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The Highland Landscape: Visual Depictions, 1760-1883[1]

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Discussing the evolution of Highland tourism from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries, Smout has argued that 'the Highlands began as a canvas on which the outsider could perceive little clearly, and the little that was clear was not desirable'.[2] This was the position in the opening decades of the eighteenth century, when men like Daniel Defoe, Edward Burt, and Sir John Clerk of Penicuik penned horrified accounts of the bleakness and sterility of the scenery. Over the course of next two hundred years, perceptions of the Highlands changed irrevocably, being visited, described, imagined and illustrated by a new generation of writers and, significantly, an increasing number of artists. The period from 1760 to 1883 was a key phase in this process, framed on the one hand by the publication of James MacPherson's *Fragments of Ancient Poetry*, and on the other by the appointment of a government commission of enquiry into conditions in the Highlands and Islands: the Napier Commission.

In spite of the value of key texts like MacPherson's poetry and the Napier Report—and, indeed, the series of travelogues on which Smout's article draws—an analysis of visual material is one of the most direct ways of accessing cultural perceptions. This is because perception is in itself a visual process, the mind's eye drawing its awareness and conception of the world around it through the organ of sight. Moreover, although the subjectivity of artistic evidence makes it a weak source of factual information about the

[1]This paper was based on preliminary research for an undergraduate dissertation dealing with visual depictions of the Highlands from 1760–1883. For a more recent and detailed exploration of this topic, see Anne MacLeod, 'The idea of antiquity in visual images of the Highlands and Islands, *ca* 1700–1880', unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of Glasgow 2006).

[2]T. C. Smout, 'Tours in the Scottish Highlands from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries', *Northern Scotland* 5 (1983), 99–122, at 99.

contemporary Highlands, the same quality enhances its value as an index of ideas. Even a cursory examination of contemporary paintings, drawings and prints of Highland subjects and scenes reveals an angle on perceptions of the region which is too significant to be ignored. The range of source material which might be explored is vast, and the ensuing discussion focuses most particularly on illustrated travelogues, the visual spin-off from literary texts, and on the work of some of the better-known British artists to visit the Highlands and Islands during the course of the nineteenth century, including J. M. W. Turner, Horatio McCulloch, and Sir Edwin Landseer.

Superficially, the influence of Romantic ideology on the appreciation of wild landscape meant that disenchantment with the region was gradually erased by an entirely new set of images. The blank, brown uniformity rejected by earlier aesthetic canons became the nineteenth-century artist's paradise. Despite this, changing visions of scenery and geography mask an underlying continuity in visual representation. Taken as a whole, images of the Highlands from *ca* 1760 to 1883 are heavily, if not exclusively, weighted towards the depiction of landscape, something which facilitated the evasion of social issues. This may seem strange in the light of the British government's recognition that changes in the social and economic structure of the Highlands had created a set of problems pressing enough to require unprecedented official intervention by 1883. Yet crucially, the Highland region contained vast tracts of land seen as untouched by the inroads of a changing human world: something increasingly unique and therefore special in the eyes of industrialised Britain. The impoverished condition of ordinary Highlanders—widely reported in the national press during the famine decade from 1846–55, and, later, in relation to the land agitation of the 1880s—fitted ill with Ossianic images of an heroic civilisation. As something which might be presented as physically unchanged, landscape, on the other hand, became a symbol of permanence applied to the region as a whole.

Growing appreciation of the Highland landscape should not be divorced from changing perceptions of Scottish scenery more generally. Before the middle of the eighteenth century, the Scottish landscape scarcely appeared in art as a subject in its own right.[3] Early painters in Scotland did not see their surroundings as equal to Italianate scenery, and it is the latter which inspired the bulk of the period's decorative art. The political instability and awkward geography of the Highlands meant that it was even less valued and seldom visited by outsiders, who feared its mountains of 'stupendous bulk, frightful irregularity and horrid gloom'[4] in equal measure as they did its people. Edward Burt was typical of early commentators in his attitude to the physical awkwardness of Highland geography, complaining that 'the old ways (for roads I shall not call them) consisted chiefly of stony moors, bogs, rugged ... hills, entangling woods and giddy precipices'.[5] This was an attitude compounded by the fact that Burt owed his knowledge of such 'ways' to his involvement in military projects to convert them into paved roads. Such efforts improved facilities for travel to some extent, although the continued difficulty of moving around on land, and the danger of voyages by sea, limited early visitors to a handful of determined antiquarians and scholars.

One of the pioneering scholars of the later eighteenth century was the Welsh naturalist Thomas Pennant, who produced some of the first major accounts of the Highlands after the '45 Jacobite rising. He was to make two tours, resulting in a pair of illustrated travelogues: *A Tour in Scotland, 1769* (1771) and *A Tour in Scotland, and Voyage to the Hebrides, 1772* (1774–6). Images for the second tour were provided by Pennant's personal draughtsman, Moses Griffith, together with a handful of plates engraved from drawings by other artists. The 1769 account was illustrated in retrospect, using

[3]James Holloway and Lindsay Errington, *The Discovery of Scotland: the Appreciation of Scottish Scenery through Two Centuries of Painting* (Edinburgh 1978), 1.
[4]Edward Burt, *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland to his Friend in London*, 2 vols. (London 1754) ii, 11.
[5]*Ibid.* ii, 305.

a stock of drawings garnered from contemporary artists, including Paul Sandby.[6] Pennant's choice of illustrations for the 1769 tour sheds light on what he considered to be the most significant sights encountered on his travels. The 1771 edition contained only eighteen plates in all, of which seven were devoted to natural history and seven to objects of antiquarian or architectural interest. This left only four as landscape compositions in the real sense of the term. Although Pennant made no specific mention of the Highlands in the title of his tour, it is significant that all four landscape illustrations were of places well within the Highland boundary as this was understood during the period. This interest was qualified, however, by the locations illustrated: situated in Perthshire and Inverness-shire, the views delineated the more accessible points of Pennant's itinerary, a theme accentuated by the prominence of roads in two of them. One of Inverness depicts the approach along the river Ness, the wooded banks of which form an appropriate foreground. The composition's focal point is an arched stone bridge in the middle distance, something which held its own significance. The number, volume and unpredictability of Highland watercourses meant that bridges played a key role in attempts to improve communications, so furthering the spread of 'civilisation' in the region. A further illustration—entitled 'View near Blair'—again achieved a traveller's perspective. In this image, the road appears carved through rugged, barren terrain, with massive boulders strewing its verges. The eye is led onwards, however, by a vista of wooded, fertile valley flats towards which the road appears to wind its way. The gentler scenes beyond are elevated to the status of a target or goal, the road forming a thread of civilisation breaking down the barriers of access.

Almost a century later, the Victorian artist Horatio McCulloch chose to focus once again on the significance of roads in landscape in a study for his 1864 canvas *Glencoe*. Shattered rocks litter the foreground as in the Pennant illustration, but the path seems to wind round rather than through them, suggesting the superior power of

[6]Holloway and Errington, *The Discovery of Scotland*, 57.

natural forces. On the crest of the rise appear two solitary figures, silhouetted against the massive range of mountains beyond. In Pennant, the eye passes over the figures as a natural and unstriking feature of the composition; in McCulloch's drawing, their isolation provides a focus for the emotional impact of the surrounding scenery. There is no sense of origin or destination, only of a loneliness and isolation which suggests that human presence in such landscapes is passing rather than permanent. These images illustrate the enduring significance of access as a theme in representations of the Highland landscape. In 1771, Pennant's interest in the position of the road could be seen as linked to the extent that undeveloped networks limited a traveller's access to and thus perspective on that landscape. By 1864, however, when McCulloch first exhibited the final version of *Glencoe*, improved communications had opened up the Highlands to an increasing tide of visitors. We might therefore conjecture a degree of denial in the fact that only a close examination of the painting reveals the presence of a road: it has reverted to the status of one of Burt's 'old ways', rather than the thoroughfare which was by then a standard route for visitors of all sorts. A period which began with images of the road as central to a traveller's vision of the Highland landscape closed, therefore, by minimising his or her place within it, to the extent that 'no steamer breaks the surface of McCulloch's Loch Katrine, nor stagecoach trundles through his *Glencoe*, although Lord Cockburn wrote in 1843 that the coach horn had been heard in Glencoe all summer'.[7]

Early depictions of the Highland landscape did not conceal or subsume a human presence to the same degree as McCulloch's images. Indeed, most artists from the Pennant period seem to have perceived a landscape composition to be incomplete without some token of human civilisation. In comparison to the more densely populated Lowlands most travellers had just quitted, the Highlands possessed large tracts of proportionately empty territory. This awed the eighteenth-century mind, accustomed to a view of human

[7] *Ibid.*, 104.

civilisation as the apex of existence, and of a natural world carefully ordered to the use of that civilisation. A landscape which clearly dwarfed all evidence of human activity or even of existence, challenged such assumptions, and in so doing introduced an element of fear. Artists were consequently anxious to impose some evidence of human activity on the scenes they charted, adopting conventional formulae to achieve this end. 'Staffage' figures were frequently added to the foreground of a scene—figures whose presence was often incidental or peripheral to the actual setting. William Gilpin's two-volume work (1789) on the nature of picturesque beauty contained a view of Loch Dochart depicting two shadowy spectators on the shore, gazing at the island opposite. This was echoed in illustrations to a similar publication by Thomas Garnett (1800), whose artist, W. H. Watts, portrayed stock figures absorbing the impressions of the Falls of Foyers and the reflections of Kilchurn Castle in Loch Awe. The introduction of a gazing tourist as relief or focus in a landscape has parallels in some nineteenth-century paintings, including John Knox's *Landscape with Tourists at Loch Katrine* (*ca* 1820). Such work may represent an intermediate stage in Highland tourism, when people were beginning to penetrate these landscapes, but not in such numbers as to make it inconvenient or undesirable. The choice of travellers to populate such scenes, in contrast to those more obviously rooted in, and native to, the landscape, is nonetheless significant.

Attempts to maintain a human perspective—however forced—in depictions of the Highland landscape often contrasted the vastness of nature with the insignificance of man. This could prompt mixed results. In William Gilpin's illustration of the pass of Killiecrankie (1789), for example, the figures are an indistinct blur, serving only to amplify the magnitude of the surrounding landscape and the height of the road above the pass. Gilpin's Killiecrankie remains a dark, sombre, prison-like place, its effect on life suggested by the wind-blasted, decaying trees which occupy the foreground. J. M. W. Turner's watercolour of Loch Coruisk in Skye (1831), on the other hand, incorporated some tiny figures which are almost lost to the

turbulence of the surrounding scenery. Situated in a foreground to which there is no easily accessed 'tourist route', they invite the viewer to share their perspective and thus the emotions conveyed in the drawing. This emotion is no longer fear, as in the Gilpin illustration; it is exhilaration.

Discussing his approach to landscape drawing, Gilpin confessed that he was often prone to enlarging 'the scale of nature a little beyond nature to make nature look like herself'.[8] Despite the lapse of almost half a century, and allowing for vast differences in style and skill, Turner was essentially engaged in the same ploy in his attempt to capture Loch Coruisk. It is evident that visitors kept coming to the Highlands with preformed ideas of what nature 'ought' to look like, then trying to remould what they encountered within the confines of this definition. During the eighteenth century, manuals on aesthetics attempted to define the quintessence of natural beauty—that elusive quality which was capable of being made into a picture. Gilpin's own work on the Scottish Highlands fell into this category, and contained some useful observations on different grades of 'picturesque' landscape, best summarised in his own words:[9]

> Simplicity and variety are the acknowledged foundations of all picturesque effect. Either of them will produce it: but it generally takes its tone from one. When the landscape approaches nearer simplicity it approaches near the sublime; and when variety prevails, it tends more to the beautiful. A vast range of mountains, the lines of which are simple; and the surface broad, grand, and extensive, is rather sublime than beautiful. Add trees upon the foreground, tufted woods creeping up the sides of the hills, a castle upon some knoll, and skiffs upon the lake (if there be one) and tho the landscape will still be sublime, yet with these additions (if they are happily introduced) the beautiful will predominate.

[8]William Gilpin, *Observations Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty Made in the Year 1776, on Several Parts of Great Britain, Particularly in the Highlands of Scotland,* 2 vols. (London 1789) i, 148.
[9]*Ibid.* ii, 121.

Charles Cordiner's view of Loch Lomond, engraved for the first volume of *Remarkable Ruins, and Romantic Prospects of North Britain* (1788), was a classic example of picturesque landscape, incorporating each element of Gilpin's formula. The impact of the massive mountains in the distance is diminished by trees softening their lower slopes, a range of wooded islands in the middle distance, and a further screen of trees framing the foreground. On one of these islands is the remains of a castle; two small sailing boats are placed in the middle of the loch, with another small boat pulling to the shore; in the immediate foreground stand a group of cattle, one of which is being milked. The whole represents a union of natural variety and human activity.

Visually, Gilpin's conception of the sublime is best illustrated by returning to his image of the Pass of Killiecrankie. His description of some moorland in the region of Killin sheds further light on this category of beauty. 'Wide, waste and rude,' he styled the scenery; 'totally naked; and yet in its simplicity often sublime'. The ideas it provoked, he asserted, 'were grand, rather than pleasing,' with the result that 'the imagination was interested, but not the eye'.[10] Implied in all of this is a value judgement which conveys to the reader the superiority of aesthetic over imaginative pleasure. Just how such values were liable to change across time can be demonstrated from responses to a key element of Highland landscape— water. To early visitors, the wealth of water boasted by the Highlands could not be ignored, but was only palatable as a focus for scenes of cultivation in the midst of prospects otherwise wild. Nearly all of Gilpin's landscape compositions were built around an inland loch, a river, or an arm of the sea. Even the latter, however, were never allowed to become seascapes in the real sense of the term. Lochs Fyne and Long, for instance, both of which appeared in several illustrations, are long, narrow inlets which, as Gilpin put it, 'have all the verdure and vegetation of an inland lake'.[11] The

[10] *Ibid.* i, 171–2.
[11] *Ibid.* ii, 13.

celebration of a wide open expanse of ocean and its tidal rhythms which the Kintyre painter William McTaggart achieved in canvases such as *Macrihanish Bay* (1878) and *The Wave* (1881) was utterly absent from early visions of the role of water in a Highland landscape.

Waterfalls swiftly became a popular subject in early landscape studies, the falls of Clyde being among the first beauties of Scotland to attract artists' attention. Falls on the Duke of Atholl's estate were also the earliest Scottish scenes to be included in a new decorative scheme at Blair Castle during the 1760s.[12] Subsequently, certain waterfalls became set points on the itinerary of a Highland tour, as is evident from the duplication of images in illustrations from a variety of sources. Pennant's first tour of 1769 and Garnett's of 1800 both included illustrations of the Falls of Foyers in Inverness-shire. Gilpin's depiction of the 'Rumbling-Brig' on the Falls of Bran in Perthshire was echoed in Garnett's volume, and in a contemporary drawing by Alexander Campbell. In spite of their raw energy and fury, waterfalls were more palatable to the eighteenth-century mind than the open sea. As Womack explains, 'the channelled violence of the cataract exhibits an essence of natural energy which ... is strictly contained',[13] a combination of properties which ensured the survival of the Highland waterfall in late-nineteenth-century imagery. Peter Graham's *Spate in the Highlands* (1866) was a typical specimen. Arthur a'Beckett and Linley Sambourne, who produced a lavishly-illustrated account of their holiday in the Highlands in 1876, penned the following response to a sudden spate in the Falls of Foyers:[14]

> The rain had converted a little sluggish streamlet into a roaring torrent ... Water like boiling lava covered many a huge rock that the day before had been pale and dry ... The fall which had been a little

[12]David and Francina Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad, 1700–1900* (London 1975), 129–30.

[13]Peter Womack, *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands* (Basingstoke 1989), 82.

[14]Arthur a' Beckett and Linley Sambourne, *Our Holiday in the Scottish Highlands* (London 1876), 68.

> cloud of spray was now a volume of marble-coloured water rushing with a mighty roar under the sorely tried bridge. What had been pretty yesterday was grand today.

The title of the sketch accompanying this description makes no mention of the waterfall's identity or location, holding the vaguer designation 'Cataract after rain'. This indicates that the subject's illustrative value lay in its momentary transformation under the effect of heavy rain, not simply in the reputation of its name. The more volatile this climate proved itself to be, the more the visitor became conscious of his inability to control not only the physical form of the Highland landscape, but also its appearance at any given moment in time. Grandeur being, as we have seen, the essence of the sublime, it follows that the wilder and more uncontrollable effects of weather on landscape were seen as most conducive to sublime emotion. In 1776, Gilpin maintained that beauty depends on fair weather for its effect, commenting that 'if we had seen [Loch Leven] under a gloomy sky, it might perhaps have lost some of its beauties'.[15] Half a century on, gloom had become the essence of effect in landscape painting. Sir Edwin Landseer, for instance, recorded nature in its most fleeting and dramatic circumstances in *A Lake Scene: Effect of a Storm* (*ca* 1833). It is significant that Landseer did not specify the name of the loch in his title, suggesting that his interests lay more in the mood or atmosphere created by Highland weather than the associations of a particular place. The location has since been identified as Loch Avon and the Cairngorm mountains. The titles of some further sketches in a' Beckett and Sambourne's volume echoed Landseer's stance in their tendency to focus on the effect of light or weather on a scene, rather than on the scene itself: 'Loch in the Isle of Skye, Sunset', 'Gairloch, Sunset', 'Sunset, near Portree' and 'Moonlight, Isle of Skye' are some examples.

In spite of Gilpin's preference for the bright, clear skies which allowed him to construe Highland scenery in the style of the French and Italian painters he imitated, the aesthetics of gloom were not a

[15]Gilpin, *Observations* i, 91–2.

purely nineteenth-century invention. The eighteenth-century picture was complicated by MacPherson's *Ossian*. MacPherson's sense of landscape was characterised by a vagueness which permitted the effect of weather on a scene to take precedence over the need to specify precise locations. Scenery in MacPherson was an ethereal entity: more abstract than real; atmospheric rather than physical. Single trees, roaring torrents, lochs, mountains and heaths were simply a backcloth into which the melancholy tales of his heroes and heroines melted, as in the following passage from *Fingal*:[16]

> The winds came down on the woods. The torrents rushed from the rocks. Rain gathered round the head of Cromla. And the red stars trembled between the flying clouds. Sad, by the side of a stream whose sound was echoed by a tree, sad by the side of a stream the chief of Erin sat. Connal son of Colgar was there, and Carril of other times.

The short, terse sentences employed in such a passage give the description an accumulative turmoil which seems to rush forward in short jerks like the gusts of wind it describes. Human sorrow merges into the storm in the same way as the sound of the wind in the trees is indistinguishable from the roaring of the torrent. Unlike Sir Walter Scott, MacPherson made no attempt to tie his heroes' exploits to any specific location, with the result that landscape in illustrations to the poems was necessarily stylised and impressionistic. A gnarled tree here, a shattered boulder there, and sketched-in mountains in the distance formed the usual conventions. This can be seen in several illustrations from a 1795 edition of the complete poems, such as Fingal advising the young Oscar in *Fingal*, Fingal defying the spirit of Loda in *Carric-Thura*, and the giving of Trenmor's spear to Ossian in *Temora*. In the latter, the attached description enacts this generalisation of landscape. 'By Atha of the streams,' Fingal declares, 'there rises a mossy rock. On its head is the wandering of boughs, within the course of winds. Dark, in its face, is a cave with its own

[16]James MacPherson, *The Works of Ossian the Son of Fingal*, 2 vols. (London 1765) i, 43.

loud rill'.[17] On the surface, this description seems intended to qualify the character of a specific place, called Atha, but the multiple plurals—'streams', 'the wandering of boughs', 'the course of winds'—and the use of the indefinite article have a generalising effect. The boundaries of Ossian's country were not intended to be specific, so much so that the protagonists themselves—especially ghosts of the deceased—merge with the landscape. In the last-mentioned illustration, Trenmor is represented riding in clouds driven by the wind, an image inspired by Fingal's address to his spirit: 'Thee have I seen at times, bright from between the clouds; so appear to my son, when he is to lift the spear: then shall he remember thy mighty deeds, though thou art now but a blast'.[18] Other visual interpretations of MacPherson's landscape tended to echo this union between elements, so that it is often difficult to separate figures from clouds and the effect of the wind in a woman's hair from the same effect in a tree. This can be seen in Alexander Runciman's etching, *Fingal and Conban Cargla* (*ca* 1772) in which the billowing cloaks of the figures merge with the flying clouds in the sky beyond.

Taken together, these images conflict on the question of whether nature is a static entity improvable by art, or a kaleidoscope of changing moods almost impossible to capture. In essence, this relates to the superiority or otherwise of nature in relation to man, a theme at the heart of another contemporary problem: the extent to which nature might be debased by usefulness. Despite their human-centred outlook on the world, eighteenth-century improvers' attempts to landscape their environment without 'it having ceased to be natural'[19] foreshadowed to some extent the later, more wholehearted, celebration of 'pure' nature in art. Frequently, such planners turned to plantation schemes as the ideal answer to the problem, as trees could be shaped, trimmed, planted in regular rows

[17] *Ibid.* ii, 197.
[18] *Ibid.* ii, 199–200.
[19] Womack, *Improvement and Romance*, 68.

and made to fill up barren spaces, while remaining authentic products of the soil. The standard route for the picturesque tour took in the lands of the dukes of Argyll and Atholl, where such schemes were then most evident. The eighteenth-century eye was charmed with the result, as is clear from an illustration in Garnett's *Observations* (1800) which depicted the seat of Inveraray from an angle emphasising a regular avenue of trees in the middle distance, connecting the planned village with the castle in an almost straight line.

Modern Inveraray was a further product of the Duke of Argyll's private improvement schemes, bearing little resemblance to the original settlement. As the first governor of the British Fisheries Society, Argyll was also involved in the establishment of several planned villages in the north and west, such as Tobermory in Mull, Pultneytown in Wick and Ullapool in Wester Ross. These were designed to attract a settled population to the work of fishing the migrant herring shoals, on the premise that Scottish Gaels were 'not less capable, nor less inclined than their fellow citizens to become useful members of the community'.[20] In 1772, Thomas Pennant gave voice to similar sentiments, recording evident pleasure at seeing some 'darksome and horrible' scenery in the region of Loch Hourn relieved by the sudden appearance of a fleet of fishing boats:[21]

> ... so unexpected a prospect of the busy haunt of men and ships in this wild and romantic tract, afforded this agreeable reflection: that there is no part of our dominions so remote, so inhospitable, and so unprofitable, as to deny employ and livelihood to thousands.

Despite Pennant's description of a 'busy haunt of men and ships', it is interesting to note that the landscape rather than the evidence of industry dominated his artist's illustration. Although Pennant observed the presence of more than one hundred boats, Griffith

[20]'Incorporation of the British Fisheries Society', 1786, cited in Jean Dunlop, *The British Fisheries Society, 1786–1893* (Edinburgh 1978), 209.

[21]Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides, 1772*, 2 vols. (Chester 1774–6) i, 344.

chose to conceal most of these behind a rocky headland at the further end of the loch. It is as if the elements of industry needed only to be faintly sketched in order to inform the viewer of their presence: one need not be brought too close to the details of everyday employment. A drawing by Turner engraved for Mawman's *Excursion to the Highlands of Scotland* (1805) followed this trend in its depiction of native Highlanders engaged in fishing work at Inveraray. 'Crowded with herring busses, reeling at every ebb and flow,' Mawman enthused, 'the foreground diffused a lively interest over the romantic scenery in the distance'.[22] In Turner's drawing, the human element has a compositional rather than intrinsic value: near enough to make out the protagonists' colourful tartan costume, but not so close as to make them the substance and focus of the image.

Moving into the nineteenth century, some later work demonstrates that where images of the Highlander did creep into the foreground of landscape views, activity connected with fishing proved a consistently orthodox subject. The recurrence of images showcasing busy ports like Inveraray suggests that artists generally perceived no conflict between industry and art in this particular instance. Especially of this persuasion was William Daniell, whose well-known aquatints of the British coastline included such scenes as 'Helmsdale, Sutherlandshire', 'Rodel, Harris' and 'Pier at Tanera, Loch Broom'. In these and similar examples, Daniell constructed a comprehensive picture of the fisheries developing in various parts of the Highlands and Islands. In particular, the print of Tanera emphasised the potential usefulness of Highland geography in establishing new centres for the industry. On the island's northern shore, a curved bay provides the site for the surviving harbour, sheltered by the Coigach hills. Daniell's stance, looking towards Stac Pollaidh and Cùl Mòr, underlined the station's favourable geography, recalling Pennant's observation that even the wildest

[22]J. Mawman, *An Excursion to the Highlands of Scotland and the English Lakes, with Recollections, Descriptions and References to Historical Facts* (London 1789), 144.

aspects of the region could be harnessed to the use of man. The long sea lochs and many islands of the west coast, while restricting access and making travel and communications difficult on land, nonetheless provided natural harbours for the fishing industry.

It proved much easier to celebrate the success of these improvements in terms of their impact on the visible landscape than on the people they were equally designed to civilise and tame. The main thrust of private improvers' activities was not, of course, primarily humanitarian. In many cases, Helmsdale being a prime example, fishing communities were populated by those cleared from fertile inland glens subsequently given over to sheep. In all the evidence considered, nothing addressed this corollary to the improvement schemes discussed above in any direct way. Some later paintings skirted around it by focusing on emigration, but the theme of sheep replacing men did not inspire the pencils of contemporary artists. Deer, on the other hand, featured relatively early in the visual discovery of the region. Sir Edwin Landseer, who first visited the Highlands in 1824,[23] remains the best known proponent of the sporting industry on canvas. From 1824, he was to return every autumn to shoot and sketch, resulting in a spate of major works centring around images of the hunter and the hunted.[24] His paintings alternately delighted and repulsed Victorian audiences and survive as an uncomfortable legacy of their times. The power of Landseer's work is best conveyed by the enduring fame of his best-known canvas, *The Monarch of the Glen* (1851). Poised on an eminence above misty corries, the twelve-pointed stag of *The Monarch* is both heroic and majestic: in complete command of a vast landscape. A further painting, *Scene in Braemar*, depicts another stag in a similar position, this time surrounded by his retinue of hinds and bellowing a challenge. Again, the emphasis is on possession, the only backdrop to the viewpoint being the clouds, placing the animal on a pedestal

[23]Richard Ormond, *Sir Edwin Landseer* (London 1981), 60–1.

[24]The most recent survey of Landseer's Highland work is Richard Ormond, *Monarch of the Glen: Landseer in the Highlands* (Edinburgh 2005).

man cannot attempt to scale. The reception of some of the artist's more graphic hunting works was mixed, however. In 1851, *The Art Journal* printed an engraving of *Deer and Deerhounds in a Mountain Torrent* (*ca* 1833), describing it as 'a fine picture, but a subject ill calculated to elicit pleasure'.[25]

Not all of Landseer's hunting scenes were so devoid of people as these examples. Many of his commissioned works incorporated portraits of the aristocratic patrons whose estates he stalked each year. The most significant of these patrons was Queen Victoria. *Royal Sports on Hill and Loch*, begun in 1850, was the largest and most important of Landseer's 'royal' paintings, although it survives only as an engraving. Queen Victoria's first tour of the Highlands in 1842 began an enduring infatuation with the region which was to have repercussions in the nation at large.[26] Later in the century, David MacBrayne and Co. played on the popular appeal of royal example in its timetable of summer tours with an allusion to the 'royal route' from Glasgow to the Highlands:[27] evidence of a more than tenuous connection between Balmoral and mass tourism. It would be misleading to suggest, however, that royal example was the only, or even the principal cause of the region's growing reputation as a tourist destination. Travellers who made the arduous journey to scenes such as Loch Coruisk were equally likely to do so in quest of literary associations. The significance of Loch Coruisk arose from its being the setting for part of Scott's epic poem *The Lord of the Isles*, first published in 1815. The importance of this connection to the nineteenth-century tourist was still being exploited by MacBrayne's brochures as late as 1885, with appropriate quotations from the poem. By playing on this phenomenon, commercial companies like MacBrayne and Co. demonstrated the potential of a new and greater

[25] *The Art Journal* 3 (1851) 4. This painting has also been known as *Death of the Stag* or *The Hunted Stag*.

[26] R. W. Butler, 'The evolution of tourism in the Scottish Highlands', *Annals of Tourism Research* 12 (1985) 371–91.

[27] See, for example, David MacBrayne, *Summer Tours in Scotland - Glasgow to the Highlands - 'Royal Route'- Official Guide* (Glasgow 1885).

source of profit from the Highland landscape if appropriately marketed. The breadth of this market was at least partly dependent on the extent to which Scott's reputation rested on his Highland works. In addition to his poetry, this was secured by a stream of immensely successful historical novels of which *Waverley* (1814) was the first.

The type of imagery inspired by *Waverley* can be seen in James Melville's rendition of 'The Pass of Bally Brough,' featuring the episode where Edward Waverley makes his excursion into the Highlands conducted by MacIvor's clansman Evan Dubh. The illustration matched Scott's description closely, with an overall effect which leans towards the mystical: a rocky pass so narrow that the river seems to force its way in a series of falls over rocks and boulders; the furthest mountains and the figures shrouded in mist, feebly lit by the setting sun. Even the Highlanders seem overawed by the rocks through which they clamber, gazing upwards at a soaring eagle: 'the monarch of the feathered tribes'.[28] By suggesting that such landscapes were ruled by animals rather than men, these images made any human presence in the scenes portrayed a distinct anomaly. A similar effect was achieved in Horatio McCulloch's *Loch Katrine* (1866), the setting for another of Scott's works, *The Lady of the Lake* (1810). In McCulloch's rendering, the only thing to break the painting's static clarity is a small group of hinds clustered along the shore. Despite defying man's right to intrude upon the stillness of such scenes, these images enhanced rather than impeded the commercial potential of Highland tourism. They created a surrogate tranquillity which inserted a distance between the viewer and the rush of ordinary life, even when jostling for position in a crowded exhibition room. McCulloch's depiction of Loch Katrine achieved its intensity from the luminous quality inherent in its colouring, giving the surface of the loch and its reflections a jewel-like character. The same effect was used by Landseer in *The Sanctuary*, painted at Loch Maree in 1842, which depicted an exhausted stag emerging from a

[28]Walter Scott, *Waverley, or 'Tis Sixty Years Since*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh 1814) i, 241.

loch, having successfully eluded its pursuer. Images like these became central to a vision of the Highlands in which remoteness could be celebrated as a sanctuary for human as well as animal society.

In its primary meaning, a sanctuary denotes 'a holy place', lending a new dimension to the potential value of the Highland landscape. This idea of the region first surfaced in the descriptions attached to the island of Staffa and its legendary cave, one of the key stopping points on the itinerary of a Highland tour. 'Discovered' by naturalist Sir Joseph Banks in 1772, the island was given a prominent place in Pennant's second tour. Illustrations by Banks' artists were used by Pennant to accompany this volume. A frequently reproduced example is a print of Fingal's Cave in which the human figures—some on the rocks and some in a boat entering the cave—are swamped by the sheer size of the cavern. The artist aimed to emphasise the straightness and regularity of the basalt columns inside the cave, likened to the pillars lining the nave of a Gothic cathedral. Compared to this impression of vastness and uniformity, Banks had exclaimed, 'what are the cathedrals or the palaces built by man! mere models or playthings, imitations as diminutive as his works will always be when compared to those of nature'.[29] The cathedral, as the apex of medieval man's attempts to harmonise the spirit and the structure within which he worshipped, combined notions of physical grandeur and artistry with an awe-inducing stillness and solemnity. The German composer Felix Mendelssohn returned to this image in an evocative description of Fingal's cave: 'that vast cathedral of the sea, with its dark lapping waters within, and the brightness of the gleaming waters without'.[30] He was to freeze his tribute to this natural cathedral in 'the great surges of wave-like music'[31] we now know as the *Hebrides Overture*. The resemblance of Fingal's cave to a cathedral rather than any other

[29]Quoted in Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides*, 262.
[30]Elizabeth Bray, *Discovery of the Hebrides: Voyages to the Western Isles, 1745–1883* (Edinburgh 1996), 96.
[31]*Ibid.*

human building elevated it to a level of sanctity and thus of mystery. Its enigmatic reputation was compounded by the fact that heavy seas often made it difficult or dangerous to get to, an image exploited by Turner in *Staffa, Fingal's Cave* (1832). In this canvas, Turner created a welter of water and sky in which the land is scarcely visible, enveloped in a screen of mist and spray. A closer view, from inside the cave itself, was engraved as a vignette for Cadell's edition of Scott's poetical works (1833–4). Again, the sea pours in, pounding the rocks in a flurry of spray, a spectacle the viewer is privileged to see from within the *sanctum sanctorum*.

As applied to landscape, the image of the cathedral had a further significance. Architectural parallels were common currency in responses to the Highland landscape throughout our period, particularly in the sense of antiquarian remains or ruins. James Wilson, author of *A Voyage Round the Coasts of Scotland and its Isles* (1842), drew on this metaphor in his response to Fingal's Cave—'worn by the murmuring waves of many thousand years into the semblance of some stupendous Gothic arch'—and again to Loch Coruisk:[32]

> The dead, dull lake lay beneath; the ruins, as it were, of a former world were scattered on all sides; and above, as far as the eye can pierce through the murky clouds, rose the vast rocky pinnacles, their extremest heights obscured except at intervals, when we could behold the grim and awful giants keeping their eternal watches.

Charles Weld, writing about Loch Coruisk in 1860, described how, after a circuit of the loch, he 'sat down where [he] could take in the vast sweep of dark precipices overhanging the lake. The clouds, here never or rarely at rest, were drifting grandly amidst the serrated peaks, which towered aloft like huge distorted cathedral spires'.[33] Such language sheds light on the growing preoccupation with

[32]James Wilson, *A Voyage Round the Coasts of Scotland and its Isles,* 2 vols. (Edinburgh 1842) i, 122, 220.

[33]Charles Richard Weld, *Two Months in the Highlands, Orcadia and Skye* (London 1860), 369.

fantastic rock formations in depictions of the region during the period. Daniell's *Voyage Round Great Britain* (1814–25), in particular, contains numerous examples, including several prints of Staffa, one of the Creenstone Rock at the mouth of Loch Broom, and fine studies of Smoo Cave on the north coast and of the cliffs at Gribune Head in Mull. The Highlands emerged from such images as a geological field fossilised by its very wildness, shaped by forces far beyond the memory of man.

To a generation fascinated by everything of an historical nature, a landscape physically falling into ruins could lead people into speculation about aeons of time far older than the foundations of a lochside castle. The obsession of the age with all things ancient is evident at a glance from the titles of contemporary publications such as Cordiner's *Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland* (1780) and *Remarkable Ruins and Romantic Prospects of North Britain* (1788); Grose's *Antiquities of Scotland* (1797); and Scott's *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland* (1826). It is noteworthy that the titles to these illustrated works placed antiquities and landscape side by side as companion subjects of the same volume, suggesting a natural connection between ruins and scenery. This implied connection was cultivated in travel literature throughout the period, which seized the same ruins—particularly castles—as suitable subjects for picturesque images. Nineteenth-century painters like Horatio McCulloch created classic canvases in which landscape and fortress combined to form a balanced portrait which privileged neither element above the other.[34] This evidence implies a perceived sympathy between antique structures and the Highland landscape which went deeper than the fact that scores of ruins might be found as it were ready-to-paint in suitably romantic situations. The parallel between unusual rock formations, as tokens of a physically ruined landscape, and conventionally ruined structures reached beyond mere aesthetics. The form of both being

[34] For a range of examples, see Sheenah Smith, *Horatio McCulloch, 1805–1867* (Glasgow 1988).

shaped by time and history, they merged to forge a composite image of the Highlands whose value and legitimacy was founded on antiquity.

Besides the geological significance of such allusions, the presence of ruins in a landscape operated on another level. This was the capacity of antiquarian remains to stir up recollections of former ways and deeds, drawn from the annals of human history. For visitors to the Highlands and Islands, the connection between ruins and the as-yet-recent memory of Jacobite insurrection was persistent and widespread. In Garnett's travelogue (1800), an illustration of Invergarry Castle was accompanied by a note regarding its association with the Jacobite rising and subsequent firing in the year 1745, an event which to the author's eyes made it 'a very picturesque object'.[35] Given that the first artist to chart the significance of ruined castles in the Highland landscape did so in a military context, Garnett's comment makes interesting reading. This artist was Paul Sandby, a young draughtsman employed by the Board of Ordnance for its official survey of the region, which began in 1747. Despite their artistic merit, Sandby's plans of Castle Tioram in Moidart and Castle Duart in Mull were utilitarian in concept, intended to convey precise information as to the potential of both castles for military use. The forfeiture of estates and the destruction of Jacobite strongholds after Culloden had left many such ruins across the Highland landscape, and the fact that many of them remained so in spite of Sandby's plans partially explains the romanticisation of the cause they stood for. The more the mortar of Invergarry and its counterparts crumbled and fell, the more the spectre of Jacobitism as a cohesive political threat faded from the minds of the British public. This was reflected in the taste for scenes from Jacobite history in later imagery, such as John Everett Millais' emotional *Order of Release* (1853), J. B. MacDonald's *Arrest of the Rebel after the Battle*

[35]Thomas Garnett, *Observations Made on a Tour through the Highlands and Part of the Western Isles of Scotland*, 2 vols. (London 1800) i, 317.

of Culloden (1864), and John Pettie's solitary rebel in *Disbanded* (1877).

The ruined fortresses which peppered illustrations of the Highland landscape throughout our period fed this appetite for historic fare, holding associations of past deeds and glories. This approach to landscape was popularised by Sir Walter Scott, who articulated the nature of his response to landscape in the 1808 autobiography with which J. G. Lockhart began his *Memoirs*:[36]

> ... the historical incidents or traditional legends connected with many of them, gave to my admiration a sort of intense impression of reverence, which at times made my heart feel too big for its bosom. From this time the love of natural beauty, more especially when combined with ancient ruins, or remains of our fathers' piety or splendour, became with me an insatiable passion.

Scott's use of Highland castles as settings for some of the scenes in his novels was based on their real historical significance. His works—both novels and poetry—were all illustrated in many editions, the most significant being the publisher Cadell's 1833–4 commission to Turner for the poetry. Many Scott illustrations were published in collections like the 1834 work *Illustrations, Landscape, Historical and Antiquarian, to the Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott* and *Landscape-Historical Illustrations of Scotland and the Waverley Novels* (1836–8). Such titles echoed the sympathy between landscape and history articulated in earlier antiquarian works. Scott's contribution to the period's intense interest in Highland antiquities and their surrounding history is evident from the parallels between these illustrations and contemporary paintings. In the 1836–8 collection, an illustration of Inverlochy Castle from *A Legend of Montrose* mirrored Horatio McCulloch's choice of the same view for a painting exhibited in 1857. In the novel, the significance of Inverlochy arose from its being the setting for a battle staged in 1645 between the forces of Argyll and a Highland army led by Montrose.

[36]J. G. Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, 7 vols. (Edinburgh 1842) i, 12.

In McCulloch's *Inverlochy*, this martial history remained implicit rather than explicit, depending on the knowledge of the viewer for effect. Turner, in his contributions to Scott's Lowland *Provincial Antiquities*, had deliberately juxtaposed ruined architecture with figures dressed in the costume of his own time to imply a gulf between the present and the ruin's former glory.[37] In the Highlands, McCulloch saw no need to emphasise the antiquity of Inverlochy with reminders of the present. It was taken as read.

This dependence on the audience to supply the associations of any given scene transformed the Highland landscape into a vast repository of memories, essential to the commemoration of what Scott termed 'our fathers' piety or splendour'. In a Highland context, this notion drew on the literary precedent established by MacPherson's Ossian. *The Poems of Ossian* are permeated by the pressure of a past which we are to believe has driven the blind bard to poetry. In titling his first collection *Fragments of Ancient Poetry*, MacPherson added to their appeal in suggesting that the poems themselves were in some way tinged with ruin or decay: a hallmark of age and thus of authenticity.[38] Readers were invited to attribute this to the imperfect transmission of oral poetry through the medium of human memory. In descriptions such as the following from *Carthon*, memory was nonetheless revealed to be the central theme of Ossianic poetry as well as being its inspiration and its vehicle:[39]

> I have seen the walls of Balclutha, but they were desolate. The fire had resounded in the halls: and the voice of the people is heard no more. The stream of Clutha was removed from its place, by the fall of the walls. The thistle shook, there, its lonely head: the moss whistled to the wind. The fox looked out, from the windows, the rank grass of the wall waved round his head.

[37]Gerald Finley, *Landscapes of Memory: Turner as Illustrator to Scott* (London 1980), 56.
[38]Womack, *Improvement and Romance*, 103.
[39]MacPherson, *The Works of Ossian*, i, 187.

The significance of Balclutha to the poet arises from the associations which his memory has assigned to it: devoid of 'the voice of the people', it becomes a standard elegiac symbol. Taken alongside their depiction as virtually inseparable from the Highland landscape, the transformation of such ruins into elegiac symbols extended this wistful note to perceptions of the region as a whole. This may be one reason why depictions of the Highlands across our period largely ignored the presence of contemporary Gaels. MacPherson's presentation of the region as a 'beautiful ghost'[40] to the wider world foreshadowed later perceptions of its people as a dead or dying race.[41] Many nineteenth-century painters like Landseer compounded their vision of a landscape given over to wild animals with set-pieces casting traditions in a patriarchal mode. *Return from the Staghunt* (1837), with its harmonious procession of chief and clansmen, *The Highland Drover's Departure* (1835), commemorating drives of cattle to the southern markets, and *Rent Day in the Wilderness* (1868), a scene from Jacobite lore portrayed with ritual solemnity, all fall into this category. It is telling that artists who did see native Highlanders as suitable subjects for painting placed them firmly in the annals of a bygone era.

Thomas Faed, in *The Last of the Clan* (1865), achieved a similar effect in a painting often seen as the prototypical image of the Clearances. However, its stereotype of the last survivor tied it into contemporary visions of the Gael as a doomed people. Visually, it is a powerful painting, but in concept it bypassed the plight of contemporary Highlanders, among whom emigration was by no means a thing of the past. Artists continued to extract pathos from the emotional potential of emigration, J. W. Nicol's *Lochaber no more* (1883) being a further example of the genre. Taking its title from a popular lament, the painting shows an emigrant taking a last look at the receding, mist-swathed homeland as his wife lies

[40]Womack, *Improvement and Romance*, 109.

[41]Krisztina Fenyo, *Contempt, Sympathy and Romance: Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands and the Clearances During the Famine Years, 1845–1855* (East Linton 2000), 182.

prostrate beside him. Again, Nicol centred on the surface emotion of departure rather than the root causes or the plight of those left behind. In *My Heart's in the Highlands* (1860), a work originally entitled *The Emigrant's Dream of his Highland Home*, Horatio McCulloch portrayed another version of the 'backward look'. It is an imaginary scene, fusing the elements of conventional Highland landscapes in its deer, ruined castle, wooded foreground, loch and misty mountains. Although McCulloch's work is complex, frequently containing a wealth of hidden human detail, it is difficult to reconcile the emigrant's supposed longing for a wilderness given over to ruins and deer with the lament for deserted homes, uncultivated fields, and silenced villages in contemporary Gaelic poetry:[42]

> Dìreadh a-mach ri Beinn Shianta,
> Gur cianail tha mo smuaintean,
>
> A' faicinn na beinne 'na fàsach
> 'S i gun àiteach air a h-uachdar;
>
> Sealltain a-sìos thar a' bhealaich,
> 'S ann agamsa tha 'n sealladh fuaraidh.
>
> 'S lìonmhor bothan bochd gun àird air
> Air gach taobh 'nan làraich uaine,
>
> Agus fàrdach tha gun mhullach
> Is 'na thulaich aig an fhuaran.
>
> *As I climb up towards Ben Shiant,*
> *my thoughts are filled with sadness,*
>
> *seeing the mountain as a wilderness,*
> *with no cultivation on its surface.*

[42]An Lighiche Iain MacLachlainn/Dr John MacLachlan, 'Dìreadh a-mach ri Beinn Shianta'/'Climbing up towards Ben Shiant', in *Tuath is Tighearna: Tenants and Landlords. An Anthology of Gaelic Poetry of Social and Political Protest from the Clearances to the Land Agitation, 1800–1890*, ed. Donald E. Meek (Scottish Gaelic Texts Society: Edinburgh 1995), 57/192.

As I look down over the pass,
what a chilling view I have!

So many poor cottages in disarray,
in green ruins on each side,

and houses without a roof,
in heaps by the water-spring!

McCulloch's painting strikes a false note in suggesting that it is romantic scenery, not a working landscape or a community, that the emigrant craves. By way of contrast, it is interesting to note the comments of an earlier traveller—the geologist John MacCulloch—on the Gael's perception of his native landscape. Although an outsider's interpretation, it echoes the ethos of MacLachlan's elegy on the decaying townships of Ben Shiant:[43]

> If a Highlander would show you a fine prospect, he does not lead you to the torrent and the romantic rocky glen, to the storm-beaten precipice or the cloud-capt mountain. It is to the strath covered with hamlets and cultivation, or to the extended tract of fertile lowlands, where the luxuriance of vegetation and wood depends on the exertions of human labour.

To the Gael, as one emigrant's descendant put it, 'the sheep, the heather, the whin, the mists, and the homes of the vanished races,' would always remain a poor surrogate for the feeling that in this landscape 'everyone who ever mattered is dead and gone'.[44] To those who perpetuated the image of a land of mists and vanished races, those dead or gone had never registered with any great significance, as the visual record from 1760 to 1883 amply demonstrates. Landscape was only able to become romantic through associations which confined its people and its culture to a significance firmly rooted in the past.

[43]John MacCulloch, *The Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland*, 4 vols. (London 1824) iii, 88.
[44]Hugh MacLennan, quoted in James Hunter, *On the Other Side of Sorrow: Nature and People in the Scottish Highlands* (Edinburgh 1995), 25.

If a final, composite version of the 'Highland canvas' were to be sought, the title page of Beckett and Sambourne's travelogue reflects some aspects of it in miniature. In this, the region's iconography was twisted into pictorial lettering spelling out the title 'Our Holiday in the Scottish Highlands'. The very familiarity of Highland iconography by this stage allowed the artist to adopt the genre of caricature, suggesting that by 1876 there was something fixed about perceptions of what the Highlands stood for and how they could be visually portrayed. Salmon and deer, tartan and bagpipes, whisky, a pair of crossed swords and the strange rock formation of the Storr in Skye combine with more general Scottish threads such as the thistle, Scots songs and a terrier dog. The mix of Highland and Lowland symbols in this example hints at a conflation of regional and national identity by this point—something which space does not permit us to explore in any detail here. However, the prevalence of historic elements within this melting-pot of images illustrates the extent to which our period began and ended on a similar note. The controversy which broke over the authenticity of James MacPherson's *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* and subsequent volumes focused critical attention on what had been—culturally as well as geographically—uncharted territory. At a time when primitive antiquity was fashionable, images of a lost world lamented by an ancient bard drew and intrigued the curious. Whatever their ultimate assessment of the authenticity of Ossian, these and subsequent visitors to the Highlands were happy to perpetuate MacPherson's images. So much so, that by 1883 artists like J. W. Nicol remained content to sever land and people with the familiar epitaph of emigration. This was despite the fact that in the same year, government commissioners were gathering the evidence required to justify proposals for 'a complex system of interference' on behalf of the ordinary Highlander. They did so well aware of those who saw no need for 'curious expedients, which may merely prolong his decay,' and who argued that 'the small tenancies of the Highlands

would not be the only interest abandoned to irresistible innovations'.[45]

As concerns the place and future of the Highlander within his landscape, the visual record takes an ambivalent stance. To a large extent, artists sidestepped the issue by celebrating natural forms as a superior form of architecture, the evidence of nature's handiwork, and a link with very early times. Those such as Moses Griffith and William Daniell, who used their art to chart some of the schemes for industry developing in the western Highlands and Islands, were equally complicit in creating and perpetuating the image of antiquity. Visions of an ancient and romantic country fitted well with notions of a dead or dying race. They also paved the way for an evasion of reality whereby proponents of improvement could overlook the impact of their innovations. The Highlands were economically useful because they could be physically planted, fished or grazed by sheep and deer. They were also emotionally useful as a romantic sanctuary in which the tourist (so long as he ignored those with the same idea as himself) could retire in quest of the sublimity of solitude. Images of the Highland landscape throughout our period wrestle with the relationship between man and his surroundings—their scale, utility and ultimate significance. Fundamentally, however, we are left with a sense that where a human element is introduced to Highland landscapes it is most often as a foil for questions of philosophical import, rather than being motivated by a real engagement with the concerns of the indigenous inhabitants.

[45]Parliamentary Papers 1884 XXXVI, *Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the Condition of the Crofters and Cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* , 108.

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