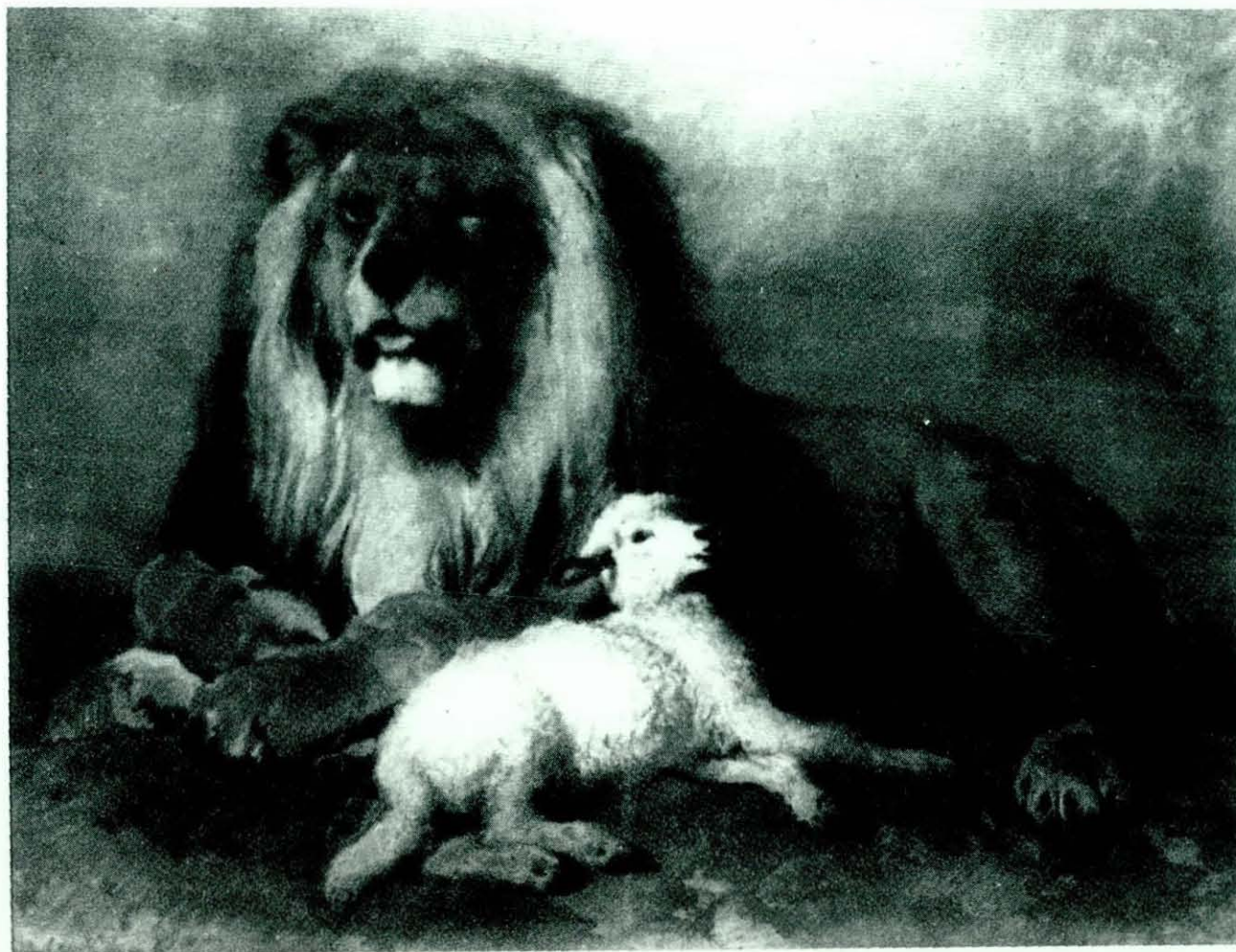
63. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER THE SHEPHERD'S PRAYER (R.A. 1845)

Engraving by T.L. Atkinson after Landseer, 55.3 x 11.4 cm, 1858.



64. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER THE BAPTISMAL FONT (R.A. 1872)

Oil on canvas, 187.5 x 167.6 cm. Copyright reserved: Reproduced by
the Gracious Permission of Her Majesty The Queen.



65. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER THE LION AND THE LAMB (R.A. 1872)

Johannesburg City Art Gallery.



66. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER HAWKING IN THE OLDEN TIME (R.A. 1832)

Oil on canvas, 152.5 x 183 cm, Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood, London.

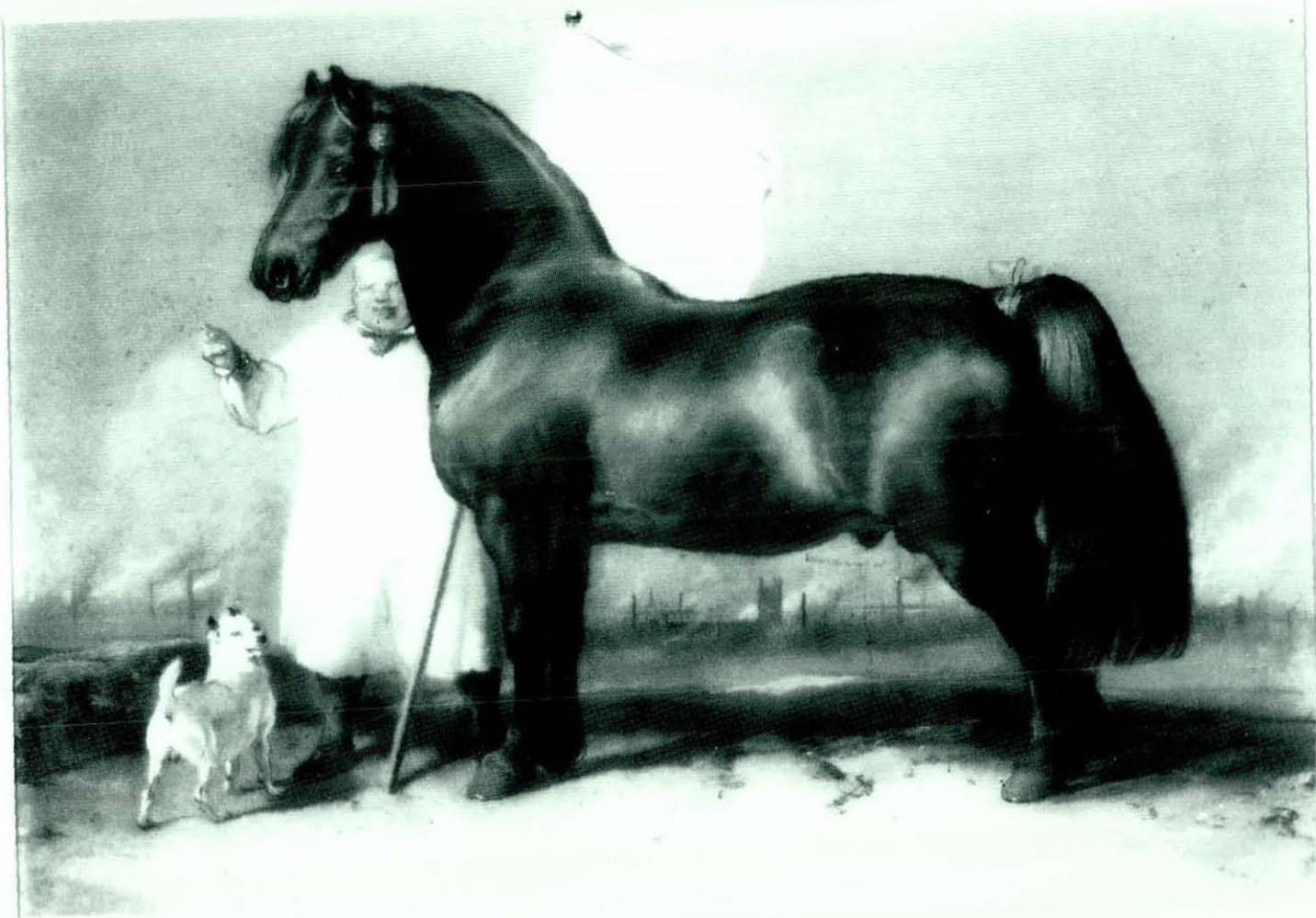


67. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER BOLTON ABBEY IN THE OLDEN TIME (R.A. 1834)
Oil on canvas, 155 x 193 cm, reproduced with permission of the
Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement.



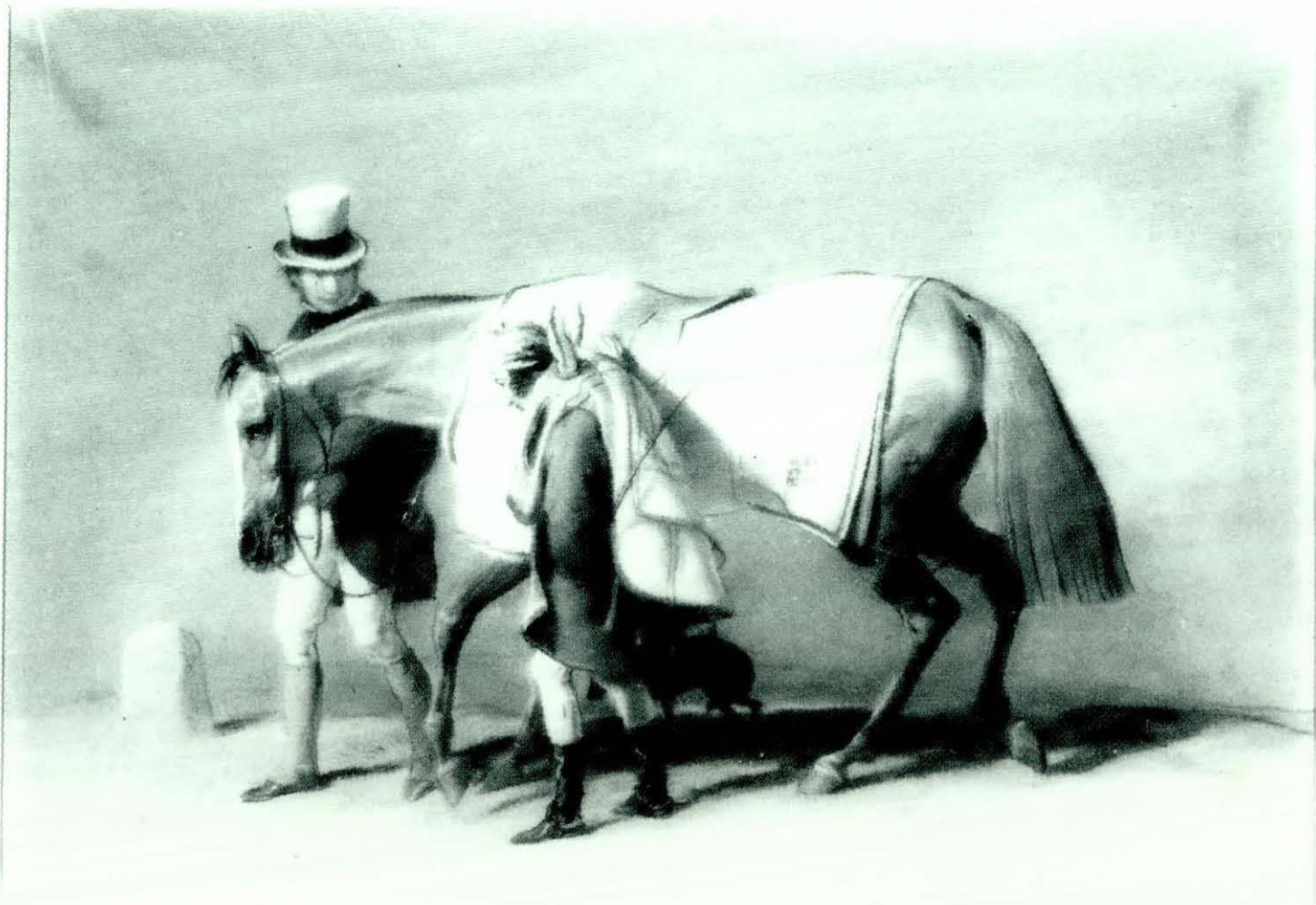
68. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER RENT DAY IN THE WILDERNESS (R.A. 1868)

Oil on canvas, 122 x 265.5 cm, National Gallery of Scotland.



69. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER FREE TRADE (1852)

Coloured chalk on buff paper, 59 x 87 cm, private collection.



70. SIR EDWIN LANDSEER PROTECTION (1852)

Coloured chalk on buff paper, 59 x 88 cm, private collection.

