

**French Travellers to Scotland, 1780-1830:
An Analysis of Some Travel Journals.**

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Abstract.

This study examines the value of travellers' written records of their trips with specific reference to the journals of five French travellers who visited Scotland between 1780 and 1830. The thesis argues that they contain material which demonstrates the merit of journals as historical documents. The themes chosen for scrutiny, life in the rural areas, agriculture, industry, transport and towns, are examined and assessed across the journals and against the social, economic and literary scene in France and Scotland. Through the evidence presented in the journals, the thesis explores aspects of the tourist experience of the Enlightenment and post - Enlightenment periods. The viewpoint of knowledgeable French Anglophiles and their receptiveness to Scottish influences, grants a perspective of the position of France in the economic, social and power structure of Europe and the New World *vis-à-vis* Scotland. The thesis adopts a narrow, focussed analysis of the journals which is compared and contrasted to a broad brush approach adopted in other studies.

Dedication.

For Angus, Mhairi and Brent, who are all scientists.

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Author's Declaration.

The work contained in this thesis is entirely my own work. The views expressed in the dissertation are entirely my own, and not those of the University of Stirling.

Table of Contents.

Abstract	ii
Dedication	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Author's Declaration	v
Introduction	1
Chapter One The Literature of Travel	45
Chapter Two Life in the Rural Areas	84
Chapter Three Agriculture	127
Chapter Four Industry	171
Chapter Five The Urban Areas	213
Chapter Six Travelling through Scotland: The Transport System	250
Conclusion	285
Bibliography	294

Introduction

This study examines the value of travellers' written records of their trips as historical documents with specific reference to the journals of five French travellers who visited Scotland between 1780 and 1830. The thesis argues that they contain material which demonstrates the value of the journals as witnesses to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century life in France and Scotland. The travellers are Barthélemy Faujas de St Fond (Faujas]); Alexandre de la Rochefoucauld (la Rochefoucauld); Louis Simond (Simond); Charles Nodier (Nodier); and Alexandre MacDonald (the French MacDonald).

Around twenty years ago, there was a dearth of research into the history of tourism between France and Britain but a decade later academic interest in travel literature spread in a number of fields, including anthropology, colonial and post-colonial discourse theory, literary theory, history, geography and women's studies.¹ The next chapter in this study surveys and evaluates relevant secondary sources on travel literature. Despite this, travel journals themselves are underused by historians in Britain.² As historical documents, they are primary sources of undeniable value, as journals pinpoint events and sites to a particular place and to an exact time, since the writer records what he sees in the moment of the experience; a fact which often allows verification of the text. The nearer a person is to the event the more authority he has as a witness, but the less authority as a judge. In other words, the writer allows direct access to the moment, leaving others to assess the implications.³

Visitors' recollections are vital in the study of tourism by revealing details of the

¹ François Crouzet, *Britain Ascendant: Comparative Studies in Franco-British Economic History* (Cambridge: The Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1990), p.466.

² Studies on American journals include Joseph Eaton, *The Anglo-American Paper War; Debates about the New Republic, 1800-1825* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp.8-51. Kathleen Burk, *Old World, New World, Great Britain and America from the Beginning* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2008). For British travel narratives, Jane Louise Mesick, *The English Traveller in America, 1785-1835* (New York: Colombia University Press, 1922).

³ R.M. Johnston, *The French Revolution: A Short history* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1910), p.1.

travelling and the accommodation they used and how far Scotland was geared up to cater for tourists.⁴ The texts also analyzed what the travellers recorded of the advancement of industry, the economy and agriculture of Scotland, compared to France. The overt purpose of a travel journal is to record, usually daily, the experiences of the trip. However, there may be an underlying purpose, such as to report for others or to inform future travellers.⁵ Such a purpose may affect the style and content but also how much the journal is altered for publication.

Little would be known about tourism in pre-modern Scotland if it were not for the diaries kept on holiday and letters home, as few official tourist records or statistics were kept.⁶ Some accounts are extant from 1295 but these represent a small proportion of those which may have existed.⁷ Many travellers in that era were unable to write, while records from other sources, such as itinerant merchants may have been lost. Over the centuries, changing patterns of travel emerge which give varied pictures of their experiences; accounts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries show only two independent travellers, the rest were soldiers, Church emissaries or ambassadors.⁸ Despite trade interaction, Scotland was seldom visited, by British people or foreigners, before mid-eighteenth century; one French visitor in the late 14th century called the country '*le bout du monde*' (the end of the world).⁹ However, just before the seventeenth century, the number of independent travellers rose in a gradual movement towards special interest travellers as the

⁴ Alastair Durie, *Travels in Scotland, 1788-1881: A Selection from Contemporary Tourist Journals* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), pp.12-13.

⁵ For example, Mrs Sarah Murray, *A Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland, to the Lakes of Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancashire, and to the Curiosities in the District of Craven, in the West Riding of Yorkshire; to which is added a more particular Description of Scotland, especially that part of it called the Highlands* (London:1799).

⁶ Durie, *Travels in Scotland*, p.11.

⁷ See P. Hume Brown, *Early Travellers to Scotland*, 1891 (published by David Douglas, facsimile version, James Thin: Edinburgh, 1978).

⁸ See Maurice Lindsay, *The Discovery of Scotland*, (London: Robert Hale Ltd.,1964).

⁹ Françoise Autrand, *Aux origines de l'Europe moderne: l'alliance France-Ecosse au XIVe siècle*, in James Laidlaw (ed.), *The Auld Alliance France and Scotland over 700 Years* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University, 1999), p.34. Autrand is quoting Jean Froissart (c.1337 – c.1405).

Enlightenment interest in science developed.¹⁰ An increased proportion of lower ranking travellers reflected growing literacy among the less well-off but there were few records of foreign visitors to Scotland after Jorevin de Rocheford's trip, circa 1691, up to the late eighteenth century.¹¹ The journals of French travellers are part of the much smaller selection of tourists who made the journey from Europe to Britain and the minority of travellers who reached Scotland.¹²

Official chroniclers and historians wrote to satisfy the demands of their employers and as a result, the accounts were usually biased and often written without direct knowledge of Scotland or indeed long after the events they describe. However, the texts were promoted through their sponsors and thus given a status and recognition which journals did not have. Despite creating crafted pieces of propaganda, the chroniclers have become known as 'enthusiastic plagiarists', whereas authentic journals have languished in obscurity.¹³ This implies an interaction between writer and the intended or expected reader. The ability to relate to the writer of the journal, therefore, is important to be able to understand what the author intended, since it is pertinent to ask who was the writer, for whom was the account written and how and when was it written.¹⁴ From the eighteenth century, the biographical details of the diarist were often known and this background adds weight and historical validity to the use of a text.¹⁵

¹⁰ Fynes Moryson (1598), John Taylor (1618) and Sir William Brereton (1634) travelled out of general curiosity. John Ray (1662), Thomas Pennant (1769) and Faujas (1784) were naturalists.

¹¹ Visit of Jorevin de Rocheford, documented by Hume Brown, *Early Travellers to Scotland*, pp.217-229.

¹² Some famous foreign travellers came to Britain from third decade of the nineteenth century onwards, for example, Felix Mendelssohn (1809-1847), Jules Verne (1828-1905), and Theodor Fontane (1819-1898).

¹³ Martin Rackwitz, *Travels to Terra Incognita; The Scottish Highlands and Hebrides in early modern travellers' accounts c.1600 to 1800* (Waxmann: Münster, 2007), p.20.

¹⁴ Alastair J. Durie, *Travels in Scotland*, p.15.

¹⁵ Arthur R.B. Robinson, *Seeking the Scots: An English woman's journey in 1807* (York: Robinson, 2006). The diary belongs to the private papers of his family ancestors. Robinson opens with biographical details of the members of the party on the tour.

Journals, especially from the late seventeenth century onwards, were often written by ordinary people, but some had special interests. They are useful to illuminate historical material or factual matter through the comments and opinions added and indeed the choice of random points of interest noted. The recognition that travel journals were often intended to be read by friends or published for a wider public supports the notion that they should be used as historical documents. This also underlines the fact that journals should be studied in their entirety, where possible, to understand the mode of writing as well as the tone and language used.

This leads into pertinent questions about travel journals to gauge why they were written: who was the writer; for whom was the account written; how and when was it written. There is a division between material intended for publication and that designed for personal recollection, family or friends.¹⁶ Underlying this notion is the fact that there were certain conventions expected by the market and reviewers in the way a journal was presented to the public which affects the way in which they should be viewed in hindsight, especially as the language became more stylized in the Romantic period. This seems to be implying that such journals may have been adapted or altered from their original form before being published. How significant that may be with regard to the value or usefulness of a journal to the historian is difficult to assess. Changes to a text may simply have been correcting spelling errors or making a sentence more accessible. However, if significant alterations are made to the content of the text, to suit market tastes, then the journal is diminished as a reliable source for historical use. Each account, therefore, needs to be assessed individually for its own merits or drawbacks as an historical document. The journals of the present study were all intended to be used publicly, except for

¹⁶ Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud: Sutton, 2003), preface, p.v.

the French MacDonald; whether they had been altered for publication will be discussed for each journal below.

Language issues are key to understanding the way each traveller perceives and records what he sees. Too much emphasis on the language register tends to divert attention away from the content of the texts therefore language usage and style is examined in this study where appropriate to analyze the factual content. As most of the texts of this study were originally written in French (the study sometimes uses an English translation), they have been analyzed with reference to the subtleties of the original language they were written in. This emphasizes how issues were treated over the time through the different styles of writing and how each issue varied over the time.

The travellers of this study came to Scotland in a period of accelerated economic, social and political change in Scotland, Europe and America, although admittedly the change was patchy.¹⁷ Industrial development created social change and urban pressure as the rural population was drawn into towns. In French terms, the period encompassed the last decades of the Ancien Régime, the French Revolution and the Restoration. In European terms, it spanned the period of Enlightenment and the Romantic, and includes the impact of the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars and the Restoration; in global terms it took in the expansion into the New World and Africa with the resultant rivalry between nations.

After the peace of 1763, Anglo-mania developed in France and a trickle of French travellers came to Britain, a few reaching Scotland. By the end of the eighteenth century, the relationship between Scotland and France was apparently

¹⁷ David W. Carrithers, *Montesquieu and the spirit of modernity* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, SVEC 2002), introduction, p.1.

changing; French disdain for and ignorance of Scotland around 1685 had changed to admiration by 1789 in a burgeoning relationship.¹⁸

The use of the term 'travellers' rather than 'tourists' is arbitrary but is intended in this study to emphasize that they were deeply motivated to pursue particular goals and were not mere sightseers following where others had led. The travellers in this study were well informed about Scotland past and present. This thesis is based on four rational and well-written factual accounts with the fifth journal by Nodier, in contrast, an almost fictional product of a fertile imagination steeped in the Romantic literature of his time. Previously, such travellers would have been more likely to visit cultural centres in France and Italy but the late eighteenth century marked the decline of the Grand Tour.¹⁹ A stay in Scotland was beginning to replace, or complete, the Grand Tour.²⁰ The international reputation of the exceptional number of Enlightenment thinkers based in Edinburgh drew visitors to the city as part of the movement of scientifically 'enlightening' voyages of exploration in the eighteenth century; others, visited Edinburgh during equally intellectual tours based on history, literature and social connectivity.²¹ Although based on a small sample, this study, examining eyewitness accounts in a detailed and structured way, concentrates on the writers as expert observers in specific fields. In keeping with some of the more educated travellers of the era, they were not simply adventurous tourists taking a holiday away from daily life at home. In addition, most previous studies of tourist literature in Scotland have analysed the texts separately; here the journals have been used together to explore why Scotland was the focal point of interest to these

¹⁸ Peter France & John Renwick, 'France and Scotland in the Eighteenth Century' in James Laidlaw (ed.), *The Auld Alliance, (Edinburgh: The University of Edinburgh, 1999)*, p.89.

¹⁹ Amanda Gilroy (ed.), *Romantic geographies: discourses of travel, 1775-1844* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p.2.

²⁰ Lindsay, *The Discovery of Scotland*, p.171. Captain Edward Topham (1751-1819) spent six months in Edinburgh in 1774-5 to round off his education.

²¹ Hartmut Berghoff & Barbara Korte (eds.), 'Britain and the Making of Modern Tourism' in *The making of modern tourism: the cultural history of the British experience, 1600-2000* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp.4 & 5.

travellers. Furthermore, juxtaposing this material with other sources adds to the debate on tourism to Scotland examined in the next chapter, and how the French travellers viewed Scotland.

The visits of the French travellers arose from French interest in Britain which stemmed from a longstanding, complex relationship of rivalry, enmity, admiration and even scorn between the two countries. In the eighteenth century, France and Britain were on similar ambitious economic and expansionist courses. Many educated French people accepted, rightly or wrongly, that, by the latter part of the century, Britain was ahead of France economically, industrially, agriculturally and in the power struggle for the New World and Asia. The British were also thought to be obsessed with trade. This study examines the notion that what we write about others shows our preconceptions about ourselves. It further considers what the travellers sought in Scotland and how they responded to the realities of the country.

This study uses the journals of five French travellers whose native language was French and examines aspects of the French language content and of English translations.²² Analyses of journals written during trips to Scotland in general are mainly limited to travellers from within Britain, whose native language was English.²³ Arguably, therefore, a compelling reason for exploring these journals is that they were not written from a British perspective. The French expression *un étranger* has two meanings; a foreigner or a stranger, someone who is alien to the surroundings. The foreign visitor is indubitably an outsider, taking an alternative view of what he sees as it is different to what he knows at home.²⁴

²² Details of the versions of the journals used are given when each traveller is introduced below.

²³ See Chapter 1 The Literature of Travel, for example, Arthur R.B. Robinson, *Seeking the Scots: An English woman's journey in 1807* (York: Robinson, 2006).

²⁴ The title of Albert Camus' novel *L'étranger* (1942), is often translated as *The Outsider*.

It has been suggested that the French had a strong sense of cultural superiority.²⁵ The views of the French travellers therefore have special significance; if they were impressed by what they saw, it suggests that they were tacitly complimenting Scottish achievement. On a more subtle level, other impressions may be passed on; if a French person makes the comment about an English person being a hypocrite and an egotist, then this indicates that he views himself as upright and generous.²⁶ The journals are analyzed against these points to test whether underlying attitudes can be detected.

One of the issues which the journals address obliquely is the Franco-Scottish relationship in the period. The interaction between France and Britain at national level in the late eighteenth century was mainly political. Their respective governments controlled the destinies of much of the western world, influencing the American Revolution, the French Revolution, the industrial revolution and even upheavals in Geneva.²⁷ The international turbulence of 1789-1848 was centred on France and Britain. The internal resultant upheavals were rather more political in France but more industrial in Britain.²⁸ However, there was contact and communication between France and Scotland at other levels, both economically, socially and intellectually, and through networks.²⁹ The journals reveal contacts and interactions at a personal level which cut across national interests or boundaries, thus demonstrating the importance of the relations between France and Britain for the development of the modern world.

²⁵ Michael Broers, 'Cultural Imperialism in a European Context? Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Napoleonic Italy', *Past & Present*, No.170 (Feb., 2001), pp.152-180. Oxford University Press. www.jstor.org/stable/3600797. [Accessed May 2014]. This was particularly noted in the Napoleonic era.

²⁶ Crouzet, *Britain Ascendant*, p.464.

²⁷ Derek Jarrett, *The Begetters of Revolution* (London: Longman Group Ltd., 1973), preface ix-x.

²⁸ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution 1789-1848* (London: Abacus, 1973). pp.13-14.

²⁹ See Ann Thomson, Simon Burrows & Edmond Dziembowski, (eds.), *Cultural transfers: France and Britain in the long eighteenth Century*, (University of Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2010). Stephen Prickett, 'Circles and Straight Lines: Romantic Versions of Tourism'; John K. Walton 'British Tourism Between Industrialization and Globalization', pp.109-132.

Despite, or perhaps because of, hostilities between Britain and France, there was curiosity and interest in an odd mixture of confrontation and emulation, which is part of the reason why the travellers chose to come to Scotland. It has been claimed, somewhat controversially, that Britain and France had a deep and longstanding involvement which made it virtually impossible for their respective citizens to be objective about each other.³⁰ This is a crucial point to consider. There were points of extreme xenophobia in eighteenth century France; during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) and the revolutionary wars from 1792. French war literature of the 1750s and 1760s presented the France and Britain as waging an irreconcilable international conflict and sustained printed propaganda aimed at mobilizing French opinion against the enemy. At least eighty publications appeared each year in France during the Seven Years' War, which sold in vast numbers. The language reached a more violent level than before, describing the English as 'vultures', calling them a 'perjurious race' driven by 'blind wrath' and 'undying hatred'.³¹ The journals of the travellers are explored to ascertain if they showed hostility towards the Scots or Scotland.

Scotland, in previous centuries regarded as a northern, uncultured wilderness, was now seen as a sophisticated civilization by some intellectuals in France, the *philosophes* and the *idéologues*.³² Franco-Scottish collaboration from the mid-eighteenth century engendered the beginnings of modern economics from new theories, with personal contact and correspondence driving the movement. In France, groups were developing organized economic theories and liaised with the

³⁰ Jarrett, *The Begetters of Revolution*, preface p.xi, p.3.

³¹ David A. Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680-1800* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), pp.80-84.

³² France & Renwick, *France and Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, p.94. The *philosophes* were a loose group of French intellectuals of the 18th century Enlightenment who promoted interaction crossing national boundaries, allowing intellectuals to exchange books and ideas. The *idéologues*, disciples of Condillac, intellectual writers during the Directory (1795-1799) and the Consulate (1804-14) believed in the perfectability of the human race.

celebrated Scottish thinkers, many of whom had visited France.³³ The French travellers met Adam Smith, Hume and others in Edinburgh, as well as reading their works and corresponding with them. Adam Smith dealt with many of the inherent French problems: price fluctuations and a volatile internal economy; lack of free market forces within France; low production levels; competition with foreign imports and the need to increase French exports overseas. Smith's theories were being circulated in France as L'Abbé Blavet had translated Smith's *Wealth of Nations* in 1776.³⁴

Abroad, Scotland enjoyed a high profile in the Enlightenment period. Indeed, the Scottish Enlightenment was considered 'a galaxy of great and original-minded men that came together within a space of seventy or eighty years'.³⁵ Serious works of history by David Hume and William Robertson were published in French shortly after appearing in English.³⁶ Representatives of the Scottish Enlightenment were concentrated in the university cities of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen. Two of the French travellers, Faujas and la Rochefoucauld, had letters of introduction to high profile Scottish Enlightenment figures and visited Scottish universities. Their journals reveal many and complex interactions between French and Scottish thinkers, reflecting the influence of progressive clubs and personal friendships.³⁷ The Speculative Society, for example, had risen from earlier clubs of Smith and Hume, and became the forerunner of Edinburgh's literary forums, increasing the exposure of Enlightenment ideals.

³³ Such as David Hume, Francis Hutcheson, Allan Ramsay, William Robertson and Adam Smith.

³⁴ It appeared in the *Journal de l'agriculture, du commerce et des finances* (Paris: Knapen, 1765-1783), run by Quesnay, the *Physiocrat* leader. (The Journal of agriculture, commerce and finance).

³⁵ T. C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* (London: Fontana Press, 1985), p.451.

³⁶ David Hume (1711 –1776), the Scottish philosopher, historian, economist, and essayist. William Robertson (1721 1793,) the Scottish historian and Principal of the University of Edinburgh.

³⁷ Philip Flynn, 'Francis Jeffrey and the Scottish Critical Tradition' in Massimiliano Demata & Duncan Wu (eds.), *British Romanticism and the Edinburgh Review* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), p.14.

In Scotland, popular support varied for France. Britain was at war with France from February 1793 till 1815. Jules Bertaut noted that interest in Scotland increased in the nineteenth century, writing 'Parmi les époques qui virent des rapprochements entre La France et l'Angleterre nulle plus que la Restauration (1815-30) n'a été caractéristique' (Among the epochs which saw close relations between France and England, none was more typical than the Restoration [1815-30]).³⁸ He points out that *Angleterre* often meant Scotland; with *Ecosse* being used by some, indicating that some writers were aware of a separate Scottish identity, a point pursued elsewhere. He describes a well beaten tourist trail to London after 1815 but notes that the 'discerning' traveller visited Scotland, indicating an intellectual divide between those who only travelled within England and those who ventured north of the border. He cites two reasons for a Scottish visit. One was the Romantic scenery, epitomized by Ossian while the other was to go to Edinburgh to visit Sir Walter Scott and to see Holyrood, the place of exile of the French monarchy. Simond, Nodier and the French MacDonald were part of this tourism as the Enlightenment period gave way to Romanticism. The political views of the travellers, though often hidden, are examined in the thesis.

Many Frenchmen, including travellers in this study, either overtly or covertly, asked why did Britain advance economically, industrially and agriculturally, before most other countries in Europe.³⁹ French politicians were turning to Britain for economic answers and sending out spies under the guise of ordinary travellers to gather information.⁴⁰ The use of spies has resonance in this study as two of the French travellers, Faujas and La Rochefoucauld while in Edinburgh met several of

³⁸ Jules Bertaut, 'Voyage en Angleterre sous la Restauration', *Miroir de l'Histoire*, 8:94 (1957), pp.423-428. My translation.

³⁹ Peter Mathias, *The First Industrial Nation* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1969), pp.6-14.

⁴⁰ Nadine Smith, *Industrial Transfer Between Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century* (University of Massachusetts), <http://www1.umassd.edu/ir/papers/2002/smith.doc>, [Accessed December 2014], p.7.

the leading exponents of the Scottish intelligentsia who had links to the industrial scene. As part of international networking and interaction, there is a less well recorded flow of doctrines between French and Scottish economists in the opposite direction. Adam Smith, for example, was influenced by the *Physiocrats* and was in correspondence with la Rochefoucauld's father.⁴¹ Many of Smith's concepts seem to be drawn directly from Turgot, an associate of the *philosophes* but with quite distinct and more advanced interpretations. In addition, Turgot was in correspondence with Hume in 1768. Jean Baptiste Say used Smith's work along with *Physiocrat* theory.⁴²

Chapter two of this thesis reviews what the travellers observed in the rural areas. Subsequent chapters go on to explore major economic and social issues of the period thematically. Chapter three considers the first of these areas, agriculture, where Britain in general was seen as the rival to be emulated, if not surpassed. The British agricultural leap forward, around 1690-1700 in England, a little later in Scotland, predated equivalent agricultural progress in France which took place around 1750-60.⁴³ It has been suggested that modern French society corresponded to the model that most enlightened *notables* or aristocrats wanted, since it was open to the agricultural improvements inspired by England.⁴⁴ Inevitably, the French tried to learn the secrets of British advance. Certainly some information was being disseminated in France and the French travellers examined Scottish agriculture to ascertain how advanced it was, with la Rochefoucauld representing the interest of enlightened French aristocrats. The word 'Improvement' is often associated with

⁴¹ Norman Scarfe, *To the Highlands in 1786*, The inquisitive journey of a young French aristocrat (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001), p.121, footnote 97.

⁴² Donald Winch, *The Emergence of Economics as a Science 1750-1870*, (London: Fontana, 1971), p.512, p.544. Jean Baptiste Say (1767-1832), a French economist and thinker. The *Physiocrats* based their philosophy on the idea that a country's wealth was in the land, and therefore that agriculture was at the heart of a nation's prosperity.

⁴³ Paul Bairoch, 'Agriculture and the Industrial Revolution 1700-1914', in Cipolla (ed.), *The Industrial Revolution*, The Fontana Economic History of Europe, Volume 3 (London & Glasgow: Collins/Fontana, 1973), p.455 & p.460.

⁴⁴ Christophe Charle, *A Social History of France in the 19th Century* (Oxford: Berg, 1994), p.19.

Enlightenment theories of progress, which, in the last two decades of the eighteenth century, showed some visible signs of implementation, when the French travellers came to Scotland.⁴⁵ Under the guise of 'improvement', there was information transfer in both directions; the French travellers had a role in this through their visits and through networking.⁴⁶

The issue of intervention by the governments of both countries is scrutinized in chapter three and also in chapter four which investigates industry. Government financial support of Scotland had non-economic motives, in particular to alter the Highland character to make clansmen industrious and godly.⁴⁷ There is evidence to suggest that Britain received technological transfer from France prior to the period but that later the ground had shifted.⁴⁸ Some countries offered prizes to their citizens for new inventions or instruments in a desperate bid to stay ahead of their rivals. France and Britain were the foremost contenders in the technological race, with Britain ahead in the eighteenth century, so it was inevitable that British engineering talent and machinery was in demand.⁴⁹ A wide range of industries attracted French attention, such as metal working, ship building and later, textiles. It has been noted that travellers between France and Britain were encouraged to bring home any useful technological skills they found in the race for the latest industrial developments. The travellers in this study brought back not only impressions but recorded in detail what they saw.

The advance and growth of urban areas was associated with economic progress and chapter five considers how the urban areas were described by the French travellers. Their journals document also the social interaction with wealthy

⁴⁵ It has been suggested that the Age of Improvement did comparatively little to improve, despite many improvers. Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London, Pimlico, 1992) p.345.

⁴⁶ In particular, la Rochefoucauld (father and son) with Arthur Young and Adam Smith. Also Faujas' reading of Young.

⁴⁷ Smout, *A History of the Scottish People*, p.207.

⁴⁸ e.g. in glass production.

⁴⁹ Smith, *Industrial Transfer Between Britain and France*, p.1.

and influential Scottish citizens in their homes which adds to what they wrote about life in the rural areas.

The final chapter investigates what the journals present of in the way of progress around the country. The French travellers to Scotland commented on the transport system, including the canals being built at this time. Most of the improvement work to Scotland's road system completed after 1745 was still quite new. The suppression of the Highlands was ironically effected by improving transport links, which served to increase trade and allowed movement of goods and people, including travellers. What they wrote emphasizes the contrast with the transport network in France which was poor, expensive, unreliable and made the distribution of goods difficult, thus restricting trade to the local area.⁵⁰ With a lack of money for construction, French roads had been built through *la corvée*, but this was inadequate to meet new demands and the travellers saw the contrast with the Scottish system being introduced whereby the government paid the military to carry out the work; political and economic need did bring changes in the system.⁵¹ Investment in transport systems is arguably a prerequisite for industrial growth and the travellers again saw the changes in funding methods; while great sums of money came from private sources, that was very little compared to what the government raised through the national debt.⁵²

Information about another country can come from many different sources but knowledge in the past often involved myths and half-truths passed on in verbal or written form which could build up a prejudicial picture.⁵³ Travel journals are one source of information, gathered at a particular point in time and in particular sites.

⁵⁰ Roger Price, *The Economic Modernisation of France 1730-1880* (London: Croom Helm Ltd. 1975), introduction and pp.1-2.

⁵¹ *la corvée* - the French system of forced labour to build roads. After British legislation allowing counties to raise taxes, there was a move away from statute labour in road building.

⁵² Peter Mathias, *The First Industrial Nation* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1969), p.105.

⁵³ Rackwitz, *Travels to Terra Incognita*, p.20.

Visitors' accounts invariably betray certain preconceptions, alongside descriptive material, observations and incidental remarks; collectively they reveal aspects of the country, its society and everyday life that might otherwise be lost. By the eighteenth century, travel was the main source of information about other countries as it involved direct contact with the country visited. Travellers brought back a mental picture of the other country which spread through their writings, conversations and publications.⁵⁴ However, they are not merely individuals writing of their experience in a personal way but are the product of many factors, filtered out from the collective psyche of society and of their times. Their reasons for travelling are often influenced by others; they in turn influence future travellers, indeed what they write can be directly aimed at potential travellers. Travel literature is not one simple genre but can include fiction and nonfiction, therefore each has to be evaluated in its own right.⁵⁵ Texts by foreign travellers often have the added dimension that they reveal national prejudices and the changing relations between countries. By the eighteenth century the travellers reported more logically and systematically than previously. Daniel Defoe's comments on the capacity of the national economy to make Britain greater were hugely significant, as they were founded on rational thought, reaching conclusions from empirical observations which lay at the heart of the principles of modern economic theory. Such pertinent remarks were rarely present in journals from previous eras.⁵⁶

Travellers write for a number of reasons which are not always self-evident and these hidden motives inform their manner of writing. Writing in their journals allows them to rationalize their experiences by referencing them to what they are

⁵⁴ François Crouzet, *Britain Ascendant*, p.465.

⁵⁵ See Larry Woolf, *Inventing Eastern Europe; The Map of civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994). Chapter 3, p.89 onwards, for analysis of both works by fictional and actual travellers to Eastern Europe.

⁵⁶ Berghoff & Barbara Korte (eds.), 'Britain and the Making of Modern Tourism' in *The making of modern tourism: the cultural history of the British experience, 1600-2000* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp.4&5.

used to at home, while at the same time allowing them to maintain contact with those they have left behind, at least on an intellectual level if not physically. This gives some stability and security to their situation by thinking of their home and loved ones. Being away from home is often stressful so travellers employ many devices to help overcome feelings of isolation and fear: they travel with companions and they cling to each other as a group to help minimize their insecurities; they employ guides to help in way finding and with language problems, but also to make a barrier between them and the unknown. Writing a journal on a daily basis is often an additional way of coping with the unknown since the very act of verbalizing in itself rationalizes their experiences. This study is confined to male writers so does not involve gender issues of female writers or travellers in the period.⁵⁷

Travellers go with hopes and expectations of seeing, learning, anticipating pleasure but their excitement is tempered by fear of the unknown. Therefore they prepare by reading what others have written to prepare for the journey. With increasing prosperity, there was a larger market from the late eighteenth century for books and periodicals featuring travel accounts which became more widespread. The influence of Pennant and other widely read sources in attracting other travellers to visit Scotland cannot be overemphasized.⁵⁸ Other contemporary sources of information about Scotland were literary works, poetry and novels. Travellers, better informed, could prepare more adequately for the trip, thus making travelling easier, safer and improve the experience. On the other hand, with only two generally accepted basic tours within Scotland, journals reveal repetitive lists of dates and visits to a few sites. There is the danger, too, that many travellers merely noted what

⁵⁷ See Betty Hagglund, *Tourists and Travellers, Women's Non-fictional Writing about Scotland, 1770-1830* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2010). Her work examines the trips of five females.

⁵⁸ Thomas Pennant's book *A Tour in Scotland 1769* ran to five editions. After the 1771 publication, he wrote that the remotest part of North Britain was '*inondée* (inundated) with southern visitors'.

they had expected to see.⁵⁹ The long tour went to Aberdeen, across to Inverness, down Loch Ness and back to Glasgow. The short tour to Edinburgh undertaken often for reasons of health or amusement continued to Glasgow, Loch Lomond, Inveraray, or Port Dunkeld, Taymouth. The trips of travellers in this study extended beyond the two basic tours so allow further insight into areas of Scotland less well visited by outsiders.

Generally, travellers' journals cannot be regarded as a complete record of their experiences since most are written by ordinary people expressing casual thoughts about events shortly after they happened. It is fair to say that, from the eighteenth century onwards, journals became more detailed and many attempted to be objective. The recording of events included thoughts, opinions, analysis and judgments to interpret the facts and description, augmenting factual writing to provide a more complete picture of what the travellers felt they were experiencing. These are key elements which the journals of travellers provide and which add depth to the understanding of other sources which document the past. Although not without prejudice, journals often note points which locals may disregard and historians overlook. Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886) recognized the need to base historical research on primary sources, to establish history as a discipline and, crucially, to understand the past as those who lived through it had viewed it.⁶⁰ Documents, therefore, should be analyzed for internal consistencies, including whether it was written by the attributed author, or if it had been altered. In this spirit, additions or modifications by scholars should be stripped away. The representation of history, therefore, is not static; constructions of the past differ according to the approaches and materials used, so that new evidence or a new approach can

⁵⁹ For information on Scottish Tours see Hagglund, *Tourists and Travellers*, p.36. Katherine Haldane Grenier, *Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770-1914: creating Caledonia* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p.9.

⁶⁰ Richard J. Evans, *In Defence of History*, (London: Granta Publications, 1997), pp.16-18.

modify the perception of the past. The journals used in this study reflect the beliefs of the period, through the eyes of those participating in the events, without the hindsight of present day commentators or overlaid with later philosophies.

The journal format gives an intimacy with the writer, while also conveying immediacy and transparency. In addition, the letter form, which la Rochefoucauld incorporates into his journal when writing to his father, promotes authenticity. The journals of Simond and Nodier are akin stylistically to open letters, which were often read aloud at social gatherings. The French MacDonald was the most introverted and his journal is a private diary. Both la Rochefoucauld and Faujas supplemented the text with explanatory drawings and sketches while Nodier added a few illustrations from his companion, Isabey.

The journals in this study were written by an atypical sample of travellers, chosen to represent a range of writing styles and personal expertise. In order to emphasize the merits and shortcomings of each journal, they are analyzed together thematically, within the socio-cultural context. Although the five travellers also visited other parts of Britain, this thesis limits the study to Scotland, except for some references considered essential to understanding the perspective of the authors.⁶¹ Three of the travellers chosen, la Rochefoucauld, Simond and the French MacDonald were contemporaries, born within two years of each other. Despite this, their journals are quite diverse, as they visited Scotland at a different stage in their lives, so that factors such as youthful enthusiasm versus age and experience come into play while their upbringing, background, interests and reasons for the visit were equally disparate.⁶² The era spanned by the visits showed changes in travelling conditions, in writing styles, also political, social and economic changes, and relations between Britain and France.

⁶¹ References from secondary sources to England or Britain have been used where direct reference to Scotland has not been available.

⁶² La Rochefoucauld was eighteen, Simond was forty, the French MacDonald was over sixty.

Each had chosen to come to Scotland and for most, Scotland was the goal of the trip. However, they represent different types of travellers. Although all could be deemed tourists in the sense that they toured around the country, Faujas and La Rochefoucauld could be termed 'scientific pilgrims' in keeping with the motivations of the Age of Enlightenment.⁶³ Motivation for both of these travellers was to record information for the general good and advancement of society, and thereby promote the dissemination of knowledge. La Rochefoucauld in particular may be classed as a political observer, writing for the purpose of reform in France. By contrast, Simond was on a pleasure trip. He amused himself by writing down what was of interest to him, and he thought, to his readers. Nodier in 1821 was primarily keen to visit the Scotland of history and of literature and this shaped his trip to visit the sights of Edinburgh and Glasgow and his wish to meet Walter Scott. His writing in a semi-fictional style was aimed at a literary audience. He was also a 'scientific pilgrim' as he studied plant and insect life on a field trip near Loch Lomond.⁶⁴ This excursion linked to his desire to see the places associated with Scott's novels and the Ossian legends.

Using terminology to distinguish between the different motivations of the visitors, Nodier was more of a 'tourist' in the modern sense of a holidaymaker whereas the Enlightenment writers were 'tourists' in the sense of those making the Grand Tour to broaden their horizons and acquire knowledge. Simond could be said to be a 'traveller' in that he moved restlessly from place to place for intellectual, social and personal gratification, but in a less goal orientated way than the Enlightenment thinkers.⁶⁵

⁶³ Jane Conroy, 'Changing Perspectives: French Travellers in Ireland, 1785-1835', in Jane Conroy (ed.), *Cross-cultural Travel: Papers from the Royal Irish International Symposium* (Galway: November 2002), pp.131-142.

⁶⁴ William Jackson Hooker, botanist, helped plan his trip.

⁶⁵ Alastair Durie, *Scotland for the Holidays* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press Ltd, 2003), p.6.

Travelogues were an important literary phenomenon of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, appearing regularly in France and Britain. The French travellers had read travelogues of Scotland in preparation for their trip. Nonetheless, there was a paucity of useful information for detailed route planning. The travellers had an outline plan but needed more information on route details as the journey progressed. The journals used in this thesis are in themselves not dissimilar to travelogues in many respects but were not primarily written to aid other travellers.

The Travellers and the Time Setting

Barthélemy Faujas de St Fond (1741-1819)⁶⁶

Faujas visited Britain in 1784, aged forty-three. His trip had the specific objective to visit the columnar basalt of Fingal's Cave on Staffa off the west coast of Scotland but encompassed other social and academic purposes, namely to make contact with learned, like-minded people and to study the life, culture and economics of Britain. He is representative of educated, wealthy travellers who visited other Western European countries in the period with a view to expand their own understanding and also to impart knowledge. From an upper middle-class provincial background, Faujas became a lawyer.⁶⁷ Several leading figures of the French Enlightenment were lawyers with a number of qualities in common. They epitomized logical, rational thought, along with open attitudes and precise use of language and were well versed in current theories.⁶⁸ Faujas was an expert in botany

⁶⁶ Faujas de St Fond, Barthélemy, *Voyage en Angleterre, en Ecosse et aux Iles Hébrides, ayant pour objet Les Sciences, les Arts, l'Histoire naturelle et les Mœurs* (Paris, 1797), two volumes. This study used the English version, *Travels in England, Scotland and the Hebrides, undertaken for the purpose of examining the state of The Arts, The Sciences, Natural History and Manners in Great Britain* (London, 1799), two volumes. The second volume of the original French publication was accessed on-line in 2010. Unfortunately, access to the website is no longer available.

⁶⁷ He was president of the *cour du sénéchal* (the provincial royal judicial court) in Montélimar (1765).

⁶⁸ Denis Diderot (1713-1784), George-Louis Buffon (1707-1788), Charles-Louis Montesquieu (1689-

and geology, subjects often studied in the era, and had devised a theory of the origins of volcanoes and discovered a deposit of pozzuolana in 1775 in the Velay.⁶⁹ He was granted various royal appointments prior to his visit to Britain.⁷⁰ In 1776 he made contact with Buffon, a well-respected international figure in the field of botany, and was made assistant naturalist at the *Jardin du Roi*.⁷¹ Faujas was appointed the first professor of geology at the *Jardin des Plantes* in 1793.⁷² In addition, he had absorbed the latest trends in agriculture and referred to Young's writings, noting features of Scottish agriculture.⁷³ In Scotland, he walked and studied the geology of the country, recording meticulously what he saw. His journal is wide ranging in scope but has several specific concentrations of content, in particular the coal industry, the Carron Iron Works, machinery and gadgets, and geology, which are of special relevance to the study of the period.

His earlier achievements allowed him access into the international scientific stage across Western Europe through correspondence and face to face meetings.⁷⁴ In a particularly intriguing example of European networking, Faujas had read Thomas Pennant's *A Tour in Scotland in 1769*. Pennant, one of the most eminent naturalists of the century, knew and maintained correspondence with many other scientific figures of his day, meeting Buffon in France in 1765 on a European journey where he encountered other naturalists and scientists.⁷⁵ It is possible that Faujas met Pennant through Buffon. Faujas, typical of the period, was interested in

1755).

⁶⁹ Published as *Recherches sur les volcans teints du Vivarais et du Velay*, 1778; *Minéralogie des volcans*, 1794; *Essai de Géologie* (1803-1809). Pozzuolana is a fine volcanic ash used for cement. A mineral named Faujasite is now called zeolite.

⁷⁰ He served as commissioner to the army in the Low Countries in 1780.

⁷¹ Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, became the curator in 1739.

⁷² A post he held until he was nearly eighty years of age.

⁷³ Arthur Young, *Travels in France during the Years 1787, 1788, 1789*, (1792).

⁷⁴ He corresponded with Sir Joseph Banks of the Royal Society, met Herschel and others in England. He knew Benjamin Franklin and quoted from his letters. Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, pp.154-159. He had letters of introduction to Lord Kaimes and the Duke of Argyll, amongst others.

⁷⁵ A.J. Youngson, *The making of classical Edinburgh, 1750-1840* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1966), pp.125-6. Thomas Pennant (1726 – 1798), had also met with Voltaire and corresponded with Linnaeus.

popular science, focusing often on things which were unusual, entertaining and spectacular and through other networks he gathered a cosmopolitan group to accompany him to Scotland for what was tantamount to a scientific expedition so at times his journal is like a report.⁷⁶ His first companion, William Thornton, was an authentic polymath.⁷⁷ Through him, Faujas was able to contact his relative, Dr. John Coakley Lettsome, while in England.⁷⁸ Faujas had met the second group member, the balloonist Count Paolo Andreani, in Paris and he had been introduced to 'M. de Mecies' in London.⁷⁹

Faujas' trip was influenced by travelogues of previous visitors to Scotland and a pamphlet of McPherson's translations of Ossian, though he wrote little about the arts in his journal.⁸⁰ The social and intellectual milieu of the Scottish urban areas was a primary focus of his visit, allowing the continuation of the cultural transfers which had both instigated his visit and permitted the trip to take place. Faujas' journal, which he published himself, is a valuable historical text, giving a personal insight into many issues of the era, largely because it is written like a scientific report in clear unambiguous language, intended to be circulated through an educated, intellectual and international audience. He used description factually rather than

⁷⁶ Thomas Munck, *The Enlightenment: A Comparative Social History, 1721-1794* (London: Arnold, 2000), p.13. Two other men joined the party en route: Patrick Fraser, a teacher and private tutor, who acted as an interpreter; and a British army officer, McDonald.

⁷⁷ William Thornton (1759 -1828) a British-American physician, inventor, painter, architect and designer of the United States Capitol Building, Washington, D.C.

⁷⁸ Dr John Coakley Lettsome (Lettsom or Letsom) (1744-1815), a Quaker, founded the Medical Society of London in 1773 and was one of the most active members of The Royal Philanthropic Society, founded in 1788.

⁷⁹ Count Paolo Andreani, 1763 -1823, made the first balloon ascents in Italy in 1784.

Faujas assisted the Mongolfier brothers in their experiments and published a two volume work, *Description des expériences de la machine aérostatique de MM. Montgolfier, &c.* (1783, 1784). De Mecies, known as James Smithson after his parents' death, founding the Smithsonian Institution. Smithsonian Libraries
http://www.sil.si.edu/Exhibitions/Smithson-to-Smithsonian/who_01.html [Accessed May 2014].

⁸⁰ John Knox's *A view of the British Empire, more especially Scotland* (Edinburgh: J. Walter; Shepperson and Reynolds; W. Richardson; and W. Gordon, 1784). Samuel Johnson's *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, (1775). Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.311. Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.294. *Ancient Erse Poems collected by Mr Hill, among The Scottish Highlands, in order to illustrate the Ossian of McPherson.* (no publication details available). Faujas had met Mr Hill in France.

decoratively. His meetings with leading figures of the day throughout his trip add further to debates on many current economic, technical and industrial issues. Faujas wrote that his journal was 'prepared' for publication, without explaining to what extent it had been altered or amended but there are no indications that the changes were other than simple corrections of grammar or spelling.⁸¹ An English translation, published in 1799, only two years after the French version, was used in this study. In conjunction, access to the second volume of the original French version was available sporadically on-line. The translation was remarkably faithful to the original, both in vocabulary, content and style. In addition, the French version contained a glossary of English terms and references to place names.

The map below shows his route through Scotland. After Glasgow, the trip did not conform to either of the two basic tour patterns.

⁸¹ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, preface.



Faujas' visit to Staffa.

Outward Journey

Newcastle → Edinburgh → Glasgow → Dumbarton → Loch Lomond → Luss
→ Tarbet → Loch Fyne → Inveraray → Dalmally → Loch Awe → Oban
→ Mull → Aros → Torloisk → Staffa.

Additional Loop

Edinburgh → Falkirk → Stirling → Alloa → Edinburgh.

Return Journey

Staffa → Torloisk → Aros → Oban → Dalmally → Tyndrum → Perth → St Andrews
→ Largo → Leven → Kirkcaldy → Kinghorn → Leith → Edinburgh → Carlisle.

La Rochefoucauld was nineteen when he visited Scotland with his tutor and companion, Maximilien de Lazowski, in 1786. He had already toured France, aged fourteen, with his brother to study farming. Both had subsequently spent a year in Suffolk with Arthur Young.⁸³ The Scottish trip was intended to investigate Scottish agricultural and industrial practices for his father, Duc de Liancourt (later Duc de la Rochefoucauld), whose family was one of the aristocratic élite which held the greatest proportion of the most prestigious and wealthy royal posts.⁸⁴ La Rochefoucauld senior was a leading member of a Franco-British network of philanthropists, politicians and philosophers, which developed new forms of social support, in particular charity schools.⁸⁵ La Rochefoucauld senior wrote on economics, including translating English works, and was heavily involved in modernization of industry and education, and a scientific approach to agriculture, following Physiocrat philosophy.⁸⁶ He intended to present a paper to King Louis XVI based on the Scottish trip, to effect reforms in France. The son's visit to Scotland was part of an extensive Franco-Scottish and cultural network effecting social and intellectual transfers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

⁸² Norman Scarfe, *To the Highlands in 1786, The Inquisitive Journey of a Young French Aristocrat* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001). The translation by Norman Scarfe was made from a microfiche of the original unpublished text.

⁸³ Arthur Young, 1741-1821, pioneer linking farming with economic conditions who travelled extensively in France.

⁸⁴ Colin Jones, *The Great Nation: France from Louis XV to Napoleon* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), p.96. Benefices often derived from Church income.

⁸⁵ Mariana Saad, 'Le réseau franco-britannique du *Recueil* Duquesnoy', in Ann Thomson, Simon Burrows, & Edmond Dziembowski (eds.), *Cultural transfers: France and Britain in the long eighteenth Century* (University of Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 2010), p.103. La Rochefoucauld senior was one of the first subscribers to the soup kitchens of Benjamin Delessert. They also set up mutual societies, work houses and provident societies, pp.108-9.

⁸⁶ After the drought of 1785, a committee was of scholars, agriculturists and economists, investigated and reported on agriculture, from 1785 to 1787. In the group, the inspector of factories Lazowski, and Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Lavoisier, the botanist du Tillet, the economist Dupont de Nemours. Henri Sée, *Economic and Social Conditions in France During the Eighteenth Century*, translated by Edwin H. Zeydel (Kitchener: Batoche Books, 2004), originally published 1927, translation of *La France Économique et Sociale Au XVIIIe Siècle* This edition 2004 Batoche Books batoche@gto.net [Accessed December 2014], pp.24-5.

La Rochefoucauld (the son) had been well trained in observing and reporting from his earlier trips. He used Arthur Young's library for three months in preparation for the Scottish trip.⁸⁷ La Rochefoucauld's journal, like that of Faujas, is focused on specific current issues and themes and is also written in straightforward, unambiguous language, to be prepared for the king and court. It is largely written as a short thesis but it is the additional information given to la Rochefoucauld in conversations with workers on the land that is particularly revealing as a source of detail not usually found in journals. In addition, he had an astute mind, allowing him to grasp interconnections in many situations, making his comments and personal observations both perceptive and revealing in their conclusions. An English translation from the microfiche copy of the original documents was used. Despite his experience in producing English versions of other journals of la Rochefoucauld and his brother, Norman Scarfe, the translator, had difficulty in deciphering some of the original unpublished hand-written text, so has included some short French extracts to aid the reader.⁸⁸

He made the long tour going north from Edinburgh up the east coast to Aberdeen, then to Inverness, south via Loch Ness to Glasgow. Despite the complex social contacts between his family and figures in Edinburgh it is surprising that la Rochefoucauld did not stay with any well-to-do Scottish people, though, like Faujas he spent quite an amount of time in Edinburgh in the company of academics.⁸⁹ By mingling more with ordinary folk, however, he gave his father a clearer picture of living standards of the general population so perhaps this was intentional.

Below is the route he took round Scotland.

⁸⁷ Scarfe, *To the Highlands* p.4.

⁸⁸ *Innocent Espionage: The La Rochefoucauld Brothers' Tour of England in 1785* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1995). *A Frenchman's Year in Suffolk: French Impressions of Suffolk Life in 1784* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1988).

⁸⁹ His father was in correspondence with Adam Smith



La Rochefoucauld's trip round Scotland in 1786.

Newcastle → Berwick on Tweed → Edinburgh → Blair Adam → Perth
 → Dundee → Arbroath → Montrose → Aberdeen → Banff → Nairn
 → Fort George → Inverness → Fort William → Portnacroish → Loch Etive
 → Bonawe, → Inveraray → Loch Lomond → Dumbarton → Glasgow
 → Paisley → Ayr → Ballantrae → Port Patrick → to Ireland.

Louis Simond (1767-1831)⁹⁰

In 1810-11, Simond, aged forty-three, made an extended tour of Great Britain, lasting twenty-one months. He travelled with his English wife, niece of John Wilkes.⁹¹ Born in Lyon in France into a prosperous Protestant family, Simond had emigrated to the United States aged twenty, just before the French Revolution, becoming a successful New York merchant, keeping in contact with Lyon through his business connections.⁹² Of particular historical significance is that he viewed France from a distance, filtered through his long stay in the society of the New World. His journal is written in a more relaxed and expansive style than the two previous travellers and his literary interests are more evident although he makes little detailed reference to his knowledge of British history and culture.⁹³ The journal contains less specialized detail and is more anecdotal, therefore accessible to a wider reading public. In that respect, his journal is more representative of the majority of travellers who kept a diary of their trip. In addition, he added more personal comments than the previous writers. The intended audience for his journal was his extended family and friends. Unlike the other travellers of this study, he wrote his journal in English, later translating it into French, and he had both versions published. His journey fits with the short tour but it is interesting that he returned to Scotland within the same trip, which is also covered in his journal. He was a man comfortable in society and he enjoyed the pleasure and intellectual stimulation that

⁹⁰ Louis Simond, *Journal of a Tour and Residence in Great Britain: During the Years 1810 and 1811* (Edinburgh: 1815). It was written originally in English and published anonymously by a 'French Traveller'. This study used Christopher Hibbert's version, *Louis Simond, An American in Regency England: The journal of a tour in 1810-1811* (London: R. Maxwell, 1968). The full two volume English version was accessed on-line in 2010 but is no longer available.

⁹¹ John Wilkes (1725 –1797) English radical, journalist, and politician, who set up, newspaper, *The North Briton* in 1762.

⁹² In 1795 his New York company invested in Braun, Bergasse Frères of Lyon, specializing in banking, shipping and the commission business.

⁹³ He read in English the works of Walter Scott, quoted Robert Burns, had studied English history, including all eight volumes of Hume's *England*, Burke's pamphlet in 1791, and *British Theater* in 1791, through his membership of the New York Society Library 1790 -1791.

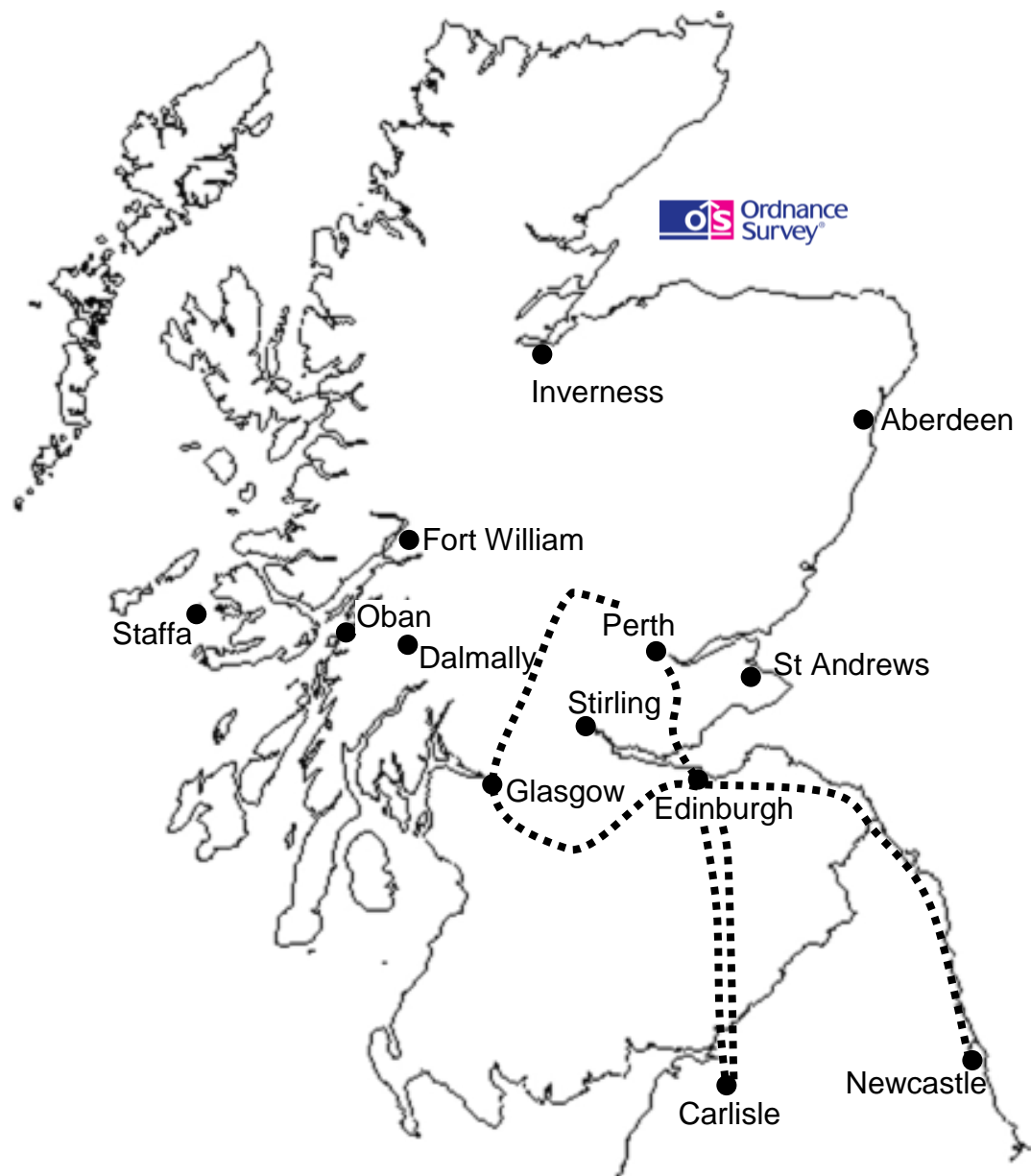
the towns of Scotland had to offer. He also enjoyed many contacts with British people through networking which he indicated that he exploited socially.

Although his trip was an extended holiday, Simond was interested in the economy, exploring financial aspects of production. His monetary knowledge derived from years as a merchant and the problems of exporting from America.⁹⁴ His journal mirrors the Enlightenment crystallization in the new science of economics from generalized thinking into applied form, and presents an authentic and at times detailed view of the monetary position of Scotland. His journal is much less focused than those of Faujas and la Rochefoucauld as Simond wrote randomly about disparate subjects which took his interest and did not write consistently on a daily basis. A shortened English version was used in this study while other sections in both French and English have been accessed on-line.⁹⁵

Below is the map of his travels in Scotland.

⁹⁴ The United States, then England [*sic*] were top of the list of France's customers in 1825 while imports from from England ranked fourth.

⁹⁵ For example, an extended version of his visit to the Lanark mill given as pp. 278-9, 283-6 in <http://www.umassd.edu/ir/Resources/TextileIndustry/t19.doc> . Also extended version of his notes on a talk about the theories of James Hutton, the geologist (1726 -1797), web site unknown.



Simond's two trips to Scotland in 1810-1811.

Carlisle → Longtown → Langholm → Hawick → Selkirk → Edinburgh → Lanark
 → Glasgow → Killin → Taymouth → Dunkeld → Edinburgh → Melrose
 → Windermere

Windermere → Gretna → Edinburgh → Berwick → Alnwick.

Charles Nodier (1780-1844)⁹⁶

Nodier was forty-one when he came to Scotland in 1821. He wrote that his visit lasted fifty days but as he did not date his journal entries, this may not be accurate. His life spanned a difficult transitional historical era as he had experienced the French Revolution, the post Revolution bloodbath, the British wars with Napoleon and the Bourbon Restoration, leaving him with mixed political attitudes. Nodier studied English and German, compiled dictionaries, and wrote on the subject of linguistics and philology. This was curiously combined with a strong interest in nature, especially entomology, botany, history, geography but he also dabbled in political writing.⁹⁷ He became a librarian in his native town of Besançon. He is best remembered, not for his works of fiction, but for the fact that his home became a rallying place for a literary group of young men, such as Victor Hugo and Alfred de Musset who were much influenced by him.⁹⁸

Like Faujas, he had read widely about Scotland, including the latest work on Scottish plants, *Flora Scotica* by William Jackson Hooker, 1821.⁹⁹ Networking, too, was a crucial element in the planning of his trip and Nodier listed a number of contacts in Britain who helped him though he does not indicate how they assisted him.¹⁰⁰ It is curious that he did not write about meeting them or indeed any other prominent figures of Scottish society while in the country.

⁹⁶ Nodier, Charles, *Promenade de Dieppe aux montagnes d'Ecosse* (Paris, 1821). The original French version was accessed through the Bibliothèque nationale de France, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k617905.r=promenade+en+ecosse.langEN> [Accessed 2002 until December 2014]. All translations from the journal were made by the author of this thesis.

⁹⁷ He wrote a dissertation on the antennae of insects and collected rare books.

⁹⁸ Victor Hugo (1802-1885), a French Romantic poet, novelist, and dramatist. Alfred de Musset (1810-1857), a French dramatist, poet, and novelist.

⁹⁹ Sir William Jackson Hooker, FRS (1785 –1865), English botanist and illustrator, first Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew & Regius Professor of Botany at Glasgow University.

¹⁰⁰ Nodier, *Promenade*, p.9. M. le comte de Caraman, chargé d'affaires in England. M. Hugot, consul in Edinburgh. M. Herman, a Glasgow businessman, Lord Fife and General Dulf (misspelling of Duff?).

One of the values of Nodier's journal, which he himself published, is as an unusual example of a travel diary. At the beginning of his trip, while in England, his journal was fairly unremarkable, almost pedestrian, recording visits to theatres and historic buildings but when he arrived near the Scottish border, it took on a different, almost dream-like quality, certainly not based on reality. He recorded very little either of his actual experiences, writing spasmodically, certainly not daily like most diarists and the work is characterized by its Romantic, lyrical style. His objective in coming to Scotland was to see the countryside settings for the Ossian poems and the novels of Sir Walter Scott so seems to have based his writing on his interest in literature especially myths and legends.¹⁰¹ He was further influenced in his writing by his companions, three French painters, Eugène Isabey, Alphonse de Cailleux, a future director of the Louvre, and Baron Isidore Justin Séverin Taylor, also a writer. Nodier created word pictures in Scotland, rather than writing factual descriptions. He called his trip *une promenade* (a jaunt), which sums up how it was quite different from the factual trip reports of the three earlier travellers. Determined to revolt against the formulas of expression of scientific thought, the journal shows an aesthetic and cultural move from Enlightenment to Romantic and from reason to sensual appreciation. By rejecting a rational, logical approach to writing, he explored ways of creating emotional impressions of his experiences. In addition, what he wrote must be accepted in a non-literal sense as he was ambiguous in distinguishing between reality and the fictitious. Nodier wrote in the preface that he wanted to write a book based on his trip to Scotland, but clearly stated that he did not intend to write a conventional guide book or travelogue. In a letter to his wife printed at the beginning of the journal, he said he was writing an account of his trip

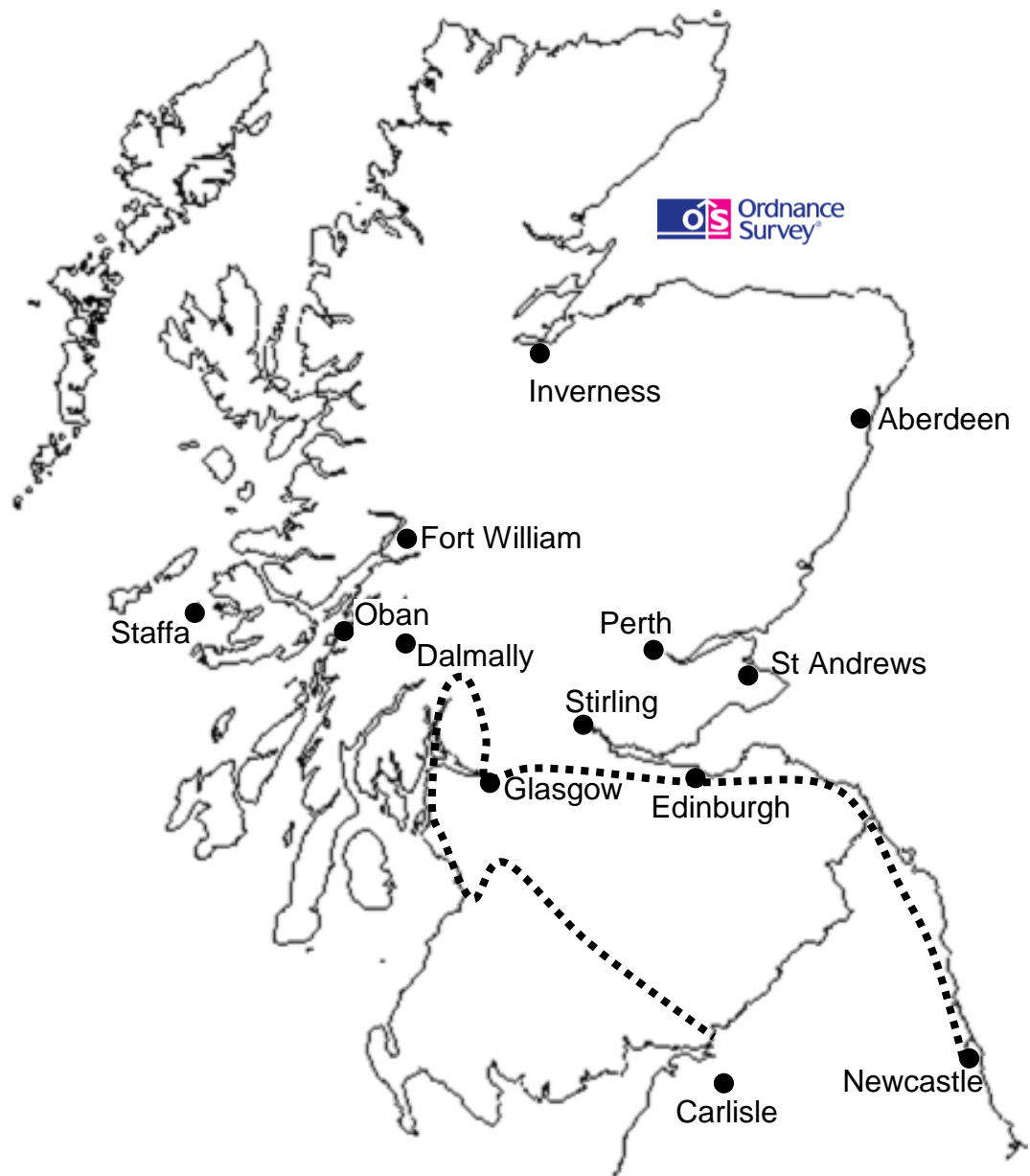
¹⁰¹ He had collected folktales while in Illyria In 1811 Nodier was editor of a polyglot journal, the Illyrian Telegraph in Ljubljana. The Illyrian Provinces was an autonomous province of the Napoleonic French Empire, established in 1809, on the territories along the north and east Adriatic coasts.

so she could share the sensations of his experience.¹⁰² He did not want to see Scotland as it really was but wanted to experience it emotionally as the background to his fantasies. Much of his own work was of a fantastical nature where he chronicled 'the marvellous' in literature. His fascination with folklore, the supernatural, the oneiric, madness, and the vox populi enriched many of his tales.¹⁰³ This study used the original French text held in Bibliothèque nationale de France and all translations were made by the author of this thesis.

The map below shows how his trip was concentrated in the central and southern part of Scotland.

¹⁰² Nodier, *Promenade*, preface, p.5, and a letter from Fécamp, 11 June 1821, p.21.

¹⁰³ He was the first head of the French Romantic movement, hosted its first cénacle (salon) from 1824 to 1827, and advanced the careers of Vigny, Musset, and Hugo. His tales include *Infernalina* (1822); *Smarra, ou les démons de la nuit* (1821); *Trilby, ou le lutin d'Argail* (1822).



Nodier's trip to Scotland in 1821.

Newcastle → Berwick → Edinburgh → Glasgow → Loch Lomond → Luss → Tarbet
 → Ben Lomond → Loch Katrine → Loch Long → Ayr → Kilmarnock → Sanquhar
 → Gretna.

Alexandre MacDonald (1765-1840)¹⁰⁴

The French MacDonald visited Scotland in 1825, aged sixty.¹⁰⁵ His father was Neil MacEachen of clan MacDonald, who had lived in poverty in exile with the Jacobite Scots community in Sancerre with his French wife.¹⁰⁶ A good education, provided by members of the Scots Sancerre community, had enabled the French MacDonald to enter the army.¹⁰⁷ He had served with Napoleon as a Marshal and been honoured as Duke of Tarentum. He was Secretary of State in the government of Louis XVIII and a member of the king's Privy Council. He was treated as a dignitary throughout his stay in Britain and was accompanied throughout by a relative, Macdonald of Staffa.¹⁰⁸ Despite his great success, he endured a period of exile which he spent as a gentleman farmer on his estate at Courcelles-le Roy in France. His journal reveals he was obviously keenly interested in the natural surroundings.¹⁰⁹ By the time of his visit in the 1820s, he had become a pragmatic, wealthy French elder statesman.

His trip had quite specific intertwined objectives: to go to Uist to see his ancestral homeland on Uist and sites connected to the Jacobites; and to meet his clan. His journal is a unique blend of French and Scottish cultural outlooks synthesized over an extended period. He already had a vision of pre-1745 Scotland,

¹⁰⁴ Jean-Didier Hache & Domhnall Uilleam Stiùbhart, *The French MacDonald: Journey of a Marshal of Napoleon In The Highlands and Islands of Scotland* (Isle of Lewis: The Islands Book Trust, 2007). Didier Hache translated the journal from the transcription made by Mathilde de Massa, the French MacDonald's granddaughter. The original French manuscript has not been published.

¹⁰⁵ It is unclear if he was known by this sobriquet during his life time. There is evidence of him being known in Scotland as Marshall MacDonald, Duke of Tarentum. Hache, *The French MacDonald*, p.54, p.63, p.132. He was a French citizen. Ibid, p.36.

¹⁰⁶ His father had helped Charles Edward Stuart to escape to France after the 1745 Rebellion, via Neil's lands on Uist; then to France, aided by Flora MacDonald, a relative. It is likely that Neil used the name MacDonald to cover his identity. See Hache, *The French MacDonald*, pp.11-30.

¹⁰⁷ He had a glittering career in France's revolutionary period as a soldier, diplomat & governor of Rome.

¹⁰⁸ A naval cutter at his disposal while in the north of Scotland. He was presented in both Houses of Parliament in London. Macdonald of Staffa, Sheriff of Stirlingshire, ruling elder for the Church of Scotland, Honorary secretary to the Highland & Agricultural Society of Scotland, friend of Walter Scott.

¹⁰⁹ He wrote a paper on economic geography, *Observations générales sur l'Angleterre, l'Ecosse et l'Irlande*, 1825, held in Centre historique des Archives nationales. His exile was from 1804 to 1807.

its clans and battles from his Jacobite childhood which he wanted to see for himself. His somewhat romantic preconceptions of his homeland became tempered during the trip by a desire to help his relatives. The journal is a valuable source of information from an era of cordial relationships between France and Britain. It also serves as a yardstick to measure the Scottish progress in transport and the economy in comparison with the earlier journals examined here. As with Faujas, his trip reveals underlying trends of international and national networking, especially through the clan MacDonald, who held high offices in both the state and the Church.¹¹⁰ He also had close personal links with the freemasons, having been a Grand Master of a lodge.¹¹¹

This journal is the only one from the study which was intended as a completely private rather than public diary, forming part of his memoirs for his one year old son. His writing is clear, succinct and largely factual and is probably a unique record of a family as Scottish and then French Jacobites. This study used an English translation by a Frenchman, Didier Hache, from a copy of the original version made by a descendant of the French MacDonald. There has been no access to the original unpublished manuscript. There is a large number of places in the translation where it was found difficult to decipher the handwriting, leaving doubt in a number of details, especially the names of both persons and places.¹¹² At times, it is possible to detect a poor English translation and there is a large number of places where Hache admits he had difficulty in reading particular words.

The map below shows the trip, partly by road and partly by boat.

¹¹⁰ Hache, *The French MacDonald*, p.130. A MacDonald relative was a Colonel in the Artillery, p.159. A retired Major MacDonald is mentioned, p.173-4 and the bishop of Lismore was a MacDonald.

¹¹¹ For the close links between Scotland and the French freemasons, in particular Jacobite aristocrats who took refuge in France, see Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire, 'Quand les francs-maçons signent des traités diplomatiques: circulations et échanges maçonniques entre France et Angleterre (1765-1776)', in Ann Thomson, Simon Burrows, & Edmond Dziembowski (eds.), *Cultural transfers: France and Britain in the long eighteenth Century* (University of Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2010).

¹¹² For example, Hache, *The French MacDonald*, p.139 & footnote. Schoone is Scone (palace).



The French MacDonald's Scottish Tour of 1825.

Outward Journey

Edinburgh → Linlithgow → Stirling → Perth → Inverness → down Loch Ness
→ Borrowdale → Arisaig → past Skye, Eigg, Rum, Sanday, Canna, Skipport,
→ South Uist.

Return Journey

South Uist → Staffa → Oban → Ireland → Loch Lomond → Glasgow → Carlisle.

From the Enlightenment to Romanticism

The first two of the French travellers came to Scotland in the late eighteenth century, towards the end of the period known as the Enlightenment. An 'enlightened' individual gained empowerment through the use of reason, as it changed and modified the relationship between the individual will and authority. Even what had been previously accepted was challenged. It was an age of discovery when everything was deemed learnable and possible. In France, Enlightenment was strongly associated with anti-government and anti-Church radicalism and the struggle against censorship. In Britain, it was more of a philosophical movement largely ignored by the government, which, as a constitutional monarchy, did not feel threatened by it. What is exceptionally significant is that Scotland, a small and poor country, on the fringes of Europe had played a highly important role in the Enlightenment. Although French was the *lingua franca* of the era, underlining the active part played by Frenchmen in the transfer of views, Scots thinkers made world-renowned academic contributions to the movement, along with practical innovations.

Faujas and la Rochefoucauld were part of this loose international movement who desired to advance knowledge through rational thought and observation to test and verify theories. Their journals were written in this spirit of intellectual rigour and their publication was intended as part of an international intellectual exchange, through the network of communication known as 'the Republic of Letters'.¹¹³ They were already familiar with the work of a number of prominent Scottish thinkers and corresponded with them before visiting Scotland. All were united in a desire to reform society through progress and humanitarianism.¹¹⁴ Both Faujas and La

¹¹³ Some historians attribute the name to the Huguenot Pierre Bayle (1647-1706), who translated the term in his journal in 1664 *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, a periodical devoted to reviews of current publications. Others feel the name derives from Plato's *Republic*, circa 380 B.C.

¹¹⁴ Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776), sought to promote the greater good of mankind.

Rochefoucauld were familiar with the work of Adam Smith and met with him during their sojourns in Edinburgh. Economic motives underpinned both Faujas' and La Rochefoucauld's visits.

The Republic of Letters was not merely a platform for discussion. This cultural movement of intellectuals in the eighteenth century aimed to reform society and advance knowledge by promoting rational thought and intellectual exchange. The movement opposed superstition, intolerance and abuses in both Church and state but did not necessarily oppose religion in itself. Its members promoted all branches of science through more precise techniques of observing, reporting, listing, measuring and categorizing than in previous centuries. This led ultimately to the standardization of weights and measures.¹¹⁵ Both Faujas and La Rochefoucauld exemplify this approach to meticulous recording in their journals. La Rochefoucauld referred to Carl Linnaeus, the great exponent of how to categorize plants whose methods were copied in other fields.¹¹⁶ This methodology became interdisciplinary, encompassing industry, agriculture, geology and gradually notions of health, race and identity, all topics discussed in depth by Faujas and La Rochefoucauld in their Scottish journals. By using skepticism, thinkers could maximize the potential of the intellect to analyze information and search for answers. They emphasized the notion that knowledge could and should be used for practical purposes, to invent machines, plan towns, upgrade transport links and improve communication - in short, to improve life. Faujas and La Rochefoucauld both came to Scotland with the express intention of seeing the effects of this in practice and both were especially fascinated by the transformation into modern inventions, machines, tools and gadgets. Their journals are examples of Enlightenment methodology allowing historians access to their opinions of and reactions to Scottish technology.

¹¹⁵ Thomas Munck, *The Enlightenment: A Comparative Social History, 1721-1794* (London: Arnold, 2000), p.13.

¹¹⁶ Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778), the Swedish botanist, physician, and zoologist.

In the Age of Reason, history was used to find examples where the 'dangerous' forces of superstition, fanaticism and religious belief had caused the downfall of political régimes and could do so again if not eradicated.¹¹⁷ It has been suggested that the Enlightenment arose from the Protestant reaction to the Catholic counter-reformation, when the philosophical views of the past two centuries crystallized into a coherent world view; thus the use of rational thought created opposition to superstition and intolerance. This antagonism was to abuses in both Church and State but not to religion itself. Both Faujas and La Rochefoucauld showed interest in religion in Scotland, with Faujas connecting religion with morals.

The later travellers of this study, Simond, Nodier and the French MacDonald, were influenced by the legacy of the Enlightenment but more heavily by subsequent shifts in attitudes. In general, the centre of gravity in travel and travel writing was realigned from the impersonal to the subjective, from the conventional to the moderately adventurous, from the upper to the middle class, from European to domestic tourism, as average travellers searched for what they could find within a short distance from home.¹¹⁸

The immediate post-Enlightenment period saw the move towards capitalism and further industrialization continuing, stimulated by the secularization and rationalism of the previous century, but with attitudes changing and diverging in various countries. The dominance of Enlightenment principles lost some grip: the altruism of the eighteenth century to promote the good of mankind was to some extent replaced by egotism in the nineteenth century as motivations to gain personal wealth dominated and reading for personal pleasure took precedence over the study

¹¹⁷ Richard J. Evans, *In Defence of History* (London: Granta Publications, 1997), pp.5-16. Evans was discussing Edward Gibbon's (1737-1794) *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire: 1776-1788*, volume I published 1776, Volumes II and III in 1781 and Volumes IV,V & VI in 1788-99.

¹¹⁸ Glendening, John, *The High Road: Romantic Tourism, Scotland, and Literature, 1720-1820* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd,1997), p.3.

of didactic treatises. Simond epitomized many of these characteristics. He wrote his journal as a collection of witty, anecdotal entries along with some serious analysis. He also evaluated what he saw in terms of money, price and return value. His journal shows some of the cultural progression from Enlightenment towards the Romantic and is distinctly different from the earlier two, both in content, style and analysis. As an historical document, it contrasts with the previous travellers' writing, allowing contrasts between the driving forces of each era.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Enlightenment was giving way to a reaction in Europe. This developed in some instances into Romanticism, a movement which began early in Britain and influenced literature and the arts. After a later start in France, the movement was at its peak there from around 1800 to 1840. In the place of rational thought, the senses dominated, allowing natural responses in a spontaneous reaction to sights and sounds, stressing emotion as the authentic source of aesthetic experience.¹¹⁹ This approach often resulted in the rejection of the values of the Enlightenment. Each of the last two French travellers showed aspects of Romantic views. Nodier was also particularly hostile towards Enlightenment values though not the French MacDonald, who was less extreme but still emotional in his views. There was a mingling of artistic and literary genres, giving rise to a new aesthetic category emphasizing picturesque qualities. Nodier was more interested in form and presentation rather than facts, with a tendency to enhance incidents using his verbal skills and thereby fictionalize them. He was steeped in the literature of Walter Scott and Ossian, giving Romantic descriptions of nature, based on what he expected to see, which underlines the need for caution in scrutinizing his journal for historical content. His work was innovative, waiving the traditional rules of French literature. He wrote briefly and spasmodically, lacking the

¹¹⁹ See for example *Lyrical Ballads* which appeared in 1798 by William Wordsworth (1770-1850) and Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834) and various other works by each author.

scientific rigour of the Enlightenment travellers or the more concentrated approach of Simond. However, he adopted a more objective, scientific approach in his references to geology and plant species, with occasional factual references, harking back to Enlightenment methods, so his journal is more multi-layered than it first appears. There were certain features of Nodier's response to his experiences in the Scottish countryside which are reminiscent of the Gothic novel, an important precursor of one strain of Romanticism, placing new emphasis on the strong, negative emotions of apprehension, horror, terror and awe, often of untamed nature.¹²⁰

Idealizing the past was a noted feature of some branches of Romanticism. The French MacDonald, although pragmatic about living in the modern era, was intent on discovering his Jacobite heritage and his Scottish clan roots. Like Nodier, he looked back to what he considered a more glorious age than the present. Nodier's journal goes much further than that of the French MacDonald to escape from reality. Nodier uses the power of the imagination in an attempt to nullify aspects of the present, namely, the Industrial Revolution, demographic growth, urbanization and industrialism. He uses another means of escaping, common to many Romantics, by seeking elsewhere to find the exotic and the unfamiliar. Ossian and the sites connected to him fulfilled these needs for many like Nodier who believed that folk art and ancient custom represented something noble. In his journal, Nodier represented Highlanders and gypsies in this way.

The visits of early French travellers to Scotland developed from the tradition of tourists from the seventeenth century onwards making the Grand Tour in Europe, with an established schedule to see the cultural sights, though in this case the French travellers had alternative objectives. Some of the later travellers took on

¹²⁰ Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764) is an early example.

elements of touring to visit sites connected to popular writers.¹²¹ Although each traveller displayed strong tendencies to think within certain parameters, the authors should not be typecast by era or philosophy. While they should not be strictly classified as Anglophiles, neither were they hidebound in the narrow caricature of Anglophobes with definable strong prejudices against Britain. They tended not to make overt value judgments, though their attitudes are sometimes transparent. The travellers were more cosmopolitan than French, in keeping with the upper echelons of European and American society.

All intended to have their journals either published or read by some audience, though in the case of the French MacDonald, his journal was exclusively for his son.¹²² This leads to the point that it must be recognized that the journals are to some extent self-aware which results in a 'consciously shaped verbal construct'.¹²³ In that sense, they are not entirely open and on some occasions the writers seem to be withholding their personal stance. Most of the travellers used the diary form, recording events on a daily basis, though sometimes retrospectively. La Rochefoucauld combined the diary form with letters home, which have been kept as part of his journal. Other journals, especially that of Simond and Nodier, read like an open letter, as if the writer has a vision of friends or acquaintances in mind as he pens events. The literary style of the travellers varies and therefore impinges on how the information can be interpreted. The travellers used a variety of the current literary conventions and sometimes used set phrases to describe what they saw.¹²⁴ La Rochefoucauld used the literary device which Montesquieu employs in his *Persian Letters* of sometimes decrying what he saw in Scotland in an attempt to

¹²¹ Alastair Durie, *Scotland for the Holidays: Tourism in Scotland c.1780-1939* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press Ltd, 2003), p.6.

¹²² For intended audience for each traveller see above, Faujas p.23, la Rochefoucauld p.26, Simond p.29 and Nodier p.33.

¹²³ Betty Hagglund, *Tourists and Travellers, Women's Non-fictional Writing about Scotland, 1770-1830* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2010).

¹²⁴ For example Scarfe, *To the Highlands*, p.148.

show up the faults in France. In contrast, Nodier was intent on producing a unique snapshot of each scene so he used a much wider range of vocabulary and a variety of literary forms, including references to classical literature. This raises the question of language usage of the period.¹²⁵ The French travellers had read travelogues about Scotland. These were an important literary phenomenon of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries appearing regularly in France and Britain. Nonetheless, there was a paucity of useful information in printed form.

Where possible, the original language version of the journals has been used, in an effort to establish their focus and context. Faujas' journal is the longest of those examined. Running to two volumes, his stay in Scotland amounts to almost half of the total text, split between the volumes. La Rochefoucauld's journal is not quite as long as Faujas' but the Scottish part is at least three quarters of the whole diary. What has been accessed in Simond's journal represents a small volume of writing compared to the previous two journals. Nodier's journal is around three hundred pages long, though each page is short, with the Scottish section around half of the total length. The French Macdonald's diary for his time in Scotland is considerably longer than either Simond's or Nodier's. The journals are studied together in the context of the development of tourism and tourist writing.

¹²⁵ Consider the meaning of the word 'awful' in the present as opposed to 'aweful' (awe inspiring) in The eighteenth century.

Chapter 1 The Literature of Travel

Il mondo è un libro e quelli che non viaggiano ne leggono solo una parte. (*The world is a book and if you have not travelled, you have only read a part of it.*)¹

This chapter surveys secondary literature on the development of tourism in Europe up to the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The literature concentrates on analysis of travel journals. The texts themselves, written over many centuries, are evaluated and contrasted as historical sources. They are grouped under various destinations, beginning with Scotland then within Western Europe, and finally to Eastern Europe and beyond. The chapter investigates factors which may explain why travellers were inclined to travel within Western Europe rather than heading further east and discusses the effect of these journals on their readers. This leads into a more particular analysis of the factors determining how and why the five French travellers chosen for this present study were drawn to visit Scotland, and what aided their choice and facilitated their journeys.

1

There are, inevitably, few records from travellers to Scotland from many centuries ago although P. Hume Brown has published a collection of accounts by travellers who visited Scotland before 1700.² With little biographical information available about the authors of the journals, their scholarly independence is unclear and therefore it is difficult to evaluate what they wrote. It is surprising that these journals have been neglected by historians as they emphasize factual aspects of the visits in a realistic if limited picture of Scotland, its countryside and its towns. The emphasis in the collection is on short journals or extracts in an annotated anthology of literary texts which does little to promote the travel journal as a historical

¹ My translation. The phrase is attributed to St. Augustine.

² P. Hume Brown, *Early Travellers to Scotland*, 1891 (published by David Douglas, facsimile version, James Thin: Edinburgh, 1978).

document. The irony is that they were collected in order to counteract the negative effects of Scottish and English chroniclers, who perpetuated negative myths about Scotland.

Maurice Lindsay's covers a long time span but uses five accounts which Hume Brown omits. His work shows that travel journals written from the eighteenth century onwards are more representative of various levels of society, giving a more balanced picture of life in the period than those written prior to 1700.³ The use of journals from the early modern period gives access for social historians to essential contemporary information gleaned on the spot, a point taken up by this present study. Creating such selections allows the texts to be used by readers from a range of disciplines, as many individual journals were previously out of print and therefore underused. Those written by foreign travellers give a view through the eyes of outsiders. This present study uses journals written by foreign visitors to Scotland, to examine the opinions and thoughts of the travellers through their experiences in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Some of the texts are recently published, others unpublished, and none has previously been fully utilized for historic research.

A common approach in studies of travel journals is to give a brief account of what each journal holds, sometimes touching on writing style and content, leaving room for other historians to explore the texts in greater depth.⁴ Some studies have merely produced lists of travellers, giving a rough estimate of visitor numbers to Scotland in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Bain identifies a substantial number of foreign travellers to Scotland, around thirty in the period from 1770 to 1830 and although the list is not claimed to be exhaustive, this number is

³ Maurice Lindsay *The Discovery of Scotland* (London: Robert Hale Ltd., 1964).

⁴ Hume Brown, Lindsay and Margaret I. Bain, *Les Voyageurs français en Ecosse 1770-1830 et leurs curiosités intellectuelles* (Paris: H. Champion, 1931).

not replicated in any other study.⁵ In general terms, these lists do indicate an overall increase in visitor numbers to Scotland in the late eighteenth century, compared to the previous four centuries and present an opportunity for historians to make use of the texts to expand knowledge of the period and assess their value. This present study addresses the lack of work on the journals of some foreign travellers to Scotland.

The increase in visitor numbers to Scotland is mirrored in the substantial body of tourist literature from the end of the eighteenth century onwards, much of it written by English visitors. With a wider number of texts available, historians and other commentators are able to select those which reflect themes pertinent to the period. Previously most travellers were male but, by the turn of the century when the traditional Grand Tour was declining, there were many more females travelling 'alone' with servants, not accompanied by male escorts or companions. It has been suggested that men and women experienced a dislocation of traditional social roles between 1775 and 1844, at the time when the parameters of travel began to shift.⁶ It has also been noted that the last third of the eighteenth century witnessed a wholly unprecedented influx of women writers into the publishing industry of Great Britain.⁷ Although this present study does not include female travellers, it is important to see that travelling had changed allowing a wider spectrum of travellers to go further afield. Hagglund brings together the journals of five female British travellers to explore the changing nature of travel and of travel writing through common end of the eighteenth century themes of language, such as gender issues,

⁵ Katherine Haldane Grenier, *Tourism and Identity in Scotland 1770-1914, Creating Caledonia* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005). She cites over 30 texts by British travellers only, up to the 1820s in her bibliography. John R. & Margaret M. Gold, *Imagining Scotland: tradition representation and promotion in Scottish tourism since 1750* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1995), p.12. The Golds' list also lacks foreign tourists but noted the growing number of tourists. Bain, *Les Voyageurs français*. She excluded the exiled French court and French prisoners of war.

⁶ Amanda Gilroy (ed.), *Romantic geographies: discourses of travel, 1775-1844* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p.2.

⁷ Stuart Curran, 'Women and the Edinburgh Review' in Massimiliano Demata, & Duncan Wu (eds.), *British Romanticism and the Edinburgh Review* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), p.195.

analysing the rhetorical strategies the women used to express their particularly feminine viewpoint, focusing specifically on how these five women travelled and represented those travels in their written accounts.⁸ This demonstrates that the writings of the five chosen travellers related to Scotland at a particular time and that this had a direct effect not only on the subject matter, but also on how they wrote. Hagglund's study, as does this present one, highlights the changing way of appreciating landscape, from the picturesque to the romantic, and the resulting changes in how travellers wrote about what they saw, expressing feelings rather than merely the concrete details of physical sights. John Glendening has suggested there was a note of female emancipation running throughout the work which could be taken ironically but this perhaps indicates a more general tendency towards travel being open to a wider range of people as many of the themes are not specifically feminine issues.⁹ Despite Hagglund's study being a literary commentary with the emphasis on how the travellers expressed themselves rather than exploring the content as a source of historical data about the period, the journals are scrutinized more deeply than in earlier texts, revealing the potential of such travel accounts as a source of specific knowledge. The point is also made that travel writing is possibly the literary genre most firmly sited in time, giving the reader information relating to a specific temporal point and written in a mode specific to the era which firmly suggests the value of such travel journals as a source of historical information.¹⁰

This approach is taken in Chloe Chard's study, also confined to women. She concentrates on the forms of language used by travellers, taking the view that by recounting what they have experienced, travellers verbalize their pleasure and

⁸ Betty Hagglund, *Tourist and travellers: women's non-fictional writing about Scotland, 1770-1830* (Bristol: Channel View, 2010), p.2, p.1.

⁹ John Glendening, *The High Road: Romantic Tourism, Scotland, and Literature, 1720-1820* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), p.125.

¹⁰ Hagglund, *Tourist and travellers*, p.2.

responses.¹¹ Some of the early travellers wrote in verse probably to imitate the rhythm and sound of walking or riding in order to convey more vividly the actual experience. From this standpoint, it is argued that the journals of travellers are not an objective account of their experiences but that the act of writing affirms their ability to appreciate alterity (Otherness), through experiencing a foreign domain quite different from the familiar. The journals used could nevertheless be exploited by historians for the value of their factual content while bearing in mind the literary analysis which has been done.

In a study by Alastair Durie, particular journals have been examined to illustrate a trend in the development of tourism with Scottish destinations and its growth over a hundred year period from the late eighteenth century.¹² There was a change from long and expensive trips for the wealthy, mainly English, travellers to the Highlands towards cheap and short excursions for the lower classes from the local area.¹³ The selection of travellers chosen by Durie shows clearly the move from leisurely tours, through various increasingly shorter and less expensive trips, finishing with a trip in July 1881, a very short break from a Glasgow tenement, for the cost of the steamer fare. There was a shift away from upper- and middle-class, intellectual, long distance touring in the eighteenth century towards a holiday in the modern sense, to find a cheap but short escape, close to home. His study considers only British tourists and suggests that there were very few foreign travellers to Scotland in the period, despite Bain's findings to the contrary. The present study echoes the notion that travel was becoming increasingly affordable and possible for a wider variety of participants and although the travellers were all wealthy, their visits were tending to become shorter as travel became easier.

¹¹ Chloe Chard 'From the Sublime to the Ridiculous: The Anxieties of Sightseeing' in Hartmut Berghoff & Barbara Korte (eds.), *Britain and the Making of Modern Tourism: the cultural history of the British experience, 1600-2000* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), p.48.

¹² Durie, *Travels in Scotland*, p.15.

¹³ *ibid.* p.14.

The rise of the novel is highlighted in Glendening's study as a trend in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century which was connected to the increase in travel. He juxtaposed authentic non-fiction travel journals with pieces of fictional writing, these last both written by Scotsmen.¹⁴ The two accounts by the travellers Daniel Defoe and Samuel Johnson are well known texts.¹⁵ The novels, too, are well known, Smollett's *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771), and Walter Scott's *Waverley* (1814). Glendening shows the novel as an influential genre from the eighteenth century onwards, demonstrating how travel accounts and novels influenced each other in both content and style and thereby allowing a clearer understanding of the travel journal as a literary genre. Many potential travellers regarded the novels of Smollett and Scott as useful travel guides. The two novelists gave the perspective of Lowland Scotsmen and their books can be regarded as an early form of advertising, encouraging the reader to visit Scotland. This begs the question of whether the reader could or would distinguish between factual information given in an authentic travelogue and the fictitious prose of the novel. Potential travellers did use Walter Scott's novels to plan their journey to visit sites they identified from references in the text. It underlines the need to consider the suitability of a travel account for use as an historical text, or whether the text merely uses current language forms to echo fashionable views. The stated aim of Glendening's study was to show how modern tourism arose in England and was influenced by Romanticism. Scotland, he argued, was conducive to fulfilling the goals of Romanticism, which in turn helped create a new conception of Scotland. His chosen texts not only demonstrate relevant cultural developments but stand out as compelling intersections of history and personality.¹⁶ Such emphasis on the

¹⁴ Glendening, *The High Road*.

¹⁵ Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Thro' The Whole Island of Great Britain, Divided into Circuits or Journies* (1724–1727). Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (1775).

¹⁶ Glendening, *The High Road*, p.2.

presentation of information in travel journals is particularly relevant in the shift from the factual, Enlightenment manner of the eighteenth century towards a less scientific approach to writing. The journals in this present study were written in the period when rational pragmatism moved into Romanticism with a marked contrast between the writings of the travellers so it is critical to be able to judge how the travellers had been influenced by what they had read.

An informative and innovative approach has been taken in Robinson's examination of one single journal which intersperses transcripts from the diary with analysis.¹⁷ Through this method, comments concentrate on comparing points made in the text against previously accepted facts from the period. Although easier to read than works where copious footnotes overwhelm the original text, it is limited to examining the views of one traveller at one point in time and therefore precludes the possibility of pursuing particular themes comparatively.

The opposite approach is taken in an investigation by Rackwitz which straddles the period of several other studies. This offers an historical analysis using over four hundred journals written by visitors to Scotland, in particular to the Highlands and Islands over a specific period.¹⁸ A quarter of the total text is devoted to setting the scene prior to 1611 through a synopsis of travellers' texts from 1295 up to 1500, although the sub-title of suggests the book is about the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁹ Using a thematic approach, this monumental piece of work covers a huge amount of territory in time, content and travellers. There are many imponderables such as whether Rackwitz weighted each text or how well each era was represented by travellers' texts. Despite the breadth of the work, language

¹⁷ Arthur R.B. Robinson, *Seeking the Scots; An English woman's journey in 1807* (York: Robinson, 2006).

¹⁸ Martin Rackwitz, *Travels to Terra Incognita; The Scottish Highlands and Hebrides in early modern travellers' accounts c.1600 to 1800* (Waxmann: Münster, 2007).

¹⁹ See Andrew G. Newby's review 'Review of Martin Rackwitz *Travels to Terra Incognita: The Scottish Highlands and Hebrides in Early Modern Travellers' Accounts, c. 1600 to 1800*', *Cambridge Journals, Rural History*, 19 (2008), pp. 237-238.

usage by the travellers has been overlooked as a factor in how to interpret the journals. As the study spans such a long period, the vocabulary and sentence structure used requires closer attention and analysis. While Rackwitz has been meticulous in providing the bibliographic and location information which enables the reader to explore further, the analysis made is based on limited references to the travelogues of the travellers, relying very heavily on other texts of varying quality, such as official reports, private letters, and brief private diaries not intended for publication, to substantiate his conclusions.²⁰ The breadth of his study is impressive, in that the travellers emanated from a variety of countries, mainly Great Britain but also Germany, France and Scandinavia during the period from 1600 until about 1800 but this is at the expense of depth. The aim in using travellers' accounts was to emphasize the factual nature of the observations of seventeenth and eighteenth century travellers as the title of Rackwitz's study shows, but the extent to which he relies on other historical sources shows how far he has strayed from his original purpose. Studying small groups of journals as others have done makes use of their potential in comparative studies. This allows a deeper analysis than using either too small or too large a sample. The editorial method most appropriate to extracting historical information, arguably, concentrates on a limited, controlled number of variables. Themes chosen can explore those generally associated with travel and also the specialist expertise of the travellers.

There is evidence to show that visitors to Scotland from the late eighteenth century were travelling further into the Highlands than previously. A.J. Youngson takes the incursion into the far north as his theme, concentrating on accounts written by several travellers to the northern parts of Scotland in the eighteenth century.²¹ The point that, in the first half of the eighteenth century, no one visited the Highlands

²⁰ See Betty Hagglund's review in *Studies in Travel Writing*, 3. (2009), pp. 271-284.

²¹ A.J. Youngson, *Three Journals of travel in Eighteenth Century Scotland*; Burt, Pennant, Thornton (Collins: London, 1974).

for pleasure or out of a sense of scientific curiosity, is a slight exaggeration but is close to the truth. One estimate is that in the early nineteenth century there might have been a score of travellers to the Highlands.²² The lack of visitors is in part due to the fact that the Scots (and Welsh) were often viewed as the 'Other', according to Linda Colley.²³ She suggests that even in the early 1800s, some Lowlanders automatically referred to their Highland neighbours as savages and aborigines, impoverished and violent, and belonging to a different race. By the late nineteenth century visitor numbers are estimated to have been 10,000 a year, mainly from England and this increase reflects the fact that the frontiers of the 'unknown' were being pushed further back as travellers found it increasingly easy to penetrate further into the country. The influence of other travellers, their journals and novels were dispelling myths and lessening the sense of 'Otherness'. Uncertainty of venturing into territory where the 'natives' were perhaps hostile and the fear of robbery, violence, or being lost was diminishing. The travellers of this present study visited parts of Scotland beyond the central belt and into areas beyond the usual tours, providing information not gathered in other texts.

There is an overlap in the use of some journals as sources and these are quoted over and over again, with the suggestion that some were repeatedly used because they were easy to read, such as Joseph Addison's *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* (1706) which went to ten editions by 1773 and was referred to by many tourists, while other accounts by travellers, such as Boswell's account of Dr. Samuel Johnson's visit to Scotland, were often quoted by other scholars.²⁴ There are many well-known classics of travel of varying calibre and interest.²⁵ This present study

²² Quoted by Grenier in *Tourism and Identity*.

²³ Linda Colley, 'Britishness and Otherness: An Argument', *Journal of British Studies*, 31:4 (1992), pp. 309-329.

²⁴ Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud: Gloucestershire: Sutton, 2003), p.2.

²⁵ For example, Dr. Samuel Johnson (1709–1784), Thomas Pennant 1726 –1798), William Wordsworth (1770 –1850), Felix Mendelssohn (1809 –1847).

uses five travellers' journals; four have not been used before and one which has not been fully exploited.²⁶

Durie has pointed out that the views expressed in journals are more accessible through being presented for printing by their authors. He maintained that the texts themselves are easier and more attractive than accounts never intended for publication which have been subsequently prepared by others for printing. From this he concluded that scholars concentrated on particular writings, especially those written by major literary figures. However, he challenged the validity of studying only this limited range of the journals available, arguing that the literary excellence of the writing does not guarantee that the content is either high quality or useful and furthermore that the reputation of the author alone may have been enough to warrant the publication and republication of an account.²⁷ Despite his reservations about the overuse of certain travel literature, it is appropriate, he asserted, to use a wide range of diaries and related material as the 'tourist eye' is invaluable to show the changes and development of tourism over time, though clearly there is a wider use for such material in other issues.²⁸

Much of the literature cited above which considers travellers' journals shows the concentration of sources from the bridging period between the eighteenth and nineteenth century, around 1770 to 1830, as this was the beginning of a fruitful period for travellers' journals. The insight and detail provided by visitors' recollections is of prime importance in the study of tourism.²⁹ Although travellers before 1600 may have merely reflected the stereotypes of the time and, by contrast, the observations of travellers from the seventeenth century onwards may be more reliable and more factually based, Rackwitz opined that this must be tempered with

²⁶ Only the journal of Faujas seems to have been examined in several studies.

²⁷ Durie, *Travels in Scotland*, p.13.

²⁸ *ibid.* p.13.

²⁹ Durie, *A Selection from Contemporary Tourist Journals*, pp.12-13.

the fact that Romantic writers wanted to convey their feelings in colourful abstractions along with serious observations.³⁰ In addition, Hartmut Berghoff and Barbara Korte envisage a multi-disciplinary approach for the study of tourism as most appropriate.³¹ This present study has adopted a combined strategy of examining the content, writing style and use of vocabulary in the journals as well as the period in which they were written.

The turn of the nineteenth century was significant, with many changes affecting the lives of the people; increasing industrialization, the opening up of roads and communications and the growth of towns. The 'tourist eye' can be used to explore issues of the day; little systematic research has been done using eye-witness accounts of travellers to Scotland, though travellers often highlighted the cultural, economic and social conditions they saw, directly and indirectly. In the eighteenth century, travel was the main source of information about another country as it involved direct contact and since travellers bring back a mental picture of the other country which spread to others through their writings.³² Accounts written by travellers were increasingly accepted as travel guides, outnumbering professionally produced guides. There was a period in the long eighteenth century when trips were for research; from Defoe's spying trip for economic purposes, some naturalists, through educational Grand Tour trips then visits to factories and agricultural sites. There has been little study of such trips, as attention has been focused much more on the Romantic period at the end of the period. The French journals examined here show a change in outlook; the earlier travellers in the bridging period were Enlightenment thinkers, the later figures were being influenced by Romanticism.

³⁰ Rackwitz, *Travels to Terra Incognita*, p.20.

³¹ Hartmut Berghoff & Barbara Korte 'Britain & the Making of Modern Tourism' in *The making of modern tourism: the cultural history of the British experience, 1600-2000* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), p.7.

³² Crouzet, François, *Britain Ascendant: Comparative Studies in Franco-British Economic History* (Cambridge: Press Syndicate of Cambridge University, 1990), p.465.

The first part of the chapter has explored what has been written by historians about the development of tourism to Scotland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Travellers from Britain were visiting almost all other countries on the European mainland in the same period and this part of the chapter investigates what has been written about travel to other parts of continental Europe, firstly the Grand Tour, then more remote destinations in Europe in the same period. It considers relations with Eastern Europe, contacts between countries of Western Europe and how this has affected levels of tourism and the resulting literature on tourism.

The Grand Tour flourished from the late seventeenth century until well into the nineteenth century, though it diminished in the eighteenth century as conflicts forced potential travellers to seek destinations elsewhere so many travellers preferred to visit Scotland. The Tour has been well documented in books and guidebooks with the analysis in some instances based on it being a cultural institution.³³ In particular, the influence of Italy on British culture has been explored.³⁴ Much scholarly interest has focused on the role of women both as travellers and as writers.³⁵ As noted above, there were many more women taking on these roles by the end of the eighteenth century.

In a skilful and thoughtful investigation of the phenomenon of the British going abroad in the Grand Tour in the eighteenth century, the writings of a considerable number of travellers have been dissected by Jeremy Black. This is a

³³ See Jeremy Black, *The British and the Grand Tour* (London: Croom Helm, 1985) & Geoffrey Trease, *The Grand Tour: A History of the Golden Age of Travel* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967).

³⁴ See Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance* (London & Portland, Oregon: Frank Cass, 1998). Ilaria Bignamini & Andrew Wilton (eds.), *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Tate Gallery, 1997).

³⁵ See Brian Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour* (London: Flamingo, 2001). Shirley Foster, *Across New Worlds: Nineteenth Century Women Travellers and Their Writings* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990).

companion to an earlier book using new material uncovered since the publication in 1985 of the earlier volume and is intended to rectify some omissions.³⁶ This covers not only travel journals but, interestingly, goes further to include eighteenth-century tourist correspondence and neglected manuscript collections. This throws light on the background to the trips and the often complex interactions between travellers and others both at home and those they met abroad. As such, it is a useful addition to scholarship to amplify and clarify issues of travelling at the time. Similarly, in an effort to widen the focus to tourism beyond the limits set by the so-called standard Grand Tour, Black's study examines travel on the Continent, to less frequented destinations such as the Low Countries, Germany, Switzerland and the Balkans as well as the more traditional attractions of Paris and Italy. By including many lengthy quotations from the travel accounts of the tourists, the book provides a more accurate impression of the preoccupations, interests and attitudes of the time, than can be gleaned from reading individual contemporary travel accounts and the secondary literature in isolation. Many aspects of travel, from travel arrangements to the numbers of visitors are covered, delving into previously poorly documented realms of detail.

The European Grand Tour was mainly a trip based on visiting certain principal cities of Europe rather than an exploration of the countryside and rural sites. The image the tour created of each city was perpetuated through travel literature and the contrasting descriptions of the cities reflected the travellers' own attitudes. The effect of the experience of urban centres of the Grand Tour on the minds of the tourists and how each city was described and represented is the

³⁶ Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud: Gloucestershire: Sutton, 2003); Jeremy Black, *The British and the Grand Tour* (London: Croom Helm, 1985).

underlying focus of Rosemary Sweet's book which also scrutinizes themes central to the understanding of eighteenth-century culture and the transition to modernity.³⁷

A recent online resource has been created to give greater access to other travel material, in an attempt to bring together tourist correspondence which is poorly catalogued, scattered in general political or family correspondence and, difficult to find.³⁸ In a joint effort, 'The Grand Tour' website has collated letters, diaries, printed guidebooks, travel writing, maps, paintings and architectural plans within one searchable, online resource.³⁹ Although this site does not analyze the documents, it provides a valuable resource for scholars with the potential to reveal new data and insights into travelling and the environment.

The relevance of the Grand Tour for the development of tourism in Britain from the late eighteenth century onwards was enormous. As wealth and leisure increased for the middle classes, they wished to emulate the journeys of their wealthier compatriots. A trip within Britain was cheaper, safer and accomplished more easily than going abroad. The books written about travel abroad helped to shape the expectations of those travelling within Britain.

Was tourism and travel in the eighteenth century developing on the Eastern side of Europe in a way similar to what was happening in Scotland or in a parallel movement? Did travellers have a real and equal choice between going to Scotland or to visiting Poland or Russia? In the Renaissance period, from roughly the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries, there was a conceptual division of Europe into north and south. The Italian cities were the centres of art and learning but also

³⁷ Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour* [electronic resource] : The British in Italy, c.1690–1820 (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012) Title from publishers bibliographic system (viewed on 19 Dec 2012) Also issued in print format.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139104197.001>

³⁸ Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad* in 1992.

³⁹ Adam Matthew, *The Grand Tour*, Digital, 2009.

<http://www.amdigital.co.uk/m- collections/collection/the-grand-tour.> [Accessed November 2013].

of trade and finance.⁴⁰ The concept of dividing the south from the northern barbarians survived into the eighteenth century as a rhetorical trope. However, there was a conceptual lack of definition as to what constituted east or west Europe. During the seventeenth century, there was royal support in France for 'oriental studies', since the lands to the east were so seldom visited and little was known about them. Colbert encouraged travellers and businessmen to go to the east and gave subsidies to scholars to study countries to the east of Europe.⁴¹ Expeditions brought back exotic objects and manuscripts which sustained interest in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Early oriental study culminated with D'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque orientale* of 1697. These early orientalist influenced the public's perception of the Orient, engendering an unbalanced, idealised view. By the eighteenth century, the new centres of the Enlightenment, the more northern and western cities of Europe, superseded the old centres of the Renaissance. The eastern countries of Europe were deemed less advanced, less civilized; ancient Romans and Renaissance Italians had circulated the myth from Tacitus of peoples who performed human sacrifices, wore animal skins, and were unrefined; this notion of uncivilized eastern nations was perpetuated in writings of the eighteenth century.⁴² Thus 'orientalism' incorporated a mixed view of the exotic and the unusual with barbarism and backwardness, based on little knowledge and few contacts.

The abstraction of the geographic position of countries to the east of 'civilized' Europe was vague and confused but Rupnik has modified this view by suggesting a third part in Europe whereby historical divisions are used to define an area called Central Europe, placed somewhat ambiguously to the east of the West

⁴⁰ Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe; The Map of civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford University Press: Stanford, 1994), p.4.

⁴¹ Jean-Baptiste Colbert, a French politician who served as the Minister of Finances of France from 1665 to 1683 during the reign of King Louis XIV.

⁴² Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, p.5.

and the west of the East.⁴³ This area is located between Germany and Russia by arguing on religious grounds that a Polish–Lithuanian grouping marked the border between Christendom and the barbarian Tartars in the thirteenth century. This ‘Europe of the mind’ is derived with hindsight from the perspective of seeing divisions in twentieth century Europe. The fact that such vagueness existed about the exact position of Eastern European countries shows how little was actually known about them and how little contact there was with them; scholars of the time derived their doctrines from books, and few travelled. Rupnik’s model of a tripart Europe suggests a ‘buffer zone’ between the countries generally considered at the time to be ‘civilized’ and those not ‘civilized’ by using the religious divide as a cultural border. He is thus able to justify why travellers used ‘east’ and ‘west’ in a non-literal sense. This artificial intellectual segmentation of Europe was both the cause of division and the reason why there was little contact between the areas.

Similarly, Larry Wolff’s study is not based on the conception of a concrete map, nor of physical geography but rather a geo-political format.⁴⁴ The output of a number of writers of the eighteenth century who wrote about Eastern Europe, including Russia is examined, and Wolff argues that the division into Western and Eastern Europe was a new concept which had to be invented with the writers projecting their own methods of classification; some countries were regarded as Eastern European, some as beyond Europe. In 1788 this type of constructed geographical sentiment was labelled ‘philosophical geography’.⁴⁵ The Enlightenment subordinated geography to its own philosophical values and the distinguishing features of geographical orientation of the countries were largely ignored. What was more significant to these writers was the level of civilization they perceived in the

⁴³ Jacques Rupnik, *The Other Europe* (London: George Weidenfeld & Nicholson Ltd., 1988), p.4.

⁴⁴ Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*. Chapter four describes map making and surveys combined with the study of flora and fauna, using the classifications of Linnaeus.

⁴⁵ Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, p.6.

countries they referred to. Scholars used the interpretation of how poor civilization was in other countries of Eastern Europe to boost their own self-esteem, but Pierre Martino has argued that their enthusiasm clouded their judgement.⁴⁶ Thus Western Europe gauged its own level of civilization and found it superior to that of Eastern Europe. This reinforced the conception of 'Otherness' mentioned above but has contributed little to the understanding of Eastern Europe.

Wolff probes a number of texts of great variety, finding that a high proportion of the writers he cited had not visited the countries they wrote about; Voltaire, for example discovered Russia vicariously.⁴⁷ Indeed some had never travelled, just like the scholars of the previous century. The writers fall into three categories. The first group consisted of factual writers who had not visited the country. Wolff discusses the contribution of Voltaire and Rousseau to non-fictional writing on Eastern Europe, although both wrote other works of a more fictional nature.⁴⁸ Voltaire's histories of Russia were largely written to prove his theories that an enlightened ruler, like Peter the Great, could achieve much even in a backward country and that the exercise of free will could transform society according to reason.⁴⁹ Voltaire corresponded with Catherine of Russia; their correspondence formed part of the 'Russian mirage in France' in the eighteenth century which Voltaire endorsed in his writings.⁵⁰ Voltaire did not visit Russia, and, similarly, Rousseau did not visit Poland but he was equally motivated in his writing about that country. Wolff comments that Russia and Poland provided the two French philosophers with alternative visions of Eastern Europe, 'the laboratory of experimentation which the Enlightenment explored'.⁵¹ They toyed

⁴⁶ Pierre Martino, 'Les commencements de l'orientalisme', in A.L. MacFie (ed.), *Orientalism: A Reader* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 2000), pp.23-25 (French version) or pp. 27-29 (English).

⁴⁷ Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, p.196.

⁴⁸ For example Voltaire's *Candide* (1759), and Rousseau's *Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse* (1761, Amsterdam).

⁴⁹ François-Marie Arouet (1694 –1778), known by his *nom de plume* Voltaire.

⁵⁰ Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, p.202. A phrase borrowed from the historian Albert Lortholary.

⁵¹ *ibid.* p.36.

with sophisticated ideological theories of how a political civilization could be made to work in backward countries through the application of enlightened teaching. Rousseau in his work of 1772, *Considerations on the Government of Poland*, was cautious about what could be achieved by an outsider who did not really know the country, but Wolff maintains it was precisely because of his lack of knowledge about Poland that Rousseau was able to use his imagination to expound generalized political theories of patriotism in apposition to Voltaire's vision of Eastern Europe. Wolff emphasizes the Enlightenment philosophers' use of Eastern Europe to test rival claims; the German writers Gotthold Ephraim Lessing and Johann Gottfried Herder both wrote about Eastern Europe. As with Voltaire and Rousseau, this was philosophical posturing from a distance, not contact between equals. This type of writing is not replicated in other European literature, largely because Western Europe was already familiar to commentators. Almost all of the commentators in the eighteenth century, whether they had been there or not, regarded Eastern Europe as semi-barbaric and wrote about it in a condescending manner. Wolff uses Edward Said's theory of Orientalism, that the Orient was constructed by the Occident 'as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience', an image of 'otherness' while orientalism served as 'a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient'.⁵² The standard of civilization set to compare the East to the rest of Europe was arbitrary, based on conceptions of Enlightenment or the ability to use reason. There is much repetition and reiteration by the travellers and the other writers of myths along with literary posturing. Wolff stresses that Said's affirmation of a deeply held belief of Western (mainly British and French) superiority stems from the notion of the intellectual cohesion of Western Europe. This superiority led to the doctrine of instructing these eastern nations in the

⁵² Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, pp. 6-7. Edward Wadie Said (1935 – 2003), professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University, a literary theorist, and a public intellectual.

ways of the west.⁵³ There was, Said argues, a 'narcissistic' tradition of European writing, which led the orientalist to create his own version of the orient, allowing a series of stereotypical images to develop. Following this view, Europe is regarded as the West, the 'self' which was rational, developed, humane, superior and authentic. The orient is the East, the 'other', in most ways the opposite of the West; irrational, aberrant, backward, crude, despotic, inferior, inauthentic, passive, feminine and sexually corrupt. In *Orientalism*, Said cites many examples of orientalism in the works of European scholars, poets, philosophers, imperial administrators, political theorists, historians, politicians, travel writers and others. He does not argue that the orientalism in Western thought and text is merely an imaginative phenomenon, which might be swept aside easily; he believes that it is part of an integrated discourse, an accepted grid for filtering the orient into the Western consciousness and an 'integral part of European *material* civilisation'.⁵⁴ He further argues that this derived from the European psychological need to underline what Europe felt was a cultural inequality between West and East.⁵⁵ It is clear that the writing of these authors have historical interest for their attitudes and the legacy they produced but are not authentic travel accounts.

The seventeenth-century exploration of the orient does not seem to have engendered much continuing interest amongst adventurers or explorers, and few travellers seem to have ventured far beyond the limits of what was considered Western Europe. The second group of writers, actual travellers to the countries they wrote about, were few in number. Wolff traces the journeys made by mainly French and English travellers whose accounts show a mixture of factual observation mingled with myths and, crucially, their political stance. William Coxe accompanied the Duke of Marlborough's nephew to make a five-year trip that included a journey

⁵³ *ibid.* p.6.

⁵⁴ Edward Wadie Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978).

⁵⁵ Said, *Orientalism*, pp.205-9.

through Poland to Russia.⁵⁶ The title includes the phrase ... *Interspersed with Historical Relations and Political Inquiries*. Other travellers went east for a particular purpose, like Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who travelled from Vienna to Constantinople where her husband was to be the English ambassador.⁵⁷ These and most of the other journeys cited by Wolff, took place at the end of the eighteenth century.⁵⁸ In each of these accounts, the travellers stressed the point that they felt they moved from the civilized West into barbarous eastern lands, creating an image of Eastern Europe, and particularly Russia, as places of Oriental despotism. What is particularly striking is that Wolff shows how travellers at the turn of the nineteenth century were still perpetuating old myths about the barbarism of Eastern Europe as there was little real knowledge or experience of the cultures. This may be due to the fact that, as Wolff points out, the 'imaginary' travels to Eastern Europe were published alongside the real journeys they were parodying.⁵⁹ In the writings of the travellers to Eastern Europe there is evidence of their obsessions, with the emphasis on the personal and the anecdotal, rather than the objective. This is in contrast to many of the writers about Scotland in the same period who tried to be rational, and scientific in the tradition of the Enlightenment. In contrast to the travellers Wolff described, Hume Brown stresses that the travellers to Scotland much earlier, before 1700, were dispelling old fanciful tales from earlier centuries and that even by the mid-eighteenth century, Scotland was attracting a much higher number of visits from both scholars and tourists. By the later eighteenth century, travellers to Scotland were writing more objectively so that their journals can be used by historians in studies of the period.

⁵⁶ William Coxe, *Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark: Interspersed with Historical Relations and Political Inquiries*, (London, 1785).

⁵⁷ Robert Halsband (ed). *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, Vol. I (1708-20) (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1965).

⁵⁸ Louis-Philippe Comte de Ségur in 1784-5, William Coxe in 1785, Lady Craven in 1786.

⁵⁹ Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, p.115.

Wolff details specific types of barbarism which travellers felt distinguished West from East; the association of the East with slavery and sexual exploitation. He highlights Casanova's account of his visit to Russia in 1764, where the Italian described his sexual encounter with a young girl whom he bought from her father.⁶⁰ She became his property although he was not allowed to take her out of the country as technically she belonged ultimately to the sovereign.⁶¹ This episode was repeated in an almost identical description in Poland and served to reiterate the *motif* of slavery and sexual exploitation.⁶² This reflects particular obsessions which could be ascribed to unknown, exotic places but were unacceptable in the more civilized western parts of Europe.

The remaining group of authors who wrote about Eastern Europe, fall into the category of writers who had not visited the country. Two of the accounts by 'travellers' were fictitious. Marat's *Polish Letters*, probably written in the 1770s, was modelled on Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* of 1721.⁶³ Marat invented a Polish traveller to Western Europe, like Montesquieu's Persian visitor, as a means of criticizing French society.⁶⁴ His aim therefore, is not to write about Poland, but to focus attention on France. In contrast, *The Travels and Surprising Adventures of Baron von Munchhausen* by Rudolf Erich Raspe, published in 1785, was a fictional account of travels to Eastern Europe.⁶⁵ However, this is not as straightforward as it seems. There was a genuine Baron von Münchhausen who had served as a soldier in Russia from 1735 to 1741. Raspe had met the real Baron in Göttingen and thus acquired the basis for his book which he developed into a quite different set of

⁶⁰ Giacomo Girolamo Casanova 1725 -1798, Italian adventurer, wrote *Histoire de ma vie* (The History of My Life), first edition, an adapted German translation in 12 volumes 1822–29.

⁶¹ Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, p.51.

⁶² *ibid.* p.62.

⁶³ Jean Paul Marat (1743-1793), *Polish letters* is a novel, probably written in the 1770s. The unpublished manuscript was first printed in English in 1905, published by The Bibliophile Society.

⁶⁴ Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, pp. 97-98.

⁶⁵ Rudolf Erich Raspe, *The Travels and Surprising Adventures of Baron von Munchhausen*, (England, 1785).

stories. These perpetrated myths currently held in Western Europe at the time with underlying themes of taming and overcoming the bestiality of Russia by brutal and sadistic rape. As Susan Parman puts it, Eastern Europe was constructed not only by travellers who clothed their experiences with fantastic imaginings but by scholars who travelled only in the imagination.⁶⁶

Another piece of fiction, Voltaire's *Candide* (1759), which can be viewed as satirical, political and against reliance on pure reason, also promoted the perception of the brutality and bestiality of eastern Europe, aimed at les Bulgares (the Bulgarians). Sexual exploitation and libertine views were an issue in eighteenth century France and seen as irreligious.⁶⁷ The works of these writers of fiction are in contrast to their Scottish counterparts of the period, Walter Scott and Smollett, who used their knowledge of Scotland to write novels which gave factual information about the country, so potential travellers used them as preparatory reading for the trip despite the fictional embellishment.

The picture travellers painted was in some ways not an inaccurate description of the reality of the situation in the eighteenth century with the eastern part of Europe 'the lands in between', that is, between Germany and Russia.⁶⁸ In an argument which supports this, Robin Okey has pointed out that Eastern Europe had failed to develop to the same extent as the more western parts and that the sixteenth century was a crucial turning point; Western Europe saw the old feudal order beginning to wither away through the influence of the Renaissance and the Reformation and emerged as a more open, urban- and cash-orientated society with increased mobility than the poorer, more rigid, less modern social structure left in

⁶⁶ Susan Parman, (California State University, Fullerton), reviewing Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, Published on H-SAE (May, 1996). <https://networks.h-net.org/node/21311/reviews/21549/parman-wolff-inventing-eastern-europe-map-civilization-mind> [Accessed December 2014].

⁶⁷ See for example, Karen L. Taylor, *The Facts on File Companion to the French Novel* (Infobase Publishing, New York, 2007).

⁶⁸ Robin Okey, *Eastern Europe, 1740-1985: Feudalism to Communism* (London: Hutchison 1982), pp.13-18.

Eastern Europe. By the eighteenth century, the West saw Eastern Europe as a society 'in decline' with backwardness and feudalism being linked.⁶⁹ The low number of visitors from outwith the region reflects how little contact there was with Western Europe; the isolation of the scant population was due to the harsh physical geography along with a brutal feudal social order. The few visitors commented on the desolated, uninhabited wastes and the lack of civilization.⁷⁰ The old-fashioned regimes lacked the financial and fiscal power to fulfil the functions of government in the modern sense and were even poor by feudal standards, with the general level of life in many of the eastern European countries in the eighteenth and even the nineteenth centuries as primitive, noting that the academic reputation of the universities was low, medical provision was poor, religious fervour was based on ignorance, and between sects and an acceptance of brutality and debauchery.⁷¹ These outwardly differing views may be reconciled as Said concentrates more of what is now called the Middle East while Okey and Wolff are writing mainly about Eastern Europe, the Balkans and Russia. In addition, Wolff has used sources to support the hypothesis of bestiality. His selection of stories from Raspe's *Adventures of Baron von Munchhausen* purport to show the Russian bear being overcome by a Western traveller and a wolf being outwitted by another clever traveller. In reality, the original Baron von Munchhausen told amusing and often whimsical stories of Russia merely to ridicule other somewhat exaggerated tales.⁷²

⁶⁹ *ibid.* pp.21-22.

⁷⁰ *ibid.* Okey quotes Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and William Coxe, also both quoted in Wolff.

⁷¹ Okey, *Eastern Europe*, pp.23-25.

⁷² For example the tale of the post horn at the inn which gives out the music which had frozen in it during the journey.

Taking figures from a variety of sources, it is clear that there was a strong imbalance between the destinations chosen by travellers in the eighteenth century. The evidence suggests there were more English travellers than previously within Britain but still few from other countries. Increasing numbers were touring Scotland, while a significant, though diminishing number were still making the Grand Tour in Western Europe. Very few travellers, whether from Britain or elsewhere, were venturing into Eastern Europe. Historical evidence suggests several factors which caused this divergence, encouraging and enabling travellers to visit some parts of Europe rather than others. These factors combined to permit the French travellers of this study choose Scotland as their destination.

Conflict and trade have been the two major forces which brought people and goods into contact but travellers were an important force for the mingling of beliefs. By the eighteenth century, the lack of relations with Eastern Europe was in stark contrast to the interaction between the Western and Northern parts of Europe. Much more was known factually about countries of Western Europe, and myths based on superstition and unsubstantiated tales were disappearing fast as more incursions were made throughout the area, including to the extremities of Scotland.

Language divisions may account for the lack of contact between the two areas of Europe. Travellers had for centuries resorted to Latin as a lingua franca throughout Western Europe.⁷³ In contrast, Latin was not widely used in most eastern European countries, except Poland and Hungary. This lack of a common language hindered communication and discouraged travellers from visiting Eastern Europe, creating a schism. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, relations between Eastern and Western Europe were still akin to the situation between Scotland and

⁷³ Peter Burke gave the example of a Spaniard in Ireland using that to communicate. *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p.46.

the rest of Britain in earlier centuries: myths about the eastern European countries persisted and were perpetuated; few travellers meant little current information was allowed to circulate, further discouraging travel. Those who travelled were fearful, enduring a poor experience, therefore gave no encouragement to other travellers. Awful tales of appalling travelling conditions, death, robbery and gratuitous violence further deterred others. The fiction produced by novelists was again negative and horrifying, unlike the positive novels about Scotland which were written by those who knew the country or lived there. There is evidence of a few travellers who made scientific tours to study flora and fauna in the Enlightenment tradition; these numbers might have been greater if there had been support networks for their visits. In general, however, travellers were discouraged from visiting Eastern Europe.

In the West, Latin had also been the language of the learned community, creating a network of intellectuals which flourished and who interacted. Scholars from Lisbon to Cracow could correspond in Latin, giving them a sense of belonging to the international community. Orthodox Europe was virtually excluded from the Republic of Letters, at least in the sixteenth century, as few in Russia were fluent in Latin. In Western and Central Europe, Latin remained virtually the only language of instruction in the universities, allowing them to function in the pan-European system in which students could move from country to country whereas in the eastern regions, the remoteness and isolation continued.⁷⁴

Within Western Europe itself, another factor came into play which allowed for increased connectivity between Britain and France, leading to the French travellers of this study being drawn to Scotland. From 1685, thousands of French Huguenots fled to Holland and Britain, often to London. This diaspora facilitated the exchange and dissemination of ideas across Europe through the use of the French language.

⁷⁴ Burke, *Languages and Communities*, pp.53-4.

Many were involved with the publishing trade; translating, printing, publishing and selling books, pamphlets, newspapers and periodicals.⁷⁵ An exchange developed of published material of all kinds, some produced in their original language, others translated in part, and others translated fully with French increasingly becoming the dominant language. In this period, the study of journalism overlaps that of translation.⁷⁶

This led to onto a much more significant by-product of the newspaper press which by mid seventeenth century was established right across Western Europe. Periodicals became the basis of much of the intellectual and cultural exchange in Europe as the century wore on since it was better adapted for advanced rational thought and scientific exchange.⁷⁷ Thus French became the *lingua franca* of much of the intellectual correspondence in Europe, in particular allowing free passage of knowledge between Britain and France. This was further linked to the transmission of English political concepts, scientific discoveries and books in the seventeenth century for Francophone readers.⁷⁸ On the other hand, printing further isolated east from west, hindering the spread of philosophies and culture as the Latin alphabet was used in Western Europe and the Cyrillic alphabet in Eastern Europe.

The rate of growth of medical periodicals, for example, was huge, allowing the opening up of medical knowledge to a wider audience over two centuries with journals dedicated to making medicine accessible to the people.⁷⁹ The arrival of *académies* or *sociétés savantes* permitted the distribution of learned material through the burgeoning publishing outlets along with the appearance of *périodiques*

⁷⁵ Rachel Hammersley, 'The Real Whig-Huguenot network and the English Republican tradition', in Thomson et al., *Cultural transfers*, p.19.

⁷⁶ Thomson et al., *Cultural transfers*, p.13.

⁷⁷ Thomson et al., *Cultural transfers*, p.10, p.12. Peter Burke has considered a selection of these periodicals, highlighting the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique* (1686-93), and its successors in Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities*, p.87.

⁷⁸ Thomson, Ann et al., *Cultural transfers*, p.10.

⁷⁹ Claire Crignon-de Oliveira, 'Le rôle des périodiques dans la diffusion du savoir médical en France et en Grande Bretagne (fin dix-septième-fin dix-huitième siècle)', in Thomson et al., *Cultural transfers*, p.132. p.131, p.137-8 and p.140.

scientifiques.⁸⁰ There was an interest in presenting 'self-help', giving local information as in *Medical essays and observations revised and published by a society in Edinburg [sic]*, where the society published its medical essays and 'observations' which were translated into several languages.⁸¹ Botany, a subject pursued by many eighteenth-century scholars, could only be studied through university medical faculties, which explains why Edinburgh, with its renowned medical school, was important focal point of visits to Scotland for academics.

An important trend in the long eighteenth century was the spread of French books, contributing to the European Enlightenment.⁸² Censorship in France, ironically, also stimulated the circulation of philosophical and metaphysical thinking to percolate into the country; even book reviews were a source of cultural transfer with periodicals giving detailed accounts of the contents of important works unlikely to be published in translation.⁸³ Archival evidence from correspondence in the 1690s and 1700s demonstrates the transfer of books across Europe, especially through the agency of diplomats who were key agents in cultural transfers during the long eighteenth century by giving or sending books as personal gifts but also to promote goodwill. Two English diplomats, posted to Paris, were intermediaries in transmitting books, and most significantly, linking an international network of elite readers.⁸⁴ Although books sent by this route to Britain were mainly political or diplomatic, some were newly published poetry, drama, satirical prose, or contemporary scientific, religious, philosophical with a few collectibles. In the context of this study, the ability

⁸⁰ Starting with the journal book of the Royal Society, 1660, and the *Journal des sçavans*, 1665.

⁸¹ Some in French in 1740 and 1747. Neil Campbell, R. Smellie & S. Martin, *The Royal Society of Edinburgh (1783-1983): The first two hundred years* (Published by Royal Society of Edinburgh, 1983), p.2. The Philosophical Society of Edinburgh founded in 1731 as the Society for the Improvement of Medical Knowledge, and published five volumes of its Medical Essays and Observations.

⁸² Thomson, Ann, et al., *Cultural transfers*, p.6.

⁸³ Such as *Bibliothèque angloise* (Amsterdam, 1717-1719) and *Bibliothèque britannique* (La Haye: De Hondt, 1733-1747).

⁸⁴ Matthew Prior and George Stepney in Joanna Craigwood, 'Diplomats and international book exchange' in Thomson et al., *Cultural transfers*, p.57.

of diplomats to liaise with potential travellers through book transmission, allowed the travellers to learn about the country in advance and dispel some of the fears of the unknown and feelings of 'Otherness'. Diplomats were key figures in supporting travellers during their visits abroad through their links with the authorities or those of rank in the country but the book exchanges also gave information to the travellers.⁸⁵

From the late seventeenth century, international networks evolved, facilitating the intellectual transfer within Western Europe. Common to all networks is the concept of a hub with radiating tentacles. The hub might be the Huguenots, a newspaper, an association or individuals, such as diplomats. The community which constituted a large part of Scottish Enlightenment acted like a network. Often they were very informal but some were long lasting contacts involving correspondence. Several studies have shown that networks facilitated visits to other areas, even abroad, especially those based on a group or club such as the Lunar Society, the Royal Society, and the Linnean Society.⁸⁶ Concentrated in the university cities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, and further linked together by personal friendships those involved were profoundly influenced by the accomplishments and methodology of natural philosophy.⁸⁷ Faujas had links to the Royal Society, allowing him to socialize with members of the British intellectual elite and it is no accident that the Enlightenment travellers of this present study visited those three Scottish universities and the cities which housed them as they were part of networks, including the English and Scottish intellectual industrial scene. Their contacts had been forged through their correspondence but also through their personal contacts

⁸⁵ Black, *The British Abroad*, p.182.

⁸⁶ For the Lunar Society see Jean-François Dunyach, 'Les réseaux d'un excentrique: vie et parcours de William Playfair (1759-1823)'. For the Royal Society see Elizabeth Grist, 'Pierre Des Maizeaux and the Royal Society'. For the Linnean Society see James Livesey, 'London by the light of Montpellier: scientific networks between Britain, northern Europe and the Languedoc' (1706-1789)', all in Thomson et al., *Cultural transfers*.

⁸⁷ Philip Flynn, 'Francis Jeffrey and the Scottish Critical Tradition', in Massimiliano Demata & Duncan Wu (eds.), *British Romanticism and the Edinburgh Review*, p.14.

in societies, salons, family and friends in both France and Scotland. Clubs were also where journals would be read, discussed and passed from hand to hand. In an age where travel was difficult for parts of the year and when movement of goods was slow and uncertain, knowledge spread through informal and convoluted means.

Scotland was heavily involved in the transfer of printed material to the Continent when, especially after the mid eighteenth century, Scottish authors were well known in France through the numerous translators, printers and publishers in Edinburgh and London.⁸⁸ Scottish works of fiction and travel material were published in France and translated into French soon after initial publication.⁸⁹ Travellers from abroad, as in this present study, were knowledgeable about Scotland before their visit in agriculture, industry, geology, history and literature. They can be defined as undertaking a trip based on focused, intellectual activity. Unlike the travellers to Eastern Europe they were not travelling into the unknown.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Scotland was outward-looking. Involvement in the world and interest in knowledge can be seen in the founding of new magazines.⁹⁰ The *Edinburgh Review* (1802) regularly published articles about travel, forming a large part of many editions and has been cited as 'one of the last articulations of Scottish Enlightenment thinking and which was empirical and inquisitive in philosophy and science, and liberal in politics'.⁹¹ The readership of these publications was varied and wider than might at first be supposed. The main journals in Scotland produced in the university cities, served the surrounding areas and circulated widely within Britain and abroad. Newspapers and periodicals were read by many levels of society in coffee houses, taverns and debating clubs.⁹² The

⁸⁸ Christopher A. Whatley, *Scottish Society 1707-1830: beyond Jacobitism, towards industrialisation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p232 & p.263.

⁸⁹ Smollett's *Peregrine Pickle* of 1751, translated into French in 1753. Pennant's tours had coverage in foreign journals with passages in French.

⁹⁰ Such as the *Quarterly Review* (1809), Blackwood's *Edinburgh Magazine* (1817).

⁹¹ Massimiliano Demata, & Duncan Wu (eds.) *British Romanticism and the Edinburgh Review*, p.6.

⁹² Bob Harris, *Politics and the Rise of the Press Britain and France 1620-1800*, (London: Routledge,

implication is that for every one publication sold, access to its content may have tripled or even quadrupled allowing a 'cascade' of information from the initial purchase of one journal as friends, relatives and servants all read articles.

The press throughout Western Europe, a growing force with a steadily increasing readership, fostered public opinion, defining features of eighteenth-century political, cultural and social development. In a study limited to periodicals covering foreign and domestic events, it has been shown that publications in the French language played an important role in disseminating Enlightenment thinking through a huge quantity of literary, cultural, moral and social comment in the British and French press in the eighteenth century.⁹³ Since the study also omitted journals and travelogues, this suggests the influence of the Scottish press overall could have been even greater. It has further been pointed out that, after 1763, French periodicals copied British journals which published anecdotes and information about Scotland.⁹⁴ As in Scotland, French journals and societies were appearing at a phenomenal rate, indicating a wide audience. The Bibliothèque National de France lists new publications and sociétés savantes from two regions in France, Lorraine and Aquitaine; from 1730 to 1791 there was a new publication or society every year. At the meetings of these groups, the latest books, articles, and pamphlets were circulated and discussed.

Scotland was involved with networking and cultural exchange through its contribution to the European Enlightenment. It is common to find one particular individual cross-networking in different contexts. The Scotsman William Playfair (1759-1823) was a key figure involved in a range of milieux and places, activating and reactivating networks ranging over Scotland, England and France over a period

1996), pp.54-55. p.23.

⁹³ Harris, *Politics and the Rise of the Press*, p.24.

⁹⁴ Bain, *Les Voyageurs français*, p.12.

of years.⁹⁵ The present study shows this tendency, demonstrating how the travellers used contacts to plan their trip in advance and while travelling around Britain; Playfair may have been involved with Faujas' visit while in England. The Huguenot Michel de La Roche was linked into the debate of radicals and theologians and a close friend of Pierre Des Maizeaux who had an influential collaboration with the Royal Society.⁹⁶ Arthur Young, the agriculturalist, associated with many other scholarly figures in France and Britain including Faujas and la Rochefoucauld. His networking included James Smith (1759-1828), a preeminent British botanist who studied medicine at the University of Edinburgh. Smith's network aided him to progress more easily travelling abroad; Smith and Young toured France in 1787, using the European scientific network from Strasbourg to Nancy, then on to Montpellier. A prolific correspondent, Smith communicated with important botanists and scientists, including Sir Joseph Banks (1743 –1820), Thomas Pennant (1726-1798), and William Jackson Hooker (1785-1865), all of whom were connected to the travellers of this present study.

One Franco-British network which grew up at the end of the eighteenth century in association with a French periodical is particularly significant in the context of the present study.⁹⁷ Functioning through British and Huguenot figures in publishing and printing, it consisted of philanthropists, politicians and philosophers; one of the most significant and prominent figures in all three categories was Duc de la Rochefoucauld, the father of Alexandre de la Rochefoucauld, a traveller in this present study. This group developed into three networks; one in Britain, its French equivalent, and a web of relationships, dense and complex, between the members

⁹⁵ Dunyach, 'William Playfair', in Thomson et al., *Cultural transfers*.p.127.

⁹⁶ Michel de La Roche, journalist and translator, published the periodical the *Bibliothèque angloise* in 1717. Ann Thomson, 'In defence of tolerance', in Thomson, et al., *Cultural transfers*, p.161-174. Grist, 'Pierre Des Maizeaux', p.33-42.

⁹⁷ *Le Recueil de mémoires sur les établissements d'humanité; traduits de l'allemand et de l'anglais* (Paris). Mariana Saad, 'Le réseau franco-britannique du *Recueil* Duquesnoy' in Thomson, et al., *Cultural transfers*, p.103.

of both groups. These three networks show a new approach to exchanging information and practices in philanthropy between France and Britain at the turn of the nineteenth century.⁹⁸

Scientific networks involved Enlightenment men of learning. The university of Montpellier became a creative centre from its base in medicine, rivalling existing Parisian institutions. Montpellier had transformed the royal patronage partly through founding the *société royale des sciences* in 1706. Working with the local community, the university inspired scientific work throughout the eighteenth century through the Languedoc network.⁹⁹ Moreover, Montpellier had international links to London through the Linnean Society, founded by Broussonet, to Edinburgh University and to Paris. The network included high profile scientific figures of the eighteenth century in the field of botany: Pierre Broussonet, James Smith (cited above), George Bentham, nephew of Jeremy, and his colleague Joseph Hooker, linked through Carl Linnaeus and his work on species classification. Nodier, one of the travellers in the present study, was in correspondence with Hooker and thus a link in the network through his studies in Scotland. In a similar way, the Scottish universities, especially Edinburgh and Glasgow built up a formidable international reputation through such networking and interaction.

Exchanges also occurred through the secretive organization of the freemasons.¹⁰⁰ Masonic lodges in France were 'daughter' lodges of the 'mother' lodges in Britain, with important links with Scottish freemasonry through the Jacobite 'chevalier' Andrew Ramsay which arose when Jacobite aristocrats took refuge in France.¹⁰¹ The French MacDonald, from an exiled Scottish Jacobite family, was

⁹⁸ Mariana Saad, 'Le réseau franco-britannique du *Recueil Duquesnoy*' in Thomson, et al., *Cultural transfers*, p.104.

⁹⁹ Livesey, 'London by the light of Montpellier' in Thomson, et al., *Cultural transfers*, p.85 onwards.

¹⁰⁰ Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire, 'Quand les francs-maçons signent des traités diplomatiques: circulations et échanges maçonniques entre France et Angleterre (1765-1776)', in Thomson et al., *Cultural transfers*. pp.71-84.

¹⁰¹ Grand Orateur de la Grande Loge de France.

Grand Master to the Paris lodge. His trip to Scotland is likely to have involved masonic contacts through both the Paris Lodge and his family, though he does not specify any.

What did these networks achieve? What was being disseminated?

Newspapers played a complex and varied role in the transmission of information to and from Britain and France.¹⁰² Governments sponsored newspaper production to inform and propagandize subject and foreign populations. The newspaper press was a forum for national self-definition and a bridge between cultures with many of the prominent French newspapers of the pre-Revolutionary period aimed at a pan-European Francophone elite audience.¹⁰³

The increasing cultural interaction between France and Britain led to increased use of both French and English in scholarly exchanges. Many of those from Britain while on the Grand Tour in the eighteenth century studied French in the country to be able to use the language both to communicate but also to read current scholarly texts. Several of the travellers in this present study commented on the number of people they encountered who spoke French. More importantly, the exchanges allowed the importation of vocabulary, language, concepts of other political systems, and information on the American War or the British parliament.¹⁰⁴ The concepts they represented were entering the language and thought of French people, allowing greater freedom for further intellectual contact.

The importance of networks, including correspondence, in producing cultural exchange between France and Britain from the late seventeenth century onwards cannot be overstated. The links between people and places in Western Europe in the eighteenth century were complex; more research is needed to examine the

¹⁰² Simon Burrows, 'The *Courier de l'Europe* as an agent of cultural transfer (1776-1791)' in Thomson, et al., *Cultural transfers*, p.200.

¹⁰³ *ibid.* p.189.

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.* p.197. The *Courier* introduced vocabulary into French by its coverage of British parliamentary politics during the American Revolution.

interactions. This present study illustrates how a number of apparently separate individuals, independent travellers to Scotland, were connected to people and places in a variety of parts of France and Britain.

The interconnectedness of networks is often revealed through individual letters or more extended correspondence, allowing individuals to be situated. Letters of introduction were necessary to allow access to court society for those on the Grand Tour and scholarly travellers also used letters to make contact with like-minded individuals through third party connections in Britain and France.¹⁰⁵ The French travellers of the present study had letters of introduction for contacts in London, parts of England, Edinburgh, Glasgow and for the Duke of Argyll in Inveraray. As strangers in the country, these letters smoothed over difficulties which would have made travelling slow, difficult or even impossible. By introducing travellers to local people, the letters gave them access to hospitality and help with the onward journey. Letters also facilitated entry to places of interest, such as factories, university libraries and collections and to interact with other academics. The originators of the letters are seldom revealed; this is an area of networking which is little studied. The travellers, in the fashion of the day, relied on letters of introduction first in Edinburgh, then used contacts made there to forge new links in other areas. The personal journals of travellers are the main source of information about these contacts. In the eighteenth century, letters of introduction allowed personal interactions to develop through the Republic of Letters, thus aiding the spread of knowledge. This was most evident in the contacts the travellers made in the various towns of Scotland as the basis of their tours around the country. Inveraray highlights how this operated right across Scotland to allow the travellers to access hospitality even in remote areas.¹⁰⁶ Without the system of letters of

¹⁰⁵ Black, *The British Abroad*, p. 235.

¹⁰⁶ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.242. Faujas, unable to find lodgings in the local inn, sent a letter of introduction to the Duke and was received by the Duke.

introduction, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for trips such as those of Faujas and la Rochefoucauld to happen, as they had only an outline travel plan but needed more information on route details as the journey progressed. Through the letters, it is possible to trace some of the flow of cultural transfers.

With the rise of printed material, myths about other countries could be dispelled. Roman script used in printing was used to translate French into English and vice versa, allowing Western Europe to become a commonwealth of universal expression and intellectual communication, encouraging cultural transfer through books and correspondence but, crucially for this present study, these also allowed travellers to move more freely and experience face-to-face meetings with like-minded intellectuals. In contrast, such interactions were not readily available in Eastern Europe.

4

As demonstrated above, various factors over more than a century had crystallized to draw travellers towards visits in Western Europe. Apart from the obvious difficulties of moving around the vast eastern zone, all of the factors allowing the development of relations between Britain and France were lacking between Eastern and Western Europe; friendships, cooperation, correspondence, the exchange of printed material, meetings, societies, a common language, contacts, networking. As a result, in the eighteenth century the eastern part of Europe remained isolated socially and intellectually, unlike the western countries. The aftermath of the Reformation and the linked rise of the publication of printed material allowed Western Europe to forge ahead, not only socially and culturally, but also economically. In the context of this present study, both events contributed to allowing travellers increased access to knowledge about Western Europe. In

addition, the role of the Enlightenment was central to rise in the numbers of visitors for intellectual tourism to Scotland while better transport assisted tourism.¹⁰⁷

Prior to the travellers' visits, language barriers were being broken down within Western Europe, as French became the lingua franca, causing the ultimate decline of Latin as a language of international communication. In Scotland, the status of Latin in the eighteenth century diminished as moderate clergy, university professors such as Francis Hutcheson and Adam Smith, physicians, chemists, lawyers, and men of letters, like Lord Kames, began to define the mainstream of Scottish intellectual culture and moved into the use of English, while many of the intellectual elite also spoke French. For the British traveller of the educated elite, French permitted easy communication, route planning and support for trips abroad. Conversely, the widespread use of French in Scotland also facilitated planning for travellers coming to Scotland along with easier access throughout the region, since French was used even in the rural areas.

Furthermore, there was a network of social links through the Republic of Letters between Scotland, Western Europe and America. The French travellers were recipients of what Andrew Hook called cultural exports from Scotland to France through the Republic of Letters, using the notion of a wide range of 'goods' as a metaphor for mental concepts.¹⁰⁸ These goods start with the common sense philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment throughout the eighteenth century, leading to Scottish literary Romanticism in the nineteenth, especially the works of Sir Walter Scott. The goods originated in written contact across Europe. Edinburgh was at the heart of the Age of Enlightenment and had gained a reputation for cosmopolitanism

¹⁰⁷ Guidebooks, milestones and maps which kept the traveller on route. Alastair Durie, 'Movement, Transport and Travel', in Elizabeth Foyster & Christopher A. Whatley (eds), *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland, 1600-1800* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), p.262.

¹⁰⁸ Andrew Hook, 'The French Taste for Scottish Literary Romanticism' in Deirdre Dawson & Pierre Morère (eds), *Scotland and France in the Enlightenment* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2004).

and cultural interaction, but in particular for the deep cultural affinities between France and Scotland. The Scottish universities, particularly in the capital were at the forefront of advanced methods of teaching and the spread of new constructs. The works of Ossian, too, appealed to a wide spectrum of French viewpoints during the period of upheaval around the Revolution with its violence, patriotism and secularism. The travellers are examples of how personal interaction developed from written contacts.

In contrast, university education in France was at a low point towards the end of the eighteenth century, failing to meet the needs of the times. French universities of the period were Church run and neither forward-looking nor outgoing and have been likened to social clubs for the sons of the rich, even a cheap alternative to the Grand Tour doing little to develop the intellect. La Rochefoucauld himself wrote of endless lessons in France on Roman law that, in the way they were taught, did nothing to broaden the mind, contrasting very effectively the French and Scottish systems. He further comments that there was not a university in Europe that merited such celebrity (as Edinburgh), adding too that chairs at the university, if not occupied by celebrated scholars were occupied by very able ones.¹⁰⁹ The journals used in this study are a vast source of information about the contacts and interactions between university staff and the outside world.

Work using archival sources reveals complex Franco-Scottish exchanges in many important fields, such as science, religion, medicine, politics and social issues which lured the French travellers of this study to visit Scotland. It was not by chance that they visited Edinburgh early in their Scottish tour as it was a European hub of social and intellectual life with the intellectual stimulus based in the Scottish universities, a major factor in the rise in traveller numbers to Scotland. Most of the

¹⁰⁹ Scarfe, *Highlands*, pp.114-5.

travellers in this study took the east coast route into Scotland, all headed for the capital, whose university was world renowned. Indeed, both Faujas and Simond made a return visit to Edinburgh later in their tours.

Although a considerable amount of work has been done by historians showing the increase in numbers of visitors over several hundred years to Britain, the journals of travellers have been subjected to little systematic or thematic analysis and few used in their entirety. Moreover, there is a marked lack of research into documentary evidence of visits to Scotland although interaction by intellectuals throughout Western Europe permitted cultural transfers from the seventeenth century onwards.

By limiting the number of journals, each can be examined in depth, yet the thesis retains the value of a comparative study. Concentrating on a limited time span allows the analysis to focus on topics relevant to the period between 1780 and 1830. This time span is located after a long era of few travellers (up to the end of the seventeenth century), and before the new era of mass tourism of the railway and the steamship of the nineteenth century. As such, it was the fertile period intellectually of the late Enlightenment and the Romantic when there was a great increase in both travelling and travel writing. Some travellers whose journals have been studied in the past had little focus in their trips or in their writing. In contrast, the travellers in this study were selected because they had expert knowledge or special interest in particular fields, and were well versed in many other areas of intellectual interest. The views of these travellers are worthy of respect.

As outsiders, foreigners to Scotland, their views are derived from a different culture. This is set alongside their universal outlook as members of the international community of the intelligentsia. In addition, their knowledge of Scotland itself allows them to make informed observations throughout. Most spent time with their social

and intellectual peers in Scotland, making their views well founded while some had in depth conversations with local people, thereby allowing them to understand issues more thoroughly. This study, therefore, straddles cultural, intellectual and historical aspects of travel and tourism and aims to counterbalance the fact that special interest tourism has had little attention.

Chapter 2 Life in the Rural Areas

This chapter shows what the five French travellers recorded of life and conditions in the Scottish rural areas, focusing on language, dress, health, food, housing, education, religion, culture and manners. Such everyday sights are not generally recorded but travellers notice what is unusual to them, and foreign travellers in particular, are aware of things which local people accept as normal.¹ Travelling becomes a temporary life style with the suspension of the usual norms, since the traveller has little control over his existence: much is strange or hostile; the weather, the route and stopping places are unpredictable. Living in this microcosm brings heightened awareness of the situation, activating the reptilian brain areas which respond to the stress of danger or threat. However, instead of the ancient fight or flight responses, the mind of sophisticated travellers analyzes and attempts to explain the anomalies encountered. The resultant journal entry then leaves a permanent record of those moments in time. Furthermore, travellers compare and contrast the experience, either overtly or covertly, with what they have left behind, even on trivial issues they might not normally find of interest. Although some basic information on everyday life is documented in household inventories, it is only from a journal that the historian will read fine details of what outsiders find unusual, the so-called 'tourist eye'.²

Four of the travellers had wanted specifically to come to Scotland while Simond returned as he wished to spend more time in the country, so their attention was strongly focused on their experiences. A significant proportion was seen at close quarters on foot, giving a varied picture of Scotland. Faujas climbed Ben More

¹ Robert A. Dodgshon, 'Everyday Structures, Rhythms and Spaces of the Scottish countryside', in Foyster, Elizabeth & Whatley, Christopher A. (eds), *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland, 1600-1800* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), p.27.

² For the 'tourist eye', see Chapter 1, pp.54-55. The Literature of Travel. For example a description of forks in France, England and Scotland by Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, pp.252-254. See Marjorie Plant, *The Domestic Life of Scotland in the 18th century* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1952), pp.44-45 & pp.125-126.

on Mull and walked in many places to examine the geology. La Rochefoucauld stopped and talked to people in the countryside, especially those working in the fields. Simond often relied on the word of his guide to explain what he was seeing. Nodier walked and botanized near Loch Lomond. The French MacDonald walked with his clan members, especially on battlefields and near his ancestral home.³ Walking, including walking tours, had gained in popularity by late eighteenth century, becoming a positive cultural practice as a way of knowing a world that was changing through enclosure and industrialization, thus the journals reflect fashionable behaviour but seen through different eyes.⁴

By the time of the visits of the French travellers of this study, Scotland was no longer an independent nation. Linda Colley argues that some English scholars have viewed Welsh and Scots as different, as the 'Other' and the travellers in this study also felt that the Scots were in some way 'Other'.⁵ After the Union of 1707, some English people were averse to closer relationships with the 'much-disliked Scots'.⁶ Even Scots had mixed views of their relationship to England. Some expressed the idea they were Scotsmen, while some had a consciousness of being British only in particular situations. Scottish people when in London could feel themselves to be 'Other' in the sense of feeling conscious of their Scottishness.⁷ All of the travellers had second-hand knowledge of Scotland through reading. Simond, for example, had

³ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, pp.91-93. Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.104. Simond, *An American*, p.80. Nodier, *Promenade*, p.196. Nodier also mentioned families out walking, p.122. Hache, *MacDonald*, pp.147-8, p.163 and following.

⁴ Gilroy, Amanda (ed.), *Romantic geographies: discourses of travel, 1775-1844* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p.2. Gilroy refers to Ann Wallace, *Walking, Literature, and English Culture: The Origins and Uses of the Peripatetic in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

⁵ Linda Colley, 'Britishness and Otherness: An Argument', *Journal of British Studies*, 31:4 (1992), pp.309-329; idem, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven, CT: Yale U. P., 1992). Protestant Britons have viewed the Irish Catholics as the Other, p.313.

⁶ Frank O'Gorman, *The Long Eighteenth Century: British Political & Social History 1688-1832* (London: Arnold, 1997), p.99.

⁷ Janet Adam Smith 'Some eighteenth-Century Ideas of Scotland', in N. Phillipson & R. Mitchison (eds.), *Scotland in the Age of Improvement: essays in Scottish history in the eighteenth century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1970). She concentrates on individuals such as James Boswell, Robert Burns, David Hume, pp.106-123, in particular p.108.

been told that the Scots were more industrious and thrifty than the Welsh.⁸ The travellers may have heard or read tales of wild Highlanders, held in fear and suspicion by English people and by Lowlanders who, by the time of the Union had much in common with their English neighbours.⁹ The journals, however, show their own personal experiences.

When they first arrived in Scotland, the travellers were intent on reaching Edinburgh and most did not write of a culture-shock crossing from England. Only Nodier in 1821 was affected by crossing the border, noting a contrast to England.¹⁰ What he wrote was impressionistic, not scientific observation, since he wanted to portray the two countries as being different topographically to support his preconceptions. His description is largely untrue as the scenery changes only a little and very gradually from the English border to Edinburgh. Nodier wished to delineate one realm from another, to give the idea of 'Otherness', moving from the civilized world to the natural, in what Wolff calls mental mapping of association and comparison in the diaries of travellers to Eastern Europe.¹¹ Such travellers nevertheless felt there was an association among the lands of Eastern Europe, intellectually combining them into a coherent whole, but different and separate from, Western Europe. Nodier similarly felt Scotland was separate, intellectually and emotionally, from the rest of Britain, and so invented a physical difference to support his mental map. Nodier's response was peculiarly Romantic and certainly not realistic. Interestingly, Simond did not express much idea of change when arriving in

⁸ Simond, *An American*, p75. He did not express his own perceptions of the people.

⁹ Michael Hechter, *Internal colonialism; The Celtic fringe in British national development, 1536-1966* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), p.110.

¹⁰ Nodier, *Promenade*, p.122. 'The countryside, without being less rich, was more austere but more varied, the distant mountains more angular with terrible ravines on both sides of the road'.

¹¹ Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, p.6. In the winter of 1784-5 the Frenchman Ségur, crossing from Prussia to Poland, feeling he had 'left Europe entirely' and had 'moved back ten centuries'.

Scotland but noted better roads and a higher level of civilization on returning to England after having travelled into the edge of the Highland region.¹²

More noticeable in the journals are the differences noted within Scotland. Before 1493, Scotland had effectively been two realms, the Lowlands and the Highlands. Highland society seems to have left little evidence of its history and almost no literature.¹³ The monarchy was ineffective in bringing the area under control, thereby perpetuating the isolation of much of the northwest, allowing myths of 'Otherness' to linger.¹⁴ Dynamic cultural change took place in the Lowlands, due to economic development and to rising urbanization, leading to more divergence from the highland area which remained cut off until after 1745. The Highland area around mid-eighteenth century was roughly one fifth of the area of England, Scotland and Wales and probably had around 300,000 inhabitants, with 50,000 living on the islands.¹⁵ In the early 1800s, some Lowlanders saw Highlanders as impoverished and violent savages, a different and inferior race while Highlanders used *Sassenach* (Saxon) as meaning both Lowlanders and the English, viewing themselves as different.¹⁶ It has been suggested that before 1745, Highlanders and their lifestyle were disowned and despised in Scotland but this certainly was not true of all writers; Edward Burt seemed to be sympathetic to the poverty and misery of the lives of the people.¹⁷

¹² Simond, *An American*, pp.104-5.

¹³ Ian D. Whyte, *Scotland before the industrial revolution: an economic & social history c.1050-c.1750* (London: Longman Group Limited, 1995), p.264. A huge area of the northwest controlled by the Lordship of the Isles. Also Charles Withers, 'The Historic Creation of the Highlands' in Ian Donnachie & Christopher Whatley (eds.) *The Manufacture of Scottish History*, (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1992), p.143 onwards.

¹⁴ Hugh Trevor-Roper, *The Invention of Scotland: Myth and history* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2008), p.193. He has suggested that the government kept out of the Highlands and simply sealed off the region.

¹⁵ A.J. Youngson, *Beyond the Highland Line: Three Journals of travel in Eighteenth Century Scotland; Burt, Pennant, Thornton* (London: Collins, 1974), pp.14-5.

¹⁶ *ibid*, pp.314-5.

¹⁷ Trevor-Roper, *The Invention of Scotland*, p.192. Youngson, *Beyond the Highland Line*, p.54.

Some of the travellers, were at pains to remark how 'civilized' the Highlanders were in their behaviour and attitudes, apparently surprised, as if preconceptions were being overturned. La Rochefoucauld expressed a mixture of feelings and certainly experienced sensations of crossing boundaries within Scotland, especially returning to a Lowland city from the Highlands. He commended the Lowlanders for their hard work as well as admiring the Highlanders. Nodier took the Romantic stance that the Highlanders were a colourful vision in the landscape.¹⁸

All of the travellers were interested in the Gaelic language and their journals contribute to an understanding of its changing status over the period. Faujas had some knowledge of Gaelic though he apparently used the word Ossian to mean Gaelic.¹⁹ The travellers conveyed the idea of mystique and history associated with the cultural identity of the Highland people through language, which contributed to 'Otherness' and Nodier relished being alone in Gaelic-speaking Caledonia, to be immersed in its exotic 'Otherness'.²⁰ La Rochefoucauld, realizing the cultural importance of the language, found the people were proud of their language partly because it was incomprehensible to outsiders. The Highlanders, he wrote, felt Gaelic kept them separate from all other people, reinforcing their identity.²¹ Nodier grasped this idea as he thought that language and people were inseparable and that both were pure in *Caledonie*.²² In 1786, la Rochefoucauld wrote that the king of England [*sic*] was trying to reduce Scotland's national identity through English teaching.²³ This is a major oversimplification of the truth but reflects la Rochefoucauld's need to rationalize what he was told. By learning English, the

¹⁸ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.223, pp.175-6. Nodier, *Promenade*, pp.132-134.

¹⁹ He thought that Joseph Banks had been given a mistranslation of the name Fingal's Cave. Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, pp.50-51, footnotes. *Uamh Bhinn* means melodious cave.

²⁰ Nodier, *Promenade*, p.175-6.

²¹ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.175.

²² Nodier, *Promenade*, p.176. Nodier used the word '*Caledonie*' to mean the part of Scotland which is roughly the modern Trossachs area.

²³ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.175. These charity schools were part of a project by the Scottish Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge to educate the pupils to read the English bible where no local school existed.

Scottish gentry began to assimilate, taking on the culture and even the religion of England in order to take advantage of opportunities afforded by the Union, without having to be forced.²⁴ Simond commented that Gaelic was still the common spoken language in the north of Scotland and on the islands but by then there is evidence to suggest that the decline of Gaelic was linked to the flow of English-speaking visitors into the north.²⁵

By 1810, Simond mentioned glibly that the children learned to read in Erse (Gaelic) and English in school.²⁶ The French MacDonald apparently understood spoken Gaelic and respected the idea of keeping alive the traditional language as part of his heritage.²⁷ The Enlightenment travellers saw the language as a fact of history and noted the influence of state and religious bodies was contributing to the gradual demise of the language as education in English was part of the movement to integrate the Highlanders into the rest of Britain and reduce 'Otherness'. The Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, founded in 1709, took it upon itself to make them (the Scots) 'useful to the Commonwealth' by teaching them their duty to God, King and Country and rooting out their Irish[sic] language by establishing schools in the Highlands to teach religion and virtue to all.²⁸ Burke describes a nation as a community held together by language. He further suggests that dominant nations ruled not so much by the sword as by 'the use of a more cultivated language'; this would apply to Highland Scotland.²⁹

²⁴ Hechter, *Internal colonialism*, pp.109-110.

²⁵ Simond, *An American*, p.80. Alastair Durie, 'Movement, Transport and Travel', in *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland*, p.263.

²⁶ Simond, *An American*, p.80. This was mainly in the parochial schools, not the charity schools.

²⁷ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.157. He used MacDonald of Staffa to convey his words.

²⁸ Hechter, *Internal colonialism*, p.110.

²⁹ Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p.164. Burke is quoting the views of Johann Gottfried Herder (1744 – 1803), German philosopher, theologian, poet and literary critic of the periods of Enlightenment, Sturm und Drang, and Weimar Classicism.

As already discussed, French was the *lingua franca* of science, culture and diplomacy in the eighteenth century, ousting Latin.³⁰ The journals of the earlier travellers show how French was widely used by the educated elite in Scotland, making easy interaction, as Faujas noted.³¹ French was often the language of choice for the upper and middle classes in polite conversation. Faujas found French was spoken in the Duke of Argyll's house but also by MacDonald from Skye while in 1825 the French MacDonald was appreciative of the efforts of Scottish people who could speak French, including Sir Walter Scott.³² By the early nineteenth century, the later travellers found English more dominant, as French power and influence diminished while the English-speaking nations rose in global economic terms and through the influence of the Scottish Enlightenment.

The journals make significant reference to the wider issue of education in the rural areas. The spread of knowledge was an important issue in the Enlightenment as it improved society, increasing understanding, allowing a country to become more civilized and socially active; to lack reason and understanding was equated with being uncivilized.³³ The Scottish education system impressed the travellers, especially la Rochefoucauld and what the travellers noted generally suggested that remoteness did not hinder progress.³⁴

The travellers' comments are made against the background of the current situation in France where only the wealthy of the nobility could afford a good education for their children.³⁵ One of the best options for a French aristocrat was a military career which required a good education and there were few scholarships to

³⁰ Ibid. p.60, p.83, pp.86-7.

³¹ Many of the learned Enlightenment figures in Glasgow and Edinburgh in the 1780s spoke French.

³² The British army officer who joined Faujas in Oban. He had been educated in the Scots College in Paris. Hache, *MacDonald*, p.135. Some of his clan relatives spoke French.

³³ See Stuart Woolf, 'French Civilization and Ethnicity in the Napoleonic Empire', *Past and Present*, No.124 (Aug., 1989), pp.96-120.

³⁴ His father was a great exponent of the power of education. More is written about education in the chapter on the Urban Areas.

³⁵ Guy de Chaussinand-Nogaret, *The Nobility of 18th Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p.68.

the academies. In the second half of the eighteenth century, there was a new fashion of education at home for the wealthy in France, now including the girls. La Rochefoucauld had been bored by the ancient knowledge he had to learn.³⁶ In comparison to the current Scottish developments, much of French education was still inward looking, less focussed on Enlightenment ideals. Admittedly, after the Revolution there were many changes in the French education system.

Faujas wrote of the Duke of Argyll's family whose social position was similar to that of la Rochefoucauld. His children were accomplished in the arts and the whole family spoke very good French. However, in middle-class Scottish society, education could be of a high standard for both boys and girls, probably more so than in France; Faujas found McLean's daughter well read, was cultured and played the harpsichord well.³⁷ In Scotland, education for girls was part of the trend towards the whole populace being given access to knowledge, at least to a basic elementary level.³⁸ In France the girls were being educated to make a good marriage. The fashion from the eighteenth century in Scotland was that girls of middle ranking families and the lower nobility were increasingly educated in town like the boys, learning a variety of skills, including French.³⁹ The fact that the Duke was in residence at Inveraray for only part of the year suggests that his children were educated in town, probably in Edinburgh and had tutors while they were in Inveraray. The McLeans, although living on the remote island of Mull, were very much part of current social trends. McLean's daughter had probably been educated in Edinburgh. Other young people, also educated and cultured, were visiting from Edinburgh. In 1825, the French MacDonald wrote of accomplished MacDonald girls

³⁶ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.115.

³⁷ At Torloisk on Mull.

³⁸ See Whyte, *Scotland before the industrial revolution*, p.154 and onwards for the education of women before 1750.

³⁹ Stana Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury, The Highland Gentry in Eighteenth-century Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2007), p.54 & pp.58-64. The curriculum was not the same as for boys.

brought up and educated in Edinburgh who were dressed 'in the French way'.⁴⁰ The journals underline the fact that education was increasingly a factor in moving people away from rural stagnation to a greater extent in Scotland than France. Although increasing wealth fostered changing life styles, other aspects of the journals show that better roads were the catalyst which gave free access to the towns, increasingly the hub of social interaction and education.

It is difficult to find out how education affected the lives of ordinary people and the journals are a source of hidden examples. The travellers found well-educated people in humble positions in rural Scotland, like the school teacher Patrick Fraser who accompanied Faujas on his journey in 1784.⁴¹ Although poor, Fraser was an intellectual and Faujas encouraged him to publish his literary studies. Poverty in itself was not as great a barrier to a good education as it appeared to be in France although it did not always lead to a well-paid position; Fraser had two paid posts, teaching in the local school in Dalmally and giving private lessons to the innkeeper's children. In addition, these children had a writing teacher and a dancing master who stayed at the inn for several months each year.⁴² Those with money could widen the scope of their children's education, unlike those who relied on charity or parish provision. Teachers could charge more for subjects like French, geography, mensuration, geometry, navigation or book keeping so Fraser could augment his basic school salary by his private tutoring.⁴³ The development of tourism and the increase in trade gave the innkeeper a significant income to be able to employ tutors. Similarly in 1786, la Rochefoucauld cited a Highland innkeeper, giving a further impression of the Scottish education system in the late eighteenth

⁴⁰ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.154. They were especially accomplished musically.

⁴¹ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.271. See Donald J. Withrington, 'Schooling, Literacy and Society', in T.M. Devine and Rosalind Mitchison (eds.), *People and society in Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald in association with the Economic and Social History Society of Scotland, 1988), p.163. He notes the poor salaries of teachers and that they were not always paid what they should be.

⁴² Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, pp.281-2.

⁴³ Withrington, 'Schooling, Literacy and Society', in *People and society*, p.163.

century. The man had not received a distinguished education, according to la Rochefoucauld, but was well informed with an impressive knowledge of Scotland's history.⁴⁴ Although the travellers give only a few examples of educated people in the rural areas, they are likely to represent a growing number throughout the region.

The journals referred several times to the extended Scottish elementary education system in the rural areas. In the second decade of the nineteenth century, Simond observed that in the Highlands there were schools everywhere, where the children learned to read in English and Erse (Gaelic).⁴⁵ He seemed surprised at this but it is unclear whether he was comparing the Highlands to elsewhere in Scotland, to America or to France. He did not travel far into the Highlands so his views are based on limited experience, usually recounting what his guide told him. The number of schools was not always apparent in the documentation in the late eighteenth century and beyond, so what the travellers actually observed could not give a full picture. Only some returns to the *Old Statistical Account*, for example, included schooling as it was not part of the original survey.⁴⁶ On the other hand, planned villages sometimes provided opportunities for education and the Report of the Commissioners of the forfeited Estates in 1767 noted that at Crieff 'the village is daily increasing from the number of families settling there for the education of their children'.⁴⁷ This added to the uncertainty surrounding the numbers of children receiving education and there is also the complication that literacy levels were boosted by attendance at night school for adults to augment skills learned earlier at

⁴⁴ Scarfe, *Highlands*, pp.178-9. The innkeeper spoke Latin and English. It is unclear if he had had a private education.

⁴⁵ Simond, *An American*, near Killin, p.80.

⁴⁶ Withrington, 'Schooling, Literacy and Society', in *People and society*, pp.165-171. There are few hard facts in the 1790s *Old Statistical Account* to establish levels of literacy, p.173.

⁴⁷ T.C. Smout 'Landowners and the planned village in Scotland, 1730-1830', in N. Phillipson & R. Mitchison (eds.), *Scotland in the Age of Improvement: essays in Scottish history in the eighteenth century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1970), p.99. SRO, Forfeited Estates Papers E.729.

school.⁴⁸ The travellers' journals can only give an extra glimpse into what was a complex situation.

In 1821, Nodier, who viewed matters differently from the other travellers, railed against the fact that no one spoke Latin. He stated that in Europe people could advance socially through education, but not in Britain, where the fashion was for '*éducation philosophique et libérale*' (philosophical and liberal education). He thought that English education was neither philosophical nor liberal and preferred the Scottish idea of '*éducation mutuel*' (education for all) but added that in Scotland he found that few could read.⁴⁹ This is an example of a compliment turning into a criticism but he gives no clues as to the source of his information. He expressed intuitive, emotional opinions not based on logical reasoning, unlike the Enlightenment travellers. There is truth in what he wrote; the point about literacy questions the strength of Scottish elementary education through parish school plus adventure schools. Fashions and objectives in higher education had changed since the earlier travellers had visited Scotland, keeping Latin necessary for the able poor to gain university entrance, while the rich studied what they fancied, or what seemed useful to them.⁵⁰ Nodier does hint at changes within the Scottish education system which the earlier travellers did not observe, as did also the French MacDonald who, while clearly thinking schooling was widespread in the rural areas, linked changes in Highland lifestyles by 1825 to the proliferation of schools.⁵¹ In association with quelling the Highlands after the 1745 rebellion, Scottish culture was suppressed through education in order to integrate the Highlands into the Lowlands. This was not merely the quelling of the Gaelic language, but also instilling a different set of

⁴⁸ Withrington, 'Schooling, Literacy and Society' in *People and society*. See p.182 for summary of proportion of children in school and p.172 for night school.

⁴⁹ Nodier, *Promenade*, pp.152-154.

⁵⁰ Withrington, 'Schooling, Literacy and Society', in *People and society*, p.164.

⁵¹ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.129.

social values. However, the education of the well-to-do was achieving the same end simultaneously; children were integrated into English-speaking culture by tutors or schooling in the towns.

In a series of further glimpses into the social scene in Scotland, Faujas gave as an objective for his journal account to examine the state of 'manners' in Great Britain. The word civilization had been used in French first in the 1760s. There are repeated references by the travellers to how 'civilized' the people were in the middle and upper levels of society.⁵² A French person would have equated the remoteness of Inveraray with backwardness but Faujas found the Duke of Argyll and his company were civilized, displaying the influences of urban polite society.⁵³ Brittany was in many ways far more cut off from Paris, the centre of civilization in France, than Dalmally or Inveraray was from Edinburgh. While noting there was still an interest and knowledge of Scottish culture, history and music, Faujas was much more impressed by the modernity of what he saw in Scotland than the ancient culture, finding the people active, learned and abreast of the times. France's Enlightenment detested folklore, myth and legend, regarding them as popular error, though there was a change in attitudes with the onset of the Romantic period. However, even as early as the 1790s in the backlash from strict Enlightenment views, organized study of folklore had begun in France.⁵⁴ Faujas, of the old guard, in an interesting clash of attitudes, gave hints that he was sceptical when he described Fingal's Cave as 'this wonderful grotto, which an ancient but fabulous tradition regards as the palace of the father of Ossian'.⁵⁵ This is in stark contrast to Nodier, the confirmed Romantic, who came to Scotland to find its literary connections in the

⁵² For example, Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.243.

⁵³ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, pp.65-66.

⁵⁴ The Gaelic Ossian texts, for example, enjoyed wide appeal in France from the late eighteenth century into the nineteenth century.

⁵⁵ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, p.33, fabulous (my underlining) is probably used in its original meaning of that which belongs to fables, also p.36 the Hebridean (people) entertain a sacred veneration for the cave of Fingal.

countryside and who repeatedly refers to Scottish place names and their reputed origins in Ossian mythology.⁵⁶ In general, the travellers gave only hints of the cultural scene in Scotland; la Rochefoucauld was so focused on his task of examining agriculture, industry and social issues, that he did not mention literature.

The spread of knowledge by all means was an element in the advancement of society so it is clear why the travellers noted so many details of facilities which enabled civilization to flourish. La Rochefoucauld wrote in 1786 of the Highland Society in Edinburgh encouraging the study of all aspects of Highland life and culture with the aim of initiating improvement, while the French MacDonald remarked on the excellent library in Kinfauns Castle, near Perth in 1825.⁵⁷ Although a private collection in a laird's house, it would have been used by his circle of friends and tenants. Newspapers, though somewhat out-of-date allowed the spread of current ideas to remote areas.⁵⁸ Printed material percolated through the community, passing on from household to household, from the wealthy to their servants, or read aloud to gatherings of friends and family, multiplying the readership of printed material by as much as twenty times. Much European intellectual exchange took place through newspapers and periodicals. From the late seventeenth century, specialized periodicals flourished in diverse domains, including science as well as literature and also medical periodicals.⁵⁹ The travellers were registering the proliferation of knowledge of Scottish affairs in the Highland areas, giving an impression that they found the Scots far less conservative than the French. This is in keeping with the reasons why the French travellers had come to Scotland and why Scots had the reputation for a pride in their culture while also receptive to new ideas. Two factors must be stressed. First, the picture painted here is limited largely

⁵⁶ Nodier, *Promenade*. He notes that Luss is from the ancient name Lutha from the Ossian fragments.

⁵⁷ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, p.73. Hache, *MacDonald*, p.142.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, Volume I, p.252.

⁵⁹ Thomson, Burrows & Dziembowski (eds.), *Cultural transfers*, p.10.

to those of the upper levels of society. Second, what they wrote about rural schooling was mainly about primary education and basic literacy. These two elements do not necessarily add up to a high level of 'civilization' throughout the populace as a whole.

Although widespread interests are evident in the journals, most of the travellers avoided declaring their stance on political topics. This probably reflects the fact that most intended to publish their journals within Europe. Faujas makes no mention of politics, even at the house of the Duke of Argyll.⁶⁰ La Rochefoucauld's purpose was to present facts, not to court controversy, Nodier was not interested in organized politics and the French MacDonald was far too diplomatic, keeping his thoughts private, without reference to the political system or the government. Anglo-French rivalry was subordinated to the need by the travellers for politeness, courtesy and friendship. Little can be gleaned even indirectly from those four travellers about political opinions or movements in the whole period. Only Simond became involved in political and economic debates. He attended Parliament, had discussions with private individuals and expressed opinions on the current economic downturn. His English wife with radical connections probably influenced him too. What he wrote was very much in keeping with the international mood of the period when the rights of man and revolutionary politics were being debated. His insights are more American than French, so his journal entries, though brief, are of particular significance. He was ambivalent towards what he saw in Scotland, admiring the results of government but he did not like the means, summing up political institutions as corrupt within a political culture allowing too much personal ambition. He did however accept the idea there was equality in the law for all citizens. He made the point that the government was practical (achieving practical ends) as opposed to a

⁶⁰ The Duke of Argyll was known to be a supporter of the Hanoverian government.

government of abstract principles (debating rather than acting). He found politics a subject of general interest to the people he met, including discussion at table. Interestingly, he noted the further he travelled from London, the more moderate the political opinions became.⁶¹ This suggests that the Scots were less vocal in their opinions or more wary of strangers. He had taken on the style of the open society of America where people often asserted their right to express political opinions. He, more like Nodier, makes abstract, philosophical points rather than noting empirical evidence.

The visual impinges on the senses of travellers probably more than the intellectual. All of the travellers of this study were typical as they all wrote quite extensively on what the people wore. This is more important than it seems as clothing reveals important social, traditional and economic aspects of life in Scotland in the period as well as the underlying attitudes to appearance and class. Highland dress was the first visual sign of 'Otherness' which they encountered.⁶² As part of the integration of the Highland Scottish people into British culture, Highland dress and carrying arms had been proscribed in 1746.⁶³ Proscription, rescinded in 1782, had been harshly enforced. Before 1745, normal masculine Highland dress was the belted plaid, a simple yet versatile piece of cloth, home produced quite distinct from Lowland dress, and much cheaper than a suit; women wore a checked dress.⁶⁴

The French travellers made several significant points, noting that Highland dress was worn only by men in the Lowland towns on Sundays, revealing a number of social changes.⁶⁵ Highland men were coming south to the urban areas in the

⁶¹ Simond, *An American*, p.166, p.35, p.64.

⁶² Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.267 and following. Scarfe, *Highlands*, pp.161-162. No evidence has come to light of distinctive Highland dress before the sixteenth century. See Trevor-Roper, *The Invention of Scotland*, p.194. He refers to a shirt plus a plaid.

⁶³ After the 1745 rebellion, with the exception for soldiers serving the Crown.

⁶⁴ See I.F. Grant, *Highland Folk Ways* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1961), p.316 onwards. Trevor-Roper, *The Invention of Scotland*, p.195. Trews from the Gaelic *triubhas*.

⁶⁵ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.206.

period, seeking work. Their traditional dress, intended for an outdoor life, was unsuitable for urban living so had been relegated to 'Sunday best'.⁶⁶ At all levels of society, the travellers found most women were wearing fashionable clothing throughout Scotland from the earliest visits onwards.⁶⁷ The increase in commercially produced textiles also allowed poorer people to buy clothes, while the integration of rural workers into industrial society meant women had paid work which did not leave them time to produce their own clothes as previously. Weaving of cloth was less likely for home use and was more often sold into the cash economy.

Knowledge in the Enlightenment should be discovered through observation then theories tested and verified and to be passed on to others. The Enlightenment travellers first described Highland dress in great detail in their journals, as if giving scientific data with Faujas venturing a rational explanation that it derived from military clothing.⁶⁸ In the period, in civilized society, clothing denoted status; ethnic dress for the noble savage, not civilized man. In contrast, to the Highlanders, wearing Highland dress still reinforced masculinity and commanded respect, as it had before proscription. Further that to them, it was the dress of all men, not just the lower orders.⁶⁹ In the rural areas, the early travellers saw Highland dress was still worn routinely on the Highland fringes and beyond. On the island of Mull, Faujas found that young men still wore Highland dress daily and also the domestic servants in MacLean's house.⁷⁰ At Dalnally too, the MacNabs, a well-respected family of smiths and armourers all wore Highland dress.⁷¹ All of these references emphasize

⁶⁶ Grant, *Highland Folk Ways*, p.319 , p.321.

⁶⁷ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.162. In 1786 even in the Highland towns, women wore fashionable clothing. Simond, *An American*, p.75, confirmed this in 1810,. Hache, *MacDonald*, the French MacDonald wrote that some MacDonald girls, brought up in Edinburgh, dressed in the 'French' way, p.154.

⁶⁸ Faujas *Travels*, Volume I, pp. 267-8. His idea that Highland dress links to Roman soldiers is unlikely as the Romans did not penetrate far into Scotland. The people he saw were armed with a poniard and often two pistols. Volume I, p.206.

⁶⁹ Grant, *Highland Folk Ways*, p.316.

⁷⁰ Faujas *Travels* Volume II, p.13, p. 91. Volume II, p. 66. Volume I, illustration opposite p.300.

⁷¹ Probably the MacNab family hereditary armourers to the Breadalbane family. See Grant, *Highland*

the divide between Highland and Lowland society was still very much in evidence. Simond wrote in 1810 that on Sunday in Taymouth, half the men wore the kilt and tartan hose with the plaid for Sunday worship, not work, indicating a further retreat since the 1780s.⁷² However, the travellers in this study did not comment in a negative way about those wearing Highland dress, always voicing respect. Faujas noted the obvious pride in the Highland culture and heritage, in tandem with the traditional lifestyle; such a simple life was a perfect contrast to the over indulgent style of formal French court society.⁷³ La Rochefoucauld was more interested than Faujas in the old Highland way of life where the active clansmen used the plaid as a blanket and Simond saw the plaid used for travelling in the traditional way.⁷⁴

Faujas' journal shows the underlying social effects of the split culture of wearing Highland dress. The period of war from the late seventeenth century to 1815 superimposed new loyalties on older ones with the focus on commonalities.⁷⁵ The British army officer McDonald, whom Faujas met in Oban, resolved his conflicting loyalties by showing he was a British soldier only on the mainland, changing into Highland dress on reaching Mull, emphasising his Highland origins.⁷⁶ In the second decade of the nineteenth century, further changes took place as the wearing of Highland dress was boosted by Walter Scott's novels, again highlighted in the journals.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, in 1821, Nodier was surprised to see Highland dress worn in Edinburgh, thinking some specific reason had brought the wearers to the city, as it was no longer a common sight even on Sundays.⁷⁸ However, his extravagant language converted these Highlanders into clan 'chiefs' and made

Folk Ways, p.240.

⁷² Simond, *An American*, p.80. Kilt is probably derived from the word *quelt*.

⁷³ Stuart Woolf, 'The Construction of a European World-View in the Revolutionary-Napoleonic years', *Past and Present*, No.137 (1) (Nov., 1992), p.80.

⁷⁴ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.235. He was given plaids to sleep in though did not comment.

Simond, *An American*, p.75. He noted that men on the roads generally wore the plaid.

⁷⁵ Colley, 'Britishness and Otherness: An Argument', p.316.

⁷⁶ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, pp.12-13. Faujas met him in Oban.

⁷⁷ For example, *Waverley* (1814) and *Rob Roy* (1817).

⁷⁸ Nodier, *Promenade*, pp.133-134.

traditional Sabbath observance into something unusual. Nodier epitomised the Romantic resurgence of interest in ethnic cultures. During his stay in the Trossachs he wrote that his own head was '*coiffé de mon tartan écossais*' (his head covered by his tartan plaid), in a bid to show his empathy with the culture of the people.⁷⁹

The travellers' experiences and what they chose to note in their journals highlight the accelerating trend away from Highland dress in everyday life. The French MacDonald again linked separate developments, as he had done with schooling. In 1825, he felt that road improvements had decreased the wearing of Highland dress through the mobility it permitted.⁸⁰ King George IV's appearance in the kilt in Scotland in 1822 gave a boost to Highland dress but merely as dressing up, in a Romantic superficial revival of all things Scots.⁸¹ This is parallel to the dual situation of the cultural revival for the rich and its suppression for the poor, discussed above. Lowlanders and Englishmen, who had not traditionally worn Highland dress, helped to popularise Highland dress in the late eighteenth century in the Romantic revival as the French MacDonald reported in 1825 when his Edinburgh hostess wore Highland dress to honour him.⁸²

Ideas of dress for the travellers came from their social norms; all classes in France and other parts of Britain covered the body and the head so both Faujas and la Rochefoucauld were shocked by the uncovered thighs revealed by Highland dress. Faujas was surprised in Glasgow to see lower class women with bare heads, while the men wore hats or bonnets but on Mull only married women wore a head covering.⁸³ Nodier was the only one to mention children, little ones in blue '*toques*'

⁷⁹ *ibid*, p.246. Compare this to Lord Byron (1835) in Albanian dress.
<http://englishhistory.net/byron/contents.html> [Accessed March 2014].

⁸⁰ *ibid*, p.149.

⁸¹ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.130.

⁸² *ibid*, p.126, also p.130. She had been instructed by her husband to wear tartan to honour their guest.

⁸³ For example, Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.161. Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, pp. 205-6, Volume II, p76, Volume1, pp. 205-206.

(woollen hats) and young girls in straw hats out walking with their families, suggesting not only a fashion statement but also the move towards buying clothes instead of homemade items.⁸⁴

La Rochefoucauld made the most telling observations of the travellers, both in this instance and elsewhere. He remarked in 1786 that wearing breeches was seen as fundamental in the suppression of the Highland culture and nation, destroying their 'Otherness'.⁸⁵ He reflected on how deeply the freedom to follow their culture and lifestyle was associated with the right to wear their own form of dress. This was for him the visible expression of what they were, just as their language, poetry and song were its sounds.⁸⁶ To be unable to have these expressions of themselves would be to deny their history as well as their intrinsic being. Three decades after La Rochefoucauld's visit, Nodier's Romantic notions were less rational, but he expressed similar ideas. He revelled in the disdain of the Highlanders for the trousers which the so-called 'civilized' man wore. He further describes one of the 'chiefs'

... his stick bent as a sign of leadership, with his noble and gentle air, is a living tradition, perhaps unique in Europe in our age of force and liberty.⁸⁷

Nodier's description of the Highlanders with their simple culture, untainted by modern values, was a reiteration of ideas of the 'exotic' and the 'Romantic'.⁸⁸ He regarded the wearing of Highland dress as an expression of freedom, asserting that otherwise 'the next step is chains'.⁸⁹ The idea of liberty, which impressed Nodier in 1821, was what La Rochefoucauld had thought made the Highlanders 'live'. The latter reported that very few worked as servants or labourers, preferring to choose what type of work to do. They would have a more comfortable life style, he thought,

⁸⁴ Nodier, *Promenade*, p.122.

⁸⁵ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.174.

⁸⁶ *ibid*, p.174. He wrote markets were 'ill attended' as Highland men were only allowed in town wearing trousers.

⁸⁷ Nodier, *Promenade*, p.132, my translation.

⁸⁸ *ibid*, p.175 and preceding chapter.

⁸⁹ *ibid*, p.134.

if they moved to another country, but he recognized there was a tie to their native land, a type of patriotism, holding them to these ungrateful lands.⁹⁰

In contrast, Simond maintained life was gradually improving, but seems to have been unaware of the problems of demographic growth, pressure on land and resources along with changes in land use. He wrote that he did not understand why the Highlanders feel obliged to emigrate to America to seek a better life.⁹¹ His journal questions issues as an onlooker, an outsider from a quite different background.

The travellers explored ideas which were topical in the period, none more so than the idea of liberty.⁹² The Marquis de Mirabeau spoke of the English [*sic*] love of liberty and for the travellers, personal freedom was highly valued in Scotland, especially in the Highlands. La Rochefoucauld made the point that 'poverty and the need to make one's own career arouse one to activity, promote diligence and develop all the capabilities of each of us'.⁹³ According to Galiani, the principles of individual liberty and political equality resulted from pride in man's reason, leading to the idea that Enlightenment and liberty go hand in hand, suggesting that political liberty is a necessary precondition of economic liberty.⁹⁴ His doctrine argues that an agrarian society like France lived too close to subsistence level to expect personal responsibility from its agents and that only a manufacturing nation like Britain is capable of making its agents responsible enough for their subsistence.⁹⁵

The idea of a social conscience was gradually becoming more influential. La Rochefoucauld's father epitomizes the current interest in both France and Britain in

⁹⁰ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.223.

⁹¹ Simond, *An American*, p.80.

⁹² Faujas endorsed Thomas Paine's (1737-1809) ideas of transnational human rights. Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, preface. His journal was printed after the French revolution had started.

⁹³ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.114.

⁹⁴ Henry C. Clark, *Compass of Society : Commerce and Absolutism in Old-Regime France* (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2007), pp.180-181. Fernando Galiani, 1728-1787, an Italian, secretary to Neapolitan embassy in France 1759-1769.

⁹⁵ He wrote this was to justify a policy of free export of grain.

the condition of the people and poverty. La Rochefoucauld was the only visitor who specifically commented that wearing neither shoes nor stockings was 'a distressing sign of poverty', although most of the travellers noted people barefoot both in rural and urban settings.⁹⁶ As late as 1821, Nodier saw women barefoot in Glasgow.⁹⁷ Simond, meanwhile, was alone in recording children in rags, in the south of Scotland, near Carlisle.⁹⁸ According to Smout, clothing improved after about 1760 as prices dropped due to production improvements. Many by the end of the century were buying shoes who would formerly have gone without, suggesting that la Rochefoucauld was correct when he assumed poor clothing related to the poverty of those on the margins of subsistence.⁹⁹

There was interest amongst scholars in studying the physical appearance of the people, including ethnic features and the journals show the trend to observation which was used to build up theories in a pseudo-scientific way. Faujas wrote without sentiment, as if describing machinery or geology. His friend and colleague, Buffon, was interested in theories of evolution and Faujas would have intended to discuss his journal with Buffon and other scholars.¹⁰⁰ Linnaeus' categorizing of plant data was copied in other fields, including the study of peoples. Much of what the French travellers wrote is riddled with current racial and class preconceptions. Faujas wrote, for example, that the women were generally small in the Hebrides and made the sweeping generalisation that, on Mull, the women were generally ugly and ill-made, concluding that their dark complexions were due to peat smoke in the houses, while

⁹⁶ Edward Burt wrote of barefooted women and children in Inverness in 1726, but not the men. Youngson, *Beyond the Highland Line*, p.48.

⁹⁷ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.172. Simond, *An American*, p.77. Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.226. Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, p.67. This was common throughout Europe amongst poorer people. Wooden clogs (*sabots*) were used in poor weather in many countries of Europe including Britain.

⁹⁸ Simond, *An American*, p.75.

⁹⁹ Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* (London: Fontana Press, 1985), pp. 296-7.

¹⁰⁰ Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon (1707 –1788) a French naturalist, mathematician, cosmologist, and encyclopedic author. Buffon was director at the Jardin du Roi, (now the Jardin des Plantes) prior to Faujas.

admitting that the people on Mull 'in easier circumstances' were more attractive.¹⁰¹ La Rochefoucauld, wrote that the Highland race were mostly handsome, tall, strong, well built, including the women but even he remarked that he saw 'many pretty women promenading', referring to women of better class. Simond, in the post-Enlightenment era, made mixed comments about the appearance of the people in an unscientific approach which still explored current ideas.¹⁰² Nodier's descriptions of people on the fringes of society, like gypsies, are a further remove from the scientific. His Romantic *vignettes* used people as figures in a landscape and were only loosely based on reality, if at all.¹⁰³ The French MacDonald referred to the appearance of those he met at social gatherings, mainly pleasant comments about the women and girls he met and made no really negative or unusual remarks.¹⁰⁴ Again, there is a range of what the journals offer; at one extreme the French MacDonald noticing the poverty of his relatives, with Faujas demonstrating a cold academic interest in what he saw.

Along with empirical observation, the journals show theorizing as part of the scientific approach to learning. Several travellers wrote that the women had large feet and Nodier postulated that the Highlanders needed such feet to walk in awkward places. The freedom he attributes to the Highlanders had, he believed, somehow contributed to feet remaining large, unlike the feet of the more refined French or the Chinese.¹⁰⁵ This links to early theories of natural selection, linking both with Nodier's interest in ethnic peoples and the emerging nineteenth century

¹⁰¹ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, p.77. He found them different from those in Glasgow.

¹⁰² Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.172, and p.156. Simond, *An American*, p.80. He wrote near Killin that the men and women were not really handsome but healthy and active, Simond. In Edinburgh, he observed that the women at the fish market were strong and healthy but 'generally very ugly', p.77.

¹⁰³ Nodier, *Promenade*, p.123.

¹⁰⁴ Hache, *MacDonald*, for example p.127.

¹⁰⁵ *ibid*, p.149 bare feet, and p.150 big feet and rather strong legs. Nodier added that the heavy shoes they wore, like men's brogues, emphasized their size, Nodier, *Promenade* pp.162-164.

concern with the idea of race and determining features, progressing to the nineteenth century interest in the exotic, especially distant cultures.¹⁰⁶

A related topic, health, also exercised the minds of many thinkers of the period.¹⁰⁷ Faujas felt the clothing totally unsuited to Scottish weather and was surprised that the people suffered no ill effects, in particular that bare heads did not affect the teeth. In the spirit of enquiry, he was interested in combining ideas from different sources to propose a theory of race, based on the supposed purity of the Highland lifestyle. He concluded that good health was due to their simple diet, a temperate lifestyle and the pure air.¹⁰⁸ Simond's thoughts ran along the same lines; he felt that the mild climate made the people more active than in America.¹⁰⁹ This is reminiscent of a current European theory that the European climate was healthy while that of the New World was degenerative.¹¹⁰ He linked other random sights to current pseudo-scientific theories as when he stressed that children playing round dung heaps were healthy.¹¹¹

Eating and health were also linked by both Faujas and Simond. Faujas commented in 1784 that night calls for physicians were usually due to an over indulgent lifestyle, adding that he thought that all classes of people ate a great deal more than in France.¹¹² This may have been true of the hospitality of the Duke of Argyll, trying to impress a foreign visitor but Faujas had little experience of poor families in Scotland. Simond specifically wrote that the Scots country people seem to be in better health than many who were rich, suggesting that the lifestyle of the

¹⁰⁶ Such theories were being promoted by a Scotsman, James Burnett, Lord Monboddo (1714-1799). Obsession with the exotic has become known as orientalism but could apply also to the peoples of Europe who lived in remote areas, such as the Highlands of Scotland.

¹⁰⁷ See chapter 1, *The Literature of Travel*, pp.68-9..

¹⁰⁸ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, p.13. He noted the agility of the women in Glasgow and of his young guides on Mull, who could outrun the horses.

¹⁰⁹ Simond, *An American*, p.65. He wrote that while in England.

¹¹⁰ This view was held from the era of the early settlers. The Public Domain Review, <http://publicdomainreview.org/2014/02/19/the-founding-fathers-v-the-climate-change-skeptics/> [Accessed March 2014.]

¹¹¹ Simond, *An American*, pp.94-95.

¹¹² Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.258

poor was healthy through hard work and a basic diet, instead of inactivity and over-indulgence.¹¹³ In contrast, in 1786, la Rochefoucauld gave information without theorizing. He wrote that the English government sent surgeons to the Highlands, though noted there was little need for them.¹¹⁴ He described hospitals in Edinburgh, noting that Trinity and Watson's were more like poor houses or workhouses.¹¹⁵ His comments, based on what he has been told as well as his observations, are not the notes of a simple tourist; through his father's contacts, he was well informed and was recording this information to report for use in France.¹¹⁶

The travellers made sweeping statements, generalizing on very little evidence from their short stays and limited experience but the comments on health emphasize ideas being explored in the period; excess in the lives of the rich while the noble savage led a better, purer lifestyle. The low level of infectious diseases in the Highlands was less about pure air than the fact that in the period there were few large centres of population outwith the central belt.¹¹⁷ Fish, eaten widely in Scotland, may have been the link to good health; high in protein, fish helps to boost the immune system. It must also be added that Highlanders who migrated to the cities were prone to infectious diseases. On occasion, the travellers did note afflictions in remote rural areas due to poor living conditions. Faujas's party found lice in the houses on Staffa and la Rochefoucauld, appalled at the poverty and dirt in an inn, wrote that the whole family had scabies.¹¹⁸ This also ties in with la Rochefoucauld's comments noted earlier that industrial development had not reached the outlying areas in the 1780s where there was sometimes dire poverty.

¹¹³ *ibid*, pp.79-80.

¹¹⁴ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.176, He noted that the women worked very hard and the men's physique made them fine warriors, p172.

¹¹⁵ Scarfe, *Highlands*. He mentioned the Royal Hospital for injuries, p.117.

¹¹⁶ Saad, Mariana, 'Le réseau franco-britannique du *Recueil Duquesnoy*', in *Cultural transfers*, gives details of philanthropic work by la Rochefoucauld senior.

¹¹⁷ Simond, *An American*, p.29. The city of London with its overcrowding had an epidemic of 'catch-cold' (influenza) in 1810.

¹¹⁸ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, p.24. Scarfe, *Highlands*, pp.166-167. The General's Hut, close to Loch Ness.

The journals give few references to the occupations of the lower classes. Only la Rochefoucauld and later the French MacDonald were interested in their lifestyle or associated with ordinary people. What la Rochefoucauld wrote does give remarkable insight into the lives of the old women in villages. Spinning on a spindle, they earned 4 pence per day. Working six days per week and observing the Sabbath, would bring in 2 shillings per week. Durie quotes earnings of 1/9 to 2/6 in 1753 but 15 -16½ pence per week in 1755.¹¹⁹ For the old women spinning was likely to be their only source of income.¹²⁰ La Rochefoucauld was aware 'in Scotland the poor can only gain assistance by working', ... 'they work harder and live less well for there is no Poor Rate in Scotland'.¹²¹

Despite the poverty, there was little mention of crime in Scotland by the travellers.¹²² La Rochefoucauld did report the Highlanders had the habit of stealing but he may have been misled by stories of cattle raiding.¹²³ Nodier was the only one to mingle with a rough crowd at a street fight and the only one to walk alone in the countryside.¹²⁴ However, this may have been deliberately seeking out the thrill of being close to exotic 'savages' and even the incidents he described may only have been imagined or brought together artificially to form a better story. The travellers did not convey any idea of fear going into the Highlands. From the point of view of landscape, they felt that they were crossing a boundary but there was no suggestion of Hugh Trevor-Roper's notion that the Highland Line was a *limes*, beyond which the inaccessible barbarians were left alone.¹²⁵

¹¹⁹ Durie, *The Linen Industry in the Eighteenth Century*, p.76.

¹²⁰ Scots law expected all able bodied adults to work. See Whyte, *Scotland before the Industrial Revolution*, p.202, for poor law provision in Scotland.

¹²¹ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.135. In England, the poor relief was support for those who were not in work. In Scotland it was normally given only to those unable to work. In practice, there was often discretionary help available locally. See Rosalind Mitchison 'The Poor Law', in *People and Society in Scotland*, pp.252-266.

¹²² For crime in Scotland see, Christopher A. Whatley, 'Order and Disorder' in *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland*, pp.192-216.

¹²³ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.223. He wrote the Gaelic word for stealing meant to steal skilfully.

¹²⁴ Nodier, *Promenade*, pp.171-174 & p.194.

¹²⁵ Trevor-Roper *The Invention of Scotland*, p.193.

The variety of responses to religion in the journals indicates a range of views. In eighteenth century France, Enlightenment thinkers frequently regarded religion as myth and superstition. Neither Faujas nor La Rochefoucauld betrayed their personal beliefs, nor did they dismiss religion out of hand. Their comments suggest they linked religion to moral standards.¹²⁶ Although powerful anti-Catholic propaganda emanated from England, the travellers' caution probably reflects the fact that French war literature in the eighteenth century rarely mentioned religious differences between France and England, despite some anti-Protestant feeling in France and some French Protestants were suspected of having illicit contacts with the English enemy.¹²⁷ The travellers noted Sabbath observance in close association with Highlanders in traditional dress but they did highlight the social role of the church as a focal point for meeting friends and conducting business.¹²⁸ Even in 1821, Nodier found everything closed in Edinburgh on Sunday and 'tout le monde en prières' (everyone at their prayers).¹²⁹ The French MacDonald in Inverness noted in 1825 that the Highlanders went quite a distance to attend church without fail.¹³⁰ Faujas associated personal moral qualities with the Church rather than with specific religious beliefs.¹³¹ He was very positive in his description of the Highlanders outside the church in Dalmailly as courteous and dignified individuals, the mark of civilized beings.¹³² He made the significant comment that the Protestant business owners impressed him in their attitudes, in particular their lack of ostentation in factory buildings. La Rochefoucauld made general comments on religion in his summing up of Scotland, emphasizing the very strict Sabbath observance by the

¹²⁶ See also Joyce Miller, 'Beliefs, Religions, Fears and Neuroses', in *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland*, pp.234-251.

¹²⁷ David A. Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France, Inventing Nationalism, 1680-1800* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), p.80.

¹²⁸ See Callum G. Brown 'Religion and Social Change' in *People and Society in Scotland*, pp.143-160.

¹²⁹ Nodier, *Promenade*, p.128.

¹³⁰ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.149. He added whatever the weather and in all seasons.

¹³¹ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, pp.115-123.

¹³² Similarly, he was interested in Quakers in England in an intellectual way.

Calvinists and their intolerance of other denominations.¹³³ There is a tacit acceptance underlying the comments of both Faujas and La Rochefoucauld that religion as practised in Scotland (and England) had much to recommend it. The Protestant ethic was a modern approach to religion and it has been argued, with some justification, that intellectual thought in the eighteenth century was less dominated by religious matters, thereby making it more open to solving secular problems, including those of agriculture.¹³⁴

There is a noticeable difference in attitude to religion by Simond who felt ashamed travelling on a Sunday when he saw many Scots people going to church in 1810.¹³⁵ He shared religious thoughts with his readers more openly than the previous travellers. Born into a Protestant family, Simond gave the impression of being a regular church goer.¹³⁶ He was writing during a religious revival known in America as the Great Awakenings in a backlash against Enlightenment values. His attitudes would have been influenced by the religious groups amongst the early settlers in America, many of whom went to America to search for religious freedom and the development of a variegated religious culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹³⁷

To many Romantics, religious attitudes of the early nineteenth century were moving away from devotion in a church towards a spiritual experience and the journals of Nodier and the French MacDonald delve into other perspectives on the subject. Nodier found organized religion restrictive and too formal but seemed to experience a mystical, religious sentiment in his reaction to scenery in Highland

¹³³ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.225. He cited whistling on a Sunday was a sin.

¹³⁴ R.H.Campbell, 'The Scottish improvers and the course of agrarian change in the 18th century', in L.M. Cullen & T.C. Smout, *Comparative aspects of Scottish and Irish economic and social history*, 1600-1900 (Edinburgh: Donald, 1977), p.205.

¹³⁵ Simond, *An American*, p.80. Between Killin and Taymouth.

¹³⁶ Simond attended a church service in England. Simond, *An American*, p.61.

¹³⁷ See Brown 'Religion and Social Change' in *People and Society*, pp.143-4.

Scotland, describing himself as 'a pilgrim in search of a god'.¹³⁸ The religious beliefs of the French MacDonald were based on those of Catholic Scots Jacobites who had fled to France after the failure of the 1745 rebellion.¹³⁹ Although taken to Mass in Edinburgh by relatives, he did not reveal any feelings about the service. He was also a Freemason, a growing phenomenon in French society but he was equally careful not to become involved with Freemasons he encountered in Scotland.¹⁴⁰ Religion, like politics, was not an easy topic for foreign travellers as outsiders to discuss in detail. However, their responses do match attitudes prevalent in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century; la Rochefoucauld, aware of Calvinism in Scotland, noted that the Scots detested the Anglican and Catholic religions but is unlikely to have recognized the process of Anglicization which included religion in the integration of the Highlands into the rest of Britain.¹⁴¹

The travellers gave some information about houses in the rural areas, ranging from sumptuous castles to the direst hovels. From the eighteenth century onwards wealth was being put into homes, renovating an older house or more frequently by building a new, more palatial structure, and many lairds ruined themselves by extravagant spending. The Duke of Argyll's castle was the most palatial home visited by the travellers. In 1784, Faujas was impressed by the recently renovated building, boasting evidence of conspicuous consumption.¹⁴² The French MacDonald saw the trend continuing when he noted many such mansions and castles being renovated or replaced in 1825.¹⁴³ Even on the Scottish Islands, he

¹³⁸ Graham Robb, *The Discovery of France* (London: Picador, c2007), p.289. Nodier studied French church buildings as works of art, collaborating on a series of twenty-four books, *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France*, from 1820, aimed at an artistic audience.

¹³⁹ At Sancerre, France.

¹⁴⁰ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.125, p.141. For information about eighteenth century freemasons in France and Scotland, see Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire, 'Quand les francs-maçons signent des traités diplomatiques: circulations et échanges maçonniques entre France et Angleterre (1765-1776)', in *Cultural transfers*.

¹⁴¹ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.225. Hechter, *Internal colonialism*, p.109.

¹⁴² Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I. He noted an elaborate staircase, furniture, bronze vases, carpets and glasshouses. There was an artist there, a physician and a chaplain. pp. 247-250.

¹⁴³ For example, Hache, *MacDonald*, p. 124, pp.135-6.

saw work being done on the castle of Armadale, Skye.¹⁴⁴ The old lifestyle of the clan chiefs was changing in the cash economy with wealth being spent on comfort and competitive extravagance, driven by fashion.

The travellers had little contact with the 'middling sort' in the rural areas so their journals are somewhat lacking in this area except for what Faujas noted. He stayed with MacLean of Torloisk on Mull, a retired army officer who had built a new house, much grander than the original house of his parents.¹⁴⁵ His aspirations were similar to those of the clan chiefs or even of the French MacDonald, displaying a common Scottish heritage of respect for family, culture and the place of their birth. In France, income was invested differently; those with money were more likely to buy land or titles in order to reach the level of society where they could live nobly.

In an interesting little journal entry, typical of the unexpected encounters of a traveller, Faujas described meeting the MacNabs, who represented a level of society in Scotland no longer tenable in the late eighteenth century. Not yet destitute, their housing was small and basic; they had few possessions and probably little land. Previously, the family had standing in the community as artisans, part of the warring, feuding Highland system, but was suffering in the new cash economy. Their role as armourers no longer existed in the clan structure after the defeat of the 1745 rebellion, like many minor lairds in Scotland who had little money or lands, only historic status.¹⁴⁶ This is like certain of the poorer French nobles who no longer had a place in post feudal society and whose lifestyle was untenable through lack of money, observed by a British traveller to France writing in the 1760s 'As for the country gentlemen, many of them were doomed to 'ragged idleness and sparse diet'.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.165.

¹⁴⁵ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, pp.63-4. This had entailed levelling the ground.

¹⁴⁶ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, pp.301-2. Faujas had visited them to see an Ossian fragment.

¹⁴⁷ Jarrett, *The Begetters of Revolution* (London: Longman Group Ltd., 1973) p.64, from Additional Manuscripts, British Museum 12, 30, 'Notes Made in a Journey through France, chiefly relating to

Only on Mull did Faujas begin to report on the poor in society, describing the majority of the houses in 1784 as having straw thatch or thin stone roofing slabs, many with no door, adding that the people were either fishermen or shepherds.¹⁴⁸ In 1811, in the Scottish countryside near Killin, Simond saw very basic dwellings but did not regard that as real deprivation, quoting the Highland guide saying that they were adequate, describing the houses as filthy habitations with few possessions.¹⁴⁹

All of the three earlier travellers noted scattered huts in the Highlands amidst large tracts of almost empty land.¹⁵⁰ Ten years after Simond, Nodier described one miserable hut near Loch Lomond which gave basic shelter but also wrote of long stretches of cold countryside where there was nothing and no-one.¹⁵¹ At the end of the period, the French MacDonald saw miserable huts scattered along the roadside after Dunkeld. The poverty of the people was evident as the children were begging, though not an uncommon sight in many parts of Europe.¹⁵² He also mentioned that those who worked on the road lived in tents, 'through lack of habitation'. However, he noted that, despite the huts being really wretched, the inhabitants dressed well and warmly and were very clean, especially on Sundays.¹⁵³ The French MacDonald was the only one of the travellers to show real empathy with the poor. His reactions seem to indicate a sense of 'there but for the grace of God go I'. It seems clear that the other travellers were noting the emptiness of the Highlands more than the poor housing.

The journals show a range of responses to the Highlands. La Rochefoucauld, whose journal is peppered with astute social comments, was impressed that the

the picturesque circumstances of that country', fos 177-8. my underlining.

¹⁴⁸ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, pp.74-75. See Grant, *Highland Folk Ways*, for illustrations of houses on Mull similar to Faujas' description, p.152.

¹⁴⁹ Simond, *An American*, p.80, p.79.

¹⁵⁰ For example, Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.308.

¹⁵¹ Nodier, *Promenade*, p.220. '*les landes froides et nues de l'Ecosse*' (the cold naked plains of Scotland). The hut, p.196.

¹⁵² Hache, *MacDonald*, p.146. Children begging was a not uncommon sight in many parts of Europe

¹⁵³ *ibid*, p.149.

Highlanders were attached to the land, their *patrie*; preferring to remain in poverty than leave it.¹⁵⁴ This explains why Highlanders who had emigrated came back to Scotland, as Simond noted but did not appreciate. Similarly, Faujas saw the gentry on Mull were very attached to their native land, though he was surprised rather than impressed.¹⁵⁵ Ties to native land and clan were stronger than mere economic advance, as the French MacDonald demonstrated; he was spurred on to see the land of his clan forefathers, not as a contemporary 'Romantic' gesture but maintaining the traditional attitudes of the Highlanders in the exiled Jacobite community, he could relate to the kinship ties. The role of the chief was as a father figure to the 'clan' with a duty to support and provide for his clan, supporting them in times of hardship. In return, the clan gave him loyalty, took up arms for him and gave him a proportion of their produce. Early forced emigration from Scotland where the chief could no longer provide for his 'children' was often in clan groups led by their tacksman.¹⁵⁶ From the clan system developed the practice of adding the place name to the family name so that branches of the clan were associated with the land they occupied, like a title. The pride in the clan name was augmented by belonging to a particular area of clan land. This was still in use in the time of the French MacDonald, who referred to clan members in this fashion.¹⁵⁷ Strong loyalty to the landowner meant that workers were likely to be attached to the place of work; this is probably why it was less likely to see in Scotland the roving bands of disaffected landless peasants found in France.

¹⁵⁴ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.223. 'They are inseparable from their Highlands'. See Whyte, *Scotland before the industrial revolution*, p.131.

¹⁵⁵ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, p.10. Campbell of Aros. He noted that Maclean would not demolish the house of his parents though he had built a new one, nor did he desire to live elsewhere, though he had travelled abroad.

¹⁵⁶ Smout, *A History of the Scottish People: 1560-1830* (London: Fontana Press, 1985), p.129, p.330.

¹⁵⁷ For example MacDonald of Staffa. It may well be that the French MacDonald equated the 'of' with the French 'de' which was a mark of nobility in a surname.

The travellers recorded many occasions when they met people by chance in the country areas. The journals reveal the interaction with such people and expose the true nature of the responses of the travellers to the local people. The underlying impression from the journals is that the travellers modified previously held attitudes. When the travellers wrote that they were generally treated well and the local people were often described as polite and helpful, the wording suggests an element of surprise, as if this was not what they had expected.¹⁵⁸ La Rochefoucauld's comments in particular have a tone of sincerity. He noted that Scots received all strangers with the greatest courtesy and wrote that he felt the Scots generally were straightforward, trustworthy and open, hardworking and intelligent, but above all a free people. He conveyed strongly that the Highlanders were 'Other' when he described differences in character between Highland and Lowland Scots, deciding the Lowlanders were slightly less sophisticated than the English while the Highlanders were a race apart, surprisingly enterprising, with a unique culture.¹⁵⁹ For la Rochefoucauld, this idea of clanship was noteworthy, making the interesting point at the end of a comment '... and the minimum of fuss', meaning there was no ostentatious show of deference.¹⁶⁰ There was no system of clanship or close ties to an estate in France. Workers on an estate were employees without the loyalty of the Highland clans. The la Rochefoucauld family took on board ideas brought back from Scotland, putting them together, including educating the spinning girls, to bring in closer personal ties, along the lines of Robert Owen's philosophy.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.235. He specifically notes Highland people were kind, referring in particular to those who helped the group near Oban and on Mull. Volume I, pp.316-319, Volume II, pp.13-4.

¹⁵⁹ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.176, p.224, p.101.

¹⁶⁰ He wrote they came with you to show you the way instead of merely describing the route.

¹⁶¹ See Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.253-4 where Scarfe details enterprises the la Rochefoucauld family developed on their estates. See Saad, Le réseau franco-britannique du *Recueil* Duquesnoy, in *Cultural transfers*. Robert Owen (1771-1858), social reformer and one of the founders of utopian socialism and the cooperative movement. Robert Owen Museum <http://robert-owen-museum.org.uk/> [Accessed March 2014].

Unsurprisingly, the French travellers, apart from Nodier, wrote quite a lot about the Scottish diet, as food is a normal preoccupation of travellers. It is unsurprising too, that they deduced the rich ate well but the poor had a very restricted diet.¹⁶² However, the details of what was consumed are of interest. All classes of people ate fish and la Rochefoucauld saw where the poverty of the people worsened considerably north of Montrose, fish maintained the people.¹⁶³ Faujas was served fish at Inveraray Castle; salted herring at MacLean's house for breakfast; haddock and whiting for dinner and supper at an inn on Mull; smoked, dried salmon at Aros; and local oysters in Prestonpans with a wealthy entrepreneur.¹⁶⁴ La Rochefoucauld noted trout and salmon. In the following century, Simond mentions fish in lochs and rivers. It appears from what the travellers wrote that fish was much more widely eaten than meat.

At the beginning of the period, meat was readily available in the castle of the Duke of Argyll but not for poorer people. Even for families like the MacNabs, their store of food did not include meat.¹⁶⁵ In the Dalmally inn, where the landlord was said to be in 'easy circumstances', there was no meat from domestic livestock.¹⁶⁶ Some people kept a cow for dairy products or a few Scottish sheep for wool.¹⁶⁷ Any animals kept in large numbers were the property of the landowner, kept for breeding and for sale of meat or wool rather than consumption. Wildfowl replaced meat as a source of protein in Dalmally and on Mull.¹⁶⁸ By the time of Faujas' visit in September and October, animals reared for sale had already been sent to market, so other protein sources like game and fish were the main options. In 1825, the

¹⁶² Grant suggests that travellers had contributed the small stature of the poorest rural people to their inadequate diet while others have written that lack of nourishing food made the people unable to work hard, *Highland Folk Ways*, p.295.

¹⁶³ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.170. Also at Fort Augustus.

¹⁶⁴ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.254, Volume II, pp. 69-70 and p.89. Volume II, p.17, Volume I, p180.

¹⁶⁵ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, pp. 295-6. There was grain, barley in sacks, oatmeal and whisky.

¹⁶⁶ *ibid*, Volume I, p.280.

¹⁶⁷ See Grant, for the diet of the Highland and island areas, p.295.

¹⁶⁸ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.280, Volume II, pp.70-71.

French MacDonald recorded that the captain of the cutter asked permission to shoot a deer for venison, indicating that shooting game was not available freely.¹⁶⁹

In contrast, more than twenty years after Faujas' visit, Simond saw pickling tubs for mutton and pieces of mutton in houses near Killin, indicating the family ate meat. These were not wealthy families as the houses were described as 'filthy habitations' but by now sheep were more prevalent in rural areas and even poorer people kept animals for personal consumption.¹⁷⁰ Over the period, poorer folk accessed a more varied diet including more meat. This linked to the increase in animal production for sale by the landowners, keen to find other sources of income.

Bread was a staple in late eighteenth century. Faujas wrote that the Scots ate more bread than the English.¹⁷¹ In the same period, la Rochefoucauld stated that oatcakes were eaten widely instead of bread.¹⁷² He found the inn at Old Meldrum had no bread, only oats, 'the appearance of which alarmed us' he added. He did mention good bread in an inn north of Montrose, apparently an occurrence worthy of note. He also referred to various kinds of 'dry cake' which he was given for breakfast.¹⁷³ Faujas' experiences were with the better-off in Scotland while la Rochefoucauld's give a more realistic impression of what the general population ate. To a Frenchman, bread was a basic element in the diet, so it was worthy of note what people in other countries produced but what the travellers note is indicative of bread flour being scarce. The substitute for wheat was oats, grown throughout Scotland on poor soil and there are frequent references to the people having small plots of land where they grew oats.¹⁷⁴ Faujas noted oatmeal and water eaten with a

¹⁶⁹ Hache, *MacDonald*, p158.

¹⁷⁰ Simond, *An American*, There were also cheeses, which could be kept over the winter, p.79.. The French MacDonald wrote of cheeses being given as gifts, a remnant of the old habit of payment in kind to the chief for feasting.

¹⁷¹ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, p.64.

¹⁷² Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.144.

¹⁷³ Perhaps he means scones or bannocks.

¹⁷⁴ For example, Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, p.68.

spoon plunged into a bowl of cream, somewhat like porridge.¹⁷⁵ La Rochefoucauld reported that gruel was made from oatmeal in hot water, like a kind of tea. He added that, as well as purifying the water, the oatmeal in the drink rids it of its natural hardness. This is odd, as in most parts of Scotland the water is soft; perhaps he meant it helps to reduce the peaty colour and flavour of the water.¹⁷⁶

Barley, the only other grain crop mentioned in the Highlands, was used to make beer which was available in inns.¹⁷⁷ Faujas noted beer in MacLean's house but neither beer nor wine in the inn at Aros on Mull.¹⁷⁸ Interestingly, Simond does not mention beer in Scotland or wine though he wrote of drunkenness.¹⁷⁹ Like Faujas, the French MacDonald mentioned the toasts at the end of the meal and the amount of drinking by the upper classes.¹⁸⁰ The French MacDonald also listed wine, sherry and porter which he gifted to the ship's crew.¹⁸¹ The social divide was well defined by the locally produced liquor (and sometimes the lack of it) for the poor and expensive imported alcohol for the rich. For some, the economic virtues of thrift, hard work and sobriety were contrasted to Jacobitism and disaffection which were linked to idleness and alcohol but this is not reflected in the travellers' journals.¹⁸²

One recently introduced staple in the Highlands was potatoes, available seasonally. A highly productive crop, it grew particularly well in north-west Scotland and the Hebrides. There was a more rapid and more widespread adoption of the potato in Scotland than France, making good use of marginal land. The potato was crucial in the development of the Scottish economy in several ways. First it was more productive than barley or oats so fed the people better, helping to eliminate

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, Volume II, p.69.

¹⁷⁶ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.172. He may have assumed the peaty water was contaminated.

¹⁷⁷ According to Grant, *Highland Folk Ways*, barley was often grown in a 1:3 ratio to oats. p.96.

¹⁷⁸ Faujas described Aros as a 'poor lodging'.

¹⁷⁹ Simond, *An American*, pp.132-3 & p.34.

¹⁸⁰ Hache, MacDonald, p.193.

¹⁸¹ Ibid, p.180.

¹⁸² Eric Cregeen, 'The Changing Role of the House of Argyll in the Scottish Highlands', in N. Phillipson, & R. Mitchison, (eds.), *Scotland in the Age of Improvement: essays in Scottish history in the eighteenth century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1970), p.11.

famines in Scotland in the eighteenth century. Second, it freed up better land for other crops. Third, it was indicative of the introduction of many of the new ideas on agriculture which allowed for advancement beyond subsistence level towards production for the cash economy. The frequent mention of potatoes in the journals indicates both the spread and the use of this crop. Significantly, potatoes were an integral part of the diet of the better-off people. Faujas noted that the rich cooked the potatoes in mutton juice whereas the poor roasted them over a fire, while the French MacDonald commented ironically that he had had potatoes 'again', showing how much they formed part of the Scottish diet.¹⁸³ The travellers were less used to eating potatoes in France, even at the end of the period. Faujas, la Rochefoucauld and the French MacDonald were interested in agriculture so noted not only how they were being grown but also how they were being used.

Simond commented on the French connection to food, indicative of the steady import of new ideas and fashions at the upper level of society as French was becoming not only the *lingua franca* of science but also of food. Simond wrote that an 'English' dinner was tending to be half French, with the culinary terms in French.¹⁸⁴ Cultural interaction was a complex process, with only some aspects of interest in Scotland.¹⁸⁵ Simond details a typical dinner in a high status family in 1810.¹⁸⁶ This is fairly similar to Faujas's much earlier account but with interesting differences. Despite the remoteness, the food Faujas described at Inveraray was as lavish as Simond's dinner in London. More fruit and vegetables in Simond's list were grown outdoors, whereas Faujas noted exotic fruit grown in a greenhouse. The quality of the vegetables, he writes 'did honour to the skill of the Scottish gardeners'

¹⁸³ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, p.70 & p.20. Hache, *MacDonald*, p.166.

¹⁸⁴ He is amused that the word for the meat is from French so a live 'sheep' becomes 'mutton' (mouton) when it is dead, ox becomes beef (boeuf), and hog becomes pork [porc].

¹⁸⁵ Thomson, Burrows & Dziembowski, *Cultural transfers*, p.4.

¹⁸⁶ Simond, *An American*, p.34. He thinks future readers would be interested.

and the fruit offered was impressive.¹⁸⁷ Faujas was impressed that the Duke of Argyll had a French cook, but this was apparently not unusual at the more stately mansions in Scotland towards the end of the eighteenth century.¹⁸⁸ Adding that there were some English dishes to cater for everyone, Faujas made it clear that no expense was spared at the castle. In Edinburgh too, Faujas was pleased to find a French chef at an inn, who provided a variety of French and Scottish dishes.¹⁸⁹ French people were known to take pride in their culture; food was a basic part of life but also one of its pleasures. As part of the drive for knowledge in the Enlightenment, French cuisine reached new heights, including the 'invention' of great wines and cheeses.¹⁹⁰ Other historical sources describing the lifestyle of wealthy Scottish people of the time, also suggest that it was fashionable for Scottish cooks to imitate French dishes and preparation styles.¹⁹¹

At a lower level, the well-prepared meals from a well-stocked larder clearly impressed Faujas on Mull, as he wrote,

Such is the life which the richer classes lead in a country, where there is not even a road, where not a tree is to be seen, the mountains being covered only with heath, where it rains for eight months of the year ...

In true Enlightenment fashion, Faujas listed what was on offer for breakfast at ten in the morning on Mull, finding it very similar to what John Knox described on the mainland in the houses of the wealthier families.¹⁹² Much of the food stock would have been local and seasonal. McLean belonged to the growing upper middle class

¹⁸⁷ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.252, p.241, p.255. He noted peaches, apricots, raisins, prunes, figs, grown in hot houses.

¹⁸⁸ Plant, *The Domestic Life of Scotland*, p.80.

¹⁸⁹ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, p.221.

¹⁹⁰ See E. C. Spary, *Eating the Enlightenment: Food and the Sciences in Paris, 1670-1760 : Food and the Sciences in Paris, 1670-1760*. <http://ebooks-dl.com/en/news/eating-the-enlightenment-food-and-the-sciences-in-paris-16701760> [Accessed March 2014].

¹⁹¹ See for example, Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury*, chapters 6 & 8. Plant, *The Domestic Life of Scotland* chapters IV & V.

¹⁹² Faujas, Volume II, p.74., Volume II, footnote pp. 70-73. quoting John Knox *A Tour Through the Highlands and the Hebride Isles in 1776, 1787*. John Knox, eighteenth century traveller philanthropist.

renowned for material luxury.¹⁹³ Faujas noted on Mull that they had cheese for dessert as there was no fruit available.¹⁹⁴

Throughout the journals, the travellers noted the rise in affluence coupled with advances in knowledge. La Rochefoucauld referred to the new vegetable crops of beans, peas and turnips being grown near Perth and wrote that Scots people were fond of their beans.¹⁹⁵ Where money was available, the latest expertise and crops were being cultivated but the poor still had a restricted diet, unlikely to include expensive imports like sugar, tea, coffee and wine.¹⁹⁶ Tea, once a luxury item, had become widespread as the morning drink by around 1740.¹⁹⁷ The price had dropped markedly after duties were reduced in 1784. Some people believed it was bad for health, including Faujas.¹⁹⁸ He described the after dinner ritual in the drawing room where the tea was always excellent.¹⁹⁹ Nodier only mentioned tea in England where he saw 'a limpid tea which sparkled in the porcelain' (meaning a cup). He did not mention drinking it; perhaps the visual experience satisfied him.²⁰⁰

The information about food in wealthy households contrasts strongly with the diet of the poorest people Faujas encountered.²⁰¹ Sixteen people lived on the island of Staffa, with a few animals, but the visitors were offered only milk.²⁰² The island was small with very poor soil, unable to produce sufficient to sustain the family. The family may have lived there seasonally for the fishing and the grazing. Alternatively, this may be evidence of a family forced to live on the margins because of pressure

¹⁹³ See Stana Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury*, pp.89-92, p.94, p.98-103.

¹⁹⁴ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, p.72. Interestingly he noted Cheshire cheese and local cheese.

¹⁹⁵ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.136.

¹⁹⁶ See Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury*, pp.137-147.

¹⁹⁷ Plant, *The Domestic Life of Scotland*, p.139. The Duke of Argyll bought tea in Edinburgh, ¼ or ½ lb around 1780.

¹⁹⁸ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.257.

¹⁹⁹ *ibid*, Volume I, p.257. He added 'but not so the coffee'.

²⁰⁰ Nodier, *Promenade*, p.40.

²⁰¹ See Christopher A Whatley, 'Work, Time and Pastimes' in Foyster, & Whatley, (eds), *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland*, for the diet of the poor, pp.288-289.

²⁰² Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, p.4. c.f.Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*, where he mentions the Arcadian offering of milk and cream, p.316.

on land elsewhere. However, Faujas was also offered milk by the MacNabs, a family in much better circumstances, so perhaps it was what was normally offered to travellers.²⁰³

Despite what other authors wrote, Simond thought that Highland peasants did not lack food, writing

their poverty does not extend to food, plenty of fish from lakes and rivers, a small field of oats; meat is not probably very scarce near such flocks of sheep, and I saw hogs today, one acre of potatoes can feed a family.²⁰⁴

Seeing fish in inland waters, he assumed, wrongly, that the ordinary folk had fishing rights. His comment about meat misses the point that the flocks were owned by lairds, not by those who tended them. He put a very positive gloss on what he saw, reaching unrealistic conclusions, unlike the earlier Enlightenment travellers who were more rigorous in describing what they saw and tried to form logical conclusions based on the facts.

Nodier made no reference to eating in Scotland. He did not persist long with most ideas. In England he mentioned having refreshments at an inn where they changed horses.

The magnificent coach and horses was le coche and the caravanseraï of The Arabian Nights, it is a café on the main highway. You can easily understand Don Quixote's mistake that the hostleries near London were castles.²⁰⁵

Nodier enjoyed creating effects with language, rather than writing a realistic travelogue. He was impressed by the inn but unwilling to admit that something British was actually better than in France. By exaggerating, he was able to fulfill two opposing objectives; on the surface complimenting the inn, while underneath allowing his French readers to laugh with him, mocking the British. The journals of both Simond and Nodier require analysis of their language and purpose in writing for the historian, more so than for the other journals.

²⁰³ *ibid*, Volume I, p.298.

²⁰⁴ *ibid*, p.80.

²⁰⁵ Nodier, *Promenade*, p.41.

The inns represent an intermediate level for food in Scotland, catering for mainly drovers and a few middle-class travellers like the circuit judge Faujas encountered on Loch Lomondside.²⁰⁶ It was a sporadic, seasonal trade and therefore difficult to cater for. Faujas mentioned wild bilberries being served to them in the inn at Dalmally, a contrast to the exotic cultivated fruits at Inveraray.²⁰⁷ La Rochefoucauld spent most time in inns. He found that inn food varied, according to the prosperity and trade of the area, but he commented philosophically that you make the best of it when travelling.²⁰⁸ He wrote frankly that an inn north of Montrose was 'pitiful' compared to English ones. He noted good bread, game, good beer, wine, even a sweet course of redcurrant jelly with their drink of tea, but no mention of meat from domestic livestock. He wrote that jam was usually orange (marmalade), given with tea in the evening, an old fashioned habit.²⁰⁹ He summed up his experiences in the inns, writing that they were often not very agreeable, but they were well fed in several places.²¹⁰ He made a significant point in a rare direct comparison to France, that it was still very much better than most inns on the continent away from main roads.²¹¹ Inns in France had the wealthy Grand Tour British clients but in Scotland, the upper classes tended to stay overnight with friends. With better summers in Europe, the inns could stay open for a longer season than in Scotland, as trade depended on the roads being negotiable. In the time of Faujas and la Rochefoucauld, Scottish inns were inadequate but changes were evident as tourism grew. Simond mentioned an inn in Glasgow without any comment so presumably it was acceptable and on a par with what he experienced elsewhere. Dumbreck's Hotel in Edinburgh, he remarked, was the most creditable of

²⁰⁶ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.280.

²⁰⁷ *ibid*, Volume I, p.280.

²⁰⁸ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.154.

²⁰⁹ *ibid*, pp.144-145. Oranges by late eighteenth century became a dish for breakfast & tea-time.

²¹⁰ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.226.

²¹¹ *ibid*, p.144.

any establishment of this sort he had seen anywhere in Great Britain.²¹² When Nodier and the French MacDonald visited Scotland, tourism had expanded greatly for both English people and foreigners so inns had flourished too. In 1821, Nodier mentioned an inn at Tarbet, the house of Coll [sic] Walker, likely to be the same inn where Faujas had stayed.²¹³ It had become much more popular, as Nodier pointed out, especially for English tourists, due to Romantic interest in wild places and the novels of Sir Walter Scott. Nodier talks of the inns both at Tarbet and Arrochar being frequented by English visitors, a contrast to Faujas' time when he thought it was a fishing hut, not an inn.²¹⁴ The French MacDonald deliberately chose to stay at the inn at Inveraray instead of staying at the castle of the Duke of Argyll so conditions in inns must have been acceptable.²¹⁵ He made no comment about the inn or the food there but seemed to wish to be alone, out of the public eye.²¹⁶

Remarking on food in a quite different context than most tourists would, Simond offered an insight into the daily rations of French prisoners of war in Edinburgh who were given 1½ lbs of bread and of meat.²¹⁷ This is unlikely to be the daily diet of the poor in Scotland, even by 1811, but gives an idea of what was required for a fighting man.²¹⁸ It has been suggested that the diet of the poor was often inadequate, leading them to have limited energy so appearing idle, although Whatley does not agree.²¹⁹ Simond calculated the cost of keeping the 50,000 French prisoners at the figure of £2500 per day, almost £1 million per year, not including the cost of guarding them.

²¹² Simond, *An American*, p.78, p.86.

²¹³ Nodier, *Promenade*, pp.99-203. This may be Colonel Walker. It amused Nodier to refer obliquely to Faujas' experiences, without admitting to it.

²¹⁴ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p. 231.

²¹⁵ The French MacDonald was a member of Clan Donald, bitter rivals of the Campbells, Dukes of Argyll. See Whyte, *Scotland before the Industrial Revolution*, p.265.

²¹⁶ Hache, *MacDonald*, pp.180-181.

²¹⁷ Simond, *An American*, p.95. This was probably in line with the rations of British soldiers.

²¹⁸ Rations for the soldiers working on the Scottish roads were poor. See William Taylor, *The military roads in Scotland* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1976), p.43.

²¹⁹ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.223. The Highlanders were 'notably lazy'. See Whatley, 'Work, Time and Pastimes' in *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland*, p.289.

Conclusion

The travellers' journals each convey a similar range of informative descriptions of daily life in Scotland in a typical mixture of tourist experiences. Taken together, they offer a range and diversity of detail which can be compared against other historical sources.²²⁰ Emotional undercurrents of pride in the French influence were obvious, symbolic of a gradually increasing French self-identification with civilization and offer a perspective of the changing relations between France and Scotland.²²¹

Inevitably, each traveller projects a limited picture of the Scottish rural lifestyle. What is striking is that the journals display quite varied styles of presenting raw information. The rigorous, scientific Enlightenment methods of the earlier travellers show their attempts to evaluate and explain. Faujas used current methods of categorizing rocks to classify people similarly. In contrast, the later Romantic journals display an appreciation of what they experienced.

All journals are eye-witness accounts but some, such as Nodier's, have more value for literary and social investigation than for historical research, especially when travellers unwittingly present their personal attitudes. Inevitably some prejudices are detectable but the journals avoid the serious myths of the past. Behind the comments in the journals, there is an implied contrast to France. While it is possible to detect learned phrases, it is clear that some of the travellers talked with local people, absorbing ideas rather than accepting what others had told them.

The tone of recording shows the progression from an Enlightenment to a Romantic approach and towards a deeper concern with social issues. However, it is an oversimplification to divide the journals strictly into Enlightenment and Romantic.

²²⁰ Sources such as Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury*, chapters 6 & 8. Plant, *The Domestic Life of Scotland*, chapters IV & V.

²²¹ See Woolf, *French Civilization and Ethnicity*, p.81.

La Rochefoucauld had the same feeling as Nodier that the wearing of Highland dress represented a cultural difference between Highlanders and Lowlanders. He, despite his Enlightenment approach to agriculture and industry, expressed many feelings of Romantic sympathy towards the Highlands and did not regard the Highlanders as 'Other' but manifested an affection and positive admiration.²²²

²²² Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.174-6.

Chapter 3 Agriculture

This chapter aims to show what the featured travellers described of the agricultural scene in Scotland and how their journals are examples of the intellectual tourism of the period. Their observations are made against the backdrop of what is known from other sources of the situation in the eighteenth century in Europe and France. Most of what was reported on agriculture by the travellers comes from the journals of Faujas and la Rochefoucauld in the early 1780s. For many in the late eighteenth century, 'improvement' was a catch phrase covering direct innovations such as enclosure and fertilization of the soil and visitors to many parts of Britain, including Faujas and la Rochefoucauld, wrote about how agrarian reform was being implemented.¹ Indirectly, improvement stimulated new industrial processes, such as metal working and machinery technology which produced better tools. Scientific methods of analysis too, allowed new approaches to animal husbandry and seed and plant selection. Agricultural advances were crucial in the move away from subsistence farming to become a significant part of the cash economy.

As a development in tourism in the late eighteenth century, some travellers sought intellectual stimulation outwith the traditional aesthetic objectives of the Grand Tour through scientific investigations into topics of current concern such as agricultural improvements, travelling around Britain and Europe, recording their observations. Their journals often became the basis of published works which initiated changes in husbandry through contacts in the Republic of Letters and other networks.² Many were able to make observations based on prior reading and studying.³ La Rochefoucauld's knowledge of the latest European farming techniques

¹ Thomas Munck, *The Enlightenment: A Comparative Social History 1721-1794* (London: Arnold, 2000), pp.68-69.

² Travellers such as Arthur Young, who toured France and Ireland.

³ See Chapter 1, *The Literature of Travel*, pp.69-70, pp.71-2.

of the period was exceptional and he had direct experience of agriculture in both France and England over several years before his visit to Scotland as well as being mentored by Arthur Young, one of the leading figures in the field, so his journal in particular is of great historical significance in the study of farming in the period. The later travellers of this study gave opinions with less factual information, including descriptive passages which give visual accounts of the rural landscape unique to the genre of journals written by travellers.

Around 1700, France was still predominantly agricultural but during the first half of the 18th century, the country endured shortages in grain and basic foodstuffs. Throughout the century, grain prices were linked with national crises: high prices in the 1725 caused bread riots in Paris; harvest failures were linked to the political crisis of 1750 and 'short term' problems and riots were often due to fears that grain prices were being manipulated.⁴ In some countries, notably Britain and the Low Countries, recurrent famines were being eliminated through the agricultural progress of the eighteenth century, especially the introduction of new crops such as potatoes. France, on the other hand, remained backward and famines continued into the nineteenth century. In the west and the south, areas with more varied agriculture were less badly hit although no area escaped spasmodic 'mortality crises' in either the seventeenth or the eighteenth centuries; in short there were some nationwide catastrophes but many local ones.⁵ The factors contributing to France's problems were poor agrarian technology and communications, over-dependence on cereals, and 'localism'. These factors meant periodic famine and hunger at best when there were harvest shortfalls through bad weather.⁶ Small peasant farmers who resisted change or diversification must take some blame for the stagnation in agriculture.⁷

⁴ Colin Jones, *The Great Nation: France from Louis XV to Napoleon* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), p.181, p.148, pp.149-152.

⁵ *ibid*, p.151.

⁶ In years of poor harvests the rural population seemed to have survived by eating cereals usually fed

Even as late as the 1740s and 1750s, just before Faujas and la Rochefoucauld visited Scotland, French agriculture was very low key in many places, still at subsistence level and generally not part of the cash economy, illustrated by the fact that clothes, tools and furniture were homemade and often passed down through the generations.⁸ Serfdom in royal French domains only ended in 1779 and accompanying attitudes contributed to the backwardness of agriculture.⁹ Throughout the eighteenth century, modern farming techniques such as enclosure were not widespread. Indeed, often medieval strip field patterns were in operation, and with of one third of the fields left fallow. There was polyculture in France, predominantly in the industrialized north and in the north-east, mainly cereal production with two-thirds to four-fifths of the land under crops. There was some selection of crops, for personal consumption or for sale, rye for local consumption, oats for livestock and wheat for the towns and the rich, but none of this suggests crops were selected for their suitability for the land. The phrase *gagner son pain* reflects the fact that French peasants ate mainly bread with little consumption of meat so animal husbandry was correspondingly low.¹⁰

Some historians believe that the French Revolution did much good for French agriculture since it lightened fiscal and seigneurial oppression. Others say that by entrenching smallholders' rights and old communal ways, it may have slowed the pace of rural transformation and hindered the labour movement.¹¹ Both of these views have some validity. Similar suggestions claim that the Highland Clearances were good for Scotland as they relieved population pressure in the rural areas but

to animals, for example *orge* (barley). T.J.A. Le Goff & D.M.G. Sutherland 'The Revolution and the rural economy' in Alan Forrest, & Peter Jones (eds.), *Reshaping France: Town, country and region during the French Revolution* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), p.60.

⁷ Colin Heywood, *The development of the French economy, 1750-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p.38.

⁸ Jones, *The Great Nation*, pp.149-152.

⁹ *ibid*, p.313. Serfdom in Western Europe came to an end largely in the 15th and 16th centuries.

¹⁰ *Gagner son pain* – used in the sense 'to earn a living', literally means 'to gain your bread'.

¹¹ Le Goff & Sutherland 'The Revolution and the rural economy'. The historians are not named, p.52.

that enshrining crofters' rights in the nineteenth century entrenched old, outmoded practices which hindered progress. In both instances, the positive aspects of the transformation are counterbalanced by the dislocation and suffering of the population and the ensuing disruption to production. The situation in France changed when the sale of *biens nationaux* between 1791 and 1800 became a good option for investors; rents from landed properties became increasingly attractive and there is some evidence of a strong diversion of capital towards agriculture as merchants increasingly became landlords.¹² This does not necessarily suggest that it was accompanied by increased investment or productivity. Economic growth was geographically highly uneven, limited largely to the coastal ports which benefited from the slave trade with French possessions in the West Indies. There was worsening deprivation in the rest of France during the eighteenth century and a 30% population increase which fragmented. Positive economic effects of institutional changes seem incontrovertible but significant local variation in conditions both before and after the Revolution makes direct comparison difficult. Although contemporary assertions suggest an increase in French agricultural production, this is difficult to verify as records of harvests are piecemeal and unreliable. Even figures from Dupont de Nemours and Lavoisier on the pre-Revolution consumption of grain in France seem to be based on inaccurate population figures.¹³

What is interesting is why France was backward compared to Britain. Agrarian development in eighteenth century Scotland was so strong that the agricultural landscape of Scotland was almost entirely reshaped during the improving period and little of the previous patterns remain.¹⁴ One view is that French

¹² Paul Butel 'Revolution and the urban economy: maritime cities and continental cities' in Forrest, & Jones (eds), *Reshaping France*, p.45.

¹³ Le Goff & Sutherland 'The Revolution and the rural economy', pp.52-3, p.55, p.59.

¹⁴ J.B. Caird 'The reshaped agricultural landscape', in M.L. Parry & T.R. Slater (eds.), *The Making of the Scottish Countryside* (London: Croom Helm [etc.], 1980), p. 218. R.H. Campbell cites the *Old Statistical Account* as evidence of the great advancements in the eighteenth century, 'The Scottish

agriculture evolved so gradually that it is difficult to pin down its progress; it was still stagnant, backward and primitive in the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁵ The Physiocrats believed that land was the source of all wealth; in the period, agriculture supplied most of the wealth of the country, as indeed it did in Britain.¹⁶ Their philosophy endorsed progress but they lacked sufficient impetus to counteract inertia in France. With the price of food increasing at an ever-accelerating rate from the 1770s, crops more nourishing than wheat or rye were needed but they required more and better land. Potatoes, a substitute staple, had been available since about 1600 but were not widely grown until late in the eighteenth century.

There is debate about the role of agriculture in eighteenth century industrial expansion; did agricultural advance precede industrial development or vice versa or did they grow simultaneously? It was undoubtedly a complicated interaction although recent reflections see Scottish industrialization and agricultural transformation as happening in tandem.¹⁷ As with industry, Scotland had been relatively backward agriculturally before the eighteenth century, a reflection of the cultural isolation of the country at that time.¹⁸ Agricultural advancement was part of the intellectual fervour that spread across the country, which allowed people to believe that the new science could make all things possible, often stressing geometry and numeracy.¹⁹

improvers and the course of agrarian change in the 18th century', in L.M. Cullen & T.C. Smout, *Comparative aspects of Scottish and Irish economic and social history, 1600-1900* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1977), p.207.

¹⁵ Heywood, *The development of the French economy*, p.36, p.38.

¹⁶ Frank O'Gorman, *The Long Eighteenth Century: British Political & Social History 1688-1832* (London: Arnold, 1997), p.21. The Physiocrats, a loose group of French intellectuals, included Turgot, Dupont de Nemours, François Quesnay and Mirabeau the Elder. Their philosophy was based on the concept that the wealth of a country resided in its physical assets, the land, and that agriculture dictated a nation's prosperity.

¹⁷ T.M. Devine, 'The Transformation of Agriculture; Cultivation and Clearance', in T.M. Devine, C.H. Lee, and G.C. Peden (eds.), *The Transformation of Scotland; the Economy since 1700* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), p.71. Heywood, *The development of the French economy*, pp.39-40.

¹⁸ See Chapter 4, Industry.

¹⁹ Adams 'The agents of agricultural change' in M.L. Parry & T.R. Slater (eds) *The Making of the Scottish Countryside*, p.159, p.173.

It is certainly clear that part of the economic expansion in Scotland was the development of land with production aimed at the market economy. Forestry represented a large source of income, with wood being used for domestic purposes, building and in many industrial settings.²⁰ Similarly, marginal land at the sea allowed commercialization of kelp; local use as a fertilizer developed into exploitation for industry.²¹ The kelp industry was in the hands of landowners, endeavouring to keep their clans on otherwise unproductive land.²² In the short term, this was successful in averting poverty and the wholesale eviction or 'clearing' of people from the land.

Journal entries from the travellers express opinions, valid in augmenting the evidence of the period from other sources but they have to be used with caution. La Rochefoucauld in his first diary entry for Scotland was clearly taken aback by the poverty he saw, but he was quick to add that he was not going to judge the whole country on one experience, praising the hard work of the people.²³ Using the journal in its entirety avoids misconceptions which could arise from quoting only one example. In addition, the value of the source is increased as the writer, here la Rochefoucauld, modified his opinions in the light of later experience. On the whole, the two French Enlightenment travellers wrote positively about agricultural progress in Scotland. Improvement was a byword for increasing production; a focal topic for those trying to create wealth and happiness for the people, such as Faujas and la Rochefoucauld. Faujas collected information mainly on Mull. His comments relate mainly to sheep farming, not described in detail by other travellers and supplement the information from mainland Scotland from the other travellers. La Rochefoucauld was already an expert in the latest farming techniques and principles, making sound

²⁰ Devine, 'The Transformation of Agriculture, p.73. In mines, factories and ship building.

²¹ Kelps are large seaweeds belonging to the brown algae class (Phaeophyceae). Through the nineteenth century, the word "kelp" was closely associated with seaweeds that could be burned to obtain soda ash (primarily sodium carbonate).

²² See Cregeen 'The Changing Role of the House of Argyll in the Scottish Highlands', p.14.

²³ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.101.

observations. He wrote chronologically, so the information seems random. By assembling the notes under relevant headings, it becomes clear that he was collecting information on particular topics. It is usual to find descriptions of the agriculture of a particular area of land or of particular methods used in one place but here the journal of la Rochefoucauld covers large areas of Scotland, both upland, coastal and the plains in a quite unique way. La Rochefoucauld's notes make up the basis for a manual of how to modernize agriculture. He was already well versed in Physiocratic philosophy and visited Scotland to add to the picture of English agriculture he had built up previously where he had been converted to the Norfolk System.²⁴ He used very specific language and vocabulary when he conversed with workers in the fields, knowing what to ask, how to express it and who to ask.²⁵

The later travellers considered in this study did not express so much interest in agricultural techniques and output, regarding the countryside as the backdrop to travelling or as picturesque landscape. In the early nineteenth century, Simond showed no knowledge of farming but was a sharp observer. His journal adds detail about the lives of the rural folk, mainly near Killin, Perthshire on the edge of the Highland area. He commented on how the cash economy was shaping agriculture and attitudes to land. Nodier played with words and was not interested in giving a scientific analysis; he looked at nature, not what man had done. The French MacDonald was a 'gentleman farmer' in his estate at Courcelles-le-Roy in France. He was well-informed, a sympathetic observer of Scottish rural life with a curious mixture of Romantic and practical attitudes. His knowledge of Scotland was based on pre-1745 values and traditions which highlights how social conditions had changed. In addition, he travelled to the Uists in the Outer Hebrides, adding to the information from Faujas' visit to the Inner Isles.

²⁴ Naomi Riches, *The Agricultural Revolution in Norfolk* (London: Frank Cass, 1967), p.39.

²⁵ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.41. He used exactly the same words about Doncaster as Arthur Young.

The comments of the travellers included physical conditions. Soil was the basic factor of any agricultural venture.²⁶ La Rochefoucauld gives a most detailed picture of the many different soil types he encountered, showing his training by Arthur Young. In the Dunbar hills he noted in some places that the topsoil was barely four inches deep and had clearly examined it most carefully as he described how the soil lay over a stratum of rocks and or even gravel. Just north of the Firth of Forth, he noted 'soil is beyond all description poor, sometimes little more than rocky scree, sometimes a mixture of gravel and turf or peat'. Around Perth he found the soil 'excellent, the best soil in Scotland'.²⁷ He, like Faujas, was captivated by Perthshire, adding that it would be hard to find agricultural land better in England. Here, agriculture was in tandem with industry, both of which he said were 'considerable'. In the south west, near Glasgow and towards Paisley, la Rochefoucauld found very good soil. Further down the coast, he continued to find the land rich with 'many houses of gentlemen with gardens, often with farms attached'. He saw the investment this represented as well as the overall richness. Even where he found the plain 'uncultivable' between Irvine and Ayr due to sea encroachment making it salty, the ground was able to support sheep, 'some superb and beautiful breed'.²⁸ This was making best use of the land to produce cash rather than continuing with subsistence farming with unsuitable crops. It is possible to see from la Rochefoucauld's notes how population was most dense where the soil was productive and how that in turn stimulated both agricultural and industrial advance. This analysis of soil was typical of the new scientific approach by Enlightenment reformers seeking ways of increasing production but la Rochefoucauld's journal is a

²⁶ John Miles, 'The Soil Resource and problems today: an Ecologist's Perspective', in S. Foster, & T.C. Smout (eds.), *The History of Soils and Field Systems* (Aberdeen: Scottish Cultural Press, 1994), pp.145-154.

²⁷ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.101, p.128, p.136.

²⁸ *ibid*, p.206, p.216.

unique overview of much of the land under cultivation throughout Scotland in the period.

Soil improvement was also a focus of eighteenth century agricultural development. La Rochefoucauld appreciated that soil presented some of the worst problems to Scottish farming and was aware that very poor land, especially in the Highlands, would require a lot of work to bring any improvement.²⁹ In an age where scientific advancement promised so much, suitable input ought to allow any land to become productive; money, crop selection and good management could bring all of Scotland into profit, in his view. However, in 1825 the French MacDonald saw that land in parts of the Highlands was still in very poor condition with areas of peat bog.³⁰ Robert Dodgshon's figures for the Highlands and Islands shed light on the problems of Scottish agriculture. He shows that in the worst areas, the arable land could be as low as 1.1 per cent of the available land.³¹ La Rochefoucauld was aware of the small proportion of Highland land suitable for cultivation.³² Faujas noted that top soil had been brought into the garden of a gentleman farmer McLean of Torloisk on Mull in order to allow some cultivation.³³ Information about soil improvement had been known for many years in Europe. As mentioned earlier, there was much intellectual interaction between Britain and the Netherlands, through the medium of print, but this information was not widely used in France. An anonymous French author wrote in 1799, that the soil in France was seldom barren. This is a typically unscientific approach, already rejected by the Enlightenment; realistic, objective analysis was imperative to reach optimum production. The

²⁹ La Rochefoucauld knew that the Highland region was different from the rest of Scotland. Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.251.

³⁰ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.153.

³¹ Robert A., Dodgshon, *From chiefs to landlords: social and economic change in the Western Highlands and Islands* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), table p.16.

³² James E Handley, *Scottish Farming in the 18th Century* (London: Faber & Faber, 1953), pp. 9-12. Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.117.

³³ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, p.63.

French travellers were able to comment and theorize only within the limited knowledge of the period but it was far in advance of outdated traditional beliefs still often accepted in France. By reporting on Scotland, adding to what he already knew of England, la Rochefoucauld gleaned information relevant to much of the land in France.

The journals allow access into how and exactly where the advancement of agricultural techniques was taking place. Several of the French travellers noted Scottish soil being improved, using kelp and manure although this was not consistent throughout Scotland. The high quality of agriculture near the main towns was, in part, due to the use of the waste products of the townsfolk; bulky, heavy and low value, waste products were rarely transported far. Middens in towns were transported by enterprising carriers to sell to farmers to fertilize their fields.³⁴ The growth of towns in Scotland created new interaction between town and agriculture. Night soil was a natural fertilizer, which, la Rochefoucauld noted near Haddington, would have been less available to French agriculture, as, other than in Paris, urban development was less advanced in the period.³⁵

Since la Rochefoucauld recorded not only what he saw but also information from conversations, he was able to ascertain that manure was being used for different purposes; in Montrose to improve the crop of barley but in Appin to enrich the pasture. He recognized the role of manure in farming, even where there was good soil and a mild climate but stressed that in Scotland, it was more important as the soil lacked goodness.³⁶ Passing a rural cottage over twenty years later, Simond commented on a dung heap in Scotland as if it was an unusual sight.³⁷ Lack of manure, not land, may have prevented increased production in France, since there

³⁴ T.C. Smout, *Nature Contested, Environmental History in Scotland and Northern England since 1600* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd, 2000), p.73.

³⁵ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.105.

³⁶ *ibid*, p.142, p.183, p.183.

³⁷ Simond, *An American*, p.75.

was little animal husbandry.³⁸ There is a long history in Scotland of keeping cattle and sheep for export and domestic use. In the late eighteenth century, there was an increase in animals slaughtered in parts of Scotland; cattle prices increased fourfold during the century while total exports of cattle may have risen as much as five times, so the quantity of dung grew in proportion.³⁹ By noticing dung, these travellers reveal its comparative absence in France as the early French travellers attributed weeds to the lack of careful tending, again suggesting they were not familiar with the effects of manure.⁴⁰ It is logical, but perhaps not instantly obvious, that if the manure helps the crops to grow, it would encourage weeds. By the 1820s, manure was more widespread in France; the French MacDonald referred to manure in France.⁴¹

Throughout the period, kelp was seen being used as a fertilizer but the travellers saw its exploitation increasing for industrial use. On Mull, Faujas noted kelp was burnt for its alkali and purchased by Glasgow merchants.⁴² La Rochefoucauld found kelp more abundant than in France and that 'the further west, the greater the quantity', concluding it was a 'source of wealth and business'.⁴³ He was unable to find out how it was turned into 'kali', (his version of alkali). In Portnacroish, he saw unknown seaweed varieties being processed.⁴⁴ The French MacDonald, one of only a few travellers to venture to the Outer Isles, reported in 1825 that between Borrowdale and Arisaig kelp was used to make soda for soap, adding to its commercial use.⁴⁵ His relatives, the Macdonalds of Clanranald in the Outer Hebrides, played a dual role as clan chiefs and businessmen in the kelp industry, while the clan was the workforce producing wealth from natural resources

³⁸ Alfred Cobban, *A History of Modern France, Volume 1, 1715-1799* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1957), p.49.

³⁹ Devine, 'The Transformation of Agriculture'. A sixfold increase in animals slaughtered in the Lothians from the 1750s, p.72 and p.85.

⁴⁰ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.127.

⁴¹ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.158.

⁴² Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, pp.79-80. He calls it sea wrack.

⁴³ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.185.

⁴⁴ *ibid.* p.185.

⁴⁵ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.156.

in the new economy.⁴⁶ Kelp processing was a messy, onerous and labour intensive operation but evolving scientific knowledge took advantage of an abundant resource for its industrial uses, especially in glass making and crucially, in that period, in the burgeoning textile industry.⁴⁷ British industry depended on soda ash derived from kelp harvested along the western coast of Scotland and on the islands, the only local source of alkali. Although only about half as rich a source of alkali as barilla, kelp did not attract import duties.⁴⁸ Traditionally alkali in Western Europe had been obtained from wood ash. However, deforestation had rendered this uneconomic, and alkali had to be imported from North America, Scandinavia, and Russia. In the late 18th century with war at sea, French authorities became increasingly concerned about the availability of alkali and it is likely that Faujas and la Rochefoucauld were both aware of the economic and industrial significance of kelp.

Another way to improve soil was to add lime to decrease acidity, a solution known in Scotland before the seventeenth century. By the following century, lime was in common use in Lowland Scotland. By 1794, lime was in use in south Perthshire.⁴⁹ Although the journals mention lime kilns, the travellers merely indicated their existence. The lime was likely to be used to improve soil, although it was also used for building mortar.⁵⁰ New scientific research created several uses for one product in the case of both kelp and lime. Soil acidity is a widespread problem in Scotland but much less so in France where there is a predominance of limestone so the travellers may have been less familiar with the need to add lime to soil. They

⁴⁶ Annual kelp harvests grew to 25,000 tons, providing employment for up to 100,000 workers.

⁴⁷ Until the Leblanc process was commercialized, burning of kelp was one of the principal industrial sources of soda ash (predominantly sodium carbonate). Nicolas Leblanc, physician to Louis Philip II Duke of Orléans, patented the process in 1791, producing 320 tons of soda per year.

⁴⁸ Barilla, a marine plant found primarily along the Mediterranean coasts, especially in Spain, and on the Canary Islands was a better and more convenient source. Its ash contained as much as 25–30% soda ash.

⁴⁹ See Smout, *Nature Contested*, p.69, quoting Robertson. Lime is found in few areas in Scotland.

⁵⁰ Faujas saw a lime kiln near Dalmally in 1784. Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.259 & p.276. The French MacDonald, in 1825, saw a lime kiln on the island of Lismore. Hache, *MacDonald*, p.173.

only tended to emphasize what was of interest or importance so this is a clear case where the journals do not add significantly to what historians already knew.

As well as increasing production through soil improvement, agricultural was being extended by bringing extra land under cultivation with at least 200,000 hectares of low-lying moorland reclaimed for the first time. However, there was retreat in land use, moving away from highly unproductive land taken on in Middle Ages, especially high level settlements, at different times in different areas. The overall result was a net gain in output, along with 100% increase in productivity.⁵¹ The reshaped landscapes, and indeed also the planned villages, were constructed on geometric lines, in accordance with Enlightenment principles of order.⁵² Here the journal of la Rochefoucauld gives clear evidence of exactly where and when he saw land being prepared for use and was very optimistic about such improvements; in the twenty years since land preparation near Aberdeen, cultivation had increased, he reported. Although he predicted the new methods would be successful, he was unable to see evidence of this on such a short visit, nor was there much basis for such high optimism.⁵³ He was under the impression that more land was being prepared and was hopeful that the whole country would be prepared in thirty or forty years.⁵⁴ La Rochefoucauld specifically noted these developments as it was imperative that production and productivity were improved in France, a net importer of grain.⁵⁵ Bringing more land into cultivation seemed a possible solution. However, in France, when land was cleared for agriculture, it perpetuated the cultivation of subsistence crops without increasing productivity, doing nothing to address the

⁵¹ M.L. Parry, 'Changes in the extent of improved farmland', in M.L. Parry & T.R. Slater (eds.), *The Making of the Scottish Countryside*. A 40% increase of area farmed (1770-1825), p.196.

⁵² Caird, 'The reshaped agricultural landscape', p.219. Caird writes that there are insufficient in-depth studies to give timing and extent of reshaping.

⁵³ See Whyte, *Scotland before the industrial revolution: An Economic & Social History c. 1050-c. 1750* (Harlow, Longman Group, 1995), p.259.

⁵⁴ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.154.

⁵⁵ Jones, *The Great Nation*, p.159, p.164. In 1739-42, grain was imported from world surplus market.

problem of the growing population.⁵⁶ Cobban also postulates that bringing poorer land into agriculture in France was counterproductive as it meant that manure was spread over a larger area so did not improve overall yields.⁵⁷

The introduction of new drainage techniques was another way to increase the productivity of the land which has been documented though the use of runrig, the primitive forerunner of more sophisticated drains, was in use in the Highlands during the period of the French visitors to Scotland.⁵⁸ La Rochefoucauld was aware that in the Highlands, a different system of land division was practised but may not have been knowledgeable about the drainage afforded by the runrig system.⁵⁹ Faujas had wanted to see the estate of Lord Kaim, who 'carried agricultural improvement to so high a pitch of perfection', possibly referring to his drainage scheme for an area of the moss.⁶⁰ La Rochefoucauld, in the same period, noted drainage and its absence in Newark in England but made no reference to runrig or drainage in Scotland. The journals are not very informative about drainage, which stresses their limitations.

In contrast, the journal of la Rochefoucauld is very informative about enclosure, another important development intended to improve agricultural productivity throughout Europe. This is a subject which has been documented in different ways as it had deep implications for agriculture by preventing crops being trampled by grazing animals and as part of new crop rotation systems.⁶¹

⁵⁶ In 1750 France had 25 million, more than any other in Europe, by 1800, 29 million. Figures from T.C.W., Blanning, *The Pursuit of Glory: 1648-1815* (London: Penguin Group, 2007), pp.42- 43.

⁵⁷ Alfred Cobban *A History of Modern France, Volume 1, 1715-1799* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1957). p.49.

⁵⁸ Runrig - a system of ridges and furrows. Drainage was expensive, socially disruptive, technically difficult and not well understood. R.H.Campbell 'The Scottish improvers and the course of agrarian change in the 18th century', in L.M. Cullen & T.C. Smout, *Comparative aspects of Scottish and Irish economic and social history, 1600-1900* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1977), p.208. See Cregeen 'The Changing Role of the House of Argyll, p.17.

⁵⁹ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.173 and footnote 20.

⁶⁰ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.197. At Blair Drummond, near Stirling.

⁶¹ Amongst others, Arthur Young wrote extensively on the subject, producing books, articles and pamphlets on agriculture and on political economy, for example, *Political Arithmetic: Containing*

Additionally, manure remained in the fields, adding to soil fertility.⁶² The historical significance of enclosure is subject to debate due to its social and economic implications.⁶³ The journals of the early French travellers indicate both the presence and absence of enclosure, allowing greater understanding of the timing and extent to which it was being implemented. They found that, even by the 1780s, enclosure was only partly implemented in Scotland.⁶⁴ The eighteenth century saw first of all some consolidation of fields without enclosure, then in the second half of the century, with widespread acceptance of schemes for improvement, enclosure itself was adopted.⁶⁵ In 1784, the geologist Faujas remarked that large blocks of basalt were used to form enclosures near the east coast.⁶⁶ By taking different elements of la Rochefoucauld's journal together, it is interesting to see where land was being transformed; outside Aberdeen the enclosed land, for example, was near a 'really handsome plantation' and the development of the city and its industry were also noteworthy indicating improvements tended to happen in multiples.⁶⁷ He knew that enclosing land was key in Young's approach to increase agricultural productivity; by his repeated references, la Rochefoucauld was emphasising the need for enclosures in France also; without that, agriculture was being held back.⁶⁸ Simond, in 1810 noted recent enclosures in Norfolk, implying that Scotland was not significantly behind England.⁶⁹ There was resistance against enclosure, even some mild rioting in Scotland against the practice, but, since the changes were introduced

Observations on the Present State of Great Britain and the Principles of Her Policy in the Encouragement of Agriculture, (1774).

⁶² Smout, *Nature Contested*, p.68.

⁶³ O'Gorman, *British Political & Social History*. He cites various articles, footnote p.28, p.331.

⁶⁴ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.127. This was in line with what was in place in other areas of Britain. See also 1777 Improvement Scotland Act.

⁶⁵ Caird, 'The reshaped agricultural landscape', p.219.

⁶⁶ On the road from St Andrews to Largo. Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, p.213.

⁶⁷ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.148.

⁶⁸ *ibid*, pp.104-5.

⁶⁹ Simond, *An American*, p.57.

gradually, there was no major social disruption.⁷⁰ Negativity was more deep-seated in France and it took much longer to establish enclosure there.⁷¹ The journals highlight the importance of enclosure in the minds not only of the travellers but their potential readers as a significant issue of the period.

The combined interaction of new knowledge, techniques and land use, had a dramatic effect on increasing productivity in Scotland and widened the productivity gap between France and much of Scotland. La Rochefoucauld's journal in particular, goes some way to show the spread of new techniques. As he spoke directly to those he saw working in the fields, his journal shows the mainly positive attitudes of those involved at ground level. The system of key improvements, especially enclosure, allowed for the rotation of crops by delineating field units. Furthermore, it eliminated the practice of fallow, allowing all of the ground to be productive each year.⁷² Although crop rotation and soil fertilization were known in France, these new techniques were slow to become standard practice. There was much resistance, to changing the old patterns of agriculture in many parts of Europe, including France; in Scotland, the new theories were embraced by a growing number of progressive landowners, such as Grant of Monymusk, and their personal interactions.⁷³ Whyte, however, suggests that, from the 1740s, tenants were carrying out much of the improvement, and that in the following decades this type of tenant initiated the new methods when encouraged by the land owners

⁷⁰ Ian D. Whyte, *Scotland's Society and Economy in Transition, c. 1500-1760* (Basingstoke, Macmillan Press Ltd., 1997), p.46. See John Leopold, 'The Levellers' Revolt in Galloway in 1724', *Journal of Scottish Labour History* 14 (1980), pp.4-29. W.H. Fraser, 'Patterns of protest' in Devine, T.M., *People and society in Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald in association with the Economic and Social History Society of Scotland©), pp.268-291.

⁷¹ See Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.253. Scarfe quotes from Young's essay on the superiority of 'English' farming over that practiced in France and the desire of la Rochefoucauld senior to follow that'.

⁷² In much of Europe, fallow occurred in the two (or three) field system; one field was ploughed and tilled, but left unsown for one (or two) seasons, so only half (or two thirds) of the land was being used in any one year, making it difficult to move beyond subsistence farming.

⁷³ See Adams, 'The agents of agricultural change', for details of landowners, p.156 and Figure 7.1 Network of blood and Marriage Relationships for Sir James Grant of Grant.

rather than being forced.⁷⁴ Both developments are likely to have happened but more evidence has probably survived to show the role of the landowners than the tenants.

La Rochefoucauld's visit took place at a crossover point when old and new methods were still in existence. His journal noted particularly how well the land was used but referred to older, poorer practices.⁷⁵ Crop rotation was something he could not merely have observed but had gleaned the information from farmers or land owners and it is clear he knew what to ask and what facts to note.⁷⁶ He was knowledgeable about rotation through Young, one of its chief exponents.⁷⁷ Based on scientific research, crop rotation was a key development in modernizing British agriculture, minimizing depletion of the soil, while crops such as beans helped to replenish minerals, such as nitrogen. La Rochefoucauld jokingly commented that the Scots were fond of their beans. He was seeing how the widespread use of *Fabiaceae* formed part of the newest crop rotations. Legumes, plants of the family *Fabiaceae*, have nodules on their roots which contain nitrogen-fixing bacteria.⁷⁸ It is logical to alternate them with cereals (family *Poaceae*) and other plants that require nitrates, as he found around Perth where he saw wheat, barley, some oats (all *Poaceae*), hemp, flax, grass pasture, turnips, and beans and peas (the last two being *Fabiaceae*).⁷⁹ By using the new rotations, fields could be kept under continuous production without depleting the soil; a simple yet very effective method of increasing production, preventing the buildup of pathogens and pests and benefitting soil structure and fertility.⁸⁰ Pioneered by farmers in Flanders in the early sixteenth century, this further underlines the dissemination of new methods to

⁷⁴ Whyte, *Scotland's Society*, p.47. This was through a group of well-educated farmers with capital.

⁷⁵ For example near Edinburgh. Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.129.

⁷⁶ *ibid*, p.136.

⁷⁷ See Riches, Naomi, *The Agricultural Revolution in Norfolk*.

⁷⁸ The chemical nature of the régimes was not fully understood at the time, but the new methods were taking hold as they were effective.

⁷⁹ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.136.

⁸⁰ By alternating deep-rooted and shallow-rooted plants.

Scotland via England but bypassing France. It emphasizes why la Rochefoucauld was visiting Scotland and how important his journal and his extensive notes on agriculture were to the development of French agriculture since the system produced both a fodder crop (turnips) and a grazing crop (clover). The increased productivity had financial benefits as agriculture entered the cash economy.⁸¹

There is a moralistic and didactic dimension in what la Rochefoucauld wrote about agriculture as he highlighted some sporadic examples of traditional practice he found in Scotland in order to make the point that they were not good.⁸² He was not impressed to be told near Perth that rotations were 'not widely practised nor even regarded as being good'. He detested the idea of leaving land fallow, declaring he was an enemy of fallow. He noted a poor rotation of crops, requiring a wasted year for production and with little variation in the crops.⁸³ La Rochefoucauld's journal was intended for public use in France. These poor, old-fashioned methods were still occurring widely in France and he was reinforcing the point that such practices needed to be abandoned. It is clear that any attempts to make sweeping changes to agricultural practices in France would be opposed. The communal right to use fallow land, *vaine pâture*, to graze animals was widespread in France. This prevented land being used to plant a 'recovery' crop in the new rotation scheme and would have disappeared entirely with enclosure and crop rotation. Inevitably, the French peasants defended these rights.⁸⁴ The problem was how to break old traditional cycles and introduce a system requiring the suppression of privileges. By 1825, the

⁸¹ A four-field rotation was popularized by the British agriculturist Charles Townshend in the eighteenth century. Charles Townshend, 2nd Viscount Townshend Bt, KG, PC (1674-1738). The underlying principle is to replace a crop with a dissimilar crop that either returns nutrient to the soil or uses different nutrients.

⁸² Devine, 'The Transformation of Agriculture'. He show that the old methods were rational at the time they were being used, p.74.

⁸³ After crossing the Forth estuary at Queensferry Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.136. p.39, p.129. He noted two harvests in succession of oats or barley, continuing thus three or four years, then the ground was ploughed, one year fallow and oats sown again.

⁸⁴ Guillaume de Bertier de Savigny, *The Bourbon Restoration*, translated by Lynn M. Case (Philadelphia, P.A.: University of Pennsylvania, 1966), p.213. Areas of France with common pastures were still in evidence in the early nineteenth century.

innovative practices of the previous century had spread out to more remote areas of mainland Scotland; the French MacDonald saw crop rotation near Loch Ailort.⁸⁵

The journals have to be analyzed with caution. Nodier, one of the French travellers of the Romantic era, mentioned wild but magnificent '*friches*' in Scotland. This word could be translated as fallow but he probably intended the wider sense of uncultivated land.⁸⁶ He preferred nature in the raw rather than landscapes artificially altered by man. His journal was written as an emotional response to what he saw, not as a didactic tract on farming methods. As he loved to make verbal jokes, he may even have used the word deliberately to mock the earnest writings of the Enlightenment agricultural theorists who accepted that land lying fallow was bad agricultural practice. His journal, therefore, is less informative and more difficult to interpret than the others in the study.

New crops, like potatoes, were being introduced into Scotland which affected both the lives of the people and livestock and the journals chart the growing importance of the crop.⁸⁷ Early resistance to growing potatoes at the onset of the eighteenth century did not last long, potatoes quickly becoming the foodstuff which sustained the poorest people, preventing famines as it could be grown on land too poor to support other crops. In his first diary entry for Scotland in 1786, la Rochefoucauld wrote of potatoes cultivated by hand, showing that it was the poor who were growing them. Later he noted that potatoes were already the main food in the summer for some Highlanders.⁸⁸ Parmentier introduced potatoes in France relatively late, in 1773, through the rich people finding the people slow to accept

⁸⁵ Hache, *MacDonald*. He records small fields of beans, barley, oats, adding that the staple was potatoes, p.153.

⁸⁶ Nodier, *Promenade*, p.123.

⁸⁷ See M.W. Flinn, 'Malthus, Emigration and Potatoes in the Scottish North-west, 1770-1870' in L.M. Cullen & T.C. Smout, *Comparative aspects of Scottish and Irish economic and social history, 1600-1900* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1977), pp.47-60.

⁸⁸ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.172.

them.⁸⁹ Even in 1825, by the French MacDonald's time, potatoes were not as widely or heavily cultivated in France as in Scotland.⁹⁰ The travellers noted many details about both growing and cooking potatoes, so their journals record the social and economic changes which were being produced. Two of the French travellers associated potatoes with the middle and upper class folk. Faujas ate potatoes at Torloisk on Mull in mutton juice as part of dinner.⁹¹ The French MacDonald commented at Lord MacDonald's castle at Armadale that he had the 'compulsory' potatoes, so clearly had them frequently.⁹² He took potatoes back to grow on his estate in a Romantic gesture as they represented strong memories of Scotland.

Simond in 1811 commented in Scotland that an acre of potatoes would be sufficient to feed a family.⁹³ He takes an over simplistic view so his journal needs to be examined along with other known facts and here the other journals in this study provide additional information to help explain the issue. A poor family would not have an acre of land to cultivate for family consumption; at best a family would have a kailyard.⁹⁴ A high proportion of what the family grew would have to be set aside to pay for rent and for seed for the following year. Simond did not take into account that in America farmers owned their land, usually quite a large plot, so they would have no rent and the crop was entirely at their own disposal.⁹⁵ What La Rochefoucauld described north of Perth seems more realistic; cottages with a couple of acres to grow some potatoes, wheat, barley and vegetables, with a patch of grass for a cow and perhaps two pigs, equivalent to what Simond refers to as the poorest huts with only a few roods of land.⁹⁶ La Rochefoucauld also points out that

⁸⁹ To entice the people to be interested in potatoes, he had a potato field under guard to make the crop seem valuable but did not prevent the poor people from stealing the crop.

⁹⁰ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.153.

⁹¹ Faujas *Travels*, Volume II, p.71.

⁹² Hache, *MacDonald*, p.166.

⁹³ Simond, *An American*, p.80.

⁹⁴ A kailyard is a vegetable patch

⁹⁵ In North America, a plot was usually around 100 acres.

⁹⁶ Simond, *An American*, p.81. A rood is one quarter of an acre.

potatoes were only available in the summer, indicating a small crop, limited by the amount of land available.⁹⁷ Simond assumed that each field was productive every year but la Rochefoucauld mentioned potato harvest failure which he realized would have been a disaster to the poor.⁹⁸

The journals provide information about the use of turnips, another agricultural phenomenon which was part of the recently introduced crop cycles, easily grown in average soil and an important crop in the changing Scottish economy, permitting new husbandry and great economic advance as winter fodder.⁹⁹ It was no longer necessary to slaughter animals to use as salted meat over the winter, allowing more animals to be available for sale, bringing in a cash revenue. La Rochefoucauld noted that newly cleared areas of ground were planted with potatoes or turnips or even that turnips were sometimes sown between two grain harvests, as part of a rotation scheme, showing the association of the new crops with advances in land use. He found turnips grown as a supplement to grass to feed to cattle and sheep in Perth.¹⁰⁰ Animals kept over winter were now healthier, leading to increased reproduction rates. As a consequence, dove cots were going out of existence; pigeons had been the only source of fresh meat during the winter months. Although there is no mention of any of the French travellers eating pigeons, game birds were being shot for the table in the autumn on Mull similarly as a source of fresh meat. MacLean commented to Faujas, that almost all of the seven thousand inhabitants of Mull were either fishermen or shepherds, indicating that animals were reared for cash rather than for consumption.¹⁰¹

The travellers' journals make reference to farmed animals, noting that native breeds of animals were small; but there was awareness of selective breeding for

⁹⁷ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.172.

⁹⁸ *ibid.* p.176.

⁹⁹ Its introduction into crop rotations took place in the early decades of the eighteenth century.

¹⁰⁰ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.154, p.142, p.142.

¹⁰¹ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, p.76.

commercial reasons.¹⁰² On Mull, Faujas wrote about the newly introduced superior breed of English sheep, 'bigger than the native Scottish sheep'.¹⁰³ La Rochefoucauld noted 'some superb and beautiful breed' of sheep, in the Lowlands and saw farms stocked with pigs, crossed between Tonquins and the local breed.¹⁰⁴ New breeds produced more meat and were often hardier and so brought in larger cash yields. There was a long history of Scottish cattle and sheep being sent south for sale and la Rochefoucauld commented, correctly, that the best of the Scottish cattle and sheep were sent to England to be fattened.¹⁰⁵ In stark contrast, cattle-raising and horse-breeding in France remained low key due to the lack of animal fodder available in the old régimes still followed, although there was some progress made in the second half of the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁶ The French MacDonald, while on Staffa, noticed cattle, sheep and lambs. He commented that the lambs were 'amazingly big for their age'.¹⁰⁷ The island, under the effects of the Gulf Stream, was used for pasture. Changes in agricultural practice meant that there was no longer any need for people to eke out an existence by living on the island permanently; using the land for a few months of the year was economically viable.

Forestry, an area where France seemed to be stronger than Scotland, was strongly associated with 'Improvement' in Scotland. The early travellers equated lack of trees and empty countryside with lack of investment.¹⁰⁸ The French MacDonald, who visited Mull much later, noted there were few trees at Tobermory but was interested to see fruit trees being cultivated on the nearby island of Lismore,

¹⁰² La Rochefoucauld mentions horses and cattle; and Simond sheep.

¹⁰³ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, pp.80-87. *na caoraich mhòr* (the big sheep), the Gaelic for the Cheviot sheep, used to replace the smaller, native race.

¹⁰⁴ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.216, p.102. Tonquins are thought to be Chinese blacks.

¹⁰⁵ *ibid*, p.28.

¹⁰⁶ Sée, *Economic and Social Conditions in France*, pp.24-5.

¹⁰⁷ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.171. In 1772 there was only a single family, raising barley, oats, flax and potatoes and grazing animals. Signs of 'rig and furrow' agriculture can still be seen on the island.

¹⁰⁸ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II. He remarked that McLean's house on Mull was built on a flat prominence which was 'destitute of trees and verdure'.p.63.

due to its limestone and more sheltered position.¹⁰⁹ The travellers saw innovative use of ground under pressure of new economic demands for forestry where other traditional crops would not have thrived. Commercial timber was an important source of income for large landowners. La Rochefoucauld noted the Duke of Gordon's plantations brought in 20,000 *louis* in rents; and that the Duke of Argyll created jobs at Inveraray and a future income through tree planting.¹¹⁰ La Rochefoucauld remarked on the plantations of trees near Dunbar.¹¹¹ He also saw a paper mill in the town which may have used wood pulp in paper making although the trees were initially planted for timber.¹¹² Here the trees also protected crops and animals from the weather. Large scale planting of forests was integrated into the environment of a whole village, including hedges for gardens and fields and between houses. These woods sheltering the pastures were making the cattle fitter, he thought.¹¹³ Although he noted this particularly as an innovation, afforestation had begun in Scotland after the 1707 Union.¹¹⁴ La Rochefoucauld's interest in reafforestation in Scotland links to Faujas' concern about trees being cut down in France. Faujas felt timber was not an infinite resource. He was adamant that France needed to use coal as an alternative fuel.¹¹⁵ Forest exploitation in France was poorly managed and abused by the commoners, and the development of the iron-works, mines and foundries further increased deforestation.¹¹⁶ In the nineteenth century, Simond, the merchant, thought of trees solely as a cash crop without relating the timber to industrial or agriculture use, discovering that trees could yield an income of

¹⁰⁹ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.173.

¹¹⁰ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.157, p.101, p.191.

¹¹¹ *ibid*, p.101.

¹¹² The first recorded use of wood pulp for making paper in Europe was in 1769. Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, Information sheets.

¹¹³ Scarfe, *Highlands*, pp.29-131.

¹¹⁴ See Statistical Account Volume IX, introduction and main part.

¹¹⁵ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.155.

¹¹⁶ Sée, *Economic and Social Conditions*, pp.24-5.

£150,000 per annum in 1810.¹¹⁷ The French MacDonald referred several times to plantations, so the issue was still topical in 1825 but with a new twist; he saw tree planting where they were 'using machines'.¹¹⁸ This was state of the art technology, showing the interaction of agriculture with the latest machinery, a feature of Scottish enterprise in the period.

Travellers typically note weather in their journals on a personal level, but in this study, weather was also regarded by the travellers as a factor in agriculture, especially in comparing Scotland to France. The National Meteorological Library and Archive hold original manuscript records dating back to the 1730s but data from travellers augment and verify other sources.¹¹⁹ Throughout his time in Scotland, Faujas was aware of the cold and damp making him depressed but he noted at Dalmally that the climate limited the grain crops to barley and oats. These, he added, were usually reaped about the middle of October, later than he was used to in France while further south, he found crops of barley and oats were unripe in mid-September.¹²⁰ The fact that he was surprised by the need to dry off cereals in a kiln, gives one of those rare snippets of information which make journals so valuable as a source of unexpected details.¹²¹ In contrast, Simond had seen the crops developing well in early August when crossing into Scotland from England but still noted the harvesting on 15 September near Melrose.¹²² Simond recorded air temperatures of 60 to 72 degrees Fahrenheit (15.5° to 22°C) over a period of nine days in August in Edinburgh, cooler than he was used to in New York.¹²³ He, like Faujas and the French MacDonald in 1825, complained about the high rainfall in

¹¹⁷ Simond, *An American*, p.104. Alnwick castle, laid out by Capability Brown (1716-1783).

¹¹⁸ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.136 Dalmeny Castle, p.145 the residence of the Duke of Atholl, and p.133, at the Botanic Gardens in Edinburgh.

¹¹⁹ Met Office historic UK climate records <http://www.metoffice.gov.uk/climate/uk/about/archives> [Accessed 3 December 2014]. The Met Office MetDB dataset holds records as far back as the nineteenth century.

¹²⁰ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, pp.295-6, and at Dumbarton, p.227.

¹²¹ *ibid*, Volume II, p.74.

¹²² Simond, *An American*, p75. & p. 81.

¹²³ *ibid*, p.77. The average monthly temperature in summer in New York is between 20°C and 26°C

Scotland. The problem of growing cereal crops in Scotland lay in the ripening and the travellers did not appear to recognize that the latitude had an effect. Furthermore, Simond, despite having recorded summer temperatures, underestimated effects of damp, allied with lack of sun. He felt that the climate of North America was much more rigorous where, he stated, cattle often had no shelter in winter.¹²⁴ He clearly did not appreciate how hostile the Scottish environment was for livestock over the winter, especially the fact that grass did not grow over the winter period. McGuire points out that in winter, inland areas of North America on corresponding latitudes are almost uninhabited frozen wastes.¹²⁵ The journals show that the misconceptions of travellers due to lack of knowledge can lead to misinterpretations of the facts.

The journal of Nodier with its word pictures gives little concrete information about agriculture but gives insight into the attitudes of Romantic visitors to Scotland at the time, in direct contrast to the detailed, factual information given previously by Faujas and la Rochefoucauld. He made a direct reference to the agricultural landscape in Scotland near Haddington and its attractive countryside, noting pretty pastures full of bounding flocks. Having seen paintings of Scotland and having read Walter Scott's descriptions, he described what he felt he ought to see. He was not interested in the means of production, whether industrially or agriculturally, deliberately turning his back on the modern nineteenth century scientific world, presenting instead a bucolic idyll. He found the hills near Ben Lomond horribly grim with sombre, monotonous vegetation in an attempt to make the landscape fit with a purely sensual response. He called Loch Katrine the most melancholy and the most inspiring of the lochs of Scotland. He used the word

¹²⁴ *ibid*, p 79.

¹²⁵ Dorothy E. McGuire, *Agricultural Improvement in Strathkelvin 1700-1850* (Glasgow: Strathkelvin District Libraries & Museums, 1988), p.12. See also Grant, *Highland Folk Ways* for rainfall in Scotland, p.37.

‘inspiring’ in the sense of that which spurs the writer to be creative, rather than the farmer; he described the countryside as ‘*cosmographie ossianique*’ (the landscape of Ossian), and the heather as ‘*bruyères de Cona*’ (the heather of Cona), references to the imaginary landscape of MacPherson.¹²⁶ Nodier decided to see only that which had kept its ancient character, as he puts it.¹²⁷ At the same time as finding the Trossachs awe inspiring, he seems troubled by the desolation he feels.¹²⁸

The journals of both Faujas and la Rochefoucauld paid tribute to investment in improvements, especially in the populated central area of Scotland where modern industry was creating wealth. La Rochefoucauld recognized that the landowners led the way in Scotland; the field labourers at the bottom of the scale did not have the means to initiate changes. This does not imply that modernization only came about through larger farm units.¹²⁹ Scottish landowners, unlike their French counterparts, had a tradition of taking at least a managerial role towards their estates, including the screening of tenants, regular visits to farms and the enforcement of contracts.¹³⁰ In the Highlands, the landlord was the clan chief and assumed an active role in supporting the clansmen and their families. In the period, land became a commodity in the commercialization of agriculture. As with the technical advances in industry, capital and investment were required to push agriculture forward.¹³¹ The great increase in demand was the major incentive towards investment and indeed also towards innovation, especially from the middle decades of the eighteenth century.¹³² François Quesnay, a French economist and Physiocrat, had written in 1758 that France was abundant in resources but that production was starved in its infancy for

¹²⁶ Nodier, *Promenade*, p.123, p.122, p.247 and p.246. Ossian and Cona from the writings of James MacPherson.

¹²⁷ *ibid*, p.175.

¹²⁸ *ibid*, p.263.

¹²⁹ Improvers were occasionally tenants. Adams, ‘The agents of agricultural change’, p.155. Heywood, *The development of the French economy*, p.40.

¹³⁰ O’Gorman, *British Political & Social History*, p.20.

¹³¹ Campbell emphasizes the cost of improvement. Campbell ‘The Scottish improvers and the course of agrarian change’, p.208.

¹³² Devine, ‘The Transformation of Agriculture’, p.71.

lack of capital. As la Rochefoucauld argued, it was not necessary to have a huge amount of capital but it was the ability to invest wisely and to support change so that it caused a ripple effect of improvement.¹³³

La Rochefoucauld used the journal format to express opinions which he would not have voiced openly and concluded that where 'gentlemen' live on the estate all year, the cultivation of the neighbourhood was more advanced.¹³⁴ One such gentleman, whose land, he wrote, was 'beautifully kept', was known to be 'one of the best farmers', he wrote.¹³⁵ La Rochefoucauld wanted to meet him to seek 'information and advice' just as in the same period Faujas had wanted to visit Lord Kaimes, recognizing that the role of the landowners had changed. No longer passively collecting rents and other dues in kind, landowners needed to make a profit from their land. The Enlightenment ideals of learning then implementing new methods and then spreading this knowledge through the Republic of Letters was part of the reason for travellers to visit and keep journals of what they saw. Many started to implement changes after the 1745 Rebellion in order to make their lands into efficient income machines. From 1754 up to 1770, the commissioners for the annexed estates as a group were foremost in initiating change. These landowners were led by a highly motivated, albeit small group, with rising aspirations to reach a good standard of living. Some attracted no attention but there were well known names among them. This percolated down the social scale so successful farmers enjoyed a substantial living.¹³⁶

¹³³ François Quesnay, 'Tableau Oeconomique 1758', in Henry Higgs, *The Physiocrats, Six Lectures on the French Economistes of the 18th Century*, published online, p.23. <http://socserv2.socsci.mcmaster.ca/econ/ugcm/3ll3/higgs/physiocrat.pdf>. [Accessed May 2014].

¹³⁴ At Blairadam in Fife. The Scottish architect Sir William Adam bought the estate in 1733. After building Blairadam house, he purchased neighbouring estates and began planting trees to create an attractive landscape and to produce timber commercially.

¹³⁵ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.139. Mr Graie. Charles, Lord Gray who inherited Kinfauns Castle estate.

¹³⁶ Adams, 'The agents of agricultural change. The Commission was a powerhouse of innovation and example which stimulated change throughout the country, p.173. For the list of members of The Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland in 1743, pp.170-171, also p.173.

In France, there were few estate owners like la Rochefoucauld's father who were interested in change. However, in Scotland both la Rochefoucauld and Faujas found when they called at some country estates that some landowners were only in residence part-time. La Rochefoucauld disapproved of this practice, which was rife in France.¹³⁷ He mentioned many times the importance of gentlemen farmers staying on their properties throughout the year and who put revenue back into the Scottish economy, to make his point that this should not happen in France.¹³⁸ Both Faujas and la Rochefoucauld exemplify the Enlightenment philosophy towards advancement and enquiry. These were outgoing attitudes which la Rochefoucauld found lacking in France. In an interesting contrast, the two journals give opposing views of one prominent Scottish landowner, the Duke of Argyll. Far from being the kindly, supportive laird that Faujas portrayed, la Rochefoucauld found the people regarded him 'with a sort of mistrust and even indignation' in his attempts to modernize his estate.¹³⁹ The need for a greater income was often the sole motivation behind the interest in improvement as it led to increased rent.¹⁴⁰

On the positive side, la Rochefoucauld wrote that many Highland lairds sporadically introduced 'improving leases' throughout the Highlands, in an effort to modernize agriculture. These leases stipulated that improvements, such as the enclosure of fields must be carried out.¹⁴¹ This could cause resentment as not everyone was keen to bring in the changes required.¹⁴² The timing of leases was crucial to start the new improvements. There was a period when leases were for just

¹³⁷ R.H.Campbell writes that a case can be argued for the absentee landlord requiring income from his land and thereby instituting reform on his behalf. Campbell, 'The Scottish improvers,' p.206.

¹³⁸ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.129.

¹³⁹ See Cregeen, 'The Changing Role of the House of Argyll', p.17

¹⁴⁰ This was suggested in the case of fifth Duke of Argyll by contemporary figures. Campbell, 'The Scottish improvers', p.206.

¹⁴¹ See for example the lease from Lockhart of Lee Estate, Lanarkshire, 1799, (the National Library of Scotland, Acc 4322, Lockhart of Lee Papers, Box, 17).

¹⁴² The third Duke of Argyll made political loyalty a pre-condition of tenancy on his estate. Cregeen, 'The Changing Role of the House of Argyll', p.15.

one year, instead of the usual seven or nine years, so that the landowners could bring in new tenants and new techniques all at once.¹⁴³

The improving leases, it has been suggested, were ineffective in bringing about change.¹⁴⁴ Considered in isolation, this view has some validity; other factors had to work alongside the improving leases. The change to rents paid in cash, for example, allowed tenants to choose what to produce, making more profitable use of the land.¹⁴⁵ However, specialization in cash crops could be a dangerous option; those on the land were used to growing crops for their own consumption and feared starvation if the cash crop failed or did not make a good market price. It required the backing of a sympathetic landowner to induce tenants to take such a risk. La Rochefoucauld found this a novel idea as few French landowners were involved in agrarian reform. There was no equivalent in France to the improving leases. The proprietors, whether nobles or bourgeois, did not personally engage in cultivation.¹⁴⁶

La Rochefoucauld appreciated the landowners' use of a multi-layered approach to investment and finance in both agriculture and industry, reporting that

Some patriotic landowners, ... created a suitable opportunity to get together... to build up a large amount of capital in circulation, on the principle that, with this capital, improvements of all kinds took shape by themselves, so that agriculture would improve itself, and the wasteland capable of cultivation would cease to be waste... they formed a bank on the security of their funds, The effects of this institution have been astonishing. Not only has cultivation increased, not only have land clearances and plantations been greatly pushed forward, but Scotland has become both a manufacturer and a trader, and useful work has expanded with the capital. Farming above all - contrary to a notion all too prevalent in France that it can make no great progress without great capital - has made astonishing progress in Scotland.¹⁴⁷

Many Scottish landowners supported the new husbandry but their participation in the process of change was varied and not always welcome. This, ironically, was what the Duke of Argyll was doing. However, this was better than the

¹⁴³ Adams, 'The agents of agricultural change', p.165.

¹⁴⁴ Grant, *Highland Folk Ways*, p.48. Commutation increased from the 1730s and was widespread by the 1750s. Whyte, *Scotland's Society and Economy in Transition*, p.45.

¹⁴⁵ McGuire, *Agricultural Improvement in Strathkelvin*.

¹⁴⁶ Sée, *Economic and Social Conditions in France During the Eighteenth Century*, p.7.

¹⁴⁷ Scarfe, *Highlands*, pp.117-118.

general backwardness and conservatism of France. The father of la Rochefoucauld was one of the few of the great French nobles trying to improve agriculture. Large landowners in France offered much less vigorous leadership towards a modernization than in Scotland; and successive governments offered scarcely any leadership at all.¹⁴⁸ The French government seemed unable to counteract the problems of subsistence farming and was unwilling to become financially involved in major land improvement schemes. French agriculture was further held back by the Revolution which disrupted cultivation, and by the period of the Restoration, many French estates were split up into smaller units in order to generate a larger income for the owners to the detriment of real progress.¹⁴⁹

In the eighteenth century, the Catholic Church in France owned a large proportion of the total land available for agriculture, perhaps as much as fifteen per cent and controlled how the land was used. This stranglehold did not loosen until the early nineteenth century. Although none of the travellers mentioned Church ownership directly, it is clear that la Rochefoucauld was contrasting the improvement role played by individual landowners in Scotland with the inertia of French landowners, including the Church. Little land was owned by the Church in Scotland; much had been removed from its hands in previous centuries, due to religious changes in the Reformation period.

It was clear from the journals that there was intellectual interest in improvement in Scotland which stimulated progress. In St. Andrews University a chair of Natural History had been created in 1747, and the library consisted mainly of modern books.¹⁵⁰ In Edinburgh Faujas noted that the president of The Royal Society was the Duke of Buccleuch, who exemplified all the virtues of an

¹⁴⁸ Gordon Wright, *France in Modern Times from the Enlightenment to the Present*, Second Edition (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company, 1974), p.175.

¹⁴⁹ See de Bertier de Sauvigny, *The Bourbon Restoration*, p.215.

¹⁵⁰ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, pp.194-5.

Enlightenment landowner with a multi-discipline approach to improvement.¹⁵¹ The Society of Natural History was an active, knowledgeable group whose papers were read and discussed publicly. The Highland Society was wide ranging in its interests, including natural history, arts and sciences.¹⁵² More importantly, the society was actively promoting trade, the building of bridges, villages and market places.¹⁵³ In some European countries, especially Britain and the Netherlands, a vast amount of work was published on agricultural improvement.¹⁵⁴ No comparable innovative work was published until the mid-eighteenth century in France.¹⁵⁵ This is symptomatic of the lack of sustained interest in agriculture in France compared to Scotland. By 1810, there were twenty-one agricultural societies listed in Scotland, with one in most main towns.¹⁵⁶ It is interesting that la Rochefoucauld made such a point of emphasizing that these Scottish societies represented not merely intellectual study but were also actively involved in putting the new methods into practice, although the importance of agricultural societies has not been established.¹⁵⁷ Societies of various sorts did exist in France; from 1761, attempts had been made to establish agricultural societies in local areas.¹⁵⁸ These societies made interesting investigations, and their members drew up reports and conducted experiments; their efforts, however, which lasted only a few years, had little effect on agriculture generally. The great majority of farmers clung to traditional practices, mainly through of lack of capital. Only in the rich sections of the northwest was appreciable

¹⁵¹ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, p.223. Henry Buccleuch (1746-1812), president 1783-1812, Governor of the Bank of Scotland 1777-1812, friend of Adam Smith and Walter Scott.

¹⁵² This is the Highland Agricultural Society, founded in 1784. There was also the Honourable Society of Improvers (1723).

¹⁵³ Lord Kaimes, wanted to form a Board of Agriculture, (later the Highland and Agricultural Society [1784]). He founded the Board of Agriculture (1793), under Sir John Sinclair.

¹⁵⁴ See Adams, 'The agents of agricultural change' agricultural publications Figure 7.6 for availability of agricultural books in eighteenth century Scotland, pp.171-172

¹⁵⁵ Jones, *The Great Nation*, p.150.

¹⁵⁶ See *The Ordnance Survey Atlas of Great Britain* (London: The Hamlyn Group, 1982) p.153.

¹⁵⁷ Adams, 'The agents of agricultural change', pp.170-171.

¹⁵⁸ The estates of Brittany had founded one as early as 1757.

progress noted, artificial meadows developed and new crops introduced, in conjunction with the industrial advances.¹⁵⁹

The optimism of la Rochefoucauld was typical of the Enlightenment. Investment at its best was an intelligent use of all resources, geared up to serve the potential market. Those generating improvement recognized the benefits not just on their own land. They were mainly people with considerable power in society who could create the necessary infrastructure for trade such as the Commissioners of Supply. Scots were willing to adopt innovations from abroad, unlike many of their contemporaries in France who rejected outside influences, a point noted by the travellers.¹⁶⁰ La Rochefoucauld wrote that the botanic gardens in Edinburgh were laid out using the system of Linnaeus.¹⁶¹ This system exemplified logical and scientific rigour, a tradition still continuing when the French MacDonald, praising the new botanic gardens, was impressed that lectures on botany were held there.¹⁶² He referred also to a member of the Highlander's Society for Agriculture, Industry and Trade, whom he met in London, showing how influence extended in the era of easier travel. Scotland was in the vanguard of progress, despite its distance from London.

The planned villages, built in Scotland from 1720 onwards, are a good example of this grouping of resources.¹⁶³ The intention was to make better use of the land and manpower so that industrial advance took place in association with agricultural development.¹⁶⁴ The French travellers were not alone in visiting them

¹⁵⁹ Henri Sée, *Economic and Social Conditions in France During the Eighteenth Century*, (Kitchener: Batoche Books, 2004), p.25.

¹⁶⁰ Adams 'The agents of agricultural change', p.159, p.162.

¹⁶¹ Carl Linnaeus, 1707-1778.

¹⁶² Hache, *MacDonald*, p.133. These were what La Rochefoucauld had seen in 1786.

¹⁶³ Most were built in the period after around 1760.

¹⁶⁴ There were planned settlements in the seventeenth century, for strategic, cultural and economic purposes. T.C. Smout 'Landowners and the planned village in Scotland, 1730-1830', in N. Phillipson & R. Mitchison (eds.), *Scotland in the Age of Improvement: essays in Scottish history in the eighteenth century* (Edinburgh : Edinburgh University Press, 1970), p.74. Some eighteenth century landowners embraced the process of industrialization in its early days, pp.98-99. For economic benefits to community and landowner, see p.75.

but they do provide additional insights as their journals are focused on a number of different, yet current interests. The villages provided employment along with a local market and higher incomes for the farmers. This encouraged higher levels of consumption than before and allowed people to remain in their traditional areas. The essential difference in the eighteenth century was that these newer settlements were usually part of an overall plan to develop the landowner's estate. They replaced irregular villages of bad roads and alleys with planned architecture to a regular layout, such as la Rochefoucauld noted at Inveraray.¹⁶⁵ The Duke of Argyll set up the village of Inveraray in 1742, inducing men to work there and encouraging others to stay.¹⁶⁶ The work included forestry and mill working to generate an income for Argyll and to support the people in their traditional areas.¹⁶⁷ Faujas was full of admiration for the Duke of Argyll's extensive parkland. The French MacDonald, nearly fifty years after Faujas, was equally impressed by the parkland at Inveraray. He noticed, too, the 'fine lands and some beautiful grazing' so the work was continuing under the next generation. Using both journals, the comments of the two travellers show how money and labour altered the landscape.¹⁶⁸ In addition, by focusing on the work of particular individuals in Scotland, the French travellers were tacitly highlighting what French landowners were largely failing to do.

Social and economic change occurred largely within the framework of the estate, which altered the relationship between landlord and tenant.¹⁶⁹ Large estates allowed for greater flexibility of resources and the economy of scale. From around the middle of the eighteenth century, farms became larger to be economically

¹⁶⁵ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.191.

¹⁶⁶ For the changing role of the Argyll family, see Cregeen 'The Changing Role of the House of Argyll', pp.5-22.

¹⁶⁷ Smout 'Landowners and the planned village in Scotland, 1730-1830'. Industrious villagers would provide inspiration to the tenantry while retaining the landowner's hold over the estate, p.74.

¹⁶⁸ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.181.

¹⁶⁹ I.D. Whyte, 'The emergence of a new estate structure,' in Parry & Slater (eds) *The Making of the Scottish Countryside*, pp.131-2.

viable, so poorer tenants were squeezed out in the move towards the Clearances.¹⁷⁰ As part of the introduction of the new, a relatively small number of commercial farmers replaced groups of peasant smallholders.¹⁷¹ At the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, Simond noted that small farms were an uneconomic use of manpower although still requiring the same range of equipment.¹⁷² He was, however, shrewd enough to see that this entailed men being put out of work so he was aware of negative effects of improvement in the short term.¹⁷³ The costs of rents, tools and all the requirements to 'improve' agriculture became the responsibility of the farmer, rather than the landowner, so that only the better or the luckier survived. Therefore, the area of land was of the utmost importance in allowing the tenant to withstand adversity and to accumulate capital.¹⁷⁴ The resultant changes wrought in the landscape, influenced by urban markets and urban capital, seen in limited areas around the Forth and the Tay estuaries were noticeable to the French travellers.¹⁷⁵

Simond wrote revealingly of the economic pressures on the people, remarking that he was used to seeing obvious signs of poverty in America but he was probably also remembering this as a feature in France.¹⁷⁶ In Glasgow and the mill towns he recognized the plight of the rural poor when he wrote 'Labourers, placed between the steam engine in town, and the sheep in the country, are threatened with starvation amid systems of real plenty', recognizing that urban poverty stemmed from the need to move from the land to seek paid work.¹⁷⁷ The pressure on land was a factor in France where there was quite a large floating

¹⁷⁰ When landowners cleared the people from their estates to make way for sheep. The move was towards single tenancy in farms. Whyte, *Scotland's Society and Economy in Transition*, p.45.

¹⁷¹ Caird 'The reshaped agricultural landscape', p.219.

¹⁷² Simond, *An American*, p.165.

¹⁷³ Whyte, *Scotland's Society*, pp.45-6.

¹⁷⁴ Whyte, *Scotland before the Industrial Revolution*, p.161.

¹⁷⁵ Whyte 'The emergence of a new estate structure, pp.131-132. Campbell also makes the connection. Campbell, 'The Scottish improvers', p.207.

¹⁷⁶ Simond, *An American*, p.19 and 57 in rural England.

¹⁷⁷ *ibid*, p.144.

population of landless peasants who moved between town and country seasonally, with reports of vagrants, terrorizing the rural population.¹⁷⁸ Seasonal movement was a feature of the Scottish rural scene but did not cause deep civil disturbance, although in previous centuries, vagrancy had been a problem.¹⁷⁹ By the latter part of the eighteenth century, there was already emigration from the most hard-pressed regions of Scotland, mainly in the Highlands and Islands which eased pressure on land. The French MacDonald appreciated the need for economic migration and his journal notes several instances where he was generous with his help to those of his kin who wished to try life in America.¹⁸⁰

Nodier, too, was more interested in people than crop rotations and in this area his journal augments what the other travellers wrote. He made two references to gypsies, often regarded as wandering people, seeing them as a colourful addition to the scenery.¹⁸¹ As a Romantic, he was excited and curious about different ethnic peoples in a way which the pragmatic Enlightenment travellers were not. He had a different reaction when he stumbled upon a gypsy encampment as he walked alone along a track near Loch Lomond; he was very wary and unsure of his position. He too may have had experiences of vagrants in France.¹⁸²

From early in the period, the travellers referred to land as a commodity in Scotland, making remarks on financial points which run deeper than most travellers were likely to have done. La Rochefoucauld wrote of the use of the bank to allow the use of capital by a group of investors. Simond in particular noted the buying and selling of land as a commodity, no doubt as a result of living in America.¹⁸³ In France, buying land was seen as a status investment for those with money but the

¹⁷⁸ Cobban, *A History of Modern France*, p.49.

¹⁷⁹ See Whyte, *Scotland before the Industrial Revolution*, for vagrancy in Scotland in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, p.168.

¹⁸⁰ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.159.

¹⁸¹ Nodier, *Promenade*, p.123.

¹⁸² By Nodier's day, Napoleon had done much to eliminate the problem of rural vagrants.

¹⁸³ Simond, *An American*, p.99.

land was often left undeveloped. In Scotland, buying land was usually a means to create wealth through economic production. Landowners dominated the Scottish social scene in the eighteenth century and successful lawyers, especially from Edinburgh and successful merchants, especially from Glasgow, who aspired to positions of influence, did so through land ownership. It has been argued that the social structure of Scotland forced landlords to implement new agricultural methods and that power was wielded through the magnates as part of the Enlightenment movement.¹⁸⁴

Significantly, by his interest in land values, Simond had moved on from the close scientific analysis of the earlier travellers to seeing agriculture on a par with other industrial activities. He wrote that farmers should be considered as manufacturers or businessmen. Indeed, by the 1850s, some tenants were able to accumulate capital to form a fairly prosperous proto-capitalist farming class who worked with landowners on mutually beneficial improvement schemes.¹⁸⁵

Although la Rochefoucauld also refers to the 'price' of land, this figure was the annual rental value of agricultural land and related to potential agricultural profit on the market in 1786. This figure was as low as twenty-five shillings an acre near Queensferry, but for 'exceptional soil' giving good yields, the value rose to 30 and forty shillings. Where his journal becomes really interesting is when he extrapolates from these figures to estimating the value of farms. At Montrose his companion, Lazowski thought lands raising cattle and not suitable for arable use was worth less.¹⁸⁶ Beyond Perth, la Rochefoucauld records values differently by referring to the rental of farm cottages, with a couple of acres at £5 per annum but without security of tenure. His interest in rents emphasises the commercial value of farming; land

¹⁸⁴ Campbell, 'The Scottish improvers and the course of agrarian change, p.206.

¹⁸⁵ Whyte, *Scotland's Society and Economy*, p.47. He writes of some tenants who eft sums of money or lent capital to lairds, p.44.

¹⁸⁶ Scarfe, *Highlands*, pp.141-142.

has to be productive enough to support a family and must give a financial income above that. He does not refer to any rent being paid in kind and may not have been aware that the system still existed. In 1811, Simond recorded that the rent of the worst huts with very little land was often as low as 5s. a year but in contrast in 1825, the French MacDonald was told that the rental paid by a young farmer on Uist to the landowner was £50 per year as prices were rising sharply over the period.¹⁸⁷ The irony is that a year's rent in Scotland was more than the buying price of a piece of land in North Carolina, America, where a few shillings for surveying and registering secured the purchase of several hundred acres.¹⁸⁸

The significance of using several journals in this study becomes more obvious when comparing entries from the 1780s to the 1820s which demonstrates how even marginal land was becoming more valuable as a form of investment. In 1784, Faujas found the island of Staffa had a new owner, Campbell, since Sir Joseph Banks had visited it in 1772.¹⁸⁹ The land was virtually valueless according to Faujas, apart from the fishing.¹⁹⁰ However, in 1825, Staffa was owned by MacDonald of Staffa, as an investment giving him status, but also an income from cattle and sheep.¹⁹¹

In Simond's mind, land was a commodity, to be bought and sold for profit, as he remarked,

The rich show certainly a very great eagerness to buy land, being a safe property, and a permanent revenue; and because there is really, notwithstanding the loud complaints, an inundation of wealth in this country.

He expressed ideas of his time, regarding the farmer as an entrepreneur, agriculture as an industry and land as a means to make money. He had moved beyond the

¹⁸⁷ Simond, *An American*, p81. Hache, *MacDonald*, pp.159-160.

¹⁸⁸ James Hunter, *Dance called America* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1994), pp.31-35. This is in contrast to insecure, high-rented tenancy as offered by Duke of Argyll to Kintyre's population.

¹⁸⁹ By 1800 the island was under the ownership of Colin MacDonald of Lochboisdale. In 1816 it was sold by his son Ranald MacDonald into the care of Trustees.

¹⁹⁰ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, p.39.

¹⁹¹ Hache, *MacDonald*, pp.170-171.

Enlightenment concept of farming as simply a source of food to demonstrating an understanding of the economic principles governing inflation and the problems of setting long term leases in times of rising prices.¹⁹²

Land prices in France trebled in the eighteenth century, due to the prestige attached to the owning of land; a French peasant was more likely to buy land than to invest in improvements, especially as the financial outcome of John Law's banking scheme benefited French peasants by wiping out their indebtedness.¹⁹³ However, buying land did not bring new land under production or increase overall production. In Scotland, as the journals emphasize, land was being used as a resource.¹⁹⁴ This philosophy had not taken root in France; during the late eighteenth century, the wealthy bourgeoisie and noblesse de robe invested heavily in land round the towns, but such property was usually left as forest or waste.¹⁹⁵ The concept of owning land in France was further complicated by the doctrine of the Physiocrats. They argued that land was the only source of wealth and so should be taxed. This was not to the liking of large landowners, often nobles or the clergy, who avoided paying taxes.¹⁹⁶ In contrast, the clansmen in the Highlands of Scotland felt a strong attachment to the land, unrelated to the covetous amassing of property. La Rochefoucauld knew and understood this link to the *patrie*.¹⁹⁷ The French MacDonald showed the strength of this attachment to his Scottish *patrie* simply by having the urge to visit the homeland he had never seen. His deep rooted attachment to the people, his clan, was demonstrated by his concern for their well-being. He gave relatives money when he saw their poverty, sometimes enough to move away from home or to start

¹⁹² Simond, *An American*, p.82. in the Lake District and p.155.

¹⁹³ T.C.W. Blanning, *The Eighteenth Century: Europe 1688-1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.9. Jones, *The Great Nation*, for example p.158.

¹⁹⁴ Simond, *An American*, p.82, p.98. Simond does point to price rises and resultant economic problems of bankrupt farmers.

¹⁹⁵ Cobban, *A History of Modern France*, p.154. *Noblesse de robe* were French aristocrats who owed their rank to judicial or administrative posts, often bought for high sums.

¹⁹⁶ *ibid*, p.103.

¹⁹⁷ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.174. *patrie*, your native land.

businesses.¹⁹⁸ In 1811, Simond was told that some Highland emigrants to America had returned and many more would if they could pay their passage home. Simond could not comprehend why Highlanders went to America, not grasping the economic pressures which stimulated emigration nor the strong ties which led to their return.¹⁹⁹

Through the various main focal points of the travellers' journals, different elements in the cash economy, agriculture and industry can be seen to be working in tandem. The improvement of implements previously made locally by the farmers or blacksmiths was moving towards new tools and machinery in the eighteenth century, as tool making was advancing with industrial technology and factory production. In 1784 at Carron Ironworks, Faujas noted metal spades and hoes for the domestic market, commenting that workmanship was enhanced by 'so many machines and ingenious processes' that goods were produced faster and to a higher standard than in other similar factories.²⁰⁰ He wrote that the keen prices made them affordable to 'those who were not wealthy', adding that the tools could cost three times as much elsewhere, meaning France; production for export stimulated demand in local markets where farming was being improved. This contrasts with French industry; based on small scale enterprises which could not compete with factory production on price, quality, durability or innovation. As a result, French peasants could rarely afford to buy tools but continued to use homemade implements. The ineffectiveness of primitive agricultural implements was one factor which meant that the arable land was never cleaned, resulting in low yields.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁸ Hache, *MacDonald*, for example p. 160 or p.164-5.

¹⁹⁹ Simond, *An American*, p.80.

²⁰⁰ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.192. Also agricultural implements for export, for sugar cultivation.

²⁰¹ Grant, *Highland Folk Ways*, p.93. A comment valid for both France and Scotland.

However, la Rochefoucauld's journal shows that, especially in the north of Scotland, the poor could not afford to buy implements and had to make do with inferior tools or even worked with their bare hands.²⁰² The continued use of old fashioned methods was due to a low cost, high manual approach in the more remote rural regions. The underdevelopment of certain regions was obvious to la Rochefoucauld, who saw that the need for improvement extended to farm buildings, and to the harness for the horses.²⁰³ In the second decade of the nineteenth century, Simond still noticed some labour intensive techniques and old fashioned equipment; he counted forty-five reapers in one field using old fashioned sickles near Melrose.²⁰⁴ Despite these specific examples, Scottish agriculture generally was well in advance of France whereas in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, French farming had barely advanced from the previous century.²⁰⁵

Much of the factual material Simond wrote about the rural situation has to be analysed with caution as he drew conclusions which were not always valid. The sheep he referred to mainly belonged to the land owner, not the individual farmer. He maintained there was plenty of fish for the people to eat but he seemed unaware that access to lakes was often restricted. He saw hogs once and deduced that it was the norm for pigs to be kept. He stated that men earned from 2s. to 3s. a day when they work, without seeing the limitation on earnings that the statement implied, despite adding that the wages were half that in winter.²⁰⁶ He was clearly unaware of the obligations of the peasants to the landowner, the restricted number of days where they were able to work outdoors because of the weather, that the peasants had to fulfil duties to the landlord before working in their own fields and the

²⁰² Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.172.

²⁰³ Handley, *Scottish Farming in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 84-85. Tenants were required to make such items as part of their rent. Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.128.

²⁰⁴ Simond, *An American*, p.81.

²⁰⁵ de Bertier de Sauvigny, *The Bourbon Restoration*, p.213. They were still using old fashioned ploughs and a lack of draught animals meant that soil was turned in some areas using hand tools,

²⁰⁶ My underlining. Simond, *An American*, p.80. This information from his Highland guide.

distances they often had to travel to reach fields.²⁰⁷ La Rochefoucauld grasped the burdensome nature of these duties, especially road building.²⁰⁸

The basic problems of financial survival for the poorest agricultural workers led to rural outwork or men being forced to seek work in the towns as economic effects of changes in agriculture and industry were intertwined. Simond was the observer who reported this in most detail. His knowledge of trade and commerce is in contrast to his glib statements elsewhere. Increased use of machinery in factories, he wrote, required fewer workers. Continual migration of rural people to the town had reduced the difference in income between urban and rural areas of nineteen years earlier which had further been exacerbated by the recent commercial crisis. His solution was that the excess labour force should join the army and navy, although he did not link this to what he had said about emigration. Ironically, coming from America where land was abundant, he did not appreciate the problems of overpopulation in both Scotland and France.²⁰⁹

The advances in Scottish agriculture were dramatic to French eyes, even if not so impressive in the light of some recent research.²¹⁰ The flexible and empirical attitude to introducing new methods and techniques was the envy of Europe.²¹¹ By highlighting poor aspects of Scottish agriculture the travellers implied criticism of eighteenth century French agriculture. The travellers' journals suggest that by the 1780s, private investment of Scottish landowners was key to improving productivity, linked to trade and available markets.²¹² The pattern of land-holding in Scotland may have been particularly conducive to agricultural development and la Rochefoucauld

²⁰⁷ See Handley, *Scottish Farming in the Eighteenth Century*, p.99.

²⁰⁸ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.172.

²⁰⁹ Simond, *An American*, p.145. This happened in Scotland. M.W. Flinn, 'Malthus, Emigration and Potatoes in the Scottish North-west, 1770-1870' in L.M. Cullen & T.C. Smout, *Comparative aspects of Scottish and Irish economic and social history, 1600- 1900*, (Edinburgh: Donald, 1977), p.51.

²¹⁰ Devine, 'The Transformation of Agriculture', p.77, pp.73-4.

²¹¹ T.C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830* (London: Fontana Press, 1985), p.172.

²¹² See C.H.Lee's analysis in 'The Establishment of the Financial Network' in Devine, Lee, & Peden (eds.), *The Transformation of Scotland; the Economy since 1700*, pp.100-127.

bears witness to the debate on landlord intervention in agriculture.²¹³ His comments refer only to some landlords and the overall picture was more complex.

Although successive reductions of the French agriculture budget were unhelpful, the government intervened by distributing machinery, arguing that advanced agricultural technology was needed because urban migration created rural labour shortages.²¹⁴ One of Napoleon's former ministers suggested that private enterprise should finance agricultural progress, not the government.²¹⁵ Whether anything that any eighteenth-century government could have done would have alleviated French rural poverty is a moot point.²¹⁶ Demographic pressure in France put an intolerable strain on the food supply, triggering price rises.²¹⁷ However, the picture was not totally rosy in Scotland; grain had to be imported towards the end of the century and population pressure was increasingly a factor in parts of Scotland.²¹⁸ Prices rose, but not too alarmingly, nor did the increase provoke the riots as in France.²¹⁹

Conclusion

Other sources, such as records from the estates of landowners or tracts on agriculture, view a vertical tranche of a particular place at a particular time. La Rochefoucauld's journal gives a horizontal tranche over a large swathe of Scotland at one moment in time, while the addition of other journals adds depth. Vignettes from Faujas on Mull, Simond at Melrose or Nodier in the Trossachs capture data which would otherwise have gone unnoticed. Their notes were intended to be used

²¹³ O'Gorman, *British Political & Social History*, p.330. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*, pp.172-281. Whyte, *Scotland's Society and Economy in Transition*, p.47. Whyte also suggests that tenants were often responsible for bringing about much of the improvement.

²¹⁴ Roger Price, *The Economic Modernisation of France, 1730-1880* (London: Croom Helm Ltd., 1975), p.71. Mechanization was mainly stimulated in technologically advanced agricultural areas.

²¹⁵ de Bertier de Sauvigny, *The Bourbon Restoration*, p.213.

²¹⁶ Cobban, *A History of Modern France*, p. 50.

²¹⁷ Prices increased 3 times faster than wages between 1730 and 1789 in France.

²¹⁸ Oats and oatmeal from Ireland. For demographic pressure, see Cregeen 'The Changing Role of the House of Argyll', p.19.

²¹⁹ W.H. Fraser 'Patterns of protest' in *People and society in Scotland*, pp.268-291.

by others, through papers, pamphlets, readings at learned societies or published as books. The picture they draw is incomplete: much of the Scottish Lowlands is neglected by the travellers, although there is reference to sheep farming there; and the visits took place during the summer months, although the travellers do reference other times of year.²²⁰ On the other hand, la Rochefoucauld's journal allows insight into the progressiveness of some farmers and the backwardness of others at ground level. His comments reveal Enlightenment attitudes, stressing that the improvements in Scotland were often multiple and that input by man, financial investment, the latest theories and hard work could overcome the most intractable difficulties. The journals of the three later travellers do not permit comparisons between French and Scottish agriculture of the early nineteenth century. What Simond and the French MacDonald wrote from 1810 and beyond shows the social and economic repercussions of development, leading to emigration or bankruptcy, rather than agriculture itself.²²¹ Simond's journal gives accurate observations of what he saw, but his conclusions are sometimes suspect. His journal does make a valuable contribution to understanding the benefits of larger farm units and the emergence of capitalist farmers while noting the social consequences.²²² The journal of the French MacDonald gives an unparalleled insight into the Clanranalds and their role in kelp production; his comments about relatives in need of support bring home the reality of the industry's ultimate downfall. Without stating the point, the journals indicate underlying trends contributing to the Highland Clearances.

Much of what the travellers noted of agriculture in Scotland reflects Hobsbawm's summing up of Physiocrat philosophy; attitudes to land had to be

²²⁰ See Whyte, *Scotland's Society and Economy*, p.40. See Hyman Shapiro, *Scotland in the Days of Burns*, (Edinburgh: Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., 1968.) for the family of Robert Burns.

²²¹ Simond, *An American*. sheep walks. p.79, p.98. See Adams, I.A., 'The agents of agricultural change', in Parry, M.L., & Slater, T.R, (eds) *The Making of the Scottish Countryside*, p. 173 for those who did not succeed and p.159 for the effects of failure on attitudes.

²²² Smout 'Landowners and the planned village in Scotland, 1730-1830', in Phillipson & Mitchison (eds) *Scotland in the Age of Improvement*, p.75.

reformed. Land was a saleable commodity. Land owners must be entrepreneurs, producing goods for profit and rural workers must be freely mobile wage-earners.²²³

Despite both using Enlightenment techniques, the journals of Faujas and La Rochefoucauld are markedly different on farming. La Rochefoucauld was knowledgeable enough to be able to make a well informed report about agricultural techniques and adding expert comments. Faujas, on the other hand, wrote only a few paragraphs on the subject on Mull, listening, observing and passing on knowledge for others to use and may even have misunderstood what he was told.²²⁴

The three later journals are unlike each other and those written earlier. Simond gave visual accounts of what he saw, writing about farming in a less didactic way, not as an expert. It is unclear what Nodier actually saw as his journal became more emotionally charged as he journeyed through the Scottish countryside. The French MacDonald's journal is a very personal account of his emotional experiences.

²²³ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution, 1789-1848* (London: Abacus, 1973) p.184.

²²⁴ Faujas *Travels*, Volume II, p.76, pp.80-87.

Chapter 4 Industry

This chapter is focused on the industrial picture in Scotland as the French travellers painted it. Their journals are an impressive record of visits to most of the industrial centres with access noted to many mills and factories. Visiting industrial sites was a common activity for travellers from the late eighteenth century onwards, replacing the Grand Tour to stimulate personal development, and journals give details not replicated in other forms of texts; those in this study give details of processes, techniques and machinery as well as observations on the life of workers. As with agriculture, the main bulk of the information from these journals comes from Faujas and la Rochefoucauld in the 1780s. With typical Enlightenment rigour, they sought to gather knowledge to pass on to others, without expressing any disdain for trade and commerce of some Frenchmen of the period. Just as he gathered data on agriculture, La Rochefoucauld's journal listed the requirements for the economic and financial structure of industry, marketing and export, especially in the textile industry, creating a blueprint for his family for a factory but also to be used as a national industrial strategy. The travellers of the nineteenth century, as with agriculture, observed industry from a different perspective, often revealing interesting clues about Scotland, America and France in the era.

The perspective of Faujas and la Rochefoucauld referred back over a century when France was a major power, economically and politically through its geographic and demographic size. Early in the eighteenth century, France was industrially somewhat backward than Britain generally. In the ongoing competition between the two countries, France has been seen as consistently losing.¹ From around 1700, France's small internal market relied on the relatively few wealthy town dwellers

¹ The Economy of France at the Time of the Industrial Revolution. San José State University Department of Economics <http://www.sjsu.edu/faculty/watkins/france0.htm> [Accessed December 2014.]

while the high proportion of rural workers tended to lead a mainly subsistence lifestyle. Internal trade remained persistently sluggish, leading to localism, although overall the economy was far from stagnant.² France was a still collection of quasi-molecular economies before around 1756. If the harvest was good, then the peasants had cash to spend; if not, they starved.³ There was a turning point in French commerce about 1750, when Choiseul's modernizing programme took effect in regional development through the local *Intendants*, for example in Montpellier, which became one of France's most heavily industrialized provinces by 1789.⁴ Evidence presented in this study shows networking between academics in Montpellier and other local players was a key factor in driving forward new development through the combining of expertise. The Enlightenment travellers took the research into industrial practices in Scotland very seriously and their journals reflect how deeply they were involved in examining and reporting what they saw. This is linked to the fact that French governments encouraged mechanization in industry, especially from the 1770s, linked to a national strategy of enticing foreign, especially English, specialists to bring their knowledge to France. In a bid to modernize to compete abroad in the burgeoning overseas markets, successive French governments used monetary inducements, loans, grants, semi-monopoly privileges and tax exemptions to boost French industry. In the period 1784-8, Calonne was giving many state subventions to those in the manufacturing industry, such as the incentive of cheap credit.⁵ The travellers noted much about merchant shipping in Scotland, in light of the increasingly hectic pace of activity in the large French seaports, an early sign of change during the eighteenth century. However,

² Roger Price, *The Economic Modernisation of France*, p.1.

³ Colin Jones, *The Great Nation*, p.151.

⁴ Ibid, p.256. An Intendant held a public administrative office in France.

⁵ Charles Alexandre, vicomte de Calonne (1734–1802) French Controller-General of Finances November 1783 until 1787.

the relationship between trade and development is difficult to establish.⁶ French exports as a proportion of national product were low throughout the eighteenth century; 8% in 1720, 12% in 1750 and 10% in 1780, but potential stimulus to change was largely confined to the first half of the century. Ports such as Rouen and Le Havre exported textile goods from the inland areas of northern and western France. Well before the 1790s, it was clear that French goods were being edged out of foreign markets by British competition, and the French travellers wanted to establish why.⁷ During the Revolution, some inland towns, such as Clermont-Ferrand with its important urban network in the Auvergne, suffered less than Atlantic ports, such as Bordeaux, where the loss of overseas markets was felt greatly.⁸

In the Introduction, it was mooted that France and Scotland, as part of Britain, were developing on parallel courses but, by 1740, the phrase '*à l'imitation de l'Angleterre*' (in imitation of England) was in common usage in France.⁹ The educated French public for much of the eighteenth century believed that Britain was ahead economically, although this belief was largely unsubstantiated.¹⁰ The visits of Faujas and la Rochefoucauld were symptomatic of 'the growing attachment in France to liberal economic ideas' where the more dynamic enterprises and those whose directors had influence, were encouraged and their innovating example followed by others.¹¹ Having already studied and toured in England, la Rochefoucauld's exploration of Scottish industry was to become a report for his father to present at court to gain government support, detailing how and why Scotland should be emulated. It has been suggested that the merchant is the

⁶ Heywood, *The development of the French economy*, p.43.

⁷ *ibid*, p.44-45.

⁸ Paul Butel, 'Revolution and the urban economy: maritime cities and continental cities' in Forrest, Alan & Jones, Peter (eds), *Reshaping France: Town, country and region during the French Revolution* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1991), p.46.

⁹ Introduction, p. 6. Many French people used 'Angleterre' when they meant 'Britain'.

¹⁰ François Crouzet, *Britain Ascendant*, p.127 onwards.

¹¹ Roger Price, *Economic Modernisation of France*, p.159.

compass of society which indicated the social norms of the time; Enlightenment plays written by French philosophes were trying to change the image of the merchant and of commerce in the latter part of the eighteenth century.¹² Opposition to change, however, remained strong, as Turgot found when he attempted to abolish corporations, in his period as a Minister (1774–76). France lacked the infrastructure to allow development and the commercial will to develop its industry. In a bid to overcome these problems in the period 1784-8, Calonne, the French Controller-General of Finances, invested heavily in infrastructure projects which boosted industry and improved communications. The huge naval centre at Cherbourg boosted local industry, including its laboratory for marine technology.¹³

Industry in Scotland up to early modern times had similarly been small scale and backward. Few, if any enterprises had any reputation beyond their immediate locality, indeed *Scots-made* was equated with *inferior*; but by the mid-eighteenth century, the range of industrial and commercial activities in Scotland's larger towns diversified as the economy became more complex.¹⁴ In the fifty year period up to 1821, Scotland advanced as an important contributor to British economic growth, especially in textiles, coal and the iron industry and it was for these reasons that visitors were travelling to Scotland to inspect manufacturing bases.¹⁵

La Rochefoucauld's companion Lazowski divided Scotland into three areas; the Highlands, the Southern Uplands and between them, the industrial central belt. This is a similar division to that proposed by Christopher Whatley, with the development of industrialization mainly in the Perth-Glasgow-Edinburgh triangle. In particular it shows how the coal fields effectively delineated the industrial heartland

¹² Amalia D. Kessler, *A Revolution in Commerce. The Parisian Merchant Court and the Rise of Commercial Society in eighteenth Century France* (Yale University, 2007), p.201.

¹³ Jones, *The Great Nation*, pp.345-6.

¹⁴ Whyte, Ian D., *Scotland's Society and Economy in Transition, c.1500-1760* (Basingstoke, Macmillan Press Ltd., 1997), p.139.

¹⁵ Christopher Whatley, *The Industrial Revolution in Scotland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p.232.

of the country.¹⁶ Industrialization of textile production was more widespread and the travellers saw home-based or semi-industrialized production in rural areas playing a strong role in manufacturing since the rural areas held much of the population.¹⁷

The lifestyle of the people in many areas near towns was gradually evolving from self-sufficiency towards a more modern cash economy while retaining traditional elements. In 1786, la Rochefoucauld saw that fishing sustained the people at Inverbervie, where flax was produced in a semi industrial way. However, in the eyes of the French travellers, where there were no cash-based enterprises, the economic picture was gloomy and backward. Where there was little commercial activity, the situation was desperate; la Rochefoucauld wrote that the people, generally very poor, relied on fish almost entirely.¹⁸ Such traditional industries were being transformed for new markets. Scottish fishing had developed to become a significant commercial enterprise with markets in England and overseas and was being stimulated financially like the linen industry. Perth, a major industrial centre, was an example of the symbiotic relationship between the growth of the fishing industry and a well-developed port. La Rochefoucauld saw salmon fisheries outside Perth, the enterprise of one businessman, who reportedly paid £9,000 sterling per annum for fishing rights, so his return must have been massive.¹⁹ This entrepreneur impressed la Rochefoucauld by seizing the initiative to move into the cash economy, a quality which he admired. His journal records great detail of how the enterprise met the different needs of expanding markets with fresh salmon shipped to London early in the season and later to Europe. Fish processing and packing varied according to destination, showing how the local populace was adapting to

¹⁶ Whatley, *The Industrial Revolution*, map opposite p.1.

¹⁷ See Ian D. Whyte, *Scotland before the Industrial Revolution: A Economic & Social History c. 1050-c. 1750* (Harlow, Longman Group, 1995), distribution map p.287. William Ferguson, *Scotland 1689 to the Present, The Edinburgh History of Scotland*, Volume 4 (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1985), pp.166-167. The workers used hand looms at home.

¹⁸ Near Fort Augustus. Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.170.

¹⁹ Scarfe, *Highlands*, pp.135-6.

commerce: produce was sent to London in ice; salted for sale in Flanders, France and Spain; but pickled in salt and vinegar for local consumption. The journals further highlighted the economic value of the industry to the Scottish economy from the size of the sea-going fishing fleet and that it provided many with a good living.²⁰ By 1825 the French MacDonald saw commercial fishing registered on both sides of Scotland, the herring fleet near Inveraray and whaling at Leith.²¹ Fishing activity in France had always been historically important due to the country's extensive coastlines and abundant fishing resources in its surrounding seas. Indeed, France, between its mainland and its overseas territories, enjoyed fishing activity in every ocean. However, the French travellers registered more interest in ports and vessels than the fishing industry itself.

Land based industries with their innovations and new markets were what featured most heavily in the travellers' journals. The eighteenth century saw a highly significant change in the relationship between agriculture and industry, as markets grew and consumption patterns changed. Flax, a traditional crop originally grown for domestic purposes in many areas of Scotland, was now produced almost exclusively for its commercial use by the late eighteenth century. The basis of both cottage industry and larger scale manufacturing, flax had become a significant element in the wage economy, as linen became Scotland's first industry.²² Production of linen was especially well developed on the east of Scotland and a *Scots Magazine* scheme (1748) supported the industry on a large scale, a much needed incentive where financial investment was imperative.²³ La Rochefoucauld's journal gives a comprehensive picture of the processes from field to final product in

²⁰ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.143. Montrose and Ayr.

²¹ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.179, p.132.

²² Alastair J. Durie, 'The Markets for Scottish Linen, 1730-1775', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 52:153 (1973), pp.30-49.

²³ 1753 Act encouraged and improve the manufacture of linen in the Highlands, £3,000 annual grant. The Act was also to develop fishing and the northern ports.

both cottage based and industrial production. He saw flax fields around Perth for the production of linen for both domestic and commercial purposes.²⁴ However, in Perth, he found that high quality flax was imported to meet the demands of industrial linen production for sale and export.²⁵ By the late eighteenth century, public bleach fields were being used to produce better quality cloth and both Faujas and La Rochefoucauld recorded flax being prepared for linen manufacture in bleach fields, showing how they had expanded across the country.²⁶ The finishing of textiles had advanced; previously, superior linens produced in Scotland were bleached in Holland.²⁷ There was evident crossover from proto industry to the specialization associated with large scale production. Private entrepreneurs were investing in new procedures as part of the integration of industry in the cash economy. Neither of the travellers commented on the implications of using the public bleachfields, which improved consistency and increased the value of the cloth.

Spinning and weaving, were often done by rural workers, taking it to market themselves, an advance on the simple 'putting out' process.²⁸ Making cloth for sale had previously been part of urban life in some areas. Here the travellers give evidence of the blurring of distinctions between the towns and the countryside as it became impossible for the rural population to exist on an agricultural income alone; supplementary work bridged the gap between seasonal agricultural work and starvation.²⁹ La Rochefoucauld wrote extensively about the systems used to move goods; merchants and middle men sold cloth in bulk for the spinners and weavers,

²⁴ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.131, p.134, p.136.

²⁵ *ibid*, p.136. Flax came from Russia.

²⁶ Instead of using a local stream. See Alastair J. Durie, *The Scottish linen industry in the eighteenth century*, (Edinburgh : Donald, 1979), p.82 for map of bleachfields built 1746-1760 and p.55. Near Kinross probably Maryburgh, a licensed field and at Inverbervie. Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.212. Near Glasgow, situated beside a lake and above a water mill called Town Mill.

²⁷ Susan Fairlie, 'Dyestuffs in the Eighteenth Century', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 17:3 (1965), pp.488-510.

²⁸ Scarfe, *Highlands*, pp.145-146.

²⁹ Christopher Whatley, 'The Experience of Work', in T.M. Devine & Rosalind Mitchison, (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland Volume 1, 1760-1830* (Edinburgh: John Donaldson Publishers, 1988), p.229.

increasing production by the combination of rural and urban workers. He was particularly expansive about the 'putting out' of work which avoided the restrictive practices of the urban guilds so detrimental in France, allowing new ways of working.³⁰ It cannot be overemphasized how advanced the linen industry was commercially, compared to France when Faujas and la Rochefoucauld were writing. The British Linen Company supplemented the work of the Board of Manufactures and helped smooth over market fluctuations, using a central buying scheme for raw materials and supporting the distribution of the finished goods.³¹ The largest firm in the industry in the eighteenth century, it exported linen to England and America. In its capacity as a joint-stock company, it raised funds by issuing promissory notes and bonds; the latter functioned as bank notes. The company also supported other linen manufacturers with its financial services, and in the early 1770s banking had become its main activity, joining the established Scottish banks such as the Bank of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1695) and the Royal Bank of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1727). The flexibility and dynamism of the Scottish banking system contributed significantly to the rapid development of the economy in the nineteenth century. The British Linen Company shows how forward-thinking individuals were instrumental in helping the linen industry to flourish.

The injection of capital was a key factor in the development of Scotland into a modern, industrial society, as the travellers noted. Scotland had an advanced banking structure by the mid-eighteenth century in a network of interconnected financial services essential for a modern trading economy.³² The Bank of Scotland was comprised of subscribers or adventurers. Almost one third were merchants

³⁰ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.135.

³¹ David Bremner, *The Industries of Scotland their Rise, Progress and Present Condition* (Edinburgh, Adam & Charles Black, 1869). Incorporated in Edinburgh in 1746.

³² C.H.Lee, 'The Establishment of the Financial Network', in T.M. Devine, C.H. Lee and G.C. Peden eds. *The Transformation of Scotland, The Economy since 1700* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), p.100 onwards.

from the east coast from Edinburgh to Aberdeen, many of whom had overseas interests in Baltic ports, continental Europe and London. Much of the country's wealth was in the hands of landowners; most of the travellers referred to the Duke of Argyll, a landowner who was investing heavily in his estate, both in agriculture and in industry, but landowners were not able to bear the whole financial burden of industrial development. There was little actual cash in the Scottish economy, so the issue of bank notes was crucial to allow the economy to grow through the use of credit, while businessmen who had made money in one field often invested in other areas.³³ As well as being knowledgeable, la Rochefoucauld must have had detailed conversations to have grasped so much detail about banking. He reported that London backed Paisley's commerce, but he learned of the valuable role that the Bank of Scotland was playing in the development of the Scottish economy, writing 'The Bank of Scotland deserves special attention for it has been the chief engine for inaugurating change in the face of this kingdom'.³⁴ This is in contrast to the French government which had to step in to support industry financially. France was always playing 'catch-up' in industry as it lacked the dynamism found in individual enterprise in British industry. Colin Jones' argument about John Law does not the probability that the collapse of his banking scheme would have stifled progress by maintaining suspicion and fear of financial institutions. This severely limited credit and investment, crucial factors holding back French industrial development.³⁵

By describing the close cooperation of producers with merchants, the growth of factory production, and the financial framework of the linen industry in Scotland, la Rochefoucauld was not only evaluating Scottish enterprise in his journal but he

³³ See Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.210.

³⁴ In addition to being the main market, London was still the main source of Paisley credit at this time. Robert Barr's surviving letter books illustrate that the most common method of payment for his sales was by bills drawn on London. See S. M. Nisbet, 'Financing the Early Textile Industry in the West of Scotland', *Scottish Business and Industrial History*, Vol. 24, Series 2 (Jul. 2008), pp. 3–27.

³⁵ See Chapter 3 Agriculture, p.161-2.

was tacitly comparing it to the lack of commercialization and industrialization of the linen industry in France. France suffered from many internal regional taxes and tolls which limited movement, making it more expensive to exploit wider markets and stifling incentive to expand. Provincial officials in France had extensive powers, making each locality develop into 'a tangled web of rules, trade restrictions, special law codes which seriously hampered domestic commerce and made travel a test of patience'.³⁶ Useless official posts to collect dues hampered the silk industry in Lyon, these posts being created, suppressed and then recreated.³⁷ Even basic necessities for trade such as weights and measures varied throughout the country and a few provinces had retained some local autonomy, both factors adding to the general confusion. In 1789, Britain had 200 factory mills whereas France had only eight.

Despite the lack of coordinated economic development, concepts of trade and culture were debated in the *siècle des lumières* in the intellectual fervour of eighteenth-century France and the journal of the young la Rochefoucauld was aimed at fuelling that debate further. Mirabeau, writing mid-century, thought that human freedom and social betterment depended on economic growth.³⁸ It is clear that attitudes to credit for industrial development flickered unresolved as the *rentier* mentality sought opportunities to make money quickly and easily, rather than to support industrial progress.³⁹ As an overall consequence, French industry was still on a smaller scale than in Scotland through lack of investment, despite much talk and debate. The French textile industry was organized largely on the putting-out basis, much more so than in Scotland. Some home based workers were organized into *fabriques* and *manufactures* by merchants who might furnish simple wooden machinery. This merchant capitalism required little credit or capital. Before 1789,

³⁶ Gordon Wright, *France in Modern Times from the Enlightenment to the Present*, Second Edition (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company, 1974), p.8.

³⁷ Cobban, *A History of Modern France, Volume I, 1715-1799*, p.43.

³⁸ Jones, *The Great Nation*, p.191.

³⁹ *Rentier*- a person living from income derived from economic rents.

master craftsmen protected monopolies through a rigid guild system, which prevented change to accommodate market conditions, a negative conservatism.⁴⁰ French employers and workers were hostile towards centralized factories which threatened their rural life, so dispersion was the norm.⁴¹ Therefore, French factories tended to be small, manufacturing specialized goods for the luxury market. Some advances had been made in France, as in Rouen, where progress, ironically, had been made through the techniques introduced by John Holker, an Englishman.

It is little wonder, then, that the French travellers wrote about the Scottish textile industry to take information home. It was well in advance of France in other ways too. Dyeing and finishing of textiles in the last quarter of the century had advanced to the point where linen supplied from British merchants was free from serious competition abroad.⁴² The products were cheaper and better quality than those from Holland and Germany. The scientific advances in Scotland meant that plants like saffron, madder, woad and wild mignonette, still grown as crops for dyeing in France, had been superseded by pigments from animals and mineral extracts.⁴³ The period brought a huge expansion in the range of synthetic pigments, manufactured or refined from naturally occurring materials, with Prussian Blue, the first modern synthetic pigment, developed in 1704. It is surprising that neither Faujas nor La Rochefoucauld made any mention of these advances although it is quite likely that the knowledge was kept secret from them.

Besides production patterns, it was vital to have buoyant markets and increasing demand. Again, what the travellers noticed was new to them. La Rochefoucauld saw markets expanding in Scotland, both internal and external. Changing life style patterns with women in paid employment increased the cash

⁴⁰ Tim Blanning, *The Pursuit of Glory, Europe: 1648-1815* (London: Penguin Group, 2007), p.118.

⁴¹ de Sauvigny, *The Bourbon Restoration*, p.211. His term, p.225.

⁴² Fairlie, 'Dyestuffs in the Eighteenth Century', pp.488-510. *Crocus sativus*, *Rubia tinctorum*, *Isatis tinctoria* and *Reseda lutea*.

⁴³ de Sauvigny, *The Bourbon Restoration*, p.211.

economy, creating greater demand within Scotland. La Rochefoucauld wrote that basic cloth was used to manufacture servants' clothes; previously servants were given garments from their mistress or made their own clothes. There was also increased consumption by the gentry; the travellers saw clothing and fine household linen in the houses of upperclass Scottish families. La Rochefoucauld wrote that fine linen was commonly available in even the worst inns, no longer 'home spun' but commercially produced.⁴⁴ This is presumably not what he was used to when using French inns. He remarked that the top quality table linen, fine damask, was better made and marketed in Scotland than in England.⁴⁵ His words emphasize the low demand for bought linen in France where the peasantry was generally poor and the majority of the population operated at the bottom of the cash economy. His journal reported that high quality Scottish linen was exported to England and to the coast of Africa.⁴⁶ Figures from stamping show the huge quantities of linen manufactured in Scotland in the eighteenth century, confirming it as one of the major Scottish industries.⁴⁷ Linen for domestic purposes was never stamped, so overall production may have been as much as twice. Many east coast towns were flourishing due to the flax-based industry playing a role in manufacture. Arbroath, Dundee, Montrose, Stonehaven and Aberdeen, mentioned by la Rochefoucauld, played a dual role as ports, vital both in importing raw materials and exporting manufactured goods.⁴⁸ In contrast, markets in France were mainly small and local; poor transport links also created difficulties in moving raw materials and manufactured goods. France too, had colonies but there were problems taking full advantage of them economically.

⁴⁴ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.224.

⁴⁵ *ibid*, pp.145-146, Inverbervie. See Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury*, p.177. Grant, *Highland Folk Ways*, pp.219 onwards.

⁴⁶ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.134. This was guinea cloth for the slave trade.

⁴⁷ A national system to inspect and stamp linen, set up under the Scottish Board of Trustees in 1727, gave quality assurance to Scottish linen. 1,275,689 yards of linen was stamped in Dundee in 1759 and 2,032,000 yards in Glasgow in 1757.

⁴⁸ For example, from Montrose the cloth was often exported to London or abroad.

La Rochefoucauld noted '2 to 3 mills' in the village of Inverbervie, an important collection centre of the linen industry in the late eighteenth century.⁴⁹ This vagueness about the numbers is of interest as it may have been because a new mill was still under construction.⁵⁰ Although a modern sophisticated industrial set-up, it still relied heavily on 'cottage industry' as the mill could not supply the demand. In effect, he was giving evidence of a 'proto industrial' scene with some processes using factory facilities.

Throughout much of central and northern Scotland, La Rochefoucauld noted both the expansion of the industry and the increasing range of goods, including ropes from leftover hemp, cloths and light woollen material for local consumption in Dundee which was also a depot of cloth made in the surrounding area to be redistributed through its port. He recorded that Inverness had two manufactures, thread and common cloth, for the internal market, although he probably saw only a limited proportion of what was produced.⁵¹ He was impressed by the growth of Inverness which had, he wrote, 'a considerable port', adding that the river is 'large and navigable and must favour the trade of the town'

What the travellers were recording was the latest technology, coupled with huge investment, advanced economic structures and a flexible workforce, without the stranglehold of guilds and restrictive practices. In his journal entry for Perth, a major textile production centre, La Rochefoucauld described damask manufacture, the most highly prized type of linen.⁵² As at Inverbervie, home based workers supplemented their income by producing cloth for sale. In Perth, however, his journal becomes much more topical as he noted there that the area had developed a centralized system to cope with the greater volume of production, the first step

⁴⁹ Scarfe, *Highlands*, pp.145-146. A stamp office was established there in 1748.

⁵⁰ Possibly the first water-powered flax mill in Scotland, making yarn for linen thread apparently built in 1787.

⁵¹ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.164.

⁵² *ibid.* p.134 onwards.

towards a more industrialised approach to manufacture, although production was not yet mechanized. La Rochefoucauld's conclusions were that there was plenty of work for all, from individuals who could not afford to buy raw materials, and for manufacturers and merchants, who supplied raw materials for their depots.⁵³ He recognised the modernity of Perth's textile industry, writing that 'they are now making cloth 122 inches wide, using the English shuttle'.⁵⁴ Faujas saw the huge loom to make bed sheets, using a shuttle on small rollers, a recent innovation.⁵⁵ La Rochefoucauld was impressed by the sophistication of the machines to 'perform many functions' at Johnstone which, additionally required little strength and only simple maintenance. He described the machines as 'entirely new, very efficient, the last word in mechanical ingenuity'.⁵⁶

The large textile industry was, to the travellers, the basic component of the wealth and economic prosperity of Perth and the surrounding area. La Rochefoucauld wrote that one manufacturer had 200 looms working for him.⁵⁷ Like the other major textile centres on the east coast at that time, the trade benefited from good waterways for both the export of finished goods and the import of materials, such as coal. The overall picture was of the interaction of manufacture, agriculture and transport systems, united in progress through judicious investment. In France, although some money was invested in industry and business expansion, a higher proportion was dissipated, often to purchase government offices.

La Rochefoucauld added to the picture by his notes on the distribution end of the linen industry in Edinburgh.⁵⁸ As he remarked, Edinburgh was not foremost an

⁵³ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.135.

⁵⁴ *ibid.* p.134, for cotton.

⁵⁵ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, He wrote a pair of these sheets costs 150 to 160 French *livres*. p.183.

⁵⁶ *ibid.* pp.213-214.

⁵⁷ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.135.

⁵⁸ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.118. Broad cloths, stockings and linen. and p.105. there was some manufacturing in the homes of the local rural population in nearby Haddington

industrial town, but it was the entrepôt of considerable trade.⁵⁹ 'Here they sell a great quantity of clothes made in Scotland', he commented.⁶⁰ This ties in with the comments in the various journals about the wealth of the inhabitants of the growing city, including lairds and their families who were gravitating into the city.⁶¹ Such wealth supported other industry, some aimed specifically at the rich.

Edinburgh has manufactures but none is very considerable: its manufacture of carriages is the most important. She exports them mainly to France for a pretty big sum.⁶²

La Rochefoucauld was quick to note that Edinburgh, like Perth and Dundee, had access to a well-developed port and that the 1707 Union with England allowed for Scottish industry to 'benefit by sharing in England's industrial and commercial supremacy, at home and overseas'.⁶³ Bringing together a variety of comments made by la Rochefoucauld, it is clear he was finding the same effects throughout the industrialized area; all centres were major distribution points for the export of linen so the towns prospered, trade and agriculture were booming, but this was true to a greater degree in Edinburgh.

The journals also add to knowledge about the spread of other, newer textile manufacture, based on imported raw cotton which developed using technological advances. Cotton was at the leading edge of industrialization and the factory system proper. In 1786, La Rochefoucauld reported seeing a large cotton manufacture in Banff.⁶⁴ This is difficult to verify as the Old Statistical Account reported only the manufacture of linen in the town in the period but not cotton.⁶⁵ La Rochefoucauld may have been mistaken or simply misreported what he saw; his journal at this point

⁵⁹ Whatley, *The Industrial Revolution in Scotland*, p.2.

⁶⁰ It is unclear if 'clothes' is the plural of cloth or clothing.

⁶¹ See Robert A. Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords: social and economic change in the Western Highlands and Islands* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), p. 107 for changing role of money. Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury*, p.154, p.177, for consumption of linens.

⁶² Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.118.

⁶³ *ibid*, pp.223-224.

⁶⁴ *ibid*. He commented that the cloth was 'beautifully finished yet nothing out of the ordinary', p.156.

⁶⁵ The Statistical Accounts of Scotland 1791-1845 for the town of Banff – Edina
www.stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/sas/sas.asp?action=public

contains some inaccuracies. It is also possible that cotton production was short lived and not recorded in the Old Statistical Account in the 1790s. Both he and Faujas saw cotton manufacturing in Perth so the two journals corroborate each other, though Faujas reported on more advanced technology than la Rochefoucauld had seen, such as machines for carding and spinning cotton, using Arkwright's technology.⁶⁶ Faujas, in an unusually frank admission, was told the machinery had been smuggled out of Manchester at night; Scotland was not lagging behind and was using all methods to remain competitive, including illegal strategies.

La Rochefoucauld's journal is also unusual in that he wrote of the personal interactions of those involved in trade in the Exchange in Glasgow and the coffee house where merchants met to aid the business negotiations.⁶⁷ Glasgow merchants had a history of meeting together to discuss common issues.⁶⁸ The construction of the Exchange building reflects the increase in importance of trade in the city when the first of the French travellers visited. This was associated with the Chamber of Commerce, founded in 1783, just three years earlier. The aim of the chamber was to improve the quality of goods produced. Investment and the current best use of capital was a feature of how Scottish enterprise was able to compete with other countries and to advance its economy. The close association creating networks between individuals underlines the cooperation of money, innovation and skills to advance business, a strong feature of the Scottish economy in the period.

Those mill towns situated near a major port or centre had an obvious advantage in marketing their produce, as la Rochefoucauld was at pains to note with Glasgow as a hub of trade and industry, which rivalled Manchester for cotton

⁶⁶ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, p.183. Richard Arkwright (1732-1792) creator of the modern factory system. See John Shaw, *Water Power in Scotland 1550-1870* (Edinburgh: Donald, c1984), p.317 and onwards.

⁶⁷ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.202 built in 1781. The Glasgow Chamber of Commerce was founded in 1783,

⁶⁸ Campbell, *Scotland since 1707*, p.68.

goods.⁶⁹ La Rochefoucauld emphasized that a high proportion of the production was exported abroad, predicting that trade 'will probably become even more widespread, as it increasingly benefits the town which has doubled' (in size).⁷⁰

He even reported extensively on the local trade. A regular packet-boat service went to Arran from Ayr and Irvine. In addition Ayr, conveyed local goods to and from Glasgow, and Dumbarton was navigable for small merchant ships as the Clyde was a mile wide there.⁷¹ He registered that the port at Inveraray had poorer harbour facilities as it was a less industrial town, and although there were quite good facilities at Fort Augustus and Fort William, there was limited trade.⁷² Similarly, Stranraer was a small port at the end of a loch, giving a natural, safe harbour.

Curiously, although he noted the daily packet-boats were the only link between Scotland and Ireland, la Rochefoucauld did not mention the level of trade with Ireland which accounted for about thirteen per cent of total Scottish exports in the period.⁷³ He may have been unable to converse with locals to find out this information. In all, la Rochefoucauld showed an unusually high degree of interest in the ports as it allowed him to see how important the waterways were to Scotland in conveying raw materials and finished products. This linked too with the ability to exploit markets overseas, a growing problem from then onwards for France.

La Rochefoucauld's journal contains quite exceptional details of financial interactions between towns. Paisley merchants with large scale enterprises had a substantial financial interest in Glasgow businesses while Glasgow merchants were linked to businesses in Paisley.⁷⁴ La Rochefoucauld credited London with financial input into the commerce of Paisley. Investment by individuals or groups was a key

⁶⁹ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p. 215, p.205.

⁷⁰ *ibid.* p.215.

⁷¹ *ibid.* p.220, p.216-217, p.198.

⁷² *ibid.* p.170 and p.177.

⁷³ See L.E. Cochran, *Scottish Trade with Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh: John Donald, c1985).

⁷⁴ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.210.

difference to the expansion of industry in Scotland, compared to France where government involvement was more important. The drawback in France was that government money was not forthcoming when priorities changed.

He made the link between increasing affluence and the textile trade, noting conspicuous consumption radiated out from Glasgow through to Paisley. The wealth from industry was having a ripple effect which stimulating demand and increasing investment to modernize agriculture, reflected in the enclosures and well maintained land. However, as he moved southwards, much of the textile industry was still based on cottage industry from Paisley to Ayr. The diminishing effect of the 'ripples' was even more evident at Stranraer where 'the sole trade of the place is the making of common cloth... the farmers are very poor, but better off than most people'.⁷⁵ The roads were also poorer as he travelled further from the large towns as he had found in the Highlands where there was little industry or commerce. La Rochefoucauld shrewdly noted that distances were still a barrier to transporting goods overland, much more so than by sea, hence the relatively slow development of the outlying districts although it has been argued that an entirely new road system was required in the Highlands by the end of the eighteenth century to cope with the increase in trade.⁷⁶ In 1821, Nodier noted a similar effect of wealth spreading out from Glasgow in the first few miles northwards towards Loch Lomond '*des plaines bien cultivées, garnies d'habitations élégantes ou de riches manufactures*' (well cultivated fields interspersed with elegant houses or rich factories).⁷⁷

The travellers' interest in Scottish industry was not confined to textiles. The heart of the industrial leap forward was in coal and iron production and a major source of rivalry between France and Britain. The Carron Company was established

⁷⁵ *ibid*, p.206 and p.217. Similarly at Ayr, he wrote there were only small businesses.

⁷⁶ Campbell, *Scotland since 1707*, p.71.

⁷⁷ Nodier, *Promenade*, pp.178-179.

in 1759 near Falkirk on a prime site, using the power of the river.⁷⁸ The first blast furnace began production in 1760 and a second the following year. Although manufacturing a wide range of iron casting, the main objective was to enter the lucrative business of cannon making. After initial problems, the company produced a new short-range, short-barrelled naval cannon, the carronade.⁷⁹ Faujas had already seen Carron's French equivalent, Le Creusot in Burgundy, so his journal allows for direct comparison of what he thought of each foundry. While still in England, he wrote in his journal that Le Creusot would soon rival 'the best works of that kind in England'. Rebuilt in 1782, Le Creusot was the single main iron works in France, while Carron was only one of a number in Britain built around that time.⁸⁰ Faujas wrote that Le Creusot was 'truly worthy of a great nation'. It was, however, a smaller development than Carron, despite its advantageous site amidst vast deposits of iron.⁸¹ France had other small scale iron production; most of the small villages in the Haute-Marne area had iron foundries during the 1700s and 1800s employing local workers.⁸² It is somewhat ironic that an Englishman, John Wilkinson, advised the government over the construction of Le Creusot and the development of its iron industry in the 1780, but the ironworks only reached about half capacity, experiencing a difficult and chaotic period during the Revolution and the wars of the Empire, and it never rivalled Carron.⁸³

⁷⁸ The Carron company was one of the largest iron works in Europe through the 19th century.

⁷⁹ The 1765 contract to supply guns to the British Navy was lost in 1773.

⁸⁰ Others include Coalbrookdale in Shropshire, Blaenavon Ironworks in Wales. Cyfarthfa Ironworks and Dowlais Ironworks Merthyr Tydfil, in South Wales.

⁸¹ The first industrial enterprises were created in 1774 and pig iron was smelted with coke in 1782. During the Napoleonic wars, the foundry at Le Creusot manufactured guns – a later development than at Carron.

⁸² For example the chateau de Cirey had two iron foundries, employing local workers.

⁸³ John Wilkinson, 1728 – 1808. From the 1780s, there was major industrial activity at Le Creusot, including steel, mining, ceramics, glassworks and transportation. My translation. Le site touristique Le Creusot en Bourgogne http://www.lecreusot.com/site/decouvrir/histoire/fonderie_royale/fonderie.php [Accessed January 2014].

Faujas was the only traveller to visit Carron as it was difficult to gain access, making his report all the more valuable historically.⁸⁴ When he visited the iron works at Carron, he wrote it was the greatest iron-foundry in Europe, clearly indicating Carron's importance. He devoted thirteen pages in his journal to his description of Carron, giving a detailed picture of many processes and products. These pages augment knowledge of agriculture and manufacturing in the period. At the ironworks Faujas had to give personal details before being admitted, as industrial secrets were carefully guarded and was only allowed access to some areas of the foundry.⁸⁵ Faujas saw a great variety of tools being produced at Carron; many were much needed agricultural implements.⁸⁶ It is interesting that in the textile factories, even the early travellers saw much new metal machinery in use, implying that cash investment or credit was available where profit seemed to be assured. On the other hand, investment had not reached more remote areas where the peasant farmers could not afford modern farm implements or tools from Carron.

As at Carron, Le Creusot was developed at a coal-mining site. The coal industry particularly impressed the travellers, especially Faujas, as little coal was used in France. Coal mining in France was on a very small scale, worked by a handful of miners.⁸⁷ Faujas thought the French government should divert away from wood, a limited but heavily used resource, and exploit coal.⁸⁸ Much of Scotland's coal was used in urban households for domestic fires; Faujas quotes Benjamin Franklin who had stated that coal made lives of workers in Britain more comfortable than in France where people had to stay in bed and used up all their savings to try to heat themselves during cold spells.⁸⁹ The later travellers noted the effect coal was

⁸⁴ Faujas was taken by an acquaintance, Dr. Schwediaur.

⁸⁵ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.182.

⁸⁶ *ibid*, Volume I p.161. He saw the carronade.

⁸⁷ Cobban, *A History of Modern France*, pp. 44-45.

⁸⁸ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.155.

⁸⁹ *ibid*. Volume I, pp.156-7.

having on the buildings and public spaces. Simond was appalled and surprised when he saw how coal caused smoke and dirt, writing that the ‘black snow sticks to your clothes and linen’.⁹⁰ However, in Glasgow, Nodier wrote of the cathedral ‘*le ton noir et solennel de murailles*’, (the black and solemn tones of the walls) due to coal dust and smoke clinging to the building.⁹¹ He was recording the use of coal in the factories when he climbed behind the cathedral and saw ‘*fumer les longues cheminées des manufactures*’ (the long factory chimneys smoking) which he contrasted to the river bank ‘*ces bords délicieux de la Clyde*’ (these delightful banks of the Clyde).⁹² He was aware of industrialization but commented obliquely.

As industry developed, there was an increasing need for coal.⁹³ This was not confined to steam power and iron smelting but energy was used as heat in many applications which required boiling, brewing and melting.⁹⁴ Glasshouses, copper works and lead works all consumed vast quantities of coal. Steam power created from coal was also used, ironically, to pump water out of mines from about 1715.⁹⁵

Much of the information about coal extraction was given by Faujas. He was initially impressed by the different qualities of coal.⁹⁶ However, the technology used in the mines is most revealing. Faujas wrote of track ways, the fore runner of railways, with carts which La Rochefoucauld calls ‘tumbrils’.⁹⁷ Faujas quickly realised that it made coal production cheaper and much more efficient as it required less time, effort and manpower to shift the coal. Not surprisingly, he felt that coal was part of the reason why Britain was so wealthy and powerful.

⁹⁰ Simond, *An American*, p.33. This was in London.

⁹¹ Nodier, *Promenade*, p.167 and p.168.

⁹² *ibid*, p.170, p173.

⁹³ For the distribution of the main Scottish coalfields and the main routes of the coal trade in the eighteenth century see *The Ordnance Survey Atlas of Great Britain* (London: The Hamlyn Group, 1982), p.155.

⁹⁴ Coal had been used in the heating of brewing vats before the eighteenth century and from the 1780s, it was used to grind malt and raise water.

⁹⁵ John Rule, *The Vital Century: England's Developing Economy 1714-1815* (London: Longman,1992), p.111-2.

⁹⁶ See Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p134 onwards.

⁹⁷ Scarfe, *Highlands*, pp.83-84.

The use of coal, coke and the latest machinery and technology had allowed the metal industry to develop to an advanced level. Faujas wrote of coke manufacture in France and was clearly keen to find out more about how it was produced in Scotland.⁹⁸ Faujas saw the raw materials for metal production in Tyndrum, where there was lead and iron ore, and a foundry and a processing plant using charcoal and peat along with coal. This expedient was used to reduce costs. Faujas asked about proportions of coal to peat but was ignored.⁹⁹ Once again, the private journal reveals much more through the comments of the individual experiences of the writer than mere facts.

In Scotland, Faujas saw coke making in Carron, an industrial product for iron smelting which he acknowledged was superior to charcoal.¹⁰⁰ Faujas also saw coke made from coal dust for smelting. Faujas rode round the Firth of Forth, past Alloa, Clackmannan and Culross, above one of the largest and most important coal deposits in Scotland, where he wrote that the coal was of very high quality, describing rich mines of coal extending far out under the sea over 100 feet below the surface.¹⁰¹ He noted that steam engines raised the water out of the pits, guarding against the few leaks.¹⁰² Again, the modern organization and equipment created a sophisticated development of coal extraction, especially the steam pumps to keep the coal works dry.¹⁰³ La Rochefoucauld also referred to different types of coal, and around Haddington he knew of mines 'of very good coal'.¹⁰⁴ Faujas mentioned parrot coal which he found burned with a very bright flame but died more

⁹⁸ *ibid*, Volume I, p.153.

⁹⁹ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, pp.151-154.

¹⁰⁰ *ibid*, Volume I, pp. p.152-4.

¹⁰¹ For details of the eighteenth century conditions, see *A General View of the Coal Trade of Scotland Chiefly that of the River Forth and Midlothian*. By Robert Bald, Alloa, Civil Engineer and Mineral Surveyor; Member of the Wernerian Natural History Society of Edinburgh, and Honorary Member of the Geological Society of London, 1812 Alloa, August 14, 1808, accessed on the Scottish Mining Website, <http://www.scottishmining.co.uk/498.html> [Accessed January 2014].

¹⁰² Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p197.

¹⁰³ *ibid*, Volume I, pp.197 -198. possibly a Newcomen steam engine, invented in 1712.

¹⁰⁴ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.105.

quickly.¹⁰⁵ Faujas counted fifteen coal pits within a mile of each other between St Andrews and Largo, beds of considerable depth of excellent coal. Leven and Dysart, he noted, were fairly large villages with several collieries nearby, employing 'a great number of persons' and that Kirkcaldy was 'a considerable burgh'.¹⁰⁶ In contrast, he found that in St Andrews, industry was stagnating as there was no investment to sink a pit.¹⁰⁷ Interestingly, Faujas wrote a paper on coal which appeared in 1790, presumably including knowledge he had gained in Britain.¹⁰⁸ La Rochefoucauld had found out that the Scottish coal bed was vast. It has been estimated that in the first half of the eighteenth century about one fifth of British coal was produced in Scotland and Wales, rising by 1800 to one quarter. Most of Scotland's production was used at home for industry and fuel.¹⁰⁹ La Rochefoucauld predicted that there was 'probably enough to last about 1000 years' but added that Scottish coal seemed to be generally '*less hard*' than English coal and so was less desirable for heating purposes. Although he did not make the connection, this was why coal was imported from England. On the other hand, he was aware of some Scottish coal from a different seam which was smooth and polished like jade, and sold in the luxury market in London.¹¹⁰

As the travellers were aware, coal was what made other modern industries viable throughout Scotland. However, coal was expensive because of transport costs and taxes, factors constraining development in more isolated areas and for industries with less capital investment. La Rochefoucauld saw that in Aberdeen colliers brought coal from Newcastle, noting that a tax of 3s 3d per ton was raised on English coal after a point between Arbroath and Montrose, making it more

¹⁰⁵ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.207.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.* Volume II, pp. 214-215.

¹⁰⁷ Faujas, *Travels* Volume II, pp. 207-8. His notes are based on observation. La Rochefoucauld's notes rely on speaking to others.

¹⁰⁸ Faujas, *Essai Sur Le Goudron Du Charbon De Terre* (Paris, L'Imprimerie Royale, 1790).

¹⁰⁹ John Rule, *The Vital Century*, p.112.

¹¹⁰ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.150.

expensive than Scottish coal. This was to discourage the export of English coal and to 'preserve to English manufacturers the advantage of this superior coal'.¹¹¹

Despite the costs, the obviously well organised system of coal delivery to various ports around the country added to the efficiency of Scottish industry, as la Rochefoucauld noted; the Monkland canal brought coal from inland, returning with goods. He noted the construction of the Forth and Clyde Canal, reaching the Firth of Forth near Edinburgh and within a mile of Glasgow but not yet linked to the River Clyde. Although little trade was going through the canals, La Rochefoucauld was shrewd enough to see the full trading potential of the canal system when both seas would be linked, benefitting the whole of Scotland. He made the connection that when the canals were operational it would cut down loss of ships at sea.¹¹² These references were made with the background knowledge that in canal building, France had been ahead in the seventeenth century, but failed to keep up.

Faujas made a number of individual comparisons with what he knew of France. He mentioned that Marseilles needed coal for the manufacture of soap, but the local coal was poor and was transported several miles overland to the factories so that local supplies were unable to compete with British coal on price or quality. He was clearly well grounded in the needs and deficiencies of French industry and was noting information to take back to France.¹¹³ Although Faujas did not refer to it, France could and did import coal from England and Belgium, but she used less coal because she had less industrial need for coal.¹¹⁴

The French coal industry developed in the late eighteenth century, well behind the Scottish industry. Coal had been mined locally, for example, in Burgundy. As late as 1781, the coal-mining site of Le Creusot began to be fully

¹¹¹ *ibid*, p.86.

¹¹² Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.204.

¹¹³ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.145.

¹¹⁴ The Economy of France at the Time of the Industrial Revolution. San José State University Department of Economics <http://www.applet-magic.com/france0.htm> [Accessed December 2014].

exploited. France had severe geographical problems in extracting coal. Nor could it be transported to where it was needed; France lacked sufficient canals to link rivers and often road access to the sea was poor.¹¹⁵ What both la Rochefoucauld and Faujas realized was that canals moved goods faster and more cheaply than roads. A fully loaded canal boat required only one horse and one or two men, thus reducing transport costs and lowering the final price of goods, especially heavy goods like coal.¹¹⁶ As part of the advances of industrialization, canals were being built in Scotland specifically to link mines directly to factories or the sea, unlike roads which meandered between existing villages. Canals were available for most of the year, while roads were often impassable due to weather conditions.

From the first visits onwards, the travellers showed a keen interest in all aspects of water transportation. They noted investment in Scotland to develop ports in tandem with industrial towns. Import and export needs were increasing the volume of traffic, requiring bigger boats and better harbour facilities. La Rochefoucauld saw a correlation between harbours, trade and the wealth of towns. Even Nodier noted that Glasgow had increased in size '*par son commerce et par ses manufactures*' (through its commerce and its manufacturing).¹¹⁷

They were aware that the western sea board traded with Ireland and the New World. Glasgow merchants had their quays in Port Glasgow, wrote la Rochefoucauld, along with Greenock. Irvine, he thought, was a considerable port, taking large, three-masted vessels.¹¹⁸ The River Clyde he saw was navigable for small merchant ships of seven or eight tons to Glasgow itself but low bridges were a restriction. Tolls were charged, indicating the volume of traffic.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.155.

¹¹⁶ A typical barge measured 195ft by 35ft and carried to 1,500 tons of cargo.

¹¹⁷ Nodier, *Promenade*, p.166.

¹¹⁸ Port Glasgow was founded in 1668 and became known as Port Glasgow in 1775.

¹¹⁹ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.199 & p.201.

In addition to harbours, ports and canals, the increased transport needs required a supply of ships and the travellers made a number of observations on boat building, all showing a link to France, where one third of commerce was by land, the rest by sea. Most significant were where the dry docks in Leith, where La Rochefoucauld noted several experimental boats being built.¹²⁰ He was able to deduce that although the Berwick building yard on the quay was small, it was immensely useful. On a really significant note, Faujas realised that the large numbers of ships created a pool of seamen and vessels for the navy for times of war; war and manpower were great concerns of the French in their struggle for dominance in the eighteenth century.¹²¹

New scientific information was of great interest to the travellers especially in conjunction with new manufacturing opportunities and the journals recorded recent discoveries. What Faujas could learn about vitriol (sulphuric acid) was vital both in the manufacturing race and for military purposes.¹²² Here journals play a vital role in not only revealing topical interests but also demonstrating how information about them could spread through personal interactions. Dr. Swediaur, a friend of Faujas, had built a factory near Prestonpans to produce oil of vitriol.¹²³ Faujas knew vitriol was manufactured in France and must have been disappointed to be unable to take more information to France as some processes were concealed.

The journals allow insight into other areas of rising industrial activity through brief, almost casual references to manufactures which could otherwise be overlooked, such as paper making and liquor. La Rochefoucauld wrote, for example, that Ayr had a large tile-works, indicative of the expansion in construction both of

¹²⁰ Scarfe, *Highlands*, pp.119-120. Created by lock gates for the construction and repair of ships.

¹²¹ Scarfe, *Highlands* p.100. Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.138.

¹²² Sulphuric acid, used in fertilizers, paints, pigments, dyes, detergents, explosives, petroleum, refining, & metallurgical processes, developed commercially by Joshua Ward c.1740.

¹²³ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.175, p.177.

factories and houses.¹²⁴ La Rochefoucauld noted some of the lesser industries, such as glass making, soap and candles.¹²⁵ Lime, an importance substance in agriculture, was also used in glass making and several of the travellers noted limekilns. Lime was used in glassmaking in the Lothians, but none of the travellers noted that.¹²⁶

Overall, the journals show how much the travellers noticed and recorded of Scottish industry, raising the question whether the purpose of the journals was industrial espionage. There was clearly an atmosphere of suspicion at many factories when the first two travellers came to Scotland.¹²⁷ French travellers to Britain were encouraged to take back any useful technological advances in the latest industrial developments.¹²⁸ Faujas bought some linen to carry to France ‘by way of models’, and bought an instrument to check fineness of texture of the cloth and took it to France ‘where they soon multiplied’.¹²⁹ La Rochefoucauld made detailed drawings and descriptions of what he saw which Scarfe puts down to inquisitiveness but must surely be connected to what his father wanted to find out. The process of technology and enterprise transfer can be viewed as an on-going, inevitable process while noting and passing on information is arguably the Enlightenment approach to the dissemination of knowledge.¹³⁰ Faujas himself emphasized that one nation could learn from another.¹³¹ Much of the suspicion of the entrepreneurs towards the French travellers was due to the fact no-one was

¹²⁴ *ibid.* p.216.

¹²⁵ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.121. La Rochefoucauld saw a Scottish family making window glass in Newcastle. Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.86.

¹²⁶ Faujas saw a limekiln in operation near Inveraray. Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, pp.275-6. The French MacDonald saw a limekiln on the island of Lismore. Hache, *MacDonald*, p.173.

¹²⁷ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, p.261 and footnote. He was not allowed into factories in Manchester because of a French colonel trying to obtain plans of machines for cotton production in the mills.

¹²⁸ Nadine Smith, *Industrial Transfer between Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century. Industrial Revolution in Britain: Seminar Papers – 2002* <http://www1.umassd.edu/ir/papers/2002/2002.cfm> [Accessed May 2014].

¹²⁹ Faujas’ words. Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, pp.83-4, & Volume II, p.184.

¹³⁰ Devine, Lee & Peden, *The Transformation of Scotland*, introduction p.4.

¹³¹ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.140 onwards.

above stealing new technology.¹³² Indeed, Faujas quite openly mentioned William Wilkinson, a collaborator to the French government.¹³³ Faujas would have been aware that it was illegal for Britons to take machine parts abroad or go abroad to collaborate with entrepreneurs in other countries but his Enlightenment enthusiasm for the advancement of science may have overwhelmed his sensibilities.

The background to the visits of Faujas and la Rochefoucauld suggests that their motive in writing the journals was to aid industry at home. French machinery was poor quality as technical knowledge was lacking. Some had to be imported to France at a high cost, often from Britain, along with British workers to help with running and maintenance. It seems probable that Faujas took advantage of opportunities to gather knowledge on an ad hoc basis. He took up a royal appointment shortly after his return to France, involving forestry, armaments and factories so it appears that he may have passed on information to the government. La Rochefoucauld's motives were more complex. He later set up a factory in France spinning and manufacturing cloth, so personal gain was involved.¹³⁴ His father tried to present a paper from the boy's journal at court to encourage royal investment. As with Faujas, this could be interpreted as a patriotic desire to spread learning.

The later eighteenth century has been recognized as a period of inexorable expansion of the market economy, of trade and capitalism in Europe, particularly through international trade.¹³⁵ The journals from that period concentrate heavily on the main industries of Scotland. The Union of Scotland with England had eliminated many tax barriers, thus making Scottish exports cheaper, creating an incentive to

¹³² Faujas was told that some machinery had been smuggled out of Manchester at night *ibid*, Volume II, p.183.

¹³³ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.154. Wilkinson went to France in 1777 at the behest of the French government.

¹³⁴ Scarfe, *Highlands*, see Scarfe's notes p.247.

¹³⁵ George Lefebvre in Alan Forrest, & Peter Jones, (eds.), *Reshaping France: Town, country and region during the French Revolution* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1991), p.3.

expand; having made a slow start, French textile merchants could not compete internationally on price, so their market share dropped.¹³⁶

France grappled with a number of historic prejudices regarding the flow of money and capital. The French disliked a high national debt and there was a school of thought that Britain was really a very poor country as it ran such a large national debt. Coupled with an aversion to running a deficit, there was a deep French distrust of paper money. Prior to 1789, the monarchy funded an extravagant lifestyle, including ruinous wars, by running up huge debts which it was unable to service, thus taking out funds from the economy of the country. Some old fashioned prejudices still held some sway in France even towards the latter quarter of the eighteenth century. Charging interest was a form of usury, forbidden by the Church. This inhibited the use of credit, an essential element of investment.¹³⁷ Civil society in France struggled for financial independence to promote economic growth to the extent already attained in Scotland.

The beginning of the final quarter of the eighteenth century was a period of intense economic rivalry between France and Britain, as the journals suggest, especially in the areas of coal and iron production where France was catching up. The journals show the preoccupation of Faujas and la Rochefoucauld with the need to emulate Scottish industrial success. However, the conflict during the Revolution was detrimental to the economy, due to civil disturbances, military operations and the maritime conflicts which from 1792 caused economic development in some sectors to collapse. It is impossible to overestimate the influence of the following years, but taking a purely statistical approach has its dangers.¹³⁸ For the Atlantic

¹³⁶ The textile industries of Normandy had suffered badly under the free trade agreement of 1786 between Britain and France.

¹³⁷ See Amalia D. Kessler, *A Revolution in Commerce. The Parisian Merchant Court and the Rise of Commercial Society in eighteenth Century France* (Yale University: 2007), pp.191-2.

¹³⁸ Butel refers to J.-Cl. Perrot 'Voies nouvelles pour l'histoire économique de la Révolution', *Annales historiques de la Révolution Française* (1975), pp.30-65.

ports and the continental cities, the impact varied, a point developed below. Some older textile industries like woollen and linen producing areas declined from mid-century, while the new industries like cotton were doing well, on the whole.¹³⁹ By the close of the century, there was relatively rapid progress in cotton manufacturing, with a growing European concentration of the industry, in northern and eastern France and beyond. Under the Directory (1795 – 1799) then under Napoleon, the woollen and silk industries revived rapidly in Paris and the north and east. France developed its internal market for cotton and introduced protectionist measures. French firms had been able to retain their reputation for fine goods up until close to the end of the century by shipping high value articles, but French commerce was too dependent on protected colonial trade and high end consumption.¹⁴⁰

What followed in France is the background to the later travellers' outlook in their journals. By 1800, industrial output had barely reached 60 percent of its pre-1789 level.¹⁴¹ There was a spectacular rise in new industries but the Terror interrupted business, opportunities diminished sharply for entrepreneurs in commercial ventures and accumulation of capital for future investment. On the plus side, 1798 produced the best vintage of the century, and through efficient merchant networks on the European market, French wine sold well in North Germany. Capital moved into viniculture, generating good profits from high quality wines.¹⁴²

The journals emphasized transportation by water and the development of shipping facilities generally because Britain largely controlled the seas, which impacted upon France in two ways. Firstly, Britain monopolized overseas markets, most importantly with America, and the French wars forced most French industries to look inward towards the national market. Privateers and war made colonial trade

¹³⁹ Jones, *The Great Nation*, p.358.

¹⁴⁰ Butel, 'Revolution and the urban economy', p.46-7, p.43.

¹⁴¹ *ibid*, p.46.

¹⁴² *ibid*, p.47, p.45.

virtually impossible for France after 1793.¹⁴³ Secondly, there was a drift of industries from the seaboard to the heartlands as the ports lost their *raison d'être*.¹⁴⁴ Tonnage in other countries was growing but French tonnage did not, due to the comparatively low level of investment in shipping, with French tonnage lagging behind other nations, especially Britain, revealing a lower level of overseas trade.¹⁴⁵

In Paris, the resilience of the merchants played a key role in the increase in trade at the end of the eighteenth century; many moved from provincial areas, often from Atlantic bourgeoisie, stimulating the new trade, although this does not suggest an upturn in production.¹⁴⁶ French merchants went to America, especially from Bordeaux, and Americans settled in Bordeaux during the Revolutionary Wars, indicating translocation rather than trade disruption.¹⁴⁷

The journals contain many references to money, reflecting the fact that commercial finance was a major concern in France, with fear of credit after the collapse of John Law's banking schemes in 1721.¹⁴⁸ Even by the 1820s, the Bank of France had no provincial branches, almost no savings or checking accounts, and potential customers preferred to lodge their capital savings with notaries. The contrast made in the journals to investment in Scotland is that French banks would not risk lending to new industrial or commercial enterprises as they were small family businesses and often the banker was also a merchant. Joint-stock companies had been defined by the Commercial Code of 1807 but mobilizing capital was not easy. Stocks and bonds were limited by the high brokerage fees charged.

¹⁴³ John Chase, 'War on trade and trade on war: Stephen Jumel and New York maritime commerce (1793-1815)', *Bulletin du Centre d'Histoire des Espaces Atlantiques*, 4 (1988), pp. 793-822.

¹⁴⁴ Butel, 'Revolution and the urban economy'. Butel opines that trade dislocation in the inland sector in cities was less marked than in the Atlantic port cities, p.45-6.

¹⁴⁵ Foreign tonnage was double that of France by 1830.

¹⁴⁶ Butel, 'Revolution and the urban economy', p.47.

¹⁴⁷ *ibid*, p.48. Butel quotes J. Chase.

¹⁴⁸ John Law (1671-1729) a Scotsman, who set up France's first national bank in 1716.

The concentration in the early journals on Glasgow was due to its strong trading capacity in items which France also imported. Three imported commodities, tobacco, sugar and cotton had created a lasting and complex manufacturing economy which diversified through the nineteenth century. Glasgow had grown in the eighteenth century into a city of commerce originally through the American tobacco trade. City merchants began to dominate the tobacco trade to Europe after 1740. By the 1770s Glasgow had almost cornered the British tobacco market; la Rochefoucauld noted that the city had previously processed almost one third of the world's tobacco. The Glasgow tobacco lords made money from re-exporting tobacco through Scottish ports and by handling the domestic demand. In the 1760s more than half of all Scottish exports by value were in tobacco.¹⁴⁹ Glasgow, Greenock and Port Glasgow imported huge quantities of tobacco, more than all the English towns combined in particular years.¹⁵⁰ However, it is important to recognize that the trade was so financially demanding that a mere handful of entrepreneurs was deeply involved directly but the impact of the trade on the city and its surroundings was enormous as it created the dynamic situation the travellers noted.¹⁵¹

The outbreak of the American War of Independence in 1775 marked the decline of the tobacco trade, as la Rochefoucauld noted. American planters were heavily in debt to the Glasgow merchants and Glasgow fleets were seriously threatened by hostile action, so monies owed could not be collected. In 1783 when peace came, the now independent United States sent tobacco directly to Europe, bypassing Glasgow. La Rochefoucauld's information about the diversion onto trade in other commodities makes interesting reading.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ T. M. Devine, *The tobacco lords : a study of the tobacco merchants of Glasgow and their trading activities, c. 1740-90* (Edinburgh : John Donald, 1975). See table for April to July 1775, p.65.

¹⁵⁰ *ibid.* table p.108.

¹⁵¹ *ibid.*, p.4.

¹⁵² Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.205. Gleaned from conversation with John Millar (1735-1801), Professor of Law at Glasgow University.

The sugar trade of Glasgow was as old as the tobacco trade. Importing and refining of West Indian sugar became a major industry in Greenock and Glasgow. Surprisingly, la Rochefoucauld made no mention of the trade in Glasgow. French importation of sugar was so great that it was distributed throughout France and Europe, so perhaps he felt France was ahead in that market or he saw little worthy of mention. He did, however, remark on a sugar refinery on the quay in Aberdeen so he had probably been unaware that the sugar trade existed there.¹⁵³ An estimated 600 French ships per year were involved in the trade, at the time when la Rochefoucauld visited Scotland, carrying sugar, coffee, cotton and indigo to France and on the outward journey supplying the islands with food, flour, wine, salted meat and oils.¹⁵⁴ Disruption of this circular trade had severe consequences for the French economy and although there were hopes of the trade reviving whenever there were peace negotiations, these were largely unfulfilled.¹⁵⁵

It is against this background that the later French travellers of the early nineteenth century recorded in their journals how industry was advancing in Scotland in comparison to France. By 1821 for example, textile production of various types accounted for around 89 per cent of all recorded employment in Scotland.¹⁵⁶ However, these travellers were increasingly less involved in the economics of industry so less analysis can be drawn from their journals. Even Simond, who was in the rum trade, which depended on sugar, did not comment directly on trade or movement of goods. Nodier pretended the industrial scene did not impinge on him, virtually denying its existence. The French MacDonald was a wealthy consumer, benefiting from the progress of the previous generations without rejecting the need for progress.

¹⁵³ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.150.

¹⁵⁴ Butel 'Revolution and the urban economy', pp.38-9. The French half of Santo Domingo was important before the 1791 slave revolt and the 1793 naval war.

¹⁵⁵ As in 1797 and 1801-2.

¹⁵⁶ Whatley, *The Experience of Work*, p.232

In the post-Enlightenment era, Simond and the French MacDonald visited cotton mills near Glasgow as sightseers. Cotton manufacture had overtaken the linen industry since the earlier travellers had reported on the textile industry and had developed on a truly industrial basis, but mainly on the west coast of Scotland, due to a variety of factors, but mainly the American War in 1776. The west coast was clearly suited to take up cotton manufacture as the raw materials were imported and the finished goods exported through the already thriving ports trading with America. The entire infrastructure needed to move into cotton production from the skills and technology of linen production was already in place.¹⁵⁷ La Rochefoucauld had been aware that the profits of Scottish merchants had been rerouted into mills on the demise of the tobacco trade.¹⁵⁸ Capital from previous enterprises was transferred into purpose-built factories producing cotton fabrics, using the latest equipment and techniques, although it has been argued that the movement of resources into the cotton industry was less significant than previously supposed. This may be because only a small proportion of Glasgow's merchants were regularly involved in the tobacco trade, with the big three syndicates headed by William Cuninghame, Alexander Speirs and John Glassford; presumably others, perhaps many, moved in and out of the business.¹⁵⁹ The tobacco merchants invested in other industries, for example in rope works and sugar houses.¹⁶⁰ It is not disputed that there was much interaction between merchants in different fields; enterprise and the latest technology were key components of the Scottish economy, using capital, business expertise and transport systems honed in earlier enterprises. Scotland also

¹⁵⁷ Shaw, *Water Power in Scotland*, p.317.

¹⁵⁸ Scarfe, *Highlands*, pp.204-205. The tobacco trade had been taken over by England

¹⁵⁹ Tobacco Lords

<http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/scotlandshistory/jacobitesenlightenmentclearances/tobacco/index.asp> [Accessed October 2014].

¹⁶⁰ Campbell, *Scotland since 1707*, pp.41-42.

benefitted from the fact that cotton could also be imported from India, thus bypassing the Atlantic route and keeping business operating more reliably.

Having left France around 1790, Simond seemed to have had little experience of factories either in France or in America and described his factory visits just as he wrote about other social visits. In 1810 in Glasgow, he saw the advances in the cotton industry. He waxed lyrical about the machines, carding and spinning mills, weaving mills, 'mills for everything', noting the machines had greatly increased production from 4 or 5 yards of cloth per day to 48 yards.¹⁶¹ This makes a stark contrast to the home weaver twenty five years earlier who wove half a yard per day.¹⁶² His description is not limited to physical details of the building; by using the flexibility of the journal format, he is able to give a personal impression of the sights and sounds of the factories which would otherwise have been lost. He was amazed by the 'prodigious establishment' at New Lanark; the factory was state of the art technologically and socially, the vision of one individual who carried his dream through from start to finish, catering for all needs of workers and management. The town of New Lanark was so well established by Simond's visit in 1810 that he was unaware that the mills, houses and support structures of the town had been created in 1785.¹⁶³ In a similar way, the Duke of Argyll, one of the most modernizing of the Scottish landowners, had earlier created Inveraray as a planned town, combining employment and accommodation to keep people on the estate but, crucially to ensure an income for himself. La Rochefoucauld jokingly wrote of 'fifty activities all year round'.¹⁶⁴ Such planned villages were not a significant feature of French industrialization of the period, again due to lack of investment and lack of innovative

¹⁶¹ Simond, *An American*, pp.77-78.

¹⁶² Scarfe, *Highlands*, pp.134-5. a craftsman was paid 3 shillings per yard, earning 1/6 per day, implying he wove half a yard per day.

¹⁶³ For the distribution of planned villages in Scotland, see *The Ordnance Survey Atlas of Great Britain* (London: The Hamlyn Group, 1982), p.153. The most concentrated period of the creation of new towns or planned villages was between 1770 and 1819.

¹⁶⁴ Woollen manufacture built 1776, linen manufacture around 1748. Statistical Account for Scotland.

approaches to manufacturing. La Rochefoucauld saw the potential of economic cooperation between landowner and people and used it as a model in France. The opinions and thoughts he added to the basic description of what he saw increase the value of the journal to the historian.

Textile work was no longer a cottage industry to supplement a farming income. Simond recorded defined working hours for the workforce from 6am to 7pm, with an hour and a quarter for a meal break. These units were the new face of industry, creating the factory system where owners could regulate the workers, control the quality, respond to market needs and produce regular quantities, by forcing set hours, not attuned to the demands of agriculture. The units required capital investment, which was more forthcoming in Scotland than in France.

The journals of the nineteenth century travellers show a marked change in attitudes towards factory work. They were beguiled visually by the new phenomenon of large factories. Simond and the French MacDonald were visiting show factories and taken on conducted tours. Factory proprietors earlier were often troubled by visitors.¹⁶⁵ The earlier French travellers had been less welcome in factories, requiring letters of introduction or a contact.¹⁶⁶ La Rochefoucauld gained entry to a mill with a letter from Mr Millar.¹⁶⁷ In Prestonpans, Faujas went to see a friend's factory. In Perth, he was taken to various factories with two college professors.¹⁶⁸

The luxury end of the textile market was an area just beginning to be exploited in the late eighteenth century; by creating an enormous range of samples which changed repeatedly 'at great expense', la Rochefoucauld had earlier

¹⁶⁵ Apparently a French visitor had stolen secrets from the factory. Faujas recorded in England that at one factory, the policy was not to permit entry to visitors.

¹⁶⁶ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.205.

¹⁶⁷ *ibid.* p.212. Mr Millar, professor of Law at Glasgow University. Adam Smith had written a letter for la Rochefoucauld.

¹⁶⁸ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, pp.175-176. Volume II, pp.181-2. Mr. McComie, professor of Maths at Perth Academy, the first in Scotland formed in 1760 by town council, and Mr. McGregor who taught French.

concluded that Paisley competed easily with Manchester. What the French MacDonald noted in 1825 confirmed this trend was continuing.¹⁶⁹ He wrote that a factory near Glasgow, owned by M. Montis, produced painted handkerchiefs.¹⁷⁰ He also saw muslin, sheared with fire and the mechanised embroidery in Glasgow in the factory of a M. Mirolt.¹⁷¹ The huge increase in cotton production and export was due to the fashion trade opening up a vast market for many fancy fabrics in silk and cotton, including ironically to France.¹⁷² The increase in urban dwellers accounted for much of the increased consumption. Johnstone, for example, was built as a mill town in 1782 beside Paisley along with several more mills nearby, contributing to a big increase in both production and consumption.

From the earliest reports, the travellers were aware that the factories in Scotland employed mainly children and females; they formed 61% of the workforce in Scottish mills, with child labour levels higher in Glasgow than in Lancashire.¹⁷³ The travellers saw few adults in the factories, which kept costs down; usually two or three men as quality control supervised the children in each room. The time span of the journals in this study with their wealth of detail gives insight into the changing attitudes towards the practice. La Rochefoucauld had seen machines working round the clock, controlled by children in a day shift and a night shift but he showed no concern about the health of the children, even stating in his journal that the use of child labour was what made the industry thrive.¹⁷⁴ This is surprising as la Rochefoucauld senior worked tirelessly for poor people but perhaps he wanted to reassure his father that what he saw was not exploitative, as he added details of the

¹⁶⁹ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.186.

¹⁷⁰ This was probably Henry Monteith's factory at Blantyre, a descendant of James Monteith, a pioneer in muslin weaving who collaborated with Arkwright. See Campbell, *Scotland since 1707*, p.81 & p.83.

¹⁷¹ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.185. c.f. Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.211, illustration.

¹⁷² Scarfe, *Highlands*, pp.210-211.

¹⁷³ Whatley, *The Industrial Revolution in Scotland*, pp.73-74.

¹⁷⁴ In Johnstone, Scarfe, *Highlands*, pp.213-5.

new housing and the prosperity the mills were bringing.¹⁷⁵ Simond, nearly thirty years later, certainly had serious doubts about the high use of child labour as he wrote, 'The laws should interfere between avarice and nature', marking the transition towards increasing concern about children working in factories in the early nineteenth century.¹⁷⁶ Although he thought that eleven hours was too much for children, he still retained an attitude that would be unacceptable now, writing: 'I must acknowledge, ... that the little creatures we saw did not look ill,' adding too that the children who walked four miles each day to and from Lanark were healthier.

Faujas had been quite explicit that he found factories and workplaces in Britain much less ostentatious than in France but Simond paints an astonishing picture of the factory buildings in the nineteenth century. He described New Lanark as a great complex of four buildings each four stories high with 2,500 workers.¹⁷⁷ He was able to compare Manchester and Glasgow factories; both required heat and confined air, which clogged the lungs with floating particles of cotton, though he thought the factories in Birmingham were less unhealthy than those in Scotland as there was some means of smoke extraction.¹⁷⁸

As regards factory products, the journals give specific examples how metal working was increasing and diversifying. Although Simond noted few domestic metal utensils in a house in Killin in 1810, despite what Faujas had seen being produced thirty years earlier, this may not have been representative of the spread of metal goods in wealthier houses.¹⁷⁹ By 1825, the French MacDonald noted the use of metal in Glasgow in public spaces where he saw an iron footpath and an iron pedestrian bridge.¹⁸⁰ Metal work had also gone from the practical to the decorative,

¹⁷⁵ See Mariana Saad, 'Le réseau franco-britannique du *Recueil Duquesnoy*'.

¹⁷⁶ Simond, *An American*, pp.77-78.

¹⁷⁷ See Shaw, *Water Power in Scotland*, p.319.

¹⁷⁸ Simond, *An American*, pp.118-119. pp. 77-78.

¹⁷⁹ *ibid*, p 79.

¹⁸⁰ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.185.

from direct military use to the ornamental as the upper class had invested more in their country estates; he saw two small pieces of artillery at Scone Castle near Perth merely as ostentatious decoration.¹⁸¹

The French MacDonald's visit at the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century marks further advances in building with the completion of two new canals. By using the Caledonian Canal, his journey from Inverness to Oban was made much easier than la Rochefoucauld's trip forty years earlier.¹⁸² The original strategic and industrial importance had diminished but the naval cutter at his disposal shows its potential for defence use. He did not mention the Crinan Canal, completed in 1809, which would have shortened his journey round the Mull of Kintyre but it was probably out of use at that point.¹⁸³

Advances in marine technology were also evident in 1825 with the French MacDonald first noting a steamship on the River Tay, and later travelling on one from Inverness to Fort William, leaving his carriage on the boat to be taken to Glasgow, a novel advancement which eased travelling even in the more outlying areas.¹⁸⁴ The waterways were still by far the most efficient means of transportation of raw materials, coal and finished goods, with the additional benefit to passengers who were increasingly using water routes.

Simond's journal stands out from the others through his interest in financial matters, giving a perspective on both personal and national taxes. He mixed with the middle class and was noting what they said about personal tax rather than the industrial taxes mentioned by the previous travellers.¹⁸⁵ Unfortunately for this study, Simond's comments on the high taxes to pay for the war refer only to England. What he did notice in Scotland was, however, much more significant to industry. He

¹⁸¹ *ibid*, p.140. Lord Mansfield's home. The artillery was probably built at Carron.

¹⁸² Hache, *MacDonald*, pp.150-151.

¹⁸³ It was probably not in use in 1825, as a section of bank had collapsed in 1823.

¹⁸⁴ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.143 and pp.148-151.

¹⁸⁵ Simond, *An American*, p.33, p.98 & p.165.

commented on the effect of trade cycles and the subsequent down turn in the economy and its effects on workers and wages.¹⁸⁶

Conclusion

The travellers recorded what they saw coupled with comments, presenting a picture of investment, advanced economic structures and a flexible workforce. The journals of Faujas and la Rochefoucauld repeatedly made links between trade and commerce with resources, linked technology with transportation. Faujas' journal is centred on coal and iron but records many other unconnected sights. La Rochefoucauld's writing is focused on particular industries in a shrewd record of facts and figures of production, from the 'where' and the 'how' through to the markets. His journal makes the link between cities, rural urban centres and port facilities.¹⁸⁷ While both journals are of interest to the historian, it requires much more analysis to elicit information from Faujas' journal. As with their notes on agriculture, what they wrote about industry was intended to be published and used to spread knowledge. The later travellers offer a more personal perspective through less concrete observations of the factories as places of work, thus giving greater insight into the social implications of the move towards a fixed working day. Such insights are not easy to find from more pragmatic sources, while the French MacDonald's journal gives fascinating detail by naming the factory owners, allowing the historian an opportunity to investigate further.

All of the journals are revealing about the attitudes of the factory managers. The travellers, who were already well informed, were able to gain knowledge through their questioning that would otherwise not have been available to historians. Collectively, the journals reveal aspects of developing social attitudes to child

¹⁸⁶ *ibid*, p.98-99.

¹⁸⁷ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.206.

labour, its economic role and the education of the young workers. Nodier visited no factories but his journal does offer a glimpse into the effects of industrialization by noting visual aspects of the urban scene while ignoring the economic implications.

What the travellers expressed supports the assertion that in 1780, sections of Scotland's economy were very vigorous commercially and industrially.¹⁸⁸ The tone of the journals promotes their impression that Scotland's industry was ahead of France economically and intellectually, especially the inventiveness of British craftsmen.¹⁸⁹ The Enlightenment travellers perpetuated the belief that the history of England (sic) is a success story while that of France is a story of lost opportunities, good luck misused, and disasters following on achievements.¹⁹⁰ Britain's success, arguably, resulted from commercial dominance, when Britain alone had the appropriate combination of factors to achieve pre-eminence.¹⁹¹ In the first half of the eighteenth century, there were 'stirrings of durable economic expansion' and some rural recovery but little evidence of factories or investment.¹⁹²

The travellers focussed on the interaction of people, money and innovation to create opportunities in Scotland.¹⁹³ The journals affirm obliquely that, unlike France, industrial development was taking place where there was a lack of obstructions or inertia caused by guilds, community organizations and local organizations.¹⁹⁴ On the whole, the journals of the travellers show that they found Scotland's industry impressive in comparison to France. They underpin the hypothesis of a strong internal industrial consumer base, a booming export trade along with modern agriculture, and that the country at the end of the eighteenth century experienced

¹⁸⁸ Bruce Lenman, *An Economic History of Modern Scotland* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1977), p.101.

¹⁸⁹ Examples cited included an artificial leg, fire pumps, a barometer, a portable furnace.

¹⁹⁰ Crouzet, *Britain Ascendant*, introduction p.7.

¹⁹¹ Blanning, *The Pursuit of Glory*. He cites power, prosperity, Protestantism & liberty p.110. He wrote France had the ideas and invented techniques then Britain perfected them. p.118.

¹⁹² Jones, *The Great Nation*, pp.159-60.

¹⁹³ Fernand Braudel, *Afterthoughts on Material Civilization and Capitalism* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1977), p.109.

¹⁹⁴ Blanning, *The Pursuit of Glory*, p.124.

simultaneous balanced growth, allowing the free interchange of labour and capital, stimulating demand.¹⁹⁵

This accords with a picture of France where political moves kick-started the economy towards trade and industry into the second half of the century, followed by countermoves, vacillating royal positions, power struggles between individuals, debt and financing of the Seven Years' War.¹⁹⁶

What is presented on industry and agriculture reveals the value of studying journals collectively and along with other sources. Despite evidence of industrial progress in some geographical regions which may have meant that France was ahead of Britain, that is not made apparent in the particular journals used in this study.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ L. M. Cullen & T.C. Smout , 'Economic Growth in Scotland and Ireland'in L.M. Cullen & T.C. Smout, *Comparative aspects of Scottish and Irish economic and social history*, 1600-1900 (Edinburgh : Donald,1977), p.10.

¹⁹⁶ Jones, *The Great Nation*, pp.217-225, pp.228-230, p.233-235, p.241.

¹⁹⁷ *ibid* p.207 & p.208. Areas such as glassmaking for telescopes, engineering technology..

Chapter 5 The Urban Areas

Edinburgh's water is excellent. It is brought five miles in lead conduits.¹ (1786)

This chapter examines what the journals recorded about the urban areas of Scotland. For British people, touring at home replaced the 'Grand Tour' when travelling became more difficult in war torn Europe, especially between 1793 and 1815. Tourists began to make scientific visits to industrial sites and urban development. After hostilities between France and Britain ended in 1815, there was a rapid increase in contact between the two countries with British tourists travelling to Paris while English and French people toured Britain, including Scotland. From about 1760, the Ossian documents and later the novels of Walter Scott, translated into French, created the impetus for literary tourism.² Some, like Simond, Nodier and the French MacDonald, came to meet Walter Scott in person. As well as visiting the rural sites mentioned in these works, tourists still came to the towns. For the Romantics Nodier and the French MacDonald, towns were of historic interest.

The journals give access to information which augments other sources by seeing the towns through the eyes of visitors, rather than residents. Factual descriptions including population sizes, town planning and new building around the turn of the nineteenth century can be found in a variety of sources but here the journals add an extra perspective.³ To many travellers, towns were not merely stopping places en route, but were major objectives of a trip and their journals give greater depth of insight into the way the towns functioned and how the physical changes taking place were creating a new urban structure. For Enlightenment

¹ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.119.

² Deidre Dawson & Pierre Morère (eds.), *Scotland and France in the Enlightenment* (London: Associated University Presses, 2003), p.99. Turgot translated Ossian passages into French in 1760.

³ A.J. Youngson, *The making of classical Edinburgh 1750-1840* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1966). Webster's figures from S.G.E. Lythe & J. Butt, *An Economic History of Scotland 1100-1939* (London: Blackie and Son Limited, 1975). Marjorie Plant, *The Domestic Life of Scotland in the 18th century* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1952). Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury*. Elizabeth Foyster & Christopher A. Whatley (eds.), *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland, 1600-1800* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010).

travellers, tourism sprang out of the pursuit of knowledge through contact with others, mainly in the centres of population, especially in the universities. For those reasons, the eighteenth-century travellers were more interested in visiting towns to meet people than to go to the comparatively empty countryside. Faujas wanted to see how 'civilized' Scotland was.⁴ Simond, travelling after the Enlightenment had begun to fade, had similar interests so towns with their social and intellectual milieu, fulfilled many of his intellectual goals.⁵ Less involved in the didactic interests of the earlier travellers, he delighted in the more mundane attractions of the towns. By 1821, Nodier sought to escape entirely from towns, except to visit historic sites. The French MacDonald seemed comfortable in towns as life there revolved around his family and he reported on a wide variety of social activities. The personal accounts of staying in a town and enjoying life bring a fresh, intimate and personal vision of the urban landscape in a way which other sources cannot replicate.

By the second half of the eighteenth century, there were eight Scottish towns with a population of over 6,000 inhabitants each.⁶ The largest, Edinburgh, was the first major Scottish town which all the French travellers visited, as did most other visitors. Though no longer functioning as the home of monarchy or parliament, Edinburgh had developed into the civic capital of Scotland; it was the financial, academic and social heart of the nation, enjoying an international reputation as a centre of culture and learning. Visually, its recent building and renovation programme was set against the backdrop of the architecture of the past. Most of the travellers also visited the second largest town, Glasgow, which was becoming a social, commercial and academic hub, flourishing in the new, more open, secular state but with modern roots in industry. These two towns were largely rebuilt and

⁴ Faujas' title page to his trip in 1784 states that his tour was 'undertaken for the purpose of examining the state of the arts, ... and manners'.

⁵ Simond's original title page similarly shows his intention of giving remarks on ... the manners and customs of its inhabitants. Simond, *An American*, introduction, p.8.

⁶ Lythe & Butt, *An Economic History of Scotland*, p.88.

enlarged by private wealth, like London, in a spirit of freedom and innovation more pronounced than in France in the period. The impressions of visitors given through their journals are historically significant in showing how the developments were viewed at the time.

Glasgow, although much less well known than Edinburgh, was beginning to become significant on the recognized tour for those wishing to look at its industrial prowess. Which other cities each traveller visited was partly dictated by other objectives; la Rochefoucauld's route took him north up the east coast and back down the west coast, so he visited Perth, Dundee, Aberdeen and Inverness. Faujas went north and west to Staffa then crossed back to the east coast to St Andrews, after visiting Perth. Nodier went as far as the Trossachs and Loch Lomond then back south without, apparently, visiting any other Scottish towns. The French MacDonald went north through Perth as far as Inverness then out to the island of Uist. Their impressions varied for many reasons, including the date of the visit, length of visit, what each experienced and their own specific interests.

With the increasing urbanization and demographic growth, there was an obsession with the compilation of more accurate economic and fiscal statistics (political arithmetic) especially in France, for government as well as public use during the later eighteenth century and beyond.⁷ The expanding role of the state in the eighteenth century embraced the use of statistics as an aid to suppress and control the population and to give data to raise armies and navies. For civil society, these figures were both interesting and useful to fuel economic change but there is at present only patchy data available from sources in the public domain. Faujas, la Rochefoucauld and Simond showed the tendency of the era to note numbers. Unfortunately, many journals are unhelpful to historians where they give imprecise comments; in a quite uncharacteristic way for him, la Rochefoucauld occasionally

⁷ Munck, *The Enlightenment*, p.171.

made such vague verbal comments about the size of towns, describing Banff as ‘not very big’ and Inverness as ‘a large town’.⁸ More useful is when he wrote, correctly, that Dundee was bigger than Perth. Faujas gave a more precise definition when he wrote that Perth was a small ‘city’, probably having just come from Edinburgh. He did add that the town had about 12,000 inhabitants.⁹ This study shows how, in the main, the travellers’ journals in this study augment the statistical data from other sources and allow the possibility of further analysis.

Table of Urban Populations.¹⁰

	Date	Edinburgh*	Glasgow	Dundee	Aberdeen	Perth
Webster	1755	57,000	31,700	12,400	10,488	9,000
	1778	80,000				12,000
Faujas	1784					10/12,000
La Rochefoucauld	1786		36,000	12/15,000	15,600	
	1801		84,000		16,917	
Simond	1810	90/100,000				
*plus Leith	1811	103,000				
Nodier	1821		150,000			
*plus Leith	1821	138,000	147,000	31,000	44 ,000	

From a statistical viewpoint, this table demonstrates that most of the travellers confirmed the extent to which many of the towns were growing, and this can be linked to their data on industrial advancement. Conversely, as Faujas noted, some

⁸ The word ‘large’ seems to imply he thought, correctly, that Inverness was smaller than Perth which he calls a town of *considerable size*.

⁹ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, p.181. Faujas uses the words ‘city’ and ‘town’ interchangeably. Perth was the sixth largest town in Scotland in 1755

¹⁰ Lythe & Butt, *An Economic History of Scotland*, using Webster’s figures, p.245. R.A. Houston, ‘The demographic regime’, in Devine T.M. and Mitchison Rosalind (eds.), *People and society in Scotland*, Volume I, 1760-1830 (Edinburgh: John Donaldson Publishers, 1988), p.22. He estimates a population of less than 50,000 in 1755.

burghs, such as Culross, Falkland, and St. Andrews were in decline, which he wrote was due to lack of investment and industrial advance.¹¹

Prior to the 1801 census, data is patchy and even before 1840, statistical data is incomplete, using 'occasional estimates and suggestions' so figures from contemporary sources are a useful addition to confirm and augment what is known.¹² Simond's figures from 1810 show how the rate of growth of the Scottish population quickened significantly after 1780.¹³ There was also considerable redistribution of population in Scotland in the two generations before 1801, aided by high birth rates and lower mortality rates.¹⁴ In the census of 1811, Edinburgh and Leith combined had 103,000 inhabitants, although Simond added that Edinburgh was about a tenth the size of London, which explains why he made the point that it was not really necessary to keep a carriage in Edinburgh as it was easy to get around on foot, compared to his experience in London.¹⁵ In 1801, the Scottish population was just over 1.5 million which indicated that around 1 in 15 Scots lived in Edinburgh, emphasizing the number of Scots who already lived in an urban setting. Using Edinburgh as an example, la Rochefoucauld thought in 1778 that the figures had been calculated on very sound principles, which gives an interesting boost to the reliability of figures from historical evidence of the period.¹⁶

By the late eighteenth century, three Scottish towns were major ports; the major towns were increasing in importance as a result of trade and commerce, drawing in the rural population. Population growth is an indicator of increasing capability to generate affluence or to diminish poverty and to stimulate further

¹¹ In addition, Lanark declined in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Foyster & Whatley, *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland*, p.3.

¹² Lythe & Butt, *An Economic History of Scotland*, p. 245; C.H. Lee, 'Economic Progress: Wealth and Poverty' in T.M. Devine, C.H. Lee, & G.C. Peden, (eds.) *The Transformation of Scotland; the Economy since 1700* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005).

¹³ Simond, *An American*, p.76.

¹⁴ Growth of Glasgow in the same period, 84,000 in 1801, 31,700 in c.1755. Webster's figures.

¹⁵ Simond, *An American*, p.76. The population of London in 1800 was 861,000 so is likely to have grown in the following decade. Comparing Edinburgh to Paris in the mid-eighteenth century which had over half a million inhabitants, larger than Edinburgh. Paris was about half the size of London.

¹⁶ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.121. He added that the figure would naturally be higher by his visit.

advance by providing additional workers and consumers. Many of Scotland's towns were positioned for historic reasons on rivers or at the coast. Now the sites were significant trade bases, emphasizing the growing economic importance of the towns, with the waterways creating an interconnectivity to supplement the road system. Glasgow was by far the biggest of these ports. In 1821, Nodier gave factual details about Glasgow's development from historical beginnings as recorded in the city charters (*chartes*).¹⁷ He noted the enormous and rapid growth from a tiny beginning. The last twenty years alone had accounted for an increase of 60,000. Nodier thought that this might be an unparalleled statistic. He rarely gave concrete facts. In this instance, the historical documents of the city archives seem to have sparked his interest.¹⁸ Nodier was usually negative about all aspects of the modern industrial state as he saw it so it is ironic that he seems to have failed to have recognized the economic significance of the figures he noticed. Two centuries of gradual industrial change had accelerated in the eighteenth century towards a faster increase in the final two decades as Glasgow was the hub of the Atlantic trade with America.¹⁹

Dundee, a port with an entrepôt status for the surrounding area of Angus, was small compared to many French towns.²⁰ Indeed, Dundee seemed to offer no cultural or social opportunities for la Rochefoucauld. Aberdeen, another port, had grown by 50% in the in the thirty years after Webster's figures but almost nothing in the following quarter century while Inverness was a vibrant centre of trade and commerce. Scotland had no ports to compare with major French ports like Marseille and Bordeaux, with nearly 100,000 inhabitants each. Glasgow was served by several ports: Port Glasgow had only been named in 1775; and Greenock had a mere 17,000 inhabitants by 1801. Even Dover, a major English port, had a mere

¹⁷ 1610 -7,644 inhabitants, 1821 -150,000. Glasgow by this date had grown larger than Edinburgh.

¹⁸ Nodier, *Promenade*, p.156. He wrote that the town grew by 140,000 inhabitants in less than 200 Years. This increase was due to expansion of trade with West India and America after 1707.

¹⁹ See Industry Chapter p.188.

²⁰ This probably reflects the fact that these French towns had a political, legal and administrative role in local government. Provincial capitals like Dijon and Grenoble, topped 20,000 inhabitants.

27,399 inhabitants in 1801. As la Rochefoucauld noted, that reflected the great length of sea coast in Britain which supported more, but smaller ports, each trading within a limited local inland area as well as in various other directions, giving a greater flexibility to meet the demands of all markets.²¹ The coast also supported a considerable fishing industry.

Figures are given in the journals for the populations of some of the smaller Scottish towns; la Rochefoucauld noted Montrose had 10,000 inhabitants and was quite justified in calling Dumbarton a small town.²² Stirling was not a particularly large town, nor industrially significant at that era, although Faujas and the French MacDonald both visited it. Faujas called it a 'city', probably a mistranslation of the word *cit  * (a fortified castle area or citadel). These smaller towns were centres for the surrounding area, with local markets and some facilities for the movement of goods. Even the smaller towns represented 'civilization' to the travellers.

However, the journals reveal more significant aspects of the towns to those visiting them. The travellers' first impression of towns was not a statistical or scientific response. There was, rather, a sense of expectation and excitement in the exuberance of some of the journals on approaching a town, probably mingled with relief at reaching journey's end. This is where the journals record the visual appeal, rather like the photographs of modern tourists. Although not objective, these responses are valuable as being very personal 'gut reactions', something not available from other source material. Earlier in their trips, several of the travellers had registered poor first impressions of London, similar to Rousseau's first impressions of Paris; expecting to find a great and beautiful city he saw dirt, misery and poverty.²³ However, the travellers in this study were positive about Scottish towns, finding the setting of several especially noteworthy, highlighting the point that

²¹ Scottish ports traded with Scandinavia, Germany and England.

²² Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.143. Webster's figures.

²³ Quoted in Munck, *The Enlightenment A Comparative Social History*, p.44. Nodier, *Promenade*, pp. 43- 44. His first impression of London was of something sinister. Simond noted the smoke.

each journal offers a unique perspective.²⁴ To the Enlightenment travellers, a town was an oasis which man had created in the 'desert' of nature. A cultivated area was seen as an expression of human domination of nature.²⁵

The agriculture in the surrounding area showed man's influence on his environment in creating wealth and improving man's lot through progress. Perth, for example, was a prosperous industrial centre supported by its agriculture and proto-industrial activities. Faujas liked what he saw there, remarking that it was in a very agreeable situation on the river Tay and that it was in a pretty flourishing condition.²⁶ La Rochefoucauld waxed lyrical:

I've been tremendously impressed by the position of the town and by its surroundings. It combines everything that's pleasant and striking in its landscape ... I think I would love to own one of those (fields) I see on a lower slope facing the river.²⁷

Similarly, the French MacDonald, with Romantic appreciation, wrote that the last part of the route from Prestonpans to Edinburgh was full of charm, like the beautiful drive of a park.²⁸ The route was similar to the tree lined avenues leading into many French provincial towns, creating the impression of a grand entranceway or indeed the route into the city where the French MacDonald had been governor.

Arriving at Edinburgh, La Rochefoucauld had been impressed by its imposing site on the castle rock and commented on the view of a fertile terrace between Edinburgh and the Firth of Forth.²⁹ However, returning from the Highlands, he was fulsome in his praise of his first impressions of Glasgow. Now he wrote that nothing could be finer than the whole of this route with its pleasant farmlands which were almost all enclosed and for the last half mile, he saw the road lined with pleasant country houses and gardens, showing wealth and development.³⁰ This was a

²⁴ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.163.

²⁵ Stephen Prickett 'Circles and Straight Lines: Romantic Versions of Tourism', in Berghoff & Korte, (eds.) *The making of modern tourism*, pp.69-84.

²⁶ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, p.181.

²⁷ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.132.

²⁸ This would have been an important route for moving coal and salt, highly prized commodities.

²⁹ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.106.

³⁰ *ibid.* p.199.

reaction to the emptiness of the Highlands and reaching 'civilization' again. He saw Glasgow as the prosperous commercial heart of a zone of activity, an Enlightenment haven where man was shaping the landscape and the lives of the people.

Vistas towards towns were often enhanced by a bridge; on the way into Aberdeen, la Rochefoucauld noted a paved bridge and in Perth he was impressed by one with nine arches.³¹ Bridges to Enlightenment writers were a sign of improvement, parading the latest technology and allowing communications, trade and commerce to flourish, again a hallmark of 'civilization'. It is remarkable how la Rochefoucauld, as a stranger, noted in his journal the aesthetic beauty of bridges in the landscape in a way not usually recognized in the era.

The panorama of the new town of Edinburgh with its classical style of architecture influenced the writing of the travellers, who offered evaluative comments rather than mere facts. The road between Edinburgh and its port, Leith, aroused much interest. La Rochefoucauld wrote, 'The road which joins them (Edinburgh and Leith) is superb'.³² Simond too, noted the straight, mile long road between the city and the port.³³ Nodier used a classical image, comparing it to the road from Athens to Piraeus. The French MacDonald continued the comparison; while admitting that Edinburgh's new town resembled Athens, 'the buildings', he thought, 'looked more like the Parthenon', adding that 'Leith ... must be its Piraeus'.³⁴ From Enlightenment to Romanticism, the travellers recognized the city represented first of all technical advance in what man could create and then beauty in construction and form. Most of all, the city represented civilization, social improvement and interaction - in other words, civil society.

³¹ *ibid*, pp.149 &132. Tay Bridge built between 1766-1771. Youngson regards it as 'the greatest work of its kind in Scotland in the eighteenth century. *The Making of classical Edinburgh*, p.28.

³² Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.119. He mentions North Bridge in Edinburgh in passing, as a 'fine' bridge.

³³ Simond, *An American*, p.77. Fisherwomen walking to the city to sell fish.

³⁴ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.132.

Within the cities, the travellers noted urban extension and the journals bring out the contrast between the old and the new more forcibly than a factual document, such as planning documents. The early travellers clearly saw this as another positive manifestation of man's input. In the 1780s, La Rochefoucauld was aware of the rapid rate of development of Edinburgh.³⁵ This appealed to the travellers' Enlightenment values as they felt growth allowed the city to become even more beautiful.³⁶ Nodier in 1821 showed the city developing further. Viewed from above, from the castle, he wrote that there were two distinct and contrasting parts to Edinburgh, the old and the new city but that in a few years the two towns would be joined.³⁷ However, the French MacDonald, taking a more precise view, wrote that Edinburgh was developing into three towns with new construction towards Leith. He wrote of the third town being even more beautiful than the second and far superior.³⁸ He knew of plans to construct a circus or crescent, similar to the one he had seen in Bath.³⁹ This was the latest fashion; the French MacDonald called it an architectural innovation. Modernity, change and development were attributes to be praised. The French travellers must have been impressed to comment in this way.

All of the journals show that progress was a very visible feature to outsiders; la Rochefoucauld also stressed that the growth of Aberdeen new town was recent. He noted that the old and the new towns were about a mile apart; the new town gave access to water, both the sea and the river estuary which, again like Edinburgh, would improve trade links through the port facilities.⁴⁰ He described Aberdeen as one of the principal Scottish towns and wrote that some regarded it as Scotland's second town.⁴¹ With slight hyperbole, he wrote that Aberdeen was

³⁵ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.120.

³⁶ For more information the development of Edinburgh new town, see A.J. Youngson, *The making of classical Edinburgh 1750-1840* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1966).

³⁷ Nodier, *Promenade*, p.127.

³⁸ Hache, *MacDonald*, pp.124-127.

³⁹ It is odd he did not mention Coates Crescent, designed and built by Robert Brown in 1823.

⁴⁰ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.204.

⁴¹ This could be a reference to the economic importance of the city rather than size but may refer to the cultural and historic significance of its ancient universities and the seat of the bishop.

expanding 'every day'. In Perth, when he refers to the new town, the French MacDonald does not make it clear whether he means modern or merely post-Roman.⁴² Expansion was a positive sign of increasing wealth and therefore improving the lives and happiness of the people, especially to the Enlightenment travellers, and the journals expressed the spirit of the age.

The journals also show that many of the visitors were aware of the planning of the main Scottish cities and gave details of the results. Planning was a development from rational thinking and scientific cataloguing but is often more clearly observed by outsiders than those who actually lived in the towns. Even as early as his 1786 visit, la Rochefoucauld noted that the new town area of Edinburgh was well laid out, with fine wide streets, on a grand plan similar to London, he observed, with no expense spared, pointing out that the work for the new archive building had been carried out by Robert Adam, the celebrated London architect.⁴³ Starting in the 1760s, the New Town was being built on a grid pattern in stages and he could see the rational approach of creating well aligned streets and large squares. Although he saw only the first phase, he commented on the fine bridge linking the two areas while noting that the approaches to the new town minimized the difficulties caused by the hilly terrain.⁴⁴ He was aware of the overall plan as he wrote that the new town 'will be truly magnificent.' This was in contrast to the old part of town where he mentioned streets too narrow for carriages.⁴⁵ He wrote enthusiastically that the town was not only increasing daily but also 'grows daily more beautiful', and that the grandeur of the town was complemented by the new building to the north which enjoyed 'the panorama of the bay ... all the fine landscape between town and sea'. His appreciation of the city went well beyond the

⁴² He wrote that the old town was built by the Romans.

⁴³ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p113. Register House designed by Robert Adam in 1771 completed 1784.

⁴⁴ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.111. For example, the Mound was still being constructed, he called it a causeway. The bridge was the North Bridge.

⁴⁵ *ibid.* pp.110-111. He writes there were only sedan chairs.

cold critique of reason often attributed to Enlightenment thinkers. He had seen quite a number of English and French cities so his remarks as a Frenchman about Scottish urban development are both striking and informative.

From the early 1800s, the development in Edinburgh of fashionable and desirable streets allowed Simond to note a social divide in the city, with the newer part of town being more attractive to the well-heeled.

The college is there (in the old town) also, but learning begins to be attracted by politeness, and the professors come to live in the region of good dinners and fine ladies (i.e. in the new town).⁴⁶

Simond was making a more profound comment here than he realized. He was seeing the results of the interaction of secular influences as civil society was developing into a potent force. People of wealth and distinction were mingling socially with learned people, rather than remaining in the older areas near the castle, which had been the social centre in the past. The new planned town seemed mainly to be residential rather than commercial at that point. The result was the interaction of wealth and knowledge in an amalgamation of resources which led to concrete and practical expansion of the means of production⁴⁷.

In 1825, the French MacDonald's journal told of many positive changes. His comments are especially unusual as he linked the changes to health. He commented on spacious streets with squares and gardens 'either for the pleasure of the eye, for the enjoyment of the inhabitants, and also for their health with the circulation of vast amounts of air' ... 'fine houses and some squares well planted with trees'.⁴⁸ He was quite lyrical, describing the pavements laid with beautiful flagstones and 'walking along the three big and magnificent streets which run in parallel ... all three from different architects'.⁴⁹ His journal directs attention to the fact

⁴⁶ Simond, *An American*, p.76. In the 1860s, Edinburgh still had a great social mix within the small area of the old town but this was changing rapidly as the New town developed.

⁴⁷ As noted in the chapter on industry.

⁴⁸ Hache, *MacDonald*, pp.124-5. Charlotte Square, completed in 1821.

⁴⁹ Princes Street, George Street, Queen Street and Charlotte Square. Architects included James Craig, Robert Adam and William Henry Playfair.

that the new parts of towns were intended to be aesthetically pleasing as well as modern and functional, in a style known as restrained classicism. He further brought out the point that the new buildings, by going beyond merely the functional, were being consciously developed for social reasons. He knew, for example, that a loch had been drained to allow for the development of the new town although he did not comment on the health benefits that resulted.⁵⁰

Interestingly, the travellers were struck mainly by the overall impression of the constructions and the general appearance of the town as an ensemble of buildings, the result of rationalism and logical scientific techniques. They made few references to individual buildings or to the style of building, despite architecture developing in that era, although la Rochefoucauld wrote that he found the gothic churches in Glasgow pleasing.⁵¹ There is, however, a subtle difference in the comments of the French MacDonald, who attended Mass in Edinburgh, but he found the church building disappointing.⁵²

Planning was not limited to the capital; in 1786, la Rochefoucauld enthused about the layout of Glasgow, remarking that 'the town was generally well built, with a great many excellent houses which (and this is what is so extraordinary) are all aligned and built on an almost regular plan - apparently without the proprietors being obliged by the burgh to conform'.⁵³ La Rochefoucauld praised the streets in the new parts of Glasgow 'which were perfectly well paved, better than in any other town I have seen'.⁵⁴ Similarly in Aberdeen, la Rochefoucauld noted beautiful streets and that 'it was all well-built, especially the new town'.⁵⁵ Even in a small town like Banff, la Rochefoucauld noted that all the streets were straight, beautifully built and broad. In contrast, not much was written about the town of Dundee, except that it was not

⁵⁰ The Nor' Loch, drained in 1759 had been a fetid swamp.

⁵¹ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.199.

⁵² Hache, *MacDonald*, pp.125-126. St. Mary's Cathedral, junction of Leith Walk and York Place.

⁵³ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.199. This is incorrect; the feuing system incorporated restrictions.

⁵⁴ *ibid*, p.200.

⁵⁵ *ibid* pp.148-149. He was impressed by houses made of local stone and the new market-place.

badly built.⁵⁶ Although la Rochefoucauld omitted to mention some fine buildings, his overall impression was that the most splendid new construction was to be seen in the two main cities, Glasgow and Edinburgh, where wealth was concentrated.⁵⁷ There was a strong association in the minds of the travellers between improvement and wealth, implying that they appreciated the basic requirement for a concentrated source of income to allow a town to grow. La Rochefoucauld's comments on the development of Banff streets can be linked to what he wrote about its fashionable ladies promenading, all suggesting economic progress causing the town to flourish in the period. This journal entry raises the question as to why this small town supported such urban growth at that time but which was not sustained.

Nodier wrote poetically about Glasgow, in what surely must be considered unexpected nuggets of contemporary insight. He reacted favourably to the well-designed layout of streets on the banks of the Clyde 'tracées sur un plan magnifique' ('laid out according to a magnificent plan') which he thought could rival Edinburgh one day, appreciating also the attractive squares near the river. He was impressed too by the Romantic setting of Glasgow Cathedral and its graveyard, contrasting the white of the gravestones like ghosts in front of the dark walls of the building at night. His word picture was crafted to give a powerful image of gothic majesty of white marble against a dark contrast, using the Romantic preoccupation with death and eternity, harking to another Romantic obsession, the Gothic. He used his talent as a writer to craft a picture which appealed to the emotions rather than a factual, rational Enlightenment report. The backcloth of Glasgow's factories with their chimneys and smoke appalled him and he ended the chapter with the word death.⁵⁸ He detested industrialization and wanted to convey the point that it was anathema to natural living. He was more attuned to doubts and pessimism than

⁵⁶ *ibid* p.140.

⁵⁷ Dundee boasts the Old Steeple of St. Mary's Church, dating to the 15th century, the City Hall built in 1731, St. Andrews Church in 1772

⁵⁸ Nodier, *Promenade*, p.155. pp.168 -170.

the certainty and optimism of the Age of Reason but highlighted the dirt of the industrial era, not mentioned by the more positive Enlightenment visitors. Although he wrote only a few lines about the city, Nodier's journal has provided a surprisingly deep impression of how the city looked and how visitors of the period saw them.

In contrast, Nodier was not enthusiastic about Edinburgh which was well known in Europe. This is perhaps why he realised there was more to write about Glasgow, which was much less well known. He arrived in the capital on a Sunday when the shops were shut and the houses seemed to be closed, giving the city a bleak, empty air.⁵⁹ Judging by his comments using the Greek metaphor mentioned earlier, he knew he was supposed to be impressed by Edinburgh and was perverse enough to avoid meeting expectations. Once again, however, this allowed him to make social comment on particular effects of urban living on the Scottish people. He saw some men in full Highland dress, regarding them as 'natives', even noble savages out of their own environment, incongruous in the city. He shows them as immobile, capturing their presence in the backdrop to, but not taking part in, real life.

Most of the journal comments referred to areas where the wealthy lived but, as towns grew, social problems developed which the journals help to demonstrate. Planning had done little to improve housing for the masses in eighteenth century towns and, by the early eighteenth century, Edinburgh had gained the reputation of having the worst housing in Europe.⁶⁰ Though none of the travellers made any direct comments about poor housing or overcrowding, Simond was appalled by the extreme uncleanness of the old town of Edinburgh which lacked facilities, including water supplies.⁶¹ Some Scottish local authorities were attempting to improve sanitation and the urban water supply but Edinburgh was lagging behind, although

⁵⁹ *ibid.* p.128. Observance of the Sabbath in Edinburgh became more strict in the nineteenth century partly due to the influx of Highlanders. Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh*, p.254.

⁶⁰ Lythe & Butt, *An Economic History of Scotland*, p.93. R.H.Campbell, *Scotland since 1707*, p.15.

⁶¹ In addition there was an acute water shortage in 1810. Trevor Turpin, *Dam* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2008).

environmental causes of disease were being recognized in Britain.⁶² Simond seemed unaware of these ideas and his journal pays homage to fashionable views of health and sanitation, writing that the air was much too 'sharp' and that the dung 'by softening that keenness, made it wholesome'.⁶³

All of the travellers had taken little heed of the lower orders of society though in the rural areas, especially in the Highlands they noted what they called hovels. Surprisingly, la Rochefoucauld wrote of seeing individual, isolated houses in the Highlands however dilapidated, remarking that they were still picturesque to him, an odd, thought-provoking remark, characteristic of a personal journal.⁶⁴ There was a hint from Faujas in St Andrews in an oblique reference that he was aware of how the lower classes lived. The ruins, he wrote, gave the city

an aspect of antiquity which forms a singular contrast with the simplicity, modesty, and I almost said the poverty of the greater part of its present habitations.⁶⁵

Tall buildings in Edinburgh were a particularly striking visual aspect of housing evident to the travellers in the period which a resident may have come to accept as normal but an outsider would notice. In 1786, la Rochefoucauld mentioned houses were up to six storeys tall. Later, Simond noticed that the prison was seven storeys high.⁶⁶ Nodier in 1821 also noted that the houses were built taller than in Paris.⁶⁷ Lack of suitable building land could have been a factor but the feuing system also restricted building practice. La Rochefoucauld looked for a rational explanation for the high rise buildings. He gave the price of land throughout his trip and he commented astutely that building land must be valuable in Edinburgh.⁶⁸ The travellers did not refer to the inhabitants of these tenement buildings but they

⁶² Towns like Glasgow and Perth. Lythe & Butt, *An Economic History of Scotland* p.93. See Youngson, *The Making of classical Edinburgh*, p.241 for Edinburgh's problems and solutions.

⁶³ Simond, *An American*, pp. 94-5.

⁶⁴ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.166.

⁶⁵ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, p.196. He wrote of the ruins of 'vast and superb churches', presumably the ruined cathedral.

⁶⁶ Simond, *An American*, p.76. Calton Prison, built in 1790.

⁶⁷ Nodier, *Promenade*, p.127.

⁶⁸ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.110.

housed a mixture of the poorer folk and of other social orders, stratified by floors.⁶⁹ An Act of 1771 limited the height of houses to three storeys on main streets and two on intermediate streets but the French MacDonald wrote in 1825 of buildings eleven stories high, some new, suggesting that the Act was not rigorously upheld.⁷⁰

One of the original purposes of the Grand Tour was to visit historical sites. Most of the travellers did appreciate the older, historic parts of the towns, giving an impression of the towns which visitors would usually note. La Rochefoucauld added to the usual round of comments by visits to lesser known places; he appreciated the small scale of old Glasgow, finding it truly delightful, because of individually fine buildings and the width of streets. He revelled in Aberdeen as an example of a town with the combination of an historic past and current development. His response to the old part of Edinburgh with its narrow streets built up the steep slopes of the hill up to the castle was to use the new fashionable adjective 'picturesque'.⁷¹ His views of the old are surprisingly lyrical, reflecting his ability to absorb in English the culture he was experiencing. As when leaving the Highlands, La Rochefoucauld showed leanings towards an appreciation of beauty in different settings more akin to the Romantics than the purely functional views often attributed to the Age of Reason. However, sentimental attachment to the older parts by the Romantic French MacDonald did not prevent him noting progress as he wrote in 1825, noting that 'elegant buildings are being raised, and old ones, which are an obstacle to the latter, are being razed'.⁷² Faujas, a much older man when he came to Scotland than La Rochefoucauld, presented responses much more typical of the Enlightenment and he was the only traveller who did not comment on the old parts of the two main

⁶⁹ Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh*, p.236 rich and poor lived cheek by jowl in the late 1700s. There is evidence of houses of ten storeys at the front and fourteen at the rear. Campbell, *Scotland since 1707*, p.15.

⁷⁰ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.128. Edinburgh: Streets Act 1771, from Acts of the Parliament of Great Britain.

⁷¹ Scarfe, *Highlands*, pp.199-200, p.109, p.110. The castle had been the focal point of the town.

⁷² Hache, *MacDonald*, pp.128-129. This was near the hospital, the university and the museum.

cities, Edinburgh and Glasgow, although his remarks in the less documented town of Stirling show his knowledge of history and ancient buildings.⁷³ He was not moved to comment on any individual buildings in any town, even the modern ones.

Most of the travellers viewed Edinburgh Castle but the Enlightenment travellers were not stimulated to include a lengthy report of their visit. La Rochefoucauld had a more obvious but still superficial interest in history than Faujas. He wrote of the Scottish regalia (which he was unable to see), but made rather scathing remarks about monuments in Scotland in general.⁷⁴ Although Simond had studied British history while in New York, he made no comments about the past history associated with the castle. His interests were firmly rooted in the present; he wrote a long and fascinating description of the French prisoners of war who were presently housed in the castle.⁷⁵ As with his reaction to the mill workers, he was moved by the plight of people to a much greater extent than either Faujas or la Rochefoucauld and his interests leaned more to social issues, an increasing preoccupation of the nineteenth century. History was, however, an important focus of interest for the Romantic travellers, Nodier and the French MacDonald, who visited the castle and other buildings of note. Their visits to Holyrood Palace give a quite different slant on the building from the usual perspective as they wrote of its connections to French history both recent and in the past, focusing on the Bourbons and Mary, Queen of Scots. Both travellers were moved by the experience, with Nodier concentrating on the gothic preoccupations of death and tragedy. The French MacDonald, as a military observer, wrote of the strategic position of the castle and the view over the surrounding countryside, and was interested in Scottish and French royalty and the Scottish regalia, evidence of his Jacobite heritage.

⁷³ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, pp.195-6. He noted the palace and the parliament house with a few references to basso-reliefs there and on walls near the marketplace.

⁷⁴ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.111.

⁷⁵ Simond, *An American*, p.95.

Between the Enlightenment and the Romantic visitors, the journal of Simond is again in strong contrast to the others as he was more interested in the current commercial use of the castle surroundings than in its past strategic and historical position. He noticed that the commercial and working heart of the city remained near the castle with the shops, tradesmen, and labourers were mainly in the old town.⁷⁶

As Edinburgh was developing through its commercial enterprises, the wealthy were attracted to come into the city to live, so that inward migration was not merely an influx of the rural poor leaving the land to seek work. Simond, the businessman, gave an insight into residential development when he noted Edinburgh house prices in his journal. He mentioned two in so-called good streets which had sold recently for £3000 and £2500 and one in an inferior street for around £1800.⁷⁷ These prices suggest houses which were spacious enough to have servants and possibly even a carriage. A decade later, the French MacDonald wrote that houses in desirable streets, such as Queen Street, were very expensive but does not elaborate. He also saw many signs 'to let' but was puzzled as to who would want them.⁷⁸ These new, fashionable and expensive houses were likely to attract the Highland lairds and Lowland landowners gravitating to Edinburgh to spend at least part of the year in the capital; indeed people such as the clan MacDonald members whom he met in London and visited in Edinburgh.⁷⁹ Simond's interest in house prices may have been personal as he was very happy while he was in Edinburgh and apparently had had thoughts of taking up residence in Britain; perhaps the prices were too high for him to afford to buy a house there. This also reflects the current preoccupation with monetary values, as epitomized in the novels of Jane Austen, whose heroines assessed prospective husbands by their income.

⁷⁶ *ibid*, p.76. Not until about 1800 were there many shops in the New Town.

⁷⁷ See the price of building country houses in Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury*, p.161.

⁷⁸ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.125. House ownership was limited. Few, even of the upper classes actually bought a house.

⁷⁹ See Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury*, p.155.

Evidence from the journals contrasts rental prices of houses between Edinburgh and Aberdeen, showing the differences between affording accommodation in each of the towns. La Rochefoucauld wrote in 1786 that house rents in Aberdeen varied between £10 and £60 per annum. He noted that a good house averaged £15 to £20.⁸⁰ In 1810, Simond noted house rental in Edinburgh at £100 per year.⁸¹ This was for a very good house but in an inferior street. Although a higher figure than La Rochefoucauld had found in Aberdeen, Simond's figures reflect the time difference as well as the higher prices of the capital.⁸² By the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, Simond's comments were evidence of Edinburgh expanding through the wealth of people controlling trade and commerce and those of the upper echelons of rural society. Despite house prices in the cities, la Rochefoucauld found it cheap to live in Scotland and to travel about there.⁸³ The changing urban life style was in contrast to the prices in the rural areas.⁸⁴

Faujas' journal shows that even as early as 1784, tourism was already established in Edinburgh with entrepreneurs to satisfy the needs of travellers. Faujas spent two weeks in private lodgings in Edinburgh, writing that the cost per week for a furnished house was 'only' £84, including servants' wages.⁸⁵ This is high compared to Simond's annual figures in 1811, but Simond's figures may have been for an unfurnished house. Faujas was pleased that the tavern keeper was able to provide food 'dressed in the French style, adding a few Scotch dishes, which were agreeable to us'. This is a very positive comment from a discerning traveller.⁸⁶ Putting together this information from the journals, the city was clearly moving

⁸⁰ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.152.

⁸¹ Simond, *An American*, pp. 76-77.

⁸² *ibid*, pp.76-77.

⁸³ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.226.

⁸⁴ *ibid*. p.81. La Rochefoucauld wrote that the rents of the worst huts in the Highlands, with a small piece of ground, were often as low as 5 five shillings a year.

⁸⁵ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, p.220. The rates did not include food which was provided by a local tavern. The tavern keeper was a Frenchman, 'brought from France by a Scottish Lord'.

⁸⁶ *ibid*. Volume II, p.220. The tavern keeper knew which dishes to serve to the French visitors.

towards accommodating both new residents and visitors with houses for rent and to provide specialist catering for visitors.

In one journal entry, the post-Enlightenment traveller Simond gave a personal and very vivid account of an event in Edinburgh which he clearly relished. Describing a severe snow storm and gale on February 1, 1811, he mentioned a wooden structure at the end of his street which he thought might suffer damage. This whole incident may have been recorded elsewhere, although perhaps not his reference to a menagerie in a nearby building, but what is of interest is the detail of house construction. Roof tiles and chimney pots, he reported, fell onto the streets, and even the stone built house, was 'sensibly shaken by the wind'.⁸⁷ The city boasted well-constructed houses, built of the best materials, although the rickety, older tenements were prone to collapse. Such details add to comments by other travellers, such as la Rochefoucauld's remarks on houses built of stone in Perth and Aberdeen and Nodier's point that commentators cited Glasgow as 'la ville la mieux bâtie de l'Europe' ('the best built town in Europe'), to provide a general picture of house construction throughout the country.⁸⁸

In general, Nodier did not record the same sort of experiences as the other travellers in the cities and towns. Being concerned with metaphysical problems of existence, he did not write about urban development or polite society so his journal allows insight into different aspects of urban life. As in the Trossachs, Nodier went into areas less frequented by those of his class, immersing himself in the more exotic and unusual side of life, as he saw it. He noted little incidents in Glasgow which he developed into neat, short chapters. They are revealing about the development of the city as a social melting pot, including records of entertainment for the urban poor.⁸⁹ In a chapter, *Les Boxeurs* (The Boxers or Street Fighters),

⁸⁷ Simond, *An American*, p.93.

⁸⁸ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.132 and p.150. Nodier, *Promenade*, p.155. Nodier though he thought that Edinburgh was probably superior

⁸⁹ Plays and Punch and Judy shows were held in inns. Cock fighting and bull baiting and horse

Nodier built to a climax with the brutality of the fight, but continued with his walk along the river. In what is likely to be a fictional addition, he ended the chapter by reaching into his pocket to find his handkerchief had been stolen by a pickpocket.⁹⁰ Nodier was, in his fashion, highlighting the industrial development of Glasgow through a post-Enlightenment perspective, focusing on the negative impact of city growth in poverty and crime.

Some of the travellers toured smaller urban areas and planned villages which, to them, exemplified Enlightenment ideals of improvement and progress in the same way as the main cities. This was in keeping with tours undertaken by many visitors of the era and is a source of contemporary insight. In 1784, Faujas stayed for several days at Inveraray castle but only la Rochefoucauld provided some detail into the town in the same period.⁹¹ He explained that the town had been created by the present Duke, the fifth Duke.⁹² He had built houses for estate workers, a woollen mill, a pier and an inn as an annexe for the castle.⁹³ At the end of the town, la Rochefoucauld described a stark building, used as lodgings for workers.⁹⁴ Most of the new Inveraray was created by architect Robert Mylne between 1772 and 1800.⁹⁵ It is now seen as one of the best examples of an eighteenth-century new town in Scotland because of its architectural significance, which incredibly, neither Faujas nor la Rochefoucauld, the rationalists, noted. In contrast, the French MacDonald, with a more Romantic flourish, noticed the town with its distinctive white buildings on the loch shore and commented that the town

racing were popular. British Library, Learning Georgians, Entertainment
<http://www.bl.uk/learning/histcitizen/georgians/entertainment/entertainments.html>
 [Accessed July 2014].

⁹⁰ This was not a street brawl but pugilism. He noted that fights for cash rewards were common.

⁹¹ Inveraray had a population of 2751 in 1755. Faujas wrote it would be considered a village in France.

⁹² Scarfe, *Highlands*, 'This town is a new kind of creation, built almost entirely anew, and on a new site.' p.191.

⁹³ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, pp. 240-241.

⁹⁴ The people were employed to use handlooms, work in forestry and other jobs in the Duke's parkland. Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.191.

⁹⁵ Robert Mylne (1733-1811), a celebrated architect of the period, born in Edinburgh. John Adam built the Argyll Hotel on Front Street as well as the Town House.

was small, but well-built and whitewashed, providing a nice contrast with the castle which was made of grey building stones.⁹⁶ He looked at the sensual effect of the town, rather than its function.

Nodier, significantly, did not write of any visits to new towns. He is unlikely to have visited them or to have wanted to see them. The French MacDonald did not tour any of them either; his trip was too closely tailored to fit round his personal objectives. Given that he declined the opportunity to visit a hospital in Edinburgh, he was probably interested to see a factory town. The differing interests of the French travellers over the period highlight changing motivation for visiting Scotland.

However, along with the centres better known in the period, the journals record visits to other small towns, registering development of particular sites, such as the effect of tourism on one village in the space of just over twenty years. Faujas noted that his map marked sites where he expected to find a village but was surprised to find only a single habitation at Luss, a house so poor he thought it was a fishing hut.⁹⁷ Nodier, over thirty years later, visited a dramatically changed Luss, which, he wrote, had become the most common destination for many 'voyages de plaisir' ('trips for pleasure') in Britain.⁹⁸ By the 1821s, many travellers, including Nodier, were influenced to come to Scotland for literary reasons, causing the town to develop.⁹⁹ Significantly, in 1825, the French MacDonald, without referring to the village, wrote of the poverty of the area and its lack of people, industry and agriculture. Although there was water transport on the loch, including a steam boat, it was for pleasure rather than for transporting goods. This example, seen through different eyes, gives descriptions varying with time and author: Faujas set his objective, rational gaze on Luss; Nodier saw its literary mysticism; and the French MacDonald saw the lot of the people.

⁹⁶ Hache, *MacDonald*, pp.179-180.

⁹⁷ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p. 232.

⁹⁸ Nodier, *Promenade*, pp.193-4. Luss was equated with Lutha from the works of Ossian.

⁹⁹ Scott's works such as *The Lady of the Lake*, and the works of Ossian.

Similarly, Faujas found Dalmally interesting enough to write a journal entry. Bigger than Luss, Faujas described it as a sizeable community with groups of houses dotted over a valley. What is interesting is that its position rendered it an important overnight stopping point for visitors from the late eighteenth century onwards. The tourist trade brought cash into the area, resulting in the accommodation facilities becoming well developed. This was in direct contrast to the planned new towns and villages linked to the textile industry. Faujas was highly impressed by the elegance of the inn, a sign of increasing consumerism. His reason for noting the town was his academic interest in the geological features of the surrounding area, including the presence of limestone, a material used in agriculture and industry but his detailed observations inadvertently allow insight to other information since they affected his comfort.¹⁰⁰

The only one of the travellers to travel north of Dundee, la Rochefoucauld recorded his impressions *en passage*, writing a fairly formal report on the fishing communities. That area appears to have been less documented by travellers as it was not on either of the two main tourist routes. Several large towns, such as Dundee, Aberdeen and Inverness supported sizeable communities, thriving on trade and commerce and la Rochefoucauld commented on Inverness, a flourishing and expanding town with an increasing commercial base, being 'well built'.¹⁰¹ Most of the small towns he noted only for their trade and local agriculture, his prime concerns. In the whole of the period, there were only small townships in the northern parts of the west coast. La Rochefoucauld's interest was their function as commercial centres, so his journal somewhat disappointingly gives few other more general observations. The journals of the travellers, except for Nodier's, do give a strong sense of the interaction between limited agriculture, trade and industry on the one hand and low population on the other. Faujas, for example, described Oban as a village with only

¹⁰⁰ Faujas *Travels*, Volume I, p. 265 onwards, pp.275-280.

¹⁰¹ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.164.

one inn and apparently no industry except for the fishing, while la Rochefoucauld recorded that Fort William served mainly as a port.¹⁰²

The journals refer surprisingly little in a direct way to cities or towns in Europe or America, though there is an underlying acknowledgement that the Scottish towns were impressive. The journal of a visitor is often a good source of comparisons to other countries and here occasional comments do make some comparisons, such as la Rochefoucauld describing the River Tay as a beautiful river with waters as clear as those of the Rhône.¹⁰³ Several comparisons are made between Edinburgh and other European cities, as it was the first city most of the travellers saw in Scotland. During the earliest visit of the travellers, Lazowski (la Rochefoucauld's companion), remarked 'in a few years, Edinburgh will be a town quite as agreeable as and a great deal more picturesque than any other town in Europe'.¹⁰⁴ Later, Simond echoed this, referring to Edinburgh: 'Taken altogether, I do not know any town where it would be pleasanter to live. It is in a great degree, the Geneva of Britain'.¹⁰⁵ However, by Nodier's day, the city had grown and his somewhat negative attitude to large cities can be seen in his comments on London:

The populated areas or the cities of an advanced civilization have nevertheless so many points of resemblance, that it is impossible to fix upon the details which characterize them as individual without descending to the most minute details. I have neither the time nor the desire to do that, nor the ability to do so.¹⁰⁶

Comparing Edinburgh to Paris, London and Turin in one sentence, he revealed his belief that Edinburgh was, in some respects, as advanced as London and Turin.

¹⁰² *ibid.* p.318. Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.177. The garrison function of the town had diminished by 1786.

¹⁰³ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p132.

¹⁰⁴ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.111. Only the first phase of the planned development of Edinburgh was built at this point.

¹⁰⁵ Simond, *An American*, p.99. He later went to live in Geneva. Perhaps his comparison is based on the notion that business and banking flourished in both cities, which both grew prosperous in the eighteenth century. Geneva was also intellectually active in the eighteenth century.

¹⁰⁶ Nodier, *Promenade*, p.45.

Les maisons y sont beaucoup plus élevées que celles de Paris, les rues beaucoup plus larges que celles de Londres, presque toutes tracées au cordeau comme celles de Turin. ('The houses are much higher than those in Paris, the streets much broader than in London, almost all laid out straight as a die as in Turin').¹⁰⁷

He actually used the term 'the Athens of the North' with reference to Edinburgh, adding that only in very minute ways was Edinburgh similar to Athens topographically.¹⁰⁸ He made several quite pertinent observations comparing Glasgow and Edinburgh positively to European cities in general. He had read that Glasgow was 'la ville la mieux bâtie de l'Europe' (the best built town in Europe) and wrote that he would have agreed, had he not seen Edinburgh, but added later that, one day he thought it (Glasgow) would rival Edinburgh.¹⁰⁹ In a Romantic flight of fancy, he singled out the New Bridge in Glasgow as having 'quelque chose d'enchanteur' ('something enchanting about it') so that it made him feel he was transported to the Orient. This notion of the exoticism of the Orient was a common point of reference in Nodier's time and constituted a high compliment to Glasgow. His reference to a Glasgow bridge was probably also to reinforce the point that he had no intention of acknowledging the much more famous bridge in Edinburgh which most visitors cited. He was of the opinion that Glasgow was not so much visited by those on the Continent, so his comments and those of all of the French travellers have more resonance in the study of the Scottish cities.¹¹⁰

Some fascinating comparisons are made to London and England which reveal that the preconceptions of the travellers were sometimes overturned; la Rochefoucauld on Perth went as far as to remark that two streets for length, breadth and lay-out, would count as fine streets in London.¹¹¹ He noted that the houses of

¹⁰⁷ *ibid*, p.126-7.

¹⁰⁸ *ibid*, p.125. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Athens was regarded as the archetype of the Greek city state. The Athens of the North was used to describe Edinburgh culturally. It has been suggested that Edinburgh adopted the title 'Athens of the North'. In 1822, local artist Hugh William Williams exhibited watercolours of Athens long with views of Edinburgh, to show the likeness between the two cities. Edinburgh World Heritage, Athens of the North <http://www.ewht.org.uk/learning/Athens/why-athens-of-the-north> [Accessed December 2014].

¹⁰⁹ Nodier, *Promenade*, p.155.

¹¹⁰ *ibid*, pp.158-9, p.159. He did not record the source of his information.

¹¹¹ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.133.

Perth were better built than he had anticipated seeing in Scotland, but added that they had 'not so neat and comfortable an air as English dwellings'.¹¹²

It might have been expected that travellers would have recorded shopping as one of their activities. As the period progressed, there were many specialist retail shops such as haberdashery and jewellery outlets in the main cities, but the travellers made few references to any in Scotland. Despite their general interest in trade and industry, neither la Rochefoucauld nor Faujas mentioned commercial development in the towns, although the latter did buy goods in textile mills. They mentioned fairs and markets which were probably still where the poorer people bought goods, especially in the more rural areas of Scotland.¹¹³ Simond merely noted that in Edinburgh the shops were in the old part of town.¹¹⁴ In 1821, Nodier briefly referred to shops in Edinburgh being closed. It was only in 1825, the French MacDonald noted a visit to a jewellery shop of good repute in Glasgow where he bought gifts of jewellery for his family and for museums.¹¹⁵ These references show where the wealthy spent money, giving a glimpse of the rise in consumerism.

What chiefly interested the visitors were the amenities a town offered and the French travellers offered thought-provoking details of what was on offer. As well as planning and growth, they saw the amenities as signs of prosperity and advancement. One feature, indicative of both wealth and a rising leisured class, was evident along the river banks of many towns and cities; la Rochefoucauld was the first to mention promenades in Glasgow with the added attraction of an alley of trees.¹¹⁶ In Perth too, he found the quay and harbour area attractive, with a lovely avenue of sycamores, a public promenade and a pleasant green, against the

¹¹² *ibid.* p.132.

¹¹³ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, pp. 227 – 228. He reached Dumbarton on 14 September when a fair made it difficult to find accommodation.

¹¹⁴ Simond, *An American*. He referred to shops in Bath p.20, London pp.25 & 28 and Edinburgh p.7.

¹¹⁵ Nodier, *Promenade*, p.128. Hache, *MacDonald*, Glasgow p.185, Edinburgh p.129.

¹¹⁶ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.200. This was probably the same path that Nodier used in 1825 after watching street boxers. Nodier, *Promenade*, p.173.

backdrop of hills.¹¹⁷ An appreciation of nature, though admittedly only as a controlled part of the urban scene, was beginning to influence polite society - even in Banff, where la Rochefoucauld saw promenading, a sign of the growing sophistication of a small Highland town.¹¹⁸

Travelling in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was indicative of a more open civil society and in consequence the travellers were able to visit a variety of meeting places which were replacing the traditional church and court forums. The Age of Reason was famous for its cultural meetings which Faujas and la Rochefoucauld attended and wrote about. La Rochefoucauld saw Edinburgh as especially devoted to culture, listing a great variety of societies which promoted the sciences, literature, philosophy, medicine, law, natural history and more specialized interests, such as archery and music.¹¹⁹ The Highland Society had practical aims, la Rochefoucauld noted; to advance trade, construct modern facilities, such as bridges and market places, all subjects he was studying.¹²⁰ The society was still operating in 1825; the French MacDonald met a delegation from The Highlander's [*sic*] Society for Agriculture, Industry and Trade, introduced to him by a M. Mafrelot.¹²¹ Faujas cited, in particular, the recently formed Antiquarian Society 'for the purpose of collecting and preserving everything that relates to Scottish antiquities' and the Medical Society.¹²² The travellers were noting the trend towards increasing secularization, where the people formed organizations outwith Church domination. Most of the societies were didactic in their aims, a noted goal to civilize the people. France had similar societies, *sociétés savantes*, a feature of the eighteenth century; by mentioning the Scottish societies, the Enlightenment travellers were both

¹¹⁷ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.132

¹¹⁸ *ibid.* p.156. See Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury*, p.155.

¹¹⁹ The Musical Society of Edinburgh, founded in 1728 held weekly concerts.

¹²⁰ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.116.

¹²¹ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.130.

¹²² Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, p.149-150. The Scottish Antiquarian Society, founded in 1780.

reinforcing their importance for social good and showing how well Scotland compared to France.

The journals offer a direct insight into the social life in the city though the travellers recorded little of light entertainment. The travellers recorded examples of how public opinion was developing beyond the confines of the sacred and the political institutions as intellectual and philosophical needs were catered for through social meetings and learned societies. In the bourgeois public sphere, two developments had combined to replace the old order: the exchange of goods in trade and commerce; and the exchange of information.¹²³ The rise of capitalism along with liberal forces freed society from the domination of authority, such as the monarchy, so that state and civil society emerged as distinct spheres, the public and the private. The essence of the bourgeois public sphere was rational argument, through the exchange of information.¹²⁴ From around 1750, Jones suggests there was increased awareness and knowledge in the public sphere, of public involvement in political and social debate. Although diffuse, this was to have an effect on government policy and direction.¹²⁵ The journals emphasize the extent to which intellectual and social meetings took place in public, urban settings like theatres, coffee houses and societies. Edinburgh was famous for balls, clubs, theatre and concerts, and la Rochefoucauld commented that there was comedy all year round in Edinburgh, organised, as in England, by a manager. In 1810, Simond noted the tendency towards the exotic in a travelling menagerie in the city, the forerunner of a circus.¹²⁶ As visitors, they were entertained mainly by members of the social élite and several were invited to musical evenings, though Faujas did not appreciate the bagpipe competition he attended with Adam Smith.¹²⁷ The leaders in

¹²³ Thomas Burger, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1989), p.1.

¹²⁴ Blanning, *The Eighteenth Century*, p.8.

¹²⁵ Jones, *The Great Nation*, pp.223-225.

¹²⁶ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.119.

¹²⁷ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, pp.243-249. Simond went to theatres and to functions in private

civil society were the intellectual elites and the wealthy, not the nobles or the monarch. Opulent private houses were becoming the venues for social gatherings as changing life styles created a new sphere. The accounts show changes over the period; dinners with endless rounds of toasts which Faujas attended in England and at Inveraray, had, by the time of Waterloo (1815), become less fashionable.¹²⁸ Social gatherings catered for all tastes; Faujas and la Rochefoucauld attended mainly intellectual supper parties, fulfilling a similar function to the French salons, allowing non aristocrats to gain access to intellectual circles, while Simond's journal offers more insight into the larger social events. Again, though he had written quite extensively about the theatre in London, Nodier was strangely silent about life in Scottish cities; his objective in seeing the Romantic sights of literature while in Scotland perhaps overwhelmed any response to the social life of the town, while the French MacDonald's diary entries inevitably recorded family gatherings.

The journals offer an intriguing glimpse into complex cultural and intellectual interactions which had begun with exchanges through written material and were now taking place face to face.¹²⁹ Faujas wrote of serious academic meetings, the highlight of his time in the two major Scottish towns. He spent time with eminent university professors in Edinburgh, such as Joseph Black, who were influencing the sciences, linking scientific experiments to industry, including inspecting two 'cabinets'.¹³⁰ He wrote that Edinburgh, both from its situation and its tranquility, was a proper place for the sciences not disturbed by the bustle of an overgrown commerce, unlike London with the distractions of the political institutions, 'a point

houses and the French MacDonald was entertained by McDonalds.

¹²⁸ Youngson, *The making of classical Edinburgh*, p.244.

¹²⁹ See Chapter 2, *The Literature of Travel*, p.70 & p.77.

¹³⁰ Eighteenth century 'cabinet of curiosities' displayed items of academic or scientific interest. The Edinburgh collection, under the direction of Doctor Howard gave him 'great pleasure' but in Glasgow he was not impressed by that of Mr. Anderson Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, p.228, Volume I, pp.204-5.

which may help to explain the great flowering of scientific and technological advance spawned there'.¹³¹ He was quite clear that Edinburgh outshone Glasgow culturally.

Natural history is not so much cultivated here as it is in Edinburgh; its commerce, which is very considerable, appearing to absorb every other consideration. The university and printing-houses of Glasgow have, however, enjoyed a very high reputation, and it has produced several men of learning.¹³²

The purpose behind La Rochefoucauld's visit to Scotland was to observe this reputation for didactic innovation and his journal in particular demonstrates the level and standard of Scottish education and offers a view of the differences between Scotland and France.¹³³ His father, a great exponent of educational reform with complex connections to British philanthropic ventures, wanted to learn about British systems, hoping to influence state policy.¹³⁴ La Rochefoucauld's descriptions of the educational facilities of the capital were part of this transfer of knowledge to suggest changes for France; what he wrote of charity funded education presented an alternative to Church-run education in France.¹³⁵ He listed public libraries, the university, the college, and a high school similar to the grammar schools of England.¹³⁶ Faujas had referred previously to the High School in Edinburgh which announced that 'here nothing connected with public instruction is neglected'.¹³⁷ Twenty-five years later, Simond, a post-Enlightenment figure, attended a meeting of the Royal Society of Edinburgh on Huttonian geological theory, emphasizing that the city was still at the forefront of spreading scientific thought. He also quoted from the *Edinburgh Review* accounts of Black's lectures and interaction with Lavoisier.¹³⁸

¹³¹ *ibid.* Volume I, p.180. also Volume II, p. 225.

¹³² *ibid.* Volume I, pp.204-205.

¹³³ For details of the Scottish education systems and the subjects offered, in particular new subjects, see Withrington, 'Schooling, Literacy and Society', pp.169-192.

¹³⁴ He had instituted a school, amongst other things.

¹³⁵ The Jesuites, heavily involved in education, were dissolved in 1764 in all French territories. Rousseau wrote of the poor state of primary education in an era when Church and state were vying for control of education.

¹³⁶ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.116-117, p113-114, p.121.

¹³⁷ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, p.225. The school, one of the oldest in Scotland, dating from 1128, was influential in the Scottish Enlightenment. Youngson maintains that, in the 1780s, the education provision in Edinburgh was unrivalled in Britain, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh*.

¹³⁸ 5th February 1811. These incidents are recorded in the full version of Simond's book.

Several of the travellers were knowledgeable about botany, considered the most important preliminary to a study of medicine, one of the priority areas of research in the period. The journals give particulars of what the visitor to the capital might wish to visit.¹³⁹ In the late eighteenth century, there were modern botanic gardens in Edinburgh, which la Rochefoucauld regarded as well laid out.¹⁴⁰ His comments show how impressive and modern the gardens were, which used the latest scientific plant classification, following the system of Linnaeus.¹⁴¹ The importance and development of the gardens clearly continued as the French MacDonald wrote in 1825 that new botanic gardens were being laid out, along with a large hall where botany lectures were given. Similarly, he noted the new observatory replacing an older one.¹⁴² The French MacDonald was aware of the expense involved in setting up the Museum in Edinburgh when he wrote 'The museum room is new, elegant and well decorated with grooved pilasters with ornaments'.¹⁴³ The desire for facilities to search for knowledge ran deep and the funds to build them were clearly available.

The late eighteenth-century literary scene impinged on the travellers through the accelerated spread of printed materials within Western Europe; most cited travel writers, Faujas referred to Ossian and both Simond and Nodier were deeply interested in the Scottish Romantic literature, including Sir Walter Scott's novels.¹⁴⁴ He was a friend of Stendhal and became a key figure in the drive to spread Romanticism.¹⁴⁵ In America, Simond read the *Edinburgh Review*, one of the most

¹³⁹ John D. Comrie, *History of Scottish Medicine to 1860* (London: Ballière, Tindall and Cox, 1927), p.183.

¹⁴⁰ Edinburgh Botanic Gardens 1670, a physic garden, growing plants for medicinal use.

¹⁴¹ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.115. Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778), botanist, physician and zoologist.

¹⁴² Hache, *MacDonald*, p.133. The botanic garden, developed from physic gardens of the late seventeenth century, moved to its present site in 1823. Also p.130.

¹⁴³ *ibid*, pp.128-129. Probably part of what is now the Old College on South Bridge, begun in 1815.

¹⁴⁴ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, pp.242 onwards. He seems to have read some of the works of Ossian. Volume II, p.5 where he sees the mountains of Morven. See Pierre Carboni, *Ossian and belles Lettres*, in Dawson, *Deidre, & Morère, Pierre* (eds.), *Scotland and France in the Enlightenment* (London: Associated University Presses, 2003). and Andrew Hook, 'The French Taste for Scottish Literary Romanticism', also in *Scotland and France in the Enlightenment*, p.100.

¹⁴⁵ Marie-Henri Beyle (1783 –1842), better known by his pen name Stendhal

influential nineteenth-century British magazines.¹⁴⁶ Nodier was a leading figure in the debate about Romanticism and had written a review of Scott's novel *Old Mortality* in the *Journal des Débats* in late 1817, well before his visit to Scotland. He had wanted to meet Sir Walter Scott but did not. Nodier did not mention having letters of introduction so this may have been a case where arranging a meeting without a mutual contact was impossible. By 1825, when the French MacDonald visited Scotland, the mania for Scott's works had influenced much of French arts and culture, so it is hardly surprising that he was taken to meet Sir Walter Scott.¹⁴⁷

Faujas found the intellectual and social life most stimulating in an Enlightenment fashion, citing in particular the academics he met; Adam Smith whom he visited 'most frequently' in Edinburgh. He dined with Professor William Cullen (medicine), Dr Joseph Black (chemistry), Dr Anderson, Sir John Dalrymple, Dr William Robertson (the principal of the university), Dr John Aiken (a private professor of anatomy in Edinburgh), Dr James Hutton (member of the Royal Academy of Agriculture in Paris and a geologist) and Dr Howard (in charge of the cabinet of natural history at Edinburgh University museum, founded in 1780). Simond did not usually indicate the names of those he met but he socialised with fashionable society and the intelligentsia of Edinburgh throughout his stay.

It is clear from the journals that they knew of Scottish cities other than the capital which had a flourishing academic scene. Glasgow, and to a lesser extent Perth, also boasted an open intellectual environment which allowed the travellers to participate in the developing social milieu of Scotland in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries through letters of introduction to the men of learning and standing.¹⁴⁸ The journals record a great contrast between Edinburgh and Glasgow

¹⁴⁶ Hook suggests this may be a result of economic ties between America and the west of Scotland. Simond's wife, Frances was English. Simond's niece, who came to Scotland with him, met and later married Francis Jeffrey, founder member and editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, founded in 1802. Simond, *An American*, pp.89-90.

¹⁴⁷ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.134-135. He wrote of Scott '*He speaks French well.*'

¹⁴⁸ Simond and Faujas delivered letters of recommendation brought from Edinburgh.

with Faujas making some waspish remarks about Glasgow. Further analysis reveals that, although he delivered letters of recommendation when he first arrived in Glasgow, he spent three days out in the volcanic area near the city, researching 'without information or conductor', suggesting that he received few replies to his letters, except one to visit the cabinet of Mr. Anderson at the university.¹⁴⁹ Although a major city in the period, Dundee did not have a university like Glasgow or Edinburgh and seemed not to have been a cultural centre. La Rochefoucauld did not allude to meeting anyone.

In St Andrews, Faujas had letters of recommendation for George Hill, professor of Greek and Charles Wilson, professor of Hebrew, who showed him round the university. Faujas did not reveal where these letters originated; probably they were given by academics from either Glasgow University, or more probably Edinburgh University. In Perth he was introduced to two friends of Thornton, both teachers. Although they accompanied Faujas around Perth for a week, he was taken to visit textile factories, rather than sites of historic or academic interest, which underlines the interaction between academia and industry in the period.

The travellers were integrated into the social scene in Edinburgh through their contacts, which were both numerous and complicated. As part of the republic of letters, Faujas corresponded with Sir Joseph Banks; la Rochefoucauld and his family had contacts with Arthur Young and Adam Smith; Simond, too, had personal links to the American, French and British cultural milieu; while the French MacDonald was a high ranking officer and associated with nobles in France, and with élite MacDonalds, politicians and clergy in Britain. Faujas knew of figures from the Scottish Enlightenment such as Lord Kames and Adam Smith.

¹⁴⁹ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.223. This is probably in the Partick area of present day Glasgow. This is probably John Anderson who founded the Institution in 1795 and endowed a library, museum and philosophical apparatus which later became Strathclyde University.

The travellers, through their planning and reading for their trips, knew in advance of Edinburgh's reputation as a cultured city and Faujas wrote that it had produced 'distinguished characters ... in every branch of learning' while la Rochefoucauld wrote that Edinburgh University 'was made up of men most of whom are well-known and well-thought-of or who are famous in letters and the sciences'. While in Edinburgh, these two travellers met many distinguished academics; these meetings were both social and intellectual. Both met Adam Smith, the celebrated economist. La Rochefoucauld probably had a letter of introduction from his uncle, the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, who was in correspondence with Smith. This led to la Rochefoucauld dining with Smith and being introduced to Dr Robertson, Dr Joseph Black (chemist) and Dr Walker (Professor John Walker 1731-1803), all well-known scholars at Edinburgh University. This illustrates the point that la Rochefoucauld was part of an international network of contacts of intellectuals, often interested in a wide variety of fields.

Conclusion

Scottish population density was lower than in most of the rest of Europe but by 1760, Scotland had one of the fastest-growing urban sectors in Europe, which turned the country into a predominantly urban society.¹⁵⁰ By the late eighteenth century, the travellers saw population gravitating to the older Scottish cities, mainly in the central Lowlands and new ones being created.¹⁵¹ The travellers' concentration in their journals on the wonders of urbanization underline the fact that similar projects in big commercial cities such as Lyon, Marseilles, Bordeaux and Paris

¹⁵⁰ Foyster & Whatley, *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland*, p.3. Whyte, *Scotland's Society and Economy in Transition*, p.139. Devine has suggested that Scotland had the fastest growing urban sector in Europe. Devine, 'The Modern Economy', p.39.

¹⁵¹ Devine, 'The Modern Economy', p.14.

developed later than in Scotland.¹⁵² The juxtaposition in the journals of factual information about the development of towns with the details of social changes, accentuates the interaction between the growing economy and the rise of urban society while the travellers tacitly acknowledged that Scottish towns compared favourably to those abroad. The French reputation for cultural superiority, particularly noted in the Napoleonic era, gives added significance to the approbation of the French travellers.

The role of the Scottish universities in encouraging new outward-looking ways of reasoning cannot be overstated, as the travellers acknowledged. All forms of education, including societies, were playing a major role in the Enlightenment and in the promotion of science in particular, both nationally and internationally. Taken in conjunction with their comments on industry, the journals make it clear how contact between academics, businessmen and artisans created a fruitful basis for economic progress. They were aware of the significance of those who interacted to develop new research since they themselves were participating in the cultural transfers which filtered through intellectual exchanges from the late eighteenth century onwards. The basis for the civilized level of the rural population became obvious to the travellers as they experienced the influence flowing from the towns.

Throughout the period, the travellers reported evidence of the Scottish stimulation of education at all levels, including schools compared to poor houses or workhouses. La Rochefoucauld wrote in a telling manner about the social initiatives and philanthropic agencies in the cities, funded by public donations from wealthy patrons. The French MacDonald described an Edinburgh school for sons of combatants which interested him as his education had been funded by wealthy exiled Jacobites.¹⁵³

¹⁵² Jones, *The Great Nation*, pp.345-6.

¹⁵³ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.128.

Voltaire had written that Edinburgh was the most civilized city in Europe and most of the French travellers seemed to agree but despite their deep involvement in culture, there is a distinct lack of detail about the arts in the journals, although the later travellers wrote a little about the creative arts.

Little of what the travellers were able to experience in the towns would have been possible without the networking of personal association and written contacts. Indeed, such intellectual interaction was at the heart of all aspects of their trips, whether in the urban or rural areas as they relied on personal connections for all aspects of travelling, entertainment and support.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ See Chapter 1 The Literature of Travel, pp.71-79.

Chapter 6 Travelling through Scotland: The Transport System

This chapter shows how the travellers noted in their journals aspects of the transport network in Scotland. All of the French visitors were experienced travellers, mainly in Europe; their comments about Scotland are in the context of their experience abroad. Between them the travellers visited a high proportion of the Scottish mainland and some of the western isles so their observations give a perspective of much of the transport system of the period, by land and water.¹

The journal format is particularly advantageous to historians in this area as it reveals many different layers of information about travelling itself and what it was like for the travellers to use the road network. Since a journal was written often at the end of the daily journey, the same type of information was recorded repeatedly. Times, distances, inns, road surfaces are recorded regularly so comparisons can be drawn easily between all aspects of travelling experienced by the author. Data from several travellers using the same road or the same inn can give additional information or add a new perspective. Similarly, what is written in different eras about a particular situation can highlight changes or emphasize continuity. The description of one stretch of road used by four of the travellers in this study is a useful example. The road itself remained unchanged over the period. Nodier described a twelve mile stretch along the side of Loch Lomond from Luss to Firkin, first calling it '*une route*' (a road or a route) then '*une allée*' (usually, a path or track), indicating an earthen surface, seeing it as a Romantic peaceful, idyllic path in parkland.² Faujas, almost forty years previously, had found the same stretch 'almost impassable'. However, that stretch had not been improved; la Rochefoucauld used the route in reverse two years after Faujas, but made no adverse comments on the

¹ See the maps of the individual trips in the chapter on the travellers.

² Nodier, *Promenade*, p.196. Luss.

road.³ The discrepancy lies in the fact that the road was wet and boggy when Faujas used it in autumn, whereas la Rochefoucauld had passed over it in late spring. The French MacDonald, four years after Nodier and in June, enjoyed that part of the route to Tarbet with no difficulties, presumably when the road was dry.⁴ This reinforces the fact that one of the most significant problems facing road makers was that wet periods made the roads muddy or impassable for much of the year. Even under the military, road work was only undertaken from April to October.⁵

Weather was a major factor in affecting a journey so travellers tend to record it. Some travellers, like the French MacDonald, recorded the weather almost daily, giving a detailed picture of several weeks in one particular year, while Faujas and Simond left a record of particular events. Some records exist of major weather events, such as the Little Ice Age or particularly devastating storms but there is a general dearth of statistics of the weather on a daily, monthly or seasonal basis. The information which the travellers supply augments the scant evidence already known and can be used in a variety of ways, such as to help explain particular crop failures, sudden population movements and how capital is diverted to the sale of rural properties or the building of a new factory.

The observations in the travel journals on the road network reinforce both the economic divisions and the population distribution in Scotland in the eighteenth century. The southern part had a reasonably adequate road network. As far north as to the central belt, the region was accessible by road from England with cross links to the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow. Beyond the central belt, the towns had better sea links than land routes and in the Highlands the road system was poorer. South of Stirling, the travellers wrote favourably about the Scottish roads on the whole or made few negative comments. Indeed, Faujas was able to make a day trip

³ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.240. It had taken him six hours to reach Loch Fyne from Loch Lomond. Scarfe, *Highlands*, pp.195-196.

⁴ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.181.

⁵ William Taylor, *The military roads in Scotland*, (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1976), p.35.

from Edinburgh to Carron. Road construction was part of the economic development and the growth of towns up to the central belt. The need to move raw materials and goods stimulated road building within the economic zone and gradually radiated outwards to other parts of the country. La Rochefoucauld observed the positive correlation between the road conditions and economic development and the inverse correlation with poverty.⁶

The journal format allows travellers to record distances they were able to travel daily, information not available in other forms of writing. Moreover, it indicates indirectly the ease (or otherwise) of travelling, something which is not easy to deduce from other genres. In addition, comparisons between journals indicate distances travelled in different eras or in different terrain.

Apart from these obvious points, the journals bring out information which could otherwise be missed. Faujas' route from Edinburgh to Carron, at thirty-six miles, is considerably longer than the present distance of approximately twenty-five miles. In the past, roads were built round obstacles or field boundaries, so they meandered more than modern roads, increasing distances between destinations. Nodier described the road, a mile long, from Edinburgh to Leith as '*une voie droite*' (a straight line), so unusual as to be worth recording.⁷

The journals can be compared to what travellers on mainland Europe have written. They frequently reported poor roads and difficult travelling in other countries even in the late eighteenth century; the Spanish 'royal roads' were impassable in wet weather and only ran for short distances, while in eastern Europe there are reports of the local peasants being forced to carry carriages over treacherous ground.⁸ The comments of the French travellers in the last decades of the

⁶ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.145, pp.144-5. This reflects Price's view that economic development requires a transportation system to allow goods to be exchanged. Roger Price, *The Economic Modernisation of France 1730-1880* (London: Croom Helm Ltd., 1975), pp.1-2.

⁷ Nodier, *Promenade*, p.127.

⁸ Wolff *Inventing Eastern Europe*, Chapter 3 p.89 onwards.

eighteenth century are set against their experiences at home. Scotland and France had both been developing on a similar pattern but as trade increased, roads and bridges required upgrading.⁹ With trade expanding, the growing volume of traffic required an improved infrastructure for modern needs but the financing of roads in both countries also suffered from the same inadequacies of low public finance and poor central administration at this period. As a result, maintenance usually devolved to the local landowners of the adjacent land.¹⁰

In France, these landowners had neither the means nor the interest to build roads on their properties. Sometimes they were authorised to collect tolls on goods using repaired bridges or roads. This was irksome (and expensive) for those using the roads with each area charging their own tolls or customs dues; French landowners abused their power more so than in Britain, by charging what they wanted, often regarding it as an income, instead of using it for road maintenance. Despite attempts to suppress tolls throughout the eighteenth century, some still remained in place until the Revolution. The net result was wide variation in quality of maintenance, in quantity and type of new construction. Financing road building was always a problem in France as it was difficult to raise sufficient money through taxes. Even after 1750, a high proportion of the community was exempt from paying direct taxes.¹¹ On the other hand, in some areas, even the nobility had to pay the land tax, the *taille*.¹² It is with this in mind that Faujas and la Rochefoucauld commented on how the Scottish roads were funded. It is regrettable that Simond did not make any reference to roads in America although it does perhaps suggest he did not travel much beyond his base in New York.

⁹ See Anne Conchon, *Road Construction in Eighteenth Century France*, p.791-792 <http://www.arct.cam.ac.uk/Downloads/ichs/vol-1-791-798-conchon.pdf> [Accessed May 2014].

¹⁰ Whatley maintains that much road building was done by estate owners using turnpike trusts between 1790 and 1815. Christopher A. Whatley, *Scottish Society 1707-1830: beyond Jacobitism, towards industrialisation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p.74.

¹¹ The nobility, the clergy, even many well-off commoners, many cities and whole provinces.

¹² The *taille* was based on an estimate of the value of the year's crop.

The cost of such road building and maintenance was inevitably a huge financial burden and details are often no longer available. Not a usual subject of comment for the average traveller, nevertheless in 1784 Faujas commented that the road bordering Loch Awe was being built at 'very great expense' on the slope, noting that the road had been cut through the rock in some places and built out as a cornice 'as between Monaco and Genoa', an ambitious piece of engineering for the period.¹³ The road to Inveraray had been built on the insistence of the Duke of Argyll, who was astute enough to have a road constructed to his estates by the military at the government's expense.¹⁴ This is an example of the power of an individual to 'get things done' which is so typical of the spirit of the age in Scotland, in contrast to the inertia in France. Civil society was taking on the mantle of local government in Scotland, unlike in France, a recurrent theme noted in this thesis.

Faujas seemed unaware of the military roads, despite using at least one along Loch Lomond. La Rochefoucauld referred to military roads and bridges between Inverness and Fort William.¹⁵ He was quite critical of the road from Fort Augustus to Fort William, which though good, he wrote, was narrow, only a cart width.¹⁶ He felt little money had been spent on it, but realized that it was built for military use.¹⁷ La Rochefoucauld's comments were made in the context of his two main interests, farming and industry, aware that roads were a crucial part of developing trade and transporting goods. In addition to la Rochefoucauld's comments, the military roads were often too steep for carriages, another factor which limited use for trade or general travel.¹⁸

¹³ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, pp.303-306.

¹⁴ Cregeen, 'The Changing Role of the House of Argyll'. He writes, 'There was scarcely a single enterprise in the Highlands in which (the fifth Duke of Argyll) did not take a leading part ... including new industries, roads, canals, fishing villages and a score of other schemes'. p.21.

¹⁵ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.171.

¹⁶ Taylor, *The military roads in Scotland*, p.37. The standard width was sixteen feet.

¹⁷ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.166. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*. p.323.

¹⁸ Scottish History Online. The Military Roads
<http://www.scotshistoryonline.co.uk/bridges/html/mil-roads.htm> [Accessed December 2014.]

La Rochefoucauld's journal showed indirectly, examples of how those roads were funded which were not built by central government or by the military. From the early seventeenth century, the Justices of the Peace had to maintain roads to market towns and churches and maintenance of bridges and roads was under the jurisdiction of burgh courts, as were weights and measures.¹⁹ Each town was responsible for maintaining access into and out of its jurisdiction. La Rochefoucauld saw the burgh of Aberdeen maintaining access to the town with roads constructed by the local population. This also generated material for building houses and field enclosures; improvement was having a snowball effect.²⁰ However, after leaving the jurisdiction of Aberdeen burgh, la Rochefoucauld found the roads 'deplorable', as huge, rough stones made the road difficult to negotiate on its jolting surface. Beyond the city of Aberdeen, work had been done to a poorer standard, marking a different area, the responsibility of the landowner, whereas within the town, merchants and business people could bring in general improvements to the area to improve connections and thereby trade. An observant traveller might notice the difference while passing over it; only by keeping a diary would it be recorded for others to read. La Rochefoucauld was also tacitly making a comparison with France. There it was not easy to obtain authorization for changes as roads were built by royal command and innovation was often stifled whereas in the burgh of Aberdeen the local authorities could make decisions and put plans into operation. Turgot, who knew la Rochefoucauld's father, tried to introduce reforms in the 1770s while in government, but was soon out of office when he lost favour. In the period 1771-84, French assemblies were introduced with powers over tax-assessment and to oversee road works, which was late compared to Scotland's road development.²¹

¹⁹ Whyte, Ian D., *Scotland before the industrial revolution: an economic & social history c.1050-c.1750* (London: Longman Group Limited, 1995), p.215

²⁰ See A.R.B. Haldane, *New ways through the glens: Highland road, bridge and canal makers of the early nineteenth century* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles (Holdings) Ltd., 1962), p.3.

²¹ Colin Jones, *The Great Nation*, p.313.

La Rochefoucauld seemed more aware than Faujas of the major difference between the two countries; by the 1780s, Scotland had benefitted from the unexpected input of government cash after the 1745 Rebellion. In France the links between the main roads in the late eighteenth century were still poor or non-existent.²² The main arterial roads radiating out from Paris were usually wide and straight, emphasizing the dominance of the capital and that they existed for military, not economic reasons.²³ Travel was expensive and there were still accounts of inadequate roads in the 1820s in France, when Scottish roads were much improved. The French were renowned for disliking travelling far from home, no doubt largely because of its difficulties and dangers.²⁴ Simond himself commented 'The English, it is plain, are fond of travelling, and make the pleasure last as long as they can'.²⁵

The northern Scottish road system developed quite differently from that of France. There existed the notion of a Highland Line, 'beyond which the inaccessible barbarians who were not worth conquering were left alone'. Under this scenario, the function of government had been to avoid conflict by remaining outside the area without interfering in any way.²⁶ This is one of the underlying reasons that the Highlands remained apart and the myths of 'Otherness' had been perpetuated.²⁷ The travellers were cognizant of stepping over into an area separate socially and culturally but probably were less aware that the roads would be different. Constant unrest in the Highlands of Scotland over many decades from the late seventeenth century led the government to a deep-seated fear of Jacobite insurgence. This finally forced a policy of quelling the area through a road system to allow swift troop

²² de Bertier de Savigny, *The Bourbon Restoration*, pp.201-204, p.207.

²³ Cobban, *A History of Modern France, Volume 1, 1715-1799*, p.47.

²⁴ de Bertier de Sauvigny, *The Bourbon Restoration*, p.205.

²⁵ Louis Simond, *An American*, p.122.

²⁶ Hugh Trevor-Roper *The Invention of Scotland*, p.193.

²⁷ See Chapter 2, *Life in the Rural Areas*, pp.86-89, p.98, p.102.

movement throughout the Highlands, though ironically this also allowed tourism to develop.²⁸

Military roads is a misused general term for the developments; some were new roads, some old roads were re-aligned and remade, bridges were also part of the construction. The important feature was that funds came from the government while much of the work was carried out under the auspices of the military. Regular maintenance of roads in Scotland was a major feature and the counties increasingly cooperated, eventually allowing the military to withdraw. Repair was often best achieved through realignment to soften bends or make a slower gradient on a hill which helped make the road more suitable for wheeled traffic.²⁹

Road repair was an ongoing issue in the Scottish Highland region in particular.³⁰ The early travellers, although they wrote in depth about road construction, did not make any references to seeing roads being repaired. Faujas noted a fifteen mile stretch from Edinburgh to Livingston where the road and adjacent fields were strewn with basalts, which probably indicates preparations for road repairs.³¹ In theory, repair to existing roads was the responsibility of the Commissioners of Supply, who had statutory powers to levy a tax on the landowners and to demand six days labour from tenants.³² Up to the middle of the eighteenth century, roads were maintained by statute labour; an unsatisfactory system using untrained, unwilling men labouring a few days annually in slack times of the agricultural year, achieving little. During the eighteenth century, most counties could exchange statute labour for money payment.³³ The travellers could have missed any road works which took place over such short periods. Lord Kames in

²⁸ This following the report of Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat in 1724 to the British monarch. Troops were stationed in the north, and garrisons built. Taylor, *The military roads in Scotland*, pp.16-17.

²⁹ See Taylor, *The military roads in Scotland*, p.14, p.31, p.45.

³⁰ The gravel top layer had to be replaced most years. Taylor, *The military roads in Scotland*, p.38.

³¹ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.201. Faujas' visit was probably too late to see repairs.

³² New roads were the province of the army.

³³ Taylor, *The military roads in Scotland*, p.14. The army was petitioned to carry out roadworks.

1760 failed to obtain a general bill for Scotland to commute statute labour to a set amount of money, so individual counties made their own arrangements.³⁴ La Rochefoucauld, aware of the similar system of *la corvée* in France, commented that Highland men did not like the enforced road building.³⁵ With his background in Physiocratic theory, la Rochefoucauld saw taking peasants from the fields as arbitrary, unjust and inefficient. Turgot, also a Physiocrat, wanted the work to be financed by taxation, annexed to the *vingtième*, a general tax, to minimise exemptions. The *Parlement* in Paris opposed this and the edict was in place for only a few months in 1776. However, the pressure against *la corvée* resulted in communities being allowed to introduce a tax locally.³⁶ Generally, to avoid further financial burden on the poor, the labour part of *la corvée* was retained until 1787 when a tax was introduced.³⁷ Repair work in France usually took place in spring or autumn to minimize disruption for agriculture. Neither is good for road work; spring is often plagued by late snow or snow melt and autumn is often rainy.

One item noted was the materials used for the road surface. Using the most appropriate materials to construct a road would lengthen the season for traders as well as travellers. The journals give an insight into what was being used and also specifically where and how. Faujas' scientific mind-set made him analyze what constituted the most suitable material; as a geologist, he described the types of stone from Edinburgh to Carron as excellent broken basalt.³⁸ La Rochefoucauld similarly, in 1786, specified the type of stone used from granite to composite, the colours and the varying sizes. He noted prepared surfaces, where he described

³⁴ Owners and occupiers of adjacent land worked a number of days or paid in lieu. Men could pay a fee ('commutation') to hire a substitute, 3d. a day; road authorities paid 9d. for a day labourer.

³⁵ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.172. See Joan & Arthur Baker, *A Walker's companion to the Wade Roads* (Edinburgh: Melven Press, 1987), p.7. *la corvée*, thirty days labour demanded of men between sixteen and sixty. Most hated the work and did as little as possible; they were prevented from leaving the site overnight.

³⁶ The King dismissed Turgot from office and the act was rescinded.

³⁷ Roger Price, *Economic Modernisation of France, 1730-1880*, p4 & 5. Edict of February 1776, revoked, August 1776. The privileged retained their tax exemptions

³⁸ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, pp.305-306. Porphyry used elsewhere, Volume I, p.262, p.181.

'smoothed' stones and contemplated sending rock samples to France.³⁹ Again, he knew that this information was of interest to French road makers.⁴⁰

Over twenty years later, Simond was less scientific, mentioning the size of the rocks used rather than the type when he contrasted roads in Scotland and England. Nevertheless, by noting smaller stones used for English road-making, then a layer of gravel instead of coarse stones, he made the point that the roads improved as he went south.⁴¹ In 1821, Nodier wrote little about roads in Scotland which, by default, indicates his travelling was easy in comparison to some of his earlier experiences in other parts of Europe.⁴² By 1825, the French MacDonald wrote that the road surfaces were generally well maintained and 'pierced with the new system of Mr Macadam'.⁴³ By this simple reference, he noted the road was built using the latest technique, marking engineering advances.

In a chance reference, the journal of la Rochefoucauld indicted that other materials were used in preparing roads; he found sand used on the road from Girvan to create a smoother surface than stones.⁴⁴ Sand was certainly an abundant local option but is not a good substitute for gravel, which gives better drainage and is a more stable surface for wheeled traffic. In France, beaten earth (*terre battue*) was often used for roads. Its advantage was it was a cheap, readily available material but like sand, had the disadvantage of turning very sticky and heavy when wet, so it was a poor substitute for stone and gravel. These journals give significant facts about road materials and road construction over the period which other travellers may not have noticed and may not be recorded elsewhere so are of great historical value for researchers.

³⁹ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.148. Stonehaven to Aberdeen.

⁴⁰ Conchon, *Road Construction in Eighteenth Century France*. She makes the point that in France there was debate in the period about the most suitable materials for road building.

⁴¹ Gravel was freely available in Scotland, and a layer of two feet was put in after the stones. Taylor, *The military roads in Scotland*, p.37. Simond, *An American*, p.105 and p.123.

⁴² He had been involved in an accident when his coach overturned in Europe and his wife suffered a broken leg.

⁴³ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.149. This system was used from about 1820.

⁴⁴ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.219.

From the 1780s onward, when the earlier French travellers visited Scotland, the Scottish industrial sector grew very fast, simultaneous with the development of the transport network. Their interest in the industrial and agricultural advance of the Scottish economy also encompassed the need to move goods so they commented extensively on the road system. Although not intended for civilian use, the construction of new routes and repair of older roads coincided with increased traffic. Political economists of the period recognized the need for better transport systems to advance the economy and harness the commercialization of agriculture and rising demand for Highland products.⁴⁵ Arguably, the military roads did not have much economic impact until the nineteenth century, but the opening up of the northern regions of Scotland did allow easier movement, as the travellers reported.⁴⁶

In 1750, half of the Scottish people still lived north of the River Tay, but the road system had never allowed easy movement in the Highlands, perpetuating the isolation and myths described above, although none of the French travellers expressed fear or trepidation of travelling north into this relatively unknown territory.⁴⁷ Not having benefited from Roman road building, the region lacked the basis of defined routes. The overall routes taken by the travellers go some way to show the network of roads.⁴⁸ The Scottish terrain became increasingly difficult further north.⁴⁹ The Highlanders used the sea and sea lochs whenever possible.⁵⁰ It has been argued that the Highlanders did not relish their homeland being opened up, nor did they want to give up their way of life or their autonomy.⁵¹

⁴⁵ Alastair Durie, 'Movement, Transport and Travel', in Foyster, Elizabeth & Whatley, Christopher A., (eds), *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland, 1600-1800* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), p.252. Durie does not name the economists.

⁴⁶ Smout T.C., *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*, p.196. Taylor, *The military roads in Scotland*, p.127.

⁴⁷ In the Chapter on Life in the Rural Areas, pp.86-88, p.109.

⁴⁸ See the maps of the routes taken by each of the travellers in the introduction.

⁴⁹ North and west of a diagonal line from Loch Lomond to Aberdeen is high, boggy terrain.

⁵⁰ Grant, *Highland Folk Ways*, p.278.

⁵¹ See Baker & Baker, *A Walker's companion to the Wade Roads*, pp.9-10. This is echoed by Taylor, *The military roads in Scotland*, p.125.

This led to the need for more detailed maps for those who ventured further into the Highlands than previously and mapping itself was becoming more scientific and sophisticated. In 1726, Wade started working in Scotland in a virtually unmapped country. As part of the work, General Roy surveyed Scotland between 1747 and 1755, producing the 'Great Map', for military use after the 1745 Jacobite Rebellion, drawn somewhat notionally in the fashion of the period.⁵² Other maps are known to have existed in the period and it is interesting to note what the travellers used. Faujas probably accessed James Dorret's map at Inveraray.⁵³ He referred only once to using a map but his remarks show the difficulties of interpreting the information; Luss was marked as a village but he was surprised to find only one house.⁵⁴ La Rochefoucauld may have used a map by Taylor and Skinner (1775) and he emphasized the need for a map to be able to appreciate Scotland.⁵⁵ Although strip road maps for significant routes and local county maps were also being made in the late eighteenth century, there were still acute problems of navigation in the more remote Highland areas. There were some milestones, but military road markers tended to say only which regiment had built that stretch of road.⁵⁶ The Enlightenment travellers gave detailed descriptions of their routes, listing, noting, measuring and comparing, observing weather; all 'scientific' activities, in the quest for accurate quantification and measurement.⁵⁷ Their journals are not simply a record of where they went and what they did but often seem more like notes to be fleshed out into treatises for publication. The changes in availability of maps is clear from the journals; the two eighteenth century travellers had to rely on local

⁵² Baker & Baker, *A Walker's Companion to the Wade Roads*, p.15. The survey was kept securely in the King's Royal Library in London, because of its strategic and military value.

⁵³ A map of Scotland made for the Duke of Argyll in 1750. Also Andrew Rutherford's *Exact Plan of His Majesty's Great Roads Through the Highlands of Scotland* (London?: 1745).

⁵⁴ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.232.

⁵⁵ Scarfe, *To the Highlands*, footnote p.166. p.195. George Taylor & Andrew Skinner, *General Map of the Roads of Scotland* (1776).

⁵⁶ For example, one erected in 1754 at the Lecht.

⁵⁷ Munck, *The Enlightenment: A Comparative Social History*, p.13. This led to the standardization of weights and measures

knowledge to augment the maps and information they brought with them. Neither Simond nor Nodier mentioned maps but by the time of their visits there were more guide books available to use en route. The French MacDonald had a sophisticated, up to date map which was sent to him by a member of the Highlander's [*sic*] Society for Agriculture, Industry and Trade from London.⁵⁸

Several of the travellers help to verify that only the most remote areas of northern Scotland and the islands were really badly served for roads in the late eighteenth century. With few travellers there, the records are sparse so what the French travellers wrote is of great interest. On the west coast of the Scottish mainland north and south of Oban, both Faujas and la Rochefoucauld found awful roads; la Rochefoucauld even found the road after Fort William (heading south) was unsuitable for the carriage.⁵⁹ The passengers had to walk as the gig was under threat of overturning. Other travellers hinted at similar problems; Mrs Sarah Murray, in her advice to travellers in Scotland in 1796, recommended a carriage with good springs to make the journey more comfortable and to take spare parts for the carriage. She evidently knew that some roads were bad and expected accidents.⁶⁰

In another casual journal entry, Simond was the only traveller to write that the vehicles travelled on the left in Britain.⁶¹ Once widespread in Europe, it dated from feudal practices.⁶² Before the French Revolution, the aristocracy forced the peasantry to the right, so neither Faujas nor la Rochefoucauld would have found it strange to travel on the left. However, in the late 1700s in both France and the United States, the driver of big wagons kept to the right side of the road. After 1789,

⁵⁸ Hache, *The French MacDonald*, p.131. Made using a new process, invented in 1796.

⁵⁹ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.179. Lazowski took the gig by boat.

⁶⁰ Mrs Sarah Murray (1744-1811), *A Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland*, 1796. <https://archive.org/details/acompanionandus00murrgoog>, pp.37 onwards [Accessed May 2014].

⁶¹ Simond, *An American in Regency England*, p.26, in London.

⁶² It is easier to mount a horse from the left wearing a sword. This gave right-handed swordsmen an advantage over an opponent. As it is safer to mount at the side of the road, then the horse should be ridden on the left side of the road.

the French aristocrats, keeping a low profile, joined the peasants on the right.⁶³

Simond was the only one of the travellers in the position to see travelling on the left in the US as well as France.

It is surprising how little reference there is in the journals to turnpikes, a fairly new system of toll roads which were used to pay for maintenance, so eliminating statute labour.⁶⁴ La Rochefoucauld mentions turnpikes indirectly. He refers to underdeveloped areas in the north where there were no turnpikes, implying that he had used turnpikes earlier in his journey around Scotland but without commenting.⁶⁵ La Rochefoucauld clearly related turnpikes to investment in Scotland and to trade. These toll roads were often built privately and maintained by the tolls themselves. La Rochefoucauld drew a picture of a somewhat complicated bridge at Inchinnan which was built to exact tolls but he does not refer to the tolls themselves.⁶⁶ Simond's caustic remark about the rounding up of the cost of the turnpike to the nearest mile is the typical journal comment but is not commonly found elsewhere.⁶⁷

By 1810, the practice of enforced labour to repair the roads had largely disappeared in Scotland. Paid workers were more motivated and had the additional advantage of being available throughout the year.⁶⁸ By the 1820s, funds and a paid labour force built new roads and maintained existing ones in Scotland, though this did not guarantee good working conditions for the men; in 1825, the French MacDonald observed road workers who were housed in tents, 'for the lack of habitation'.⁶⁹ This harks back to the conditions John Knox reported in 1786 when gangs of road workers had no accommodation provided.⁷⁰

⁶³ An official keep-right rule was introduced in Paris in 1794.

⁶⁴ The turnpike road had a toll barrier. Each scheme required parliamentary approval, the first Act was for Midlothian in 1713.

⁶⁵ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.145. There were no turnpikes north of Perth even in 1788. The first turnpike in Aberdeenshire was 1796.

⁶⁶ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.206, footnote.

⁶⁷ Simond, *An American*, p.162.

⁶⁸ Wade had negotiated double pay for the soldiers on roads, in recognition of the arduous work. Taylor, *The military roads in Scotland*, p.39.

⁶⁹ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.146. North of Dunkeld. Taylor, *The military roads in Scotland*, p.35. Camps

Boggy moorland, rivers and streams made travelling difficult in the early eighteenth century throughout northern Scotland. Many bridges were built by the military engineers in the decades before the arrival of the French visitors and government funding for bridges was included in the overall military road building.⁷¹ Some Scottish rivers in the Highlands were still without bridges in the late eighteenth century. Simond alone records fords to cross streams in 1810.⁷² Possibly the earlier travellers expected fords so did not comment on using them. Similar problems were holding back transport in France; many bridges were only broad enough for a pack horse and wooden bridges had to be replaced with sturdier stone structures, to take the weight of heavy carts.⁷³ In 1784, Faujas mentioned one bridge in the Highland area, at Bun Awe (*sic*). He saw it as an example of progress, linking it to large ships being able to go far inland.⁷⁴ La Rochefoucauld, ever conscious of the economic situation, shrewdly realized that bridges would provide the much needed investment to stimulate trade and industry.⁷⁵ He noted most about bridges and his journal is the most revealing about construction techniques and the latest engineering innovations.⁷⁶ In Glasgow, seeing the 'New Bridge', he commented on the construction to make it lighter.⁷⁷ He emphasized the engineering, construction and also the cost of the bridges, including drawing a sketch of a complicated bridge which spanned two streams.⁷⁸ This is a typical Enlightenment response, the development of an urban area which would increase wealth and

were ten miles apart, p.37, p.42.

⁷⁰ John Knox, *A Tour through the Highlands of Scotland in 1786*, quoted in Baker & Baker, *A Walker's companion to the Wade Roads*. Huts or tents had been provided for the soldiers during road works, after the 1745 Rebellion, tents were standard.

⁷¹ Thomas Telford (1757-1834) constructed over a thousand bridges in Scotland. Before Wade, Highland rivers were almost all unbridged, Haldane, *The Drove Roads of Scotland*, p.200.

⁷² Simond, *An American*, p.75. In southern Scotland on a route to Edinburgh from the Lake District.

⁷³ Conchon, *Road Construction in Eighteenth Century France*, pp.791-798.

⁷⁴ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, pp.305-306. where Loch Awe runs into Loch Etive

⁷⁵ Bonawe. The bridge north of Montrose, built by Smeaton, opened in 1775.

⁷⁶ Bridges were made of rubble and harled against weathering. Taylor, *The military roads in Scotland*, p.39.

⁷⁷ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.201. Also called Jamaica Bridge, built 1772 by John Smeaton.

⁷⁸ *ibid.* pp.206-207.

happiness for the inhabitants. Unusually, la Rochefoucauld appreciated the beauty and elegance of the structures as well as their functionality. He noted the 'very handsome' bridge in Perth with nine arches over the River Tay, built by Smeaton.⁷⁹ The Scottish contribution to the Enlightenment included innovative civil engineers such as John Smeaton, John Adams and Andrew Barrie who designed the Montrose Bridge which Lazowski specifically mentioned.⁸⁰ All forms of engineering were of great interest to Enlightenment thinkers as it represented the practical use for new theoretic discoveries. Collaboration between scientific disciplines was common; Black, the chemist worked with James Watt, the engineer. Faujas met James Watt in Birmingham. The public spirit in Scotland was also evident in bridge building; La Rochefoucauld noted the bridge funded from public subscription, as was a bridge he saw north of Montrose.⁸¹ For historians, such comments not only augment the factual data already available about the bridges but also show the perceptions of those seeing them.

The travellers in the early years of the nineteenth century witnessed what Haldane calls the real foundation and origin of modern communications in the Highlands.⁸² Ironically, in the new century, the travellers wrote much less than the two previous travellers about transport; easy journeys are less noteworthy than those with incidents or difficulties. Simond merely noted that he crossed the Tweed, the Ettrick, and the Yarrow without mentioning the bridges. In another of his casual comments which reveal much about conditions, he mentioned the carriage windows

⁷⁹ *ibid* p.132. The bridge was completed in 1771 in response to a ferry disaster in 1767. See Iain A. Robertson, 'The Earl Of Kinnoull's Bridge: The Construction Of The Bridge Of Tay At Perth, 1763-1772', *Scottish Economic and Social History* Vol 6 Issue 1 (1986), pp.18-32. Smeaton also built the Forth & Clyde canal.

⁸⁰ The bridge used a new approach for weight problems. See *The Scotsman* December 17th 2003. A bridge, built in Perth in 1769 has hidden, hollow compartments to reduce weight on the foundations as piers sink and arches collapse. A bridge over the North Esk used the same technique.

⁸¹ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.148 entering Aberdeen 'a 7 arch bridge, remarkable for its grace and lightness, perfectly flat'. See also p.148 footnote, and p.144.

⁸² When the government spent more than £1,500,000 on roads and bridges. Haldane, *New ways through the glens*, preface p. viii.

were closed for long stretches to keep out the dust, so he may not have seen much of the bridges themselves. In 1821, Nodier noticed a bridge in Glasgow which he called the New Bridge, leading to New Glasgow, the same bridge that la Rochefoucauld had seen. Nodier's report was much more subjective than that of the previous travellers, which gives a quite different perspective. As a Romantic, he was impressed by its beauty rather than its function.⁸³ Ever the patriotic Frenchman, he wrote that it reminded him of the Pont-des-Arts in Paris.⁸⁴ It was as an historian or a Romantic that he commented on bridges elsewhere.⁸⁵ It is typical of Nodier that he made no reference to the North Bridge in Edinburgh. He prepared for his Scottish trip by reading other travel journals then chose deliberately to ignore what other travellers had noticed. This imposing bridge, built by public subscription to span a deep valley between the High Street and the old North Loch was one of the great sights of classical eighteenth century Edinburgh. Four years later, the French MacDonald made a brief but observant reference to the 'bold and high bridge' and how it linked the two towns of Edinburgh. He also mentioned an iron bridge over the River Eden, another connection with the new industrial techniques.⁸⁶

Simond made a simple comment which has resonance for its social implications. He pointed out that in Edinburgh, even in the early nineteenth century it was not necessary to keep a carriage as the distances were short and sedan chairs were generally used in Edinburgh. Many did own a carriage, implying they were an ostentatious show of wealth. He wrote that the Hackney-coaches were fit to be used by anybody in Edinburgh, adding that they were 'on a much more decent footing in every respect than in London'.⁸⁷ This, with another comment from his journal about the soot in London, indicates Edinburgh was than much cleaner London.

⁸³ Nodier, *Promenade*, p.157.

⁸⁴ Pont des Arts is a footbridge - the narrow New Bridge is probably a footbridge.

⁸⁵ For example Nodier, *Promenade*, p.123.

⁸⁶ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.124, p.187.

⁸⁷ Simond, *An American*. Sedan chairs in London could go into narrower streets, p.54, p.86.

The travellers' journals gave interesting snippets of information about the vehicles available. Faujas and his party were able to hire post-chaises in London, which they used throughout their trip.⁸⁸ La Rochefoucauld had brought his own light gig over from France but used a post-chaise to visit a mill outside Paisley.⁸⁹ In a fascinating and relevant comment from his travel journal, Arthur Young was forced to use a post-chaise in France; an experience he noted was much worse there and on the whole more expensive than in England.⁹⁰ The French MacDonald used a variety of transport, whatever was arranged for him, including a coach and a calash.⁹¹ He casually mentioned changing horses in Berwick as if it was no great problem, unlike the experiences of the earlier travellers. Later he was annoyed to find difficulties in changing the seven horses his party needed between Perth and Inverness, clearly expecting horses to be available as he had a schedule prepared to meet up with the naval cutter.⁹² The fact that the French MacDonald could make up a timetable for his trip shows that the level of traffic sustained increased facilities.

The story of the stagecoach to Scotland featured in the journals. The original service in 1712 ran fortnightly between Edinburgh and London, taking thirteen days, reducing by 1754, to ten days in summer and twelve days in winter, highlighting slower winter travelling. In 1810 Simond asserted incorrectly that there were no stagecoaches in the Scottish Highlands.⁹³ The French MacDonald in 1825 was aware of stagecoaches to Inverness from Perth but with no Sunday service.⁹⁴ Simond made one of his lively observations, writing that the stagecoach was absurd, describing it as a ship on four wheels. At the same time, he gave a back-handed compliment to British technical advancement when he wrote,

⁸⁸ Two for the gentlemen and one the servants, Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.126.

⁸⁹ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.213. He was accompanied by local businessman Mr Howle.

⁹⁰ Arthur Young, *Travels in France*, p.12. his horse had fallen ill.

⁹¹ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.135, calash, also called a calèche.

⁹² *ibid.* p.120 & p.139.

⁹³ Simond, *An American*, p.81. The eighteenth century Duke of Gordon hotel, Kingussie, was built for stagecoaches to Inverness. There were stagecoaches London to Edinburgh before 1763 and Edinburgh to Glasgow from 1749.

⁹⁴ *ibid.* p.144.

These carriages and the heavy waggons with conical wheels ought not to be found in a country where the science and practice of mechanics are so well understood.⁹⁵

The travellers made comments about vehicles which, taken together, show the development of the transportation of goods. In 1786, la Rochefoucauld saw some very old carts on the road to Fort William with no wheels, only two poles touching the ground to pull it. He made the connection that this was an unusual sight in an area of dire poverty.⁹⁶ Pack horses were the only means of transporting goods in the rural areas of Scotland throughout much of the eighteenth century. His references are in contrast to early in the next century when the use of carts and carriages was increasing; driving from Hawick to Edinburgh in 1810, Simond saw strings of light carts each pulled by a single horse, with one man in charge. Even with that volume of traffic, he noted that Scotland was lagging behind the south of Britain, describing English waggons heavier than the Scottish ones, with fellys to their wheels, sixteen and eighteen inches broad.⁹⁷ These often caused damage to road surfaces; in France there were moves to restrict the weight of vehicles, instead of laying better roads. A lack of money meant that the cheaper option was often chosen, but this was a short term expedient.

In a curious observation, la Rochefoucauld maintained that, in the Highlands of Scotland at least, horses were seldom ridden. This is perhaps a reflection of the people generally being too poor to own a horse. Various travellers noted the fact that Scottish animals were small, perhaps because a horse under thirteen hands was not taxable.⁹⁸ At another point, la Rochefoucauld stated that horses were used in harness and specially shod to cope with steep slopes, while at Queensferry, near Edinburgh, he commented on the horses being in a wretched condition. He had

⁹⁵ Simond, *An American*. He went into London from Richmond pp.25 -27.

⁹⁶ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.171. It had a basket and tools attached which were part wood, part metal. There are references from the mid-eighteenth century around Aberdeen that there were no roads in the county where 'wheels of any kind could be dragged'. Alexander W., *Notes and Sketches of Northern Rural Life in the eighteenth century*, in Haldane, *New ways through the glens*, p.3.

⁹⁷ Simond, *An American*, p.75. 'a much better contrivance than the heavy English waggons'. p.85.

⁹⁸ *ibid*, p.81.

noted primitive harnesses, and straw collars, denoting poverty so his comment about the animals may have been a transferred epithet.⁹⁹ Simond did think the 'English' treated their animals better than the French. Certainly, Arthur Young in 1787 called the French stables dunghills and wrote that French stable boys took poor care of his horse.¹⁰⁰ On the island of Mull Faujas' group had to ride horses as there were no roads. Faujas praises the guides who kept returning to caress the horses on a difficult journey across the island.¹⁰¹ The mixed comments of the travellers reflect the difficulty of using journals which are personal, haphazard, even contradictory.

It is clear from the journals of the early visitors that their travelling needs in northern Scotland lagged behind road development; low numbers of travellers meant that support systems were not always in place. In 1784, Faujas was forced to hire drivers and horses for the entire journey beyond Glasgow on the Inveraray road as there were no relays.¹⁰² This evidently changed as the period progressed; the French MacDonald was able to send ahead for horses.

In the same way, the travellers' journals highlight the development in inns. During the earlier part of the eighteenth century, the military engineers, aware of the lack of stopping places, had created inns from the supply camps and barracks for the road builders which became known as King's Houses.¹⁰³ La Rochefoucauld stayed in one, the General's Hut on the side of Loch Ness.¹⁰⁴ Inns were used only for a very short season in Scotland in the eighteenth century; from October to May. There were few travellers, therefore the economic basis for wayside inns was limited. It is worthy of note that the French travellers used the inns to eat and rest

⁹⁹ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.176. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People 1560-1830*, p.318. refers to Highlanders making ropes out of wood or roots before the 1745 Rebellion.

¹⁰⁰ Arthur Young, *Travels in France*, p.47.

¹⁰¹ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, pp.11-12. His host arranged horses to take them across the island. The horses were small, strong, suited to the rugged terrain.

¹⁰² Relays - places, usually inns where horses could be changed.

¹⁰³ Taylor, *The military roads in Scotland*, p.37.

¹⁰⁴ Near Foyers. Wade's headquarters while overseeing the roadworks.

during the day but the experiences of both la Rochefoucauld and Faujas were often poor; there was usually no choice of inns and sometimes difficulties in finding a place to stay for the night, even finishing the day's journey on foot since the horses were exhausted.¹⁰⁵ Although la Rochefoucauld wrote that the inns in England were mainly of a much higher standard than in Scotland, he added the telling comment that most inns on the continent away from the main roads were just as bad as some in Scotland.¹⁰⁶ French inns on the main routes may have been of a better standard as they were used by English aristocrats on the Grand Tour, giving a higher class clientele and used for a much longer portion of the year.

The French travellers wrote of the poor range of food available at the inns. La Rochefoucauld wrote that the inns were apt not to be very agreeable, but he was well fed in several places. Foodstuffs tended not to be transported far by road which explains why Faujas' party ate local produce on Mull. It is largely through the journals of travellers themselves that details of the food and accommodation at inns is revealed; information from personal experience is unlikely to have survived in any other format. The innkeepers themselves are unlikely to have kept any records of what provisions they gave to travellers, nor would locals who supplied foodstuffs. Travel guides, if they noted anything at all, would have probably only mentioned local specialities or delicacies. La Rochefoucauld's journal also gives the name of many of the inns he used so this is a further source of material which could be mined for historical research.

On the other hand, the journals show some evidence of the new commercialism. In 1784, Faujas was impressed by the elegance of the inn at Dalmally, writing that the innkeeper was in easy circumstances doing good business.¹⁰⁷ Two years later, la Rochefoucauld wrote of a rather good hotel, run by

¹⁰⁵ Scarfe, *Highlands*, pp.217-220. Near Stranraer.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid*, p.144.

¹⁰⁷ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, pp.269-281.

a Highlander.¹⁰⁸ The type of information revealed by the travellers recording their conversations with innkeepers is a good source of opinions and current thought not found elsewhere. A superior type of 'tavern' and hotel had begun to appear in the 1770s and Faujas' party lodged in a private house in Edinburgh where a nearby tavern provided meals.¹⁰⁹ Around 1790, there was a refurbishing of hotels in cities and the later French travellers experienced better conditions. They made fewer comments than the first two travellers; as people tend to complain more than praise, their experiences were probably better. In an unusual comment, Nodier described dining in Luss in 1821 at the inn where visitors had inscribed their names on walls and woodwork; the better road network and more guidebooks allowed the tourist trade to expand.¹¹⁰ The growth of the consumer society, mainly among the middle classes, fuelled the tourist trade of the nineteenth century. The French MacDonald made no adverse comments about inns, suggesting he found them adequate.

Apart from using inns, travellers used letters of recommendation from friends which gave them access to accommodation with other acquaintances. Faujas had been provided with a letter to stay with the Duke of Argyll in the castle though often the nobility had an 'hotel' where they lodged lesser visitors in an annex. Later, the French MacDonald was offered the annex, perhaps because the Duke was not in residence, but he elected to use the local inn.¹¹¹ The interactions of the travellers with other notable figures of the period is often only revealed through oblique references such as requests for accommodation; the journals, when examined closely, have the potential of a wealth of hidden uses for the historical researcher.

¹⁰⁸ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.178. In Fort William. He had 'served under the flag of Prince Charles Edward' at Culloden.

¹⁰⁹ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, p.220. Youngson, *The making of classical Edinburgh* pp.241-244. He writes of apartments let by 'room-setters'.

¹¹⁰ He actually found someone else had written his name. Nodier, *Promenade*, pp.193-4.

¹¹¹ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.180.

However, this source of accommodation was limited and as tourism developed into the nineteenth century, demand increased for more and better inns.¹¹²

Under the Enlightenment fascination for recording and measuring, several of the French travellers gave information about distances travelled in both Scotland and England throughout their journeys, making a number of different types of comparisons possible. In 1784, Faujas found the road from Edinburgh to Carron excellent, covering a distance of thirty-six miles within a day, although it was a slow journey.¹¹³ In 1786, la Rochefoucauld also travelled thirty-six miles, despite the fact that the first part was hilly and the road stony, while Simond recorded forty-seven miles in 1810 in a day.¹¹⁴

Knox, who toured Scotland not many years before, wrote that it was common to travel at a rate of one mile per hour, very slow in comparison to the travellers in this study. Such a disparity between the figures probably reflects a particularly poor day against better travelling and also the fact that the distances covered in the northern part of Scotland were generally less than further south as roads were generally poorer. Weather could dictate how far a traveller could journey in a single day as roads could deteriorate under wet conditions. Other factors could come into play, such as the distance between inns and whether the travellers had journeyed with tired horses; Faujas recorded covering twenty-seven miles from St Andrews to Kinghorn using the same horses all day as there was nowhere to change them.¹¹⁵ Using Arthur Young's journal, the distances travelled in Scotland can be compared to those in France in 1787. He travelled twenty-four miles from Calais to Boulogne on the first day, then on subsequent days twenty-four miles, thirty miles, fifteen

¹¹² There was a tradition of the upper classes offering hospitality to their own. Alastair Durie, 'Movement, Transport and Travel', p.263, p.265.

¹¹³ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.181. He had left Edinburgh at six am, stopped for refreshments in Linlithgow, drove through Falkirk and arrived at Carron at three thirty p.m. The journey took nine hours thirty minutes including stops, roughly four miles per hour.

¹¹⁴ Scarfe, *Highlands*, from Paisley to Ayr p.215. Simond, *An American*, p.76, Hawick to Edinburgh.

¹¹⁵ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, p.218. He used the same horses all day as there was nowhere to change them.

miles, twenty-one miles, and fifteen miles.¹¹⁶ This was in flat country on main postal routes and during the best season for travelling. He also travelled by post-chaise to Paris, a distance of forty-two miles, in one day. These are similar to the distances the French travellers covered on main routes in easy country in England. Journey times decreased on major routes in France but significantly later than in Scotland.¹¹⁷

Similarly, distances travelled varied within the account of one traveller. From the Lake District, Simond travelled the one hundred and forty miles to Edinburgh in three days.¹¹⁸ However, this is in stark contrast to travelling north of Stirling where distances travelled per day were much shorter and journey times longer. He wrote that he covered only twenty-one miles to Killin one day, while going to Taymouth was slow because the road rose and fell continually beside the loch.¹¹⁹ The terrain in Scotland was varied and the Scottish figures reflect different travelling conditions.

The advances in road building throughout Britain by 1825 were considerable, clearly allowing faster, more reliable and more comfortable travel, as the journal of the French MacDonald indicates. He was able to travel from London to Edinburgh in three days but it is in his travels into the north of Scotland where the greatest change is evident. At the end of the period, similar daily distances were possible in Scotland north of the central belt and the French MacDonald, travelling on roads built using the latest technology, had quite a different experience from the earlier travellers. He travelled 69 miles in one day as part of his two-day journey from Perth to Inverness.¹²⁰ Almost 40 years earlier, it had taken la Rochefoucauld nine days to travel 216 miles from Perth to Inverness, albeit by the longer coastal route. Road construction advanced dramatically over the period, making travelling quicker and much easier for the French MacDonald. The newer type of construction was more

¹¹⁶ Arthur Young, *Travels in France*, pp. 44-46.

¹¹⁷ Decreasing from 8.5 minutes per kilometre down to 5.75 minutes by 1830. Figures from de Bertier de Savigny, *The Bourbon Restoration*, p.205.

¹¹⁸ Simond *An American*, p.85. An average of over forty-six miles per day on an easy main route.

¹¹⁹ Simond *An American*, p.79. He managed sixteen miles in five hours

¹²⁰ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.146.

stable, making the conditions more comfortable. In addition, the road was likely to be viable even in poor conditions. The journals not only reveal basic information but, as here, by taking together diverse comments on weather, road surfaces, times and distances, they reveal changing travelling conditions. The French MacDonald's journal has few references to the roads, indicative of the ease of his journey. In the same period, French roads were more limited as only main routes were developed and a cross network was almost non-existent, making for poor communications and restricted trade in inland areas. It is only from evidence written by travellers that such comparisons over time can be made. In that context, the journal of Arthur Young in France is also valuable.

As in France, the mail service in Britain had greatly improved transfer times. Between Edinburgh and London the post coach required sixty hours by 1786, down from three and a half days. There was a huge increase in the amount of mail sent; social correspondence, mail from travellers to their friends at home and also letters, printed materials, newspaper and packages.¹²¹ The international Republic of Letters allowed Faujas and la Rochefoucauld to correspond with Scottish Enlightenment figures and create networks for intellectual exchange. Using the postal service, the French MacDonald was able to send messages ahead for horses in 1825, a luxury not available to the earlier travellers. The changing social habits of communication, transportation of goods and travelling all led to new needs and new ways of coping.

Diaries often reveal odd, chance items of information. Useful data about current measurement techniques is found in several of the journals. Faujas noted Scotch miles were nearly double the length of English miles. He thought it only eight miles from Aros to Torloisk and had set off at four pm, expecting to arrive there in

¹²¹ Faujas sent samples home which were lost. Faujas *Travels*, Volume I, p.217. La Rochefoucauld considered sending rocks home. Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.185.

daylight.¹²² Even in 1825, Scotch miles were still used. The French MacDonald was told the distance to Howbeg was eight miles but it was at least fifteen miles.¹²³

In 1750, although half of the Scottish people still lived north of the River Tay, the evidence of the French travellers suggests the roads in the north of Scotland had little traffic on them. Faujas travelled twelve miles without seeing a single cottage, travelling along the side of Loch Awe.¹²⁴ La Rochefoucauld saw few people, the roads were empty and there were no turnpikes just south of Inverbervie and again north of Aberdeen.¹²⁵ In 1810, Simond asked 'where were the sheep, where were the Highlanders?'¹²⁶ To some extent, the scattered population would not be easily seen by travellers as they moved around the hinterland but many coastal settlements could be better accessed still by water with many of the larger towns located by the sea or on river estuaries. On the other hand, there is evidence of wealthier Scots travelling. Faujas noted that the Duke of Argyll and his family were far travelled and could speak French.¹²⁷ He also found on Mull that there were visitors from Edinburgh staying there.

The early travellers wrote nothing about people walking while Simond noted many people walking in the south of Scotland but oddly made no further comment. Later he noted fisherwomen taking fish to market in Edinburgh.¹²⁸ However, children walking four miles a day to work in a factory in Lanark shocked him.¹²⁹ This may be a cultural difference that Simond was less used to people walking in America while those who lived in France accepted it as normal. Nodier saw travelling people on two occasions. On one occasion he calls them '*les gypsies*', in an encampment near

¹²² This assumes that the travellers used a standard English mile in what they wrote. The Scottish mile was 1,984 yards. Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, pp.12-15. The group reached their destination at eleven pm.

¹²³ Hache, *MacDonald*, p.158. South Uist

¹²⁴ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I p.305.

¹²⁵ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.144, p.154.

¹²⁶ Simond, *An American*, p.79.

¹²⁷ Faujas, Volume I, pp.249-250.

¹²⁸ Simond, *An American*, p.75, p.77.

¹²⁹ *ibid.* p.77.

Arrochar.¹³⁰ Each of Nodier's references to the gypsies may have roots in Scottish travelling people, known as '*The Summer Walkers*' or alternatively migrant workers.¹³¹ His descriptions are an attempt to see 'Otherness' and exotic outsiders rather than Simond who reported on people in everyday life.

In the newly developing interest in nature, Nodier and Faujas both walked for pleasure. Faujas walked in various places to see geological sites within easy reach of the road and climbed on Ben More on Mull but, although an experienced hill walker, he did not reach the summit, perhaps due to adverse weather conditions, which he complained about frequently. Nodier walked from Ben Lomond to Loch Katrine, in a Romantic gesture, searching for the land of Walter Scott's novels. In the Scottish hills near Loch Lomond, Nodier found the scenery '*pure, naturel d'une antiquité solonelle et inaltérable*' (pure, natural with a solemn and unalterable antiquity).¹³² In the Trossachs, he avoided using the steamer in order to walk and seemed determined not to mention the modern boat. The French MacDonald was not part of the Romantic literary scene; his journey on the steamer was for practical reasons, to get from A to B, not to try to find an 'other worldly' realm. He saw and remarked on the passengers on the steamer though Nodier noted neither the steamer nor other tourists. The steamer trip on Loch Lomond had become a standard, timetabled tourist outing.

Travellers in Eastern Europe often described awful journeys, though there is a suggestion that they were trying to impress those at home with exaggerated tales which perpetuated myths.¹³³ In contrast, the travellers to Scotland seemed to have no such motives, and some made positive comments about sections of the roads,

¹³⁰ Nodier, *Promenade*, p.273. He decided they were gypsy smugglers. This is the former stronghold of the Macfarlanes, known horse thieves.

¹³¹ Poetical name that the crofters of the north west Highlands give to the travelling people who were indigenous, Gaelic-speaking Scots not Gypsies, who headed south in early summer to look for seasonal work. See Timothy Neat, *The Summer Walkers: travelling people and pearl fishers in the highlands of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2002).

¹³² Nodier, *Promenade*, p.175.

¹³³ Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, p.92.

due perhaps to attractive views and good weather but the actual road seems to be what impressed the travellers at times, possibly because it allowed for a comfortable ride in the carriage. La Rochefoucauld on several occasions made comments about the road; just beyond Perth he called the road 'delightful'.¹³⁴ Faujas wrote that a thirty-six miles stretch was 'excellent'.¹³⁵ Here it was easy to travel along, covering the distance in what he felt was a good time. Faujas and la Rochefoucauld regarded roads in the same way as they thought of machines, to be perfected through technical advancement. A well-functioning road was a work of art to be admired, showing the achievements of man. However, on occasions, it is difficult to distinguish whether the traveller was describing the road or his emotional response to it. The route from Inveraray to Dalmally was for Faujas

'of the wildest aspect', 'gloomy', 'the mourning of nature in this frightful solitude' 'this dreary and rugged way is alike fatiguing to the body and the imagination'.

He even remarked that the horses, though well rested, seemed to be tired of the landscape, in what appears to be a transferred epithet. Faujas felt they had been in a closed prison for eight hours.¹³⁶ La Rochefoucauld contrasted the morning and afternoon route between Inveraray and Tarbet by saying 'the horror of this route contains beauty of a kind' and referring to it as 'an enormous disarrangement of nature'.¹³⁷ Several travellers commented on being tired, the long day, having to walk, and the horses tired, all factors which would affect how they felt about the journey and La Rochefoucauld was glad to have time off in Inverness.¹³⁸

Travelling in the late eighteenth century was difficult in poor weather. Roads generally were only passable in winter in dry weather or during hard frost and winter conditions still imprisoned people in isolated valleys; in spring or autumn, roads could become treacherous with boggy ground and swollen rivers. Even around

¹³⁴ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.139. In contrast, after Fochabers the route was 'disagreeable'. p.158.

¹³⁵ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.181.

¹³⁶ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.181. Edinburgh to Carron, pp.264-265.

¹³⁷ Hache, *Highlands*, p.195.

¹³⁸ *ibid.* p.163.

Glasgow and in Lanarkshire in the 1760s, the roads were unusable for commercial purposes until they dried out in summer.¹³⁹ Faujas himself recognized that autumn was somewhat late in the year for travelling. He experienced atrocious conditions with such heavy rain that the party could not see the road, although they made light of the predicament.¹⁴⁰ Faujas found the travelling wearisome, along with the climate, or perhaps because of it.¹⁴¹

Travellers' journals are a unique source of personal incidents which could occur, highlighting the difficulties of travelling. The travellers in this study gave anecdotes which stemmed from the lack of information mentioned earlier and led to quite terrifying experiences. In 1784, Faujas left Dalmally intending to travel the twenty-four miles to Oban but found the road scarcely passable in carriages.¹⁴² On Mull, Faujas describes going over rough terrain with two men leading the horses, as the route was so unclear.¹⁴³ Two years later, la Rochefoucauld had to go on horseback overland heading south from Fort William, while Lazowski took the gig by boat.¹⁴⁴ Taking the journals of this study together, it is clear that improvements meant that such experiences were limited to the earlier travellers. Although of significance to historians, these isolated incidents are evidence of points in time and place and should not be over emphasized or taken out of context, as they could give a false impression of the overall safety, comfort and overall experience of travel.

The travellers generally were interested in the Scottish canals as there had been little increase in the network of canals in France in the late eighteenth century. Both finance and forward planning of large civil projects were problematic in France, due to the cumbersome processes of negotiation through cliques at court.¹⁴⁵ Like

¹³⁹ Youngson, *The Making of classical Edinburgh*, p.27.

¹⁴⁰ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, pp.312-313.

¹⁴¹ *ibid*, Volume II, pp.238-9. His host in Edinburgh, Dr. Cullen, recommended punch.

¹⁴² Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, pp.303-318.

¹⁴³ *ibid*, Volume II, p.13.

¹⁴⁴ Scarfe, *Highlands*, pp.179-183 & footnote p.180.

¹⁴⁵ Peter Mathias, *The First Industrial Nation* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1969). He quotes 10,000

the roads, the canals were being developed with government money late in the eighteenth century, primarily for industrial purposes; la Rochefoucauld, in the spirit of the age, gave the dimensions of the Forth and Clyde Canal which was under construction. Faujas while at Carron Iron Works, noted the canal already brought in raw materials and took manufactured goods out while la Rochefoucauld wrote that the Monkland canal transported coal from inland, returning with goods in exchange.¹⁴⁶ Some of the roads he had seen were not fit for commercial traffic so the canals, he realized, would help fill the gap.¹⁴⁷ Simond does not mention the Scottish canals although by the time of his visit, they were in use. He saw many canals in England and, like la Rochefoucauld, recognized their economic value.¹⁴⁸ Nodier did not comment on canals which he would have found artificial, unnatural, manmade objects. It was not until the last traveller visited Scotland in 1825 that there is reference to canals being used for passengers, allowing tourists easier access to the west and North West of Scotland. The French MacDonald sailed on the Caledonian Canal but not the Crinan Canal. Both of these, built by Telford, allowed access to Glasgow and its ports from the outer islands and the west coast. The French MacDonald benefited from the continued development of canals and avoided arduous overland journeys on the west coast.

On a personal note, the journals recorded sea crossings as unpleasant experiences for travellers with some recording storms, and most were afraid of wind. As Faujas noted, travelling in October and November could produce dangerous conditions for sailing ships. By the 1820s steamers were opening up both trade and tourism to Scotland on inland and coastal waters. Nodier made no reference to steamers though he probably saw them on the Clyde in Glasgow as well as on Loch

guineas per mile of canal in England.

¹⁴⁶ Mathias, *The First Industrial Nation*, p.204.

¹⁴⁷ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.188. Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.204 and p.206. It was within a mile of Glasgow. Built 1768-1790 at the new port of Grangemouth, the Forth and Clyde built by Smeaton.

¹⁴⁸ Simond, *An American*, mentions a private canal, attached to the Wedgwood factory, linked to a major canal p.163.

Lomond. Like the canals, he would have chosen to ignore them as part of the modern mechanical world he so despised. It was the French MacDonald who, in 1825, saw tourists taking pleasure trips on the steamer on Loch Lomond.¹⁴⁹ His journal shows that, although there was a significant improvement in road travel, much of his journey was easier for him as he travelled by water.¹⁵⁰ Islanders from the Hebridean islands used boats to meet him as it was still easier to move around on water than on land; traditionally there was only a short track from the laird's house to the sea and no other tracks overland, as Faujas had found on Mull.

The estuaries of the main Scottish rivers constituted barriers to movement of both people and goods. Both Faujas and la Rochefoucauld used their journals to note the volume of commercial shipping in the Scottish estuaries and their own experiences of crossings. For short distances, the travellers had to rely on ferries, often an unpleasant experience. Faujas took a ferry boat from Kinghorn to Leith; although a mere seven miles, it took two hours.¹⁵¹ He used Queensferry, but made no comment about the crossing, though la Rochefoucauld had a very poor experience, being delayed there three hours.¹⁵² There were apparently no regular ferry boats on the longer crossing from the mainland to Mull in 1784, a sign of the lack of traffic.¹⁵³ Faujas went from Oban to Aros but returned via Achnacregs and had to arrange what he could, not without difficulty.¹⁵⁴ Similarly, a boat to Staffa had to be negotiated locally. As la Rochefoucauld noted at Fort William in 1786, many types of ships could enter even the small sea lochs but these vessels were mainly

¹⁴⁹ Hache, *MacDonald*, pp.181-2. Apparently a regular service.

¹⁵⁰ He travelled by boat from Borrowdale to Uist and back to Loch Fyne via Antrim, then steamboat on the Clyde to Glasgow. Hache, *MacDonald*, pp.155-185.

¹⁵¹ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, p.218.

¹⁵² For example Scarfe, *Highlands*, pp.126-128.

¹⁵³ La Rochefoucauld wrote of regular ferries at Queensferry in 1786. Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.128.

¹⁵⁴ Before 1770, Oban had been just one house and still a small village in 1800. Most travel was by sea. Grant *Highland Folk Ways* p.61.

used for trade or fishing, as there were few passengers.¹⁵⁵ In 1821, Nodier was impressed by public transport in England but wrote nothing about Scotland.¹⁵⁶

Only those who were seriously interested in transport issues would have found out about the waterways in Scotland. Again, the journal allows the travellers to make observations on the spot, making intellectual links between the waterways and what else they were seeing. It is this ability to evaluate and sum up different sights that gives insights not available from the facts taken separately. The investment in ports and canals was both vast and far reaching. It was an important means of stimulating the economy, as Knox had advocated.¹⁵⁷ The increase in water transport indicated by the French MacDonald links back to insights from an earlier traveller; la Rochefoucauld mooted in 1786 that traffic would move from the overland routes, creating a more reliable service, easier to operate. Easy delivery of coal to the cities and factories was of vital importance to industry. Some of Scotland's ports were well placed to fulfil this role and the travellers commented repeatedly on the harbour and dock facilities. Manufactured produce and raw materials were dispersed through the ports rather than by road, a fact reflected by the travellers' comments on water transport but not road haulage.

The east coast of Scotland was a centre of trade with London and the north of Scotland, as the travellers saw from the factories and coal mines. La Rochefoucauld's journal shows the contrast between the industrialized ports and those which lagged behind. There was much movement of goods and raw materials by sea, through Montrose, Dundee, Perth, Berwick, Leith and Dundee.¹⁵⁸ Aberdeen, an expanding town, was contrasted with the less developed Stonehaven which had

¹⁵⁵ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.177. Boats, he noted, went as far as Glasgow.

¹⁵⁶ Nodier, *Promenade*, p.41. 'England is the first and foremost country of the world for its horses, its public carriages...'

¹⁵⁷ Knox, *A Tour through the Highlands of Scotland*. Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II, pp.13-16.

¹⁵⁸ See for example Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.132 for Perth port area and p.140 for Dundee which had a large artificial harbour with two entrances, constructed by building two jetties.

a 'creek rather than a harbour'.¹⁵⁹ The navigable river at Inverness gave it an advantage and the harbour at Banff had three open basins. Berwick was limited by its port to merchant vessels of two hundred tonnes.¹⁶⁰ Dunbar's harbour could only take seven or eight small ships and was not easy to improve, adding that 'almost all the coast from Dunbar to Berwick is rocky and without anchorage or shelter'.¹⁶¹ Nodier, who was not interested in trade or progress, wrote in 1821 that the port of Dunbar was romantic.¹⁶² The benign coast line at Musselburgh, Leith and into the Firth of Forth was highly advanced, judging by the level of trade through the area.¹⁶³ La Rochefoucauld was astounded at Leith; Edinburgh had invested heavily in two jetties making bigger, safer port facilities, a long quay and dry docks, allowing a great number of ships, merchantmen, coasters, colliers to import 'everything needed by the consumers of city and area around'.¹⁶⁴

The change in the funding of transport networks in Scotland noted over the period indicates civil society as well as government taking over functions still in the hands of French land owners. Parliament in Britain, representing the interests of merchants and nobility, pushed through turnpike bills which kick-started construction and repairs financed by the tolls. The journal writers shrewdly noted canal building which would have been a great boon for industry in France but had faltered in the eighteenth century. Overall, the transport network in the late eighteenth century in France was poor, expensive and unreliable, slowing trade development, so each area remained more self-sufficient.¹⁶⁵ Only the most remote areas of the Scottish Highlands and Islands remained on a par with France for roads but the advances in

¹⁵⁹ *ibid.* p.147. It still received coal and exported local grain and fabrics.

¹⁶⁰ *ibid.* p.164. and p.156, pp. 99-100.

¹⁶¹ Scarfe, *Highlands*, pp.102-103. He noted entering the port (of Dunbar) was dangerous in foul weather, boats had to be towed in'

¹⁶² Nodier, *Promenade*, p.123 '*le port romantique de Dunbar*'.

¹⁶³ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.106.

¹⁶⁴ *ibid.* p.119.

¹⁶⁵ Cobban, *A History of Modern France Volume 1, 1715-1799*, p.47.

shipping, also emphasized in the journals, improved communications for the Highlands and islands of Scotland.

Conclusion

What the individual travellers wrote is quite wide ranging and diverse; the notes on actual road building contribute specialist knowledge. Their additional reflections can be assembled to give a much deeper picture than the individual pieces of information. By taking these vignettes together, the historian can delve even further into evidence already available. Moreover, the journals taken together reveal trends of how the transport system developed over the period. The travellers recorded the new; technically advanced bridges, roads built on cornices, the latest road surfaces, canal building and steam ships. On the other hand, and equally important historically, is that they noted the lacks; the narrowness of some roads, the dangers for carriages, the need for guides, where the turnpikes ended.

When taken together, the journals show how journeys changed; with the expansion of consumerism there was a growing trend towards travelling for pleasure and shorter travelling times for passengers and goods. Factors interacted; increased ease of travel, improved facilities for travellers, better communications, more reliable and timetabled travel, all resulted in increased traffic.¹⁶⁶

The journals give some indication of a comparison between Scotland and France. Grant of Monymusk's retrospective view of the dismal state of transport about 1716 had been: 'no repair of roads, all bad, and very few wheel carriages; no coach, carriage or chaise and few carts benorth Tay'.¹⁶⁷ By the 1780s, there was a network of roads, which the French hinterland still lacked.

¹⁶⁶ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume I, p.126, near London.

¹⁶⁷ Alastair Durie, 'Movement, Transport and Travel', p.256.

This was the first occasion in twenty years for Simond to see European roads. It would have been interesting if he had compared them to either France or to America; his journal does, however, emphasize the differences between England and Scotland. The roads, he wrote, were symbolic of England being more advanced than Scotland.¹⁶⁸

This chapter reveals how the advancing transport network was the link between the rural, urban, industrial agricultural and social changes which is the focus of other chapters: movement of produce to London and continental Europe; transportation by sea of the raw materials for industry, coal and flax; communications improved with mail and packages speedily delivered; movement to towns of labour or for education; translocation of ideas and an increase in tourism; cultural changes and the decrease of Gaelic and the Highland way of life.

Time, said a traveller to the Highlands and Islands, does not exist; it is never present, but always past or to come.¹⁶⁹ Before industrialization, the country areas were governed by seasonal and occupational demands, rather than the hourly clock; paid employment changed that. By the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, as the journals show; better transport systems allowed for timetables so people could plan their journeys and regulate their lifestyles.

¹⁶⁸ Simond, *An American*, p.122.

¹⁶⁹ Derek Cooper, *Road to the Isles, Travellers in the Hebrides* (Edinburgh: W&R Chambers Ltd, 1992), p. 43. John Macculloch, 1811 to 1821.

Conclusion

He must be very ignorant for he answers every question he is asked.¹

In the past, travel journals have largely been neglected by historians in Britain. This thesis has explored several journals representative of the changing outlook of the visitors, laying out their factual content and considering the opinions expressed to assess the potential value of the genre. Although the journals examined vary considerably in length, in content, in style and in language, these factors do not dictate their value as historical documents. The study demonstrates that the quality of the factual observations and the informed opinions of the authors are the crucial factors in assessing the contribution each journal makes to understanding the period. Furthermore, studying such a small group of journals results in a deeper analysis of a concentrated number of themes as focus is maintained on a limited, controlled number of variables.

It cannot be overstated that information about the travellers and their intentions in writing is crucial in making an assessment of any bias and the value of the work to historical research. It has been demonstrated in the study that the authors of the journals were men of learning with previous experience of travelling and of life in other countries. This lends authority to their journals and supports the notion that carefully selected journals from the late eighteenth century giving eye-witness accounts are a credible source of data which stands up to scrutiny against other sources. Prior to this study, little systematic research had been done using entire journals written by travellers to Scotland in the late eighteenth century. However, the insight and detail provided by such eye-witness accounts is of prime importance to explore issues of the day in a period when travel was the main source of direct information about another country.

¹ Voltaire, pen name of François-Marie Arouet (1694-1778).

It has been suggested that travellers' journals could help dispel myths created and perpetuated by earlier chroniclers.² Inevitably, travellers unwittingly present some aspects of their personal attitudes. However, by the eighteenth century travellers' observations have been acknowledged as more factual than in earlier centuries. Four of the journals in this study gave reasoned insights to their experiences in Scotland, though it is clear that the travellers were aware of accepted attitudes and repeated some prejudices about Scotland. Overall, the journals show the writers were influenced predominantly by current theories which they used in a rational manner to analyze what they saw in Scotland. It has been demonstrated that the travellers were prepared to alter their opinions over notions they had held, which increases the value of the sources. Nevertheless, some travel literature is of more literary and social value and the fifth journal (by Nodier) of the study was a semi-fictional account of his trip, written by an established poet and novelist who liked to make verbal jokes. The inclusion of Nodier's journal demonstrates also how writing is affected by the period in which it is written and marks a contrast to the other journals in the study. This further highlights the need to include judgements on the writing style in the analysis of the text. Simond's journal, with its liberal use of adjectives, offers a reporting style with elements of the Enlightenment and the later style of Nodier. It is reminiscent of novels written early in the nineteenth century, allowing access into the mindset of the middle-class view of the world around them, though the content itself is factual.³ The French MacDonald's journal also contains much material of historical note. However, this must be tempered with the fact that he wanted to express his feelings along with the serious observations. Additionally, the French MacDonald's journal is of more specialized interest as it included a wealth of information about the clan MacDonald members he met.

² See Chapter 1, *The Literature of Travel*, p.53, p.79.

³ For example, *Sense and Sensibility* by Jane Austen (1775 –1817) appeared in 1811.

Travellers write what they think they see, so it is important to be aware that the personal enthusiasms of these writers coloured their narrative; this has to be taken into account when assessing any journal, raising the question of how accurate or trustworthy they are. While many journal entries are verifiable, there are few obviously contentious points. There is one clear inaccuracy where the date is wrong in Faujas' journal, probably a slip of the pen.⁴ In the case of la Rochefoucauld there are occasional mistakes, according to his biographer, Scarfe.⁵ Minor errors show human failings, not falsification and these few examples lie within the bounds of what would be expected statistically. There are also other imponderables, such as whether items may have been removed from the texts. No evidence of any such major changes has been detected. Although the original manuscript was available for only two of the journals, the editions and translations examined are deemed to be scholarly and accurate editions.

The journals exhibit some surprising omissions which cannot easily be explained. Why did Faujas, the indefatigable geologist, not mention the Ochils with its volcanic plug, Dumyat? Why did Nodier not meet Walter Scott or write about attending social events in Glasgow and Edinburgh? This underlines the point that inevitably the texts are limited to glimpses by particular individuals at specific points in time. Certainly no individual travel journal could give a complete picture of a country in any era as visits are generally too brief to give more than a superficial perspective. This thesis, by exploring several journals together, reveals how they represent facets of the *Zeitgeist* (the spirit of the age) while further study of these and similar journals could present a more comprehensive picture of the period.

As noted above, other studies which have focused on excerpts from a text could be misleading, since short portions may be unrepresentative of the journal as

⁴ Faujas, *Travels*, Volume II p.256. He wrote 3rd October instead of 3rd November.

⁵ For example, Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.109, footnote 42 & p.110, footnote 50.

a whole. Similarly, using segments out of context does not always make it obvious how the writer used vocabulary and language structures, since the text was written in the manner of the period, using words and phrases in their current meaning. Using entire journals or major sections, as here, allows analysis of the language of the writer and his times, giving a more considered view of what was intended.⁶

The insight and detail provided by visitors' recollections is of prime importance in the study of the development of tourism.⁷ The period chosen gave rise to a vast increase in tourism to and within Scotland, and the travellers recorded the changes occurring from 1780 to 1825. This has been examined mainly in Chapter six on transport but Chapters two and five on urban and rural areas touch on the experiences of travelling. There is commonality in the experiences of travellers, their journey, accommodation, food, and the lifestyles encountered so travel journals allow the possibility of comparing these experiences. On the other hand, what travellers observed was affected by the time of year, by the weather they experienced and by the particular places they visited so their journals can give contrasting reports. It is inevitable that, on occasion, what travellers wrote was superficial, merely giving 'the view from the road'. Collectively, the journals in this study show how journeys changed with shorter travelling times, better facilities available and an increase in travelling for pleasure.

This thesis is broader than studies solely based on tourism. This study delves into what the travellers recorded of many aspects of life in Scotland in the period. A number of themes are explored in depth by the travellers beyond the interest shown by most travellers. In Chapter two, the study assembles details of economic and lifestyle changes in the rural areas as described by the travellers, with the underlying theme of poverty. The travellers' observations indicated that they were

⁶ See Chapter 1, *The Literature of Travel*, pp.54-5.

⁷ Durie, *Travels in Scotland*, pp.12-13.

aware of resulting far-reaching social shifts, in particular the cultural implications for the Highland way of life. There is an incomplete, perhaps unique, overview from la Rochefoucauld in Chapter three of the progressive moves in agriculture over a large swathe of Scotland. Admittedly, the situation was much more complex and observations from other travellers help to augment the picture by including data which would otherwise have been lost. Some of these vignettes are visual, some factual and others impressionistic. In chapter four, the bulk of the factual information on industry is derived from the journals of Faujas and la Rochefoucauld. Once again, this is coupled with their comments, linking trade and commerce with resources, and also linking technology with the transportation network. The later travellers, as in their notes on agriculture, offer a more personal perspective and less concrete observations, with Simond making quite lyrical remarks. Chapter five highlights how the travellers compared Scottish towns to those in other European countries laying stress on the interaction between the growing economy and the rise of urban society. Despite the lack of detail about the arts and few of the usual tourist reflections on specific buildings of architectural or historic note, there is a compensating abundance of more unusual detail on other aspects of urban life, such as the social and educational initiatives in the cities, funded by public donations and philanthropic agencies. In this respect, the journals show the move away from the objectives of the Grand Tour towards scientific and literary goals. All of the chapters demonstrate, to differing degrees, the extent of international cooperation and networking between France and Scotland and underline the transfer of knowledge and technology in the period.

Journals may reveal facts not noticed by others. It is clear that the recollections of the travellers of this study were often more detailed and more specialized than could be expected from a random selection of travellers. Although

some trips in the period pursued literary or other objectives, many were 'one off' trips with no real intellectual purpose. Lack of focus may limit their use as historical documents.

This thesis has demonstrated how themes were linked in the minds of the travellers. The journals do more than express their authors' mental picture of Scotland but contain analysis and judgements, offering some indication of comparisons between Scotland and France. Simond's journal emphasized the differences between England and Scotland which can help historians interpret Franco-Scottish relationships as they were evolving. The obvious intellectual interaction by the Enlightenment figures of both France and Scotland is in contrast to the industrial rivalry between the two countries. The fact that most of the journals were intended to be published to a public audience, for either didactic purposes or for pleasurable reading reveals the extent to which printing and networking impinged upon the motives of travellers when writing their journals.

The structure of the thesis allows the journal entries on each theme to be combined to demonstrate their interconnectedness. Especially noteworthy is how the travellers saw that industrial activity and academic life were united in supporting economic progress. In chapter six, using data captured from all of the journals, the Scottish transport system in the period is described beyond factors associated with tourist travel. The comments on actual road building contribute specialist knowledge along with trends of how the water transport system developed over the period. This is especially valid when examining the new; technically advanced bridges, roads built on cornices, the latest road surfaces and steam ships. However, equally important historically, is that the journals noted the lacks; narrow roads, dangers for carriages, the need for guides and where turnpikes ended.

By studying the journals together, the period of around forty years which they cover can be viewed from the perspective of changing intellectual and ideological values of a short time span, as travel writing is possibly the literary genre most firmly sited in time. Since the writers only ever noted what attracted their attention, focus on certain topics, such as factories, agricultural practices and food is perhaps out of proportion to other topics, such as rural housing. How and what the two earlier visitors to Scotland wrote in their journals was in the tradition of the *encyclopédistes*, an almost obsessional recording of miscellaneous information.⁸ This gives an impression of disorder in the journals, thus it requires analysis to elicit and organize information from them. Ironically, it is Simond's journal which seems more accessible than those of the previous travellers as he wrote in a more concentrated manner on particular subjects. His journal commands respect as the overall length of his combined stays is much greater than the others. However, while Simond's journal gives accurate observations of what he saw, his conclusions are sometimes suspect.

Throughout this thesis, it has been stressed that Nodier's journal stands apart from the others as it is almost entirely based on personal, emotional responses to his experiences and is particularly striking when exploring the changing ways travellers expressed their appreciation of the landscape. Comparing his journal to those of the other travellers is like seeing Turner's famous picture *The Fighting Temeraire* after looking at a photograph of a sailing ship; it is impressionistic but also bold and thought provoking.⁹ Although his journal has less obvious value to the historian than the others in the study, his whole approach to recording his

⁸ The *encyclopédistes* were a group of over one hundred 18th-century French writers who compiled and wrote the *Encyclopédie*, edited by Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert. Many were part of the intellectual group known as the *philosophes* who promoted science and secular thought and

supported tolerance, rationality, and open-mindedness of the Enlightenment.

⁹ J. M. W. Turner (1775 –1851) painted *The Fighting Temeraire* in 1838.

experiences in Scotland is a counterbalance to the approach of the earlier writers, linguistically and in content, which helps to site the journals in time.

However, the contribution to historical knowledge is more obvious when the reflections of the travellers in their journals are assessed. The journals are examples of how knowledge and information was being transmitted from the eighteenth century through the rise in printed material, faster communication and greater ease of travel.¹⁰ This is true of what the travellers wrote in the journals but also of what they had read and written prior to the trip.

There are aspects of the journals which have not been followed through, such as a detailed study of the routes, the inns, networking and contacts with the potential to link them to other travellers. Comparing the cost of travelling in different countries, could be an indicator of economic conditions; nor have the roles of government or individuals in the economy and agriculture been plumbed.¹¹

This thesis could be further extended also by extracting or collating further information from the chosen journals. There are a number of instances of networking and links between the travellers and other prominent figures in both France and Scotland which have not been fully exploited, nor has the role of the Republic of Letters in their trips been examined in depth. Likewise, there are themes which could be researched further, such as Faujas' notes on geology, la Rochefoucauld's notes on soil types or the French MacDonald's family in Scotland, France and England, while the range of subjects mentioned in Simond's journal is enormous, emphasizing the point that a travel journal is a rich source of material for an historian.¹²

Nonetheless, within the limits of a PhD project, the present study has shown the value of the particular journals to historical research in a variety of subject areas

¹⁰ See Chapter 1, *The Literature of Travel*, pp.79-81.

¹¹ Scarfe, *Highlands*, p.152. La Rochefoucauld noted lower Scottish costs.

¹² Simond, *An American, index*, pp.169-176.

but has further demonstrated the potential contribution that such journals could make generally. Nodier makes the point that ‘... en Europe il n’y a guère que les Anglais qui voyagent pour voyager’ (in Europe few people other than the English (*sic*) travel for the sake of travelling’). This thesis makes a rare study using the views of Europeans to explore attitudes and conditions in Scotland from an unusual though pertinent angle.¹³

¹³ Nodier, *Promenade*, p.159.

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